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The Overlapping Regulations on Environmental Policy Implementation: Case Study in Bali Province, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores the obstacles of environmental policy implementation in Bali Province, Indonesia, concentrating on the problem of overlapping legislation and institutional supremacy. Using qualitative methodologies with document analysis of nine Governor's Regulations and four Regional Regulations (2018–2023), the research applies NVivo-12 coding (Hierarchy Chart and Project Map) to detect patterns of authority, coordination, and fragmentation in policy execution. The findings demonstrate that environmental governance in Bali suffers from duplication of authority, conflicting mandates, and insufficient coordination between province and district governments. Cases such as single-use plastic restriction, organic farming certification, and spatial planning indicate that policies with similar objectives often result in institutional competition rather than synergy. The analysis, framed through collaborative governance theories (Ansell & Gash, Emerson & Nabatchi) and power distribution perspectives (Purdy; Jessop), shows that formal authority rests with provincial regulations, financial resources are concentrated at district levels, while customary villages and subaks hold discursive legitimacy—yet no integrative mechanism exists to unite these powers. Consequently, cooperation stays rhetorical rather than operational, limiting policy efficacy. This study indicates that environmental governance in Bali requires the formation of collaborative forums comprising provinces, districts, and indigenous institutions to align power, resources, and legitimacy. Incorporating local wisdom, such as the Tri Hita Karana philosophy, could increase policy legitimacy and ensure that environmental legislation is not merely a bureaucratic instrument but also socially anchored and durable.

KEYWORDS: environmental policy, overlapping rules, collaborative governance, Bali, institutional dominance

INTRODUCTION

Nearly every nation devises and executes environmental regulations as the global situation deteriorates and the Earth is progressively inhospitable for habitation (David Wallace - Wells, 2019). The recognition that nations and governments must address environmental degradation, locally and worldwide, originated at the inaugural global environmental conference in Stockholm, Sweden, which produced the Stockholm Declaration in 1972 (Ilinskaya, 2021; Kanehara, 2024). One of the affirmations of this proclamation stresses the importance of sustainable development in managing the environment. Since the commencement of this conference, discussions on the environment within the framework of sustainable development have progressively intensified, both domestically and internationally (Dotsenko et al., 2021; Ogryzek, 2023; Sörlin, 2021). Historically, this conference developed 26 fundamental principles of environmental crisis prevention, which are still primarily predicated on the importance of the role of the state/government in combating environmental deterioration. In addition, there is now a heavy spotlight on emerging countries that are 'accused' of being the source of the global environmental catastrophe (Brand & Wissen, 2024). In essence, this strategy is still strongly geared towards the free market (development) paradigm, where the more advanced a country is, the more it can lessen environmental damage. Therefore, points 9-12 of the Stockholm Principles indicate the necessity for significant support in technology and knowledge to developing countries to enhance the environment (Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne, 2005). A very liberal market-oriented attitude and such a large involvement of the state (politics) have led to extremely considerable conflicts of opinion in carrying out mutually agreed principles. A good achievement in this conference is to successfully present governments from various countries to build awareness that there is currently a global environmental crisis and countries/governments have an important role in providing a strong basis for the development of international environmental law.

On the other hand, historically, this conference has only achieved the level of raising awareness (politically) that there is a global environmental catastrophe and has not succeeded in preventing the devastation of nature from getting worse. It can be seen that almost half a century has passed, the impact of the meeting has not made progress, and has even endured considerable degradation of the environmental issue. The natural circumstances have worsened in a relatively long time, even if governments have adopted environmental policies. In other words, numerous environmental policies in one country fail to be executed. This is validated in research by Howes et al. (2017), who revealed 94 incidents of inability to execute environmental policies in various

countries. Likewise, Wang et.al. (2023) provides an essential point that local governments – particularly in the case study in China – have failed to implement their environmental regulations because they have challenges in executing them. The evaluation of the Stockholm meeting has undoubtedly been carried out and then expanded in the following decades through conferences such as Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, where conference participants are represented not only by government delegations but also by community representatives through NGOs/NGOs directly involved in environmental management. National representatives from 178 nations, 1400 accredited NGOs/NGOs, 30,000 participants, and the public can witness this conference by attending Flamengo Park. The findings of this conference stressed the importance of the role of the public. There are 27 principles agreed upon from this conference that generally show the critical role of equality of global cooperation through cooperation between countries (so it is no longer a matter of developed and developing countries), and also together with the participation of the community (NGOs/NGOs, women, indigenous peoples) (Elliott, 2004). Through this conference, it appears that the paradigm shift in environmental development has changed to environmental issues (bioenvironmentalist) and also highlights the role of the public as a determinant of development sustainability (environmental).

However, the essential question is why environmental degradation continues to occur so dramatically afterward. The environmental damage still occurring now cannot be divorced from the dynamics and stakes of these policy approaches. After the above international conferences, the prevailing environmental policy approach is still primarily controlled by the growth economy approach. This method of economic growth seems to have developed significant strength, at least over its two centuries of existence (Chasek et al., 2018). This causes humanitarian difficulties to be eliminated slowly. Economic expansion, in any way considered welfare, entails abusing nature. This approach then received a significant challenge through the results of the worldwide environmental conference, at least creating awareness that the value of humans and nature is a oneness that cannot be separated in developing a better earth in the future.

Only during the 1980s did the notion of sustainable development emerge as an alternative strategy to the growth-oriented environmental policy model. Since then, all talks regarding the environment internationally have been tied to sustainable development (Chasek et al., 2018). Although it is not easy to implement, this period is defined by the emergence of two essential phrases in environmental issues: sustainable development and globalization. The two met in a conversation during the 2002 United Nations conference on the environment (Rio+20), which focused on 1) the Green economy and sustainable development and 2) the framework of sustainable development. The concept of the green economy then shifted a lot of economic conceptions of growth into equity, with the political economy being justice (economy) for developing countries (Fox, 2023; Li et al., 2023; Nyangchak, 2024). This directly impacts environmental concerns that have been blamed for emerging countries being the culprits of environmental damage (Chasek et al., 2018). In this sustainable development-oriented viewpoint, developing nations are not the culprits of environmental destruction but rather policies that are not in favor of fair development, which is the source of environmental degradation (Kosolapova et al., 2024).

However, the most fundamental concern is why environmental damage is increasingly occurring worldwide, such as rising temperatures, loss of certain species, highly unpredictable weather, excessive sea level rise, melting ice in the Antarctic Ocean, emission difficulties, etc.(Puđak, 2021; Ripple et al., 2024), In fact, policies regarding the environment have been developed elegantly by the state/government through existing environmental policies.

This research focuses on environmental policy issues where, in the description above, it has been stated that there are two main issues in terms of failure to handle environmental damage, namely environmental policies oriented towards economic growth and environmental policies oriented towards polarization of North-South countries. This has led to a global gap between the northern and southern countries in solving environmental problems (Gonzalez, 2015).

This study looks deeper into the government of a region with a comprehensive notion of environmental policy, but in reality, environmental harm in the region is becoming significant from time to time.

Bali is regarded as a world tourism area with magnificent natural beauty. Local governments in Bali have devised and established their environmental policies to safeguard this natural beauty through regional rules and the Governor's regulations. At least 9 Governor's Regulations and 4 Regional Regulations are directly relevant to the environment. However, during the era when the Governor's Regulation and Regional Regulation were issued (2018-2023), the environmental disaster that occurred in Bali was quite huge (Agung Wardana, 2019; Hornbacher, 2021; Kerr & Wardana, 2020). The waste crisis (Northcoot, 2020), deforestation issues (Krisna et al., 2021), subak land change crisis (Lanya et al., 2017), and flood crisis, especially in Denpasar, Bali (Kusmiyarti et al., 2018), are just a handful of the environmental challenges that present in Bali today. This illustrates that local administration in Bali today still leaves major concerns, notably for the environment. All of this is supposed to be overcome by establishing policies relating to the environment.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The discourse on collaborative governance has emerged as a predominant method in public administration studies. It emerged from dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic-hierarchical model, seen as inadequate for addressing intricate policy challenges, particularly environmental matters that encompass several stakeholders, interests, and societal strata. An early influential model is the framework

established by Ansell & Gash (2008), which underscores the significance of face-to-face interaction, trust cultivation, dedication to shared objectives, and group success. Notwithstanding its extensive impact, this approach faced immediate criticism for being excessively normative. He necessitates a rather equitable initial condition among participants, when, in actuality, the dynamics between participants frequently exhibit significant power imbalance.

Addressing this issue necessitates consideration of the integrative framework established by Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh (2012). Three fundamental dynamics of a collaborative regime were introduced: principled involvement, shared motivation, and the ability for coordinated action. This framework offers a more methodical approach to examining the dynamics of collaboration. Emerson and Nabatchi (2015) further developed this notion through the concept of Collaborative Governance Regimes (CGR), which delineates how collaboration operates as a regime characterized by distinct structures, internal dynamics, and outcomes. However, the harshest critique of this strategy is that it can be fragmentary and dysfunctional because the motives of participants vary: some promote sustainability, others desire growth. This is visible in the context of emerging countries.

Of course, this dimension of power is something very important to pay attention to. However, the dimension of power that was not paid attention to by Ansell & Gash and Emerson was thereafter filled by Purdy (2012). He proposes an analytical paradigm that highlights that every partnership is always influenced by three sources of power: formal authority, material resources, and discursive legitimacy. The power struggle between these three spheres explains why legislation often overlaps and fails to be enforced. However, in governance, formal authority, material resources, and discursive legitimacy are often disregarded due to the absence of emphasizing specific ideals that are local. It is on this side that the normative dimension of Public Value Governance from Bryson et al. (2014) becomes important. This concept underlines that the purpose of collaboration should be the development of public benefit, not only bureaucratic efficiency. In the context of Bali, public value might be obtained from the Tri Hita Karana philosophy that promotes harmony between humans, nature, and spirituality. However, the difficulty is that the idea of public value is often restricted to "economic value" that helps some groups, while the ecological and spiritual qualities of indigenous peoples are left out.

In his follow-up study, Bryson, Crosby & Stone (2015) recognized this and underlined the necessity of cross-sectoral collaborative design to enhance Public Value Governance. They emphasize how goals, structure, leadership, and responsibility need to be arranged for collaboration to be effective. However, it is still acknowledged that good design does not guarantee implementation if there is no political will.

On the other hand, Sørensen & Torfing (2011), Ansell, C., & Torfing (2016) widened the discourse by combining collaboration with public innovation. They presented the idea of collaborative innovation and metagovernance, which is how the government should play the role of a facilitator who creates an arena for collaboration, not as a single controller. This then also witnessed a development of understanding when Ansell & Torfing (2021) proposed an alternative notion to bridge all the flaws of collaborative governance theories through the concept of co-creation. Here, public value is considered as something that must be developed collectively from the early phases of policy formulation. In the context of Bali, customary villages with their social legitimacy can be equal partners with the government in creating environmental policy. However, in fact, indigenous peoples are often merely participating symbolically without really being allowed the opportunity to influence the substance of policy.

Nevertheless, Bob Jessop comes into this discourse with a distinct and far more critical perspective (Jessop, 2020). As a strong thinker influenced by the neo-Marxist school, Jessop does not regard governance or metagovernance as a neutral arena merely oriented at establishing consensus. For him, governance is a hegemonic arena, which is a space where the state and the interests of capital regulate, coordinate, and even limit participation in accordance with the dominant political and economic logic. If Ansell and Gash assume that collaborative processes can build equality through dialogue, Jessop is asserting that dialogue itself is already framed by a specific power structure that determines who is allowed to speak, what issues are legitimate to discuss, and within what value framework the discussion takes place. Thus, the government is never neutral and cannot be isolated from power relations and ideology.

From the perspective of metagovernance, Jessop places himself somewhat differently from Sørensen and Torfing. For Sørensen and Torfing, metagovernance is the art of managing governance, the ability of governments to establish the rules of the game, build collaborative platforms, and foster innovation. They still highlight the role of the government as a facilitator that sets appropriate conditions for multi-actor engagement. Jessop agrees that metagovernance is a form of coordination over governance, but he emphasizes its political side: metagovernance is not simply facilitation, but rather a hegemonic practice in which the state or dominant actor directs the direction of collaboration, determines priorities, and shapes certain social subjects that conform to the logic of capitalism. In other words, if Sørensen and Torfing tend to emphasize the creative and beneficial aspects of metagovernance, Jessop exposes more of its power and ideological features.

What is remarkable about Jessop is his concern for subjectivity and civic society. In his writing, he stressed that governance does not just manage connections between actors, but also develops specific ways of thinking, identity, and social behaviors. Civil society, for example, is often positioned as a vital participant in collaborative government. But according to Jessop, civil society involvement itself is often the outcome of a hegemonic process, in which the state and capital dictate forms of

participation that adhere to market logic and dominant interests. This means that governance forms the intended subject, not just allowing room for free involvement.

Compared to other governance experts, Jessop's perspective is more critical and structuralist. Ansell and Gash are too normative for Jessop to overlook power relations; Emerson and Nabatchi were too functionalist since they considered collaborative regimes as something that could be handled without offending hegemonic interests. Purdy is relatively close to Jessop because they both emphasize power, but Purdy focuses more on the distribution of resources than on the relationship between capitalism and ideology; while Sørensen and Torfing view metagovernance as an art of facilitation, Jessop asserts it as a political practice that defines the boundaries of participation.

Thus, Bob Jessop's position in the collaborative governance discourse is highly crucial to give a balance against an unduly normative and optimistic perspective. Jessop noted that collaboration never takes place in a vacuum, but is always influenced and formed by power relations, ideology, and hegemony. Governance and metagovernance for him are the arena in which the state and capital decide the direction of participation, define the so-called public interest, and create civil society according to the dominant logic. This approach helps us recognize that collaborative governance is not simply about technical coordination, but also about the political conflicts that decide who has the right to speak, what principles are respectable, and what policy direction is eventually followed.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method approach to examine 9 Governor's Regulations and 4 Regional Regulations directly related to the environment (*See Table 1 – Appendix*).

The first stage of coding is executed using the Hierarchy Chart technique to extract fundamental concepts from the 9 Governor's Regulations and 4 Regional Regulations by meticulously capturing each word or sentence from the articles/verses into four primary categories: economic base, institutional, socio-cultural context, and technical environment. Subsequently, the findings are organized into a Hierarchy Chart, analyzed via NVIVO-12 (*See Figure 1 - appendix*). The second stage was examined using the Project Map approach (NVIVO-12), with results illustrated in Figure 2 (*See Figure 2 – appendix*). The findings served as the foundation for an analysis employing a theoretical framework centered on collaborative governance, elucidating that the significant influence of institutions and the failure to execute collaborative actions in the implementation of environmental policies in Bali are the primary factors contributing to the unresolved environmental issues in the region.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A primary issue in environmental governance in Bali is the presence of conflicting regulations among local government bodies. This is exemplified by the handling of single-use plastic garbage. In 2018, the Governor of Bali enacted Governor's Regulation No. 97 of 2018, which imposes restrictions on the production of single-use plastic waste, banning plastic bags, plastic straws, and styrofoam. This law garnered significant acclaim for being innovative and addressing the trash situation in Bali, which amounted to 4,281 tons per day (Northcott, 2020). However, in the same year, the Mayor of Denpasar enacted Mayor Regulation No. 36 of 2018 about the Reduction of the Use of Plastic Bags. The substance of these two regulations is generally the same, but in their implementation, there is confusion: the provincial office assigns its oversight to the Bali Provincial Environment and Hygiene Service (DLHK), while the Mayor's Regulation grants a mandate to the Denpasar City DLHK. As a result, there is duplication of socialization and insufficient monitoring because there is no cross-level coordinating mechanism between regional agencies. Some small company actors indicated that they were contacted by two distinct institutions with similar instructions, but without clarification about sanctions enforcement authorities (Northcott, 2020). This case indicates that even if policies are designed with good intentions, without cooperation amongst agencies, their effectiveness reduces dramatically.

Similar challenges have also arisen in the agricultural sector. Governor's Regulation No. 55 of 2019 on Organic Farming Systems is aimed at fostering sustainable farming methods in Bali. However, some districts, such as Tabanan, have historically implemented environmentally friendly agriculture programs based on district Regional Regulations. The disparity in organic certification indications between the Governor's Regulation and the district Regional Regulation generates uncertainty for farmers and field extension workers. Farmers who have gained certification from the district must undertake a reprocess to fulfill provincial criteria. This raises additional costs and policy uncertainty. Coordination between the Provincial Agriculture Office and the District Agriculture Office is not effective since each considers that it has legitimacy based on existing regulations (Krisna et al., 2021).

In the subject of spatial planning, there is an overlap between the Bali Provincial Regulation No. 2 of 2023 concerning the Spatial Planning of Bali Province and the Badung Regency Regional Regulation on the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR). Some places in Badung, notably tourism-dense ones such as Canggu and Seminyak, are designated by the province as limited conservation zones, although the district RDTR opens up land conversion chances for tourist lodging. This generates a conflict of authority between the Bali Provincial Public Works and Spatial Planning Office and the Badung Regency Spatial Planning Office, and has a direct impact on expediting the conversion of subak land (Lanya et al., 2017). This disharmony reveals the absence of a harmonization mechanism between levels of local government.

The outcomes of the NVIVO analysis undertaken in this study confirm this concern. Project Map highlights the dominance of institutional categories in practically all environmental policies in Bali (*See Figure 1 – Appendix*)

Keywords such as coordination, spatial organization, development patterns, supervision, and rules are ubiquitous in practically all regulations (Governor's Regulation and Regional Regulation). However, this vast spread actually causes fragmentation. The NVIVO coding matrix also displays a connectivity node between "coordination – development – policy actors" and "philosophical – culture – development" (26 connections). This means that although coordination is verbally present in regulatory instruments, it is not substantively accomplished in implementation since each agency interprets its mandate uniquely (*See Table 2 – Appendix*)

Theoretically, this overlapping occurrence can be explained by the framework of Collaborative Governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008) Collaborative Governance Regimes (Emerson et al., 2012) and power analysis methodologies (Purdy & Jones, 2012) From Ansell & Gash's perspective, collaboration can only be effective when there is trust, a commitment to a common purpose, and regular face-to-face forums. However, in Bali, ties between provinces and districts are still dominated by a top-down bureaucratic paradigm. Governor's Regulations are typically deemed to be of a greater degree than district/city Regional Regulations, hence communication runs asymmetrically. This generates a position inequality that prevents meaningful collaboration.

Emerson and Nabatchi (2015) emphasize that cooperation involves three dynamics: principled participation, common motivation, and capacity for cooperative action. In the context of Bali, engagement between provinces and districts is often just procedural, not accompanied by mutual incentive. The capacity to act jointly is also poor because there is no institutional structure that pulls together provincial and district resources. The results of NVIVO (*See Table 2 - appendix*) demonstrate a weak node that links "coordination" with "evaluation" or "supervision", showing that coordination is more symbolic than substantial.

Furthermore, Purdy's (2012) examination of the distribution of power is crucial to reading this situation. Formal authority is in the hands of the province with a Governor's Regulation; however, material resources (budget) are largely administered by districts/cities, and discursive legitimacy is genuinely owned by customary villages and subaks. These three sources of power run in parallel without an integrating mechanism. This explains why programs often fail to be implemented: provinces make rules, districts handle budgets, while indigenous villages have social legitimacy, but there is no venue to bring the three together.

From the perspective of Bob Jessop (2020), this overlap of regulations shows a hegemonic kind of metagovernance. The provincial government, with its authority, strives to steer environmental policies according to the logic of development and tourism, while the district tries to adapt to the interests of the local economy. Customary villages and subak were only employed as symbolic participants; however, the NVIVO results demonstrated high connectivity between customary villages, subak, economy, and the environment (50 connections) (See Table 2). In other words, there is a normative recognition of the function of localities, but structurally, they remain on the periphery of the policy arena.

The three situations of plastic waste, organic agriculture, and spatial planning illustrate a similar pattern: the overlap of legislation at the Bali regional level is not matched by a clear coordination mechanism amongst agencies. Regulations that should synergize are actually a cause of authority tensions.

The tendency to overlap legislation and insufficient coordination in environmental policy is not only an issue in Bali or Indonesia, but is also evident in different other ASEAN countries. This is comprehensible considering that other countries in the Southeast Asian region encounter analogous challenges: the intricacies of multilevel governance, the participation of various stakeholders, and bureaucratic frameworks that are frequently sector-specific.

In the Philippines, the execution of climate and energy policies reveals inconsistencies between regulations and policy instruments. Reyes and Calderon (2025) discovered that the Philippine Energy Plan, which prioritizes the transition to renewable energy, encounters numerous institutional tensions at both national and local levels. Inadequate compliance and coordination processes result in overlapping authority among energy, environmental, and municipal government agencies. The UN-Habitat study(adelphi and UN-Habitat, 2018) also indicated that Local Climate Change Action Plans (LCCAPs) frequently lack alignment with national policy due to insufficient coordination among governmental tiers. Consequently, despite a rather advanced legal framework, on-the-ground execution is sometimes obstructed by institutional fragmentation.

Thailand and Malaysia exemplify how governmental frameworks influence the intersection of policy. Chaiyapa et. al (2024) analyzes climate governance practices in the two countries. Thailand, being a unitary state with little decentralization, often encounters challenges in vertical coordination between central and regional governments. Concurrently, Malaysia, due to its federal framework, encounters difficulties in horizontal coordination, particularly between the federal and state administrations. In both instances, the absence of coordination results in policy discrepancies on climate mitigation and adaptation. In Malaysia, regulation overlap is also visible in the Environmental Goods and Services (EGS) sector. A research in the International Journal of Innovation and Economic Development (Paramasua et al., 2019) demonstrates that EGS strategies face hurdles due to weak regulatory frameworks and poorly integrated organizations. The sector is expected to be a green economic opportunity, however regulatory fragmentation delays the development of the environmental industry and limits the effectiveness of government incentives. This demonstrates that the weakness of coordination and rules that collide with each other is not merely a technical issue, but has an influence on sustainable development potential.

More broadly, the ASEAN State of the Environment Report (ASEAN, 2023) reveals that institutional fragmentation is a common concern across the region. The research notes the need for regulatory harmonization and enhanced collaboration between sectors and ASEAN member nations to accomplish regional environmental targets, notably on issues of pollution, climate change, and natural resource management.

Thus, it may be inferred that the phenomena of overlapping norms and insufficient coordination is not a unique problem in Bali. Rather, it is a shared characteristic of environmental governance in the ASEAN region. This difficulty emerges from the complexity of inter-actor linkages, disparities in government institutions, and insufficient policy integration across sectors. Therefore, the solution to the future involves not just sectoral regulatory changes, but also governance reforms that emphasize multilevel coordination, cross-sectoral integration, and regulatory harmonization at the regional level.

The Collaborative Governance theory and the results of NVIVO research demonstrate that coordination is currently limited to rhetoric, not yet an institutional practice. On the other hand, if a collaborative forum is developed by including provinces, districts/cities, as well as customary villages and subaks as players who have social legitimacy, then environmental policies in Bali have the possibility of being more effective. The Tri Hita Karana philosophy can be a normative framework for shared motivation in collaboration, so that coordination is not only based on bureaucracy, but also based on ideals acknowledged by society.

Thus, an in-depth review of overlapping legislation in Bali exposes two crucial factors. First, without coordination between regional organizations, existing legislation would continue to give birth to fragmentation and uncertainty in the field. Second, Collaborative Governance's theory of power, Purdy's critique of power, and Jessop's critique of metagovernance provide an analytical framework for understanding why coordination is difficult to materialize. The NVIVO data confirm these conclusions by revealing how extensively spread institutional difficulties are in policy, yet without a unifying mechanism. Therefore, the answer given is to improve the coordinating forum of provinces-districts and customary villages that are able to merge formal authority, material resources, and social legitimacy in a collaborative unit. (*See Fugure 2. Appendix*)

CONCLUSION

In addition to underlining that the dominance of bureaucratic institutions is a hindrance to the implementation of environmental policies, the study also reveals that overlapping rules at the local government level in Bali have hampered the effectiveness of policies. The case of plastic waste management, organic agricultural methods, and spatial planning shows how provincial and district/city ordinances often include identical content, but without a clear coordinating mechanism. This leads to confusion of authority, duplication of programs, and insufficient monitoring.

The results of NVIVO's investigation reveal that the subject of coordination arises constantly in practically all legislation, but it is more rhetorical than operational. Prominent nodes such as "coordination – development – policy actors" actually indicate how extensive the spread of institutional concerns is, but without a connecting device capable of bringing these actors together. Thus, the major difficulty is not simply the amount of regulations, but the absence of a coordination forum between local government entities that can merge formal power, material resources, and social legitimacy.

Theoretically, this can be described within the paradigm of Collaborative Governance, Ansell & Gash, Emerson & Nabatchi, which highlights the necessity of trust, meaningful involvement, and the capacity to act jointly. However, in practice in Bali, collaboration is still limited by uneven connections between provinces and districts, as well as a lack of integration with traditional villages and subaks. Purdy's perspective on the distribution of power and Jessop's critique of metagovernance corroborate this finding: coordination fails because power is divided across three separate arenas—formal authority in the province, budgetary resources in districts/cities, and social legitimacy in indigenous villages—without a venue capable of combining these interests.

Therefore, to overcome the dispersion of environmental policy in Bali, a more comprehensive coordination mechanism amongst regional institutions is needed. Provincial-district/city collaboration forums with customary villages and subaks as equal stakeholders can be a feasible approach. This strategy will not only eliminate regulatory overlap but also increase the social legitimacy of environmental policies based on the local wisdom of Tri Hita Karana. Thus, the effectiveness of environmental laws in Bali can only be realized through a move from a single bureaucracy to a collaborative governance that brings together legislation, resources, and local values in a unified framework.

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Appendix

Figure 1. Hierarchy Chart of Environmental Policy in Bali

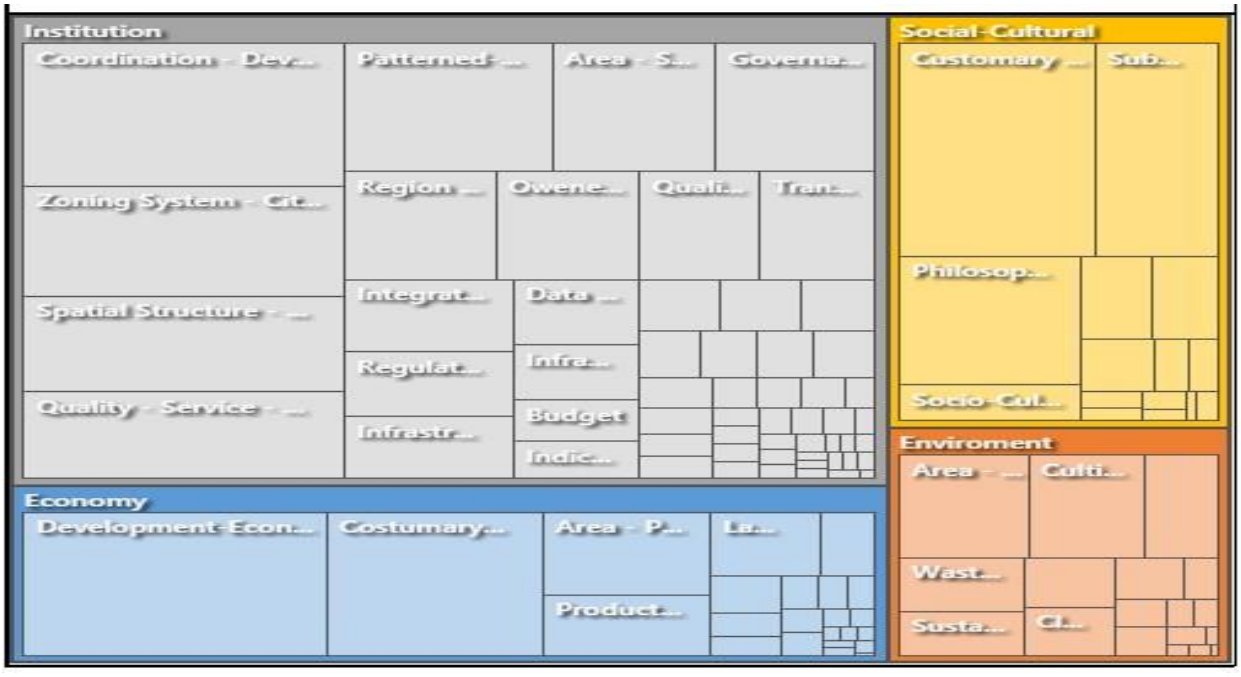


Figure 2. Institutional Distribution Dominant Nodes in Environmental Policy in Bali

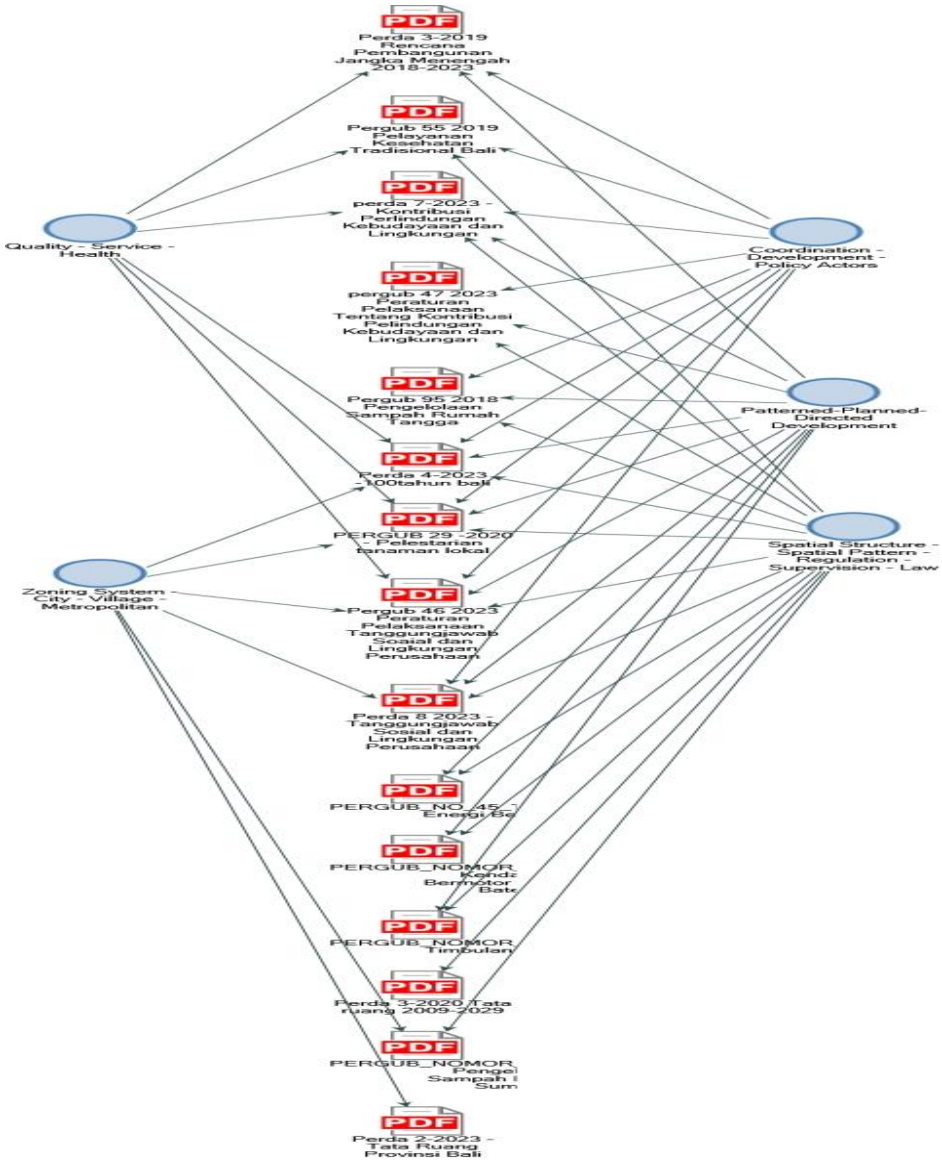


Table 1. Governor's Regulation and Regional Regulations Regarding the Environment in Bali

No	Governor's Regulation	Regional Regulation
1	Governor's Regulation Number 95 of 2018: Household Waste Management	Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2023: Tata Bali Provincial Space
2	Governor's Regulation Number 97 of 2018 Generating Waste	Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2019: Medium-Term Development Plan2018-2023
3	Governor's Regulation Number 29 Year 2019: Preservation of Local Plants	Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2023: Governance 2009-2029 space
4	Governor's Regulation Number 55 2019: Organic Farming Systems	Regional Regulation Number 4 Year 2023: 100 Years of Bali
5	Governor's Regulation Number 45 Year 2019: Clean Energy	
6	Governor's Regulation Number 47 of 2019: Source-Based Waste Management	
7	Governor's Regulation Number 48 of 2019: Battery-Based Motor Vehicles	
8	Governor's Regulation Number 15 Years 2021: Organic Farming Systems	
9	Governor's Regulation Number 24 Year 2022: Rivers and Lakes	

Table 2. Matrix Coding Environmental Policy in Bali

	A : Customary Village - Environment -Duties and Function	B : Philosophy Values - Develpoment	C : Subak - Environment	Seeds - Agricultural Medicines -	of Agricultural Products-Human	F : Sustainability
1. Customary Village - Economy - Subak	50	11	16	3	1	1
2 : Production Quality - Expor - Impor - Technology - Modernization Modernisasi	6	7	3	3	0	0
3 : Development - Economy - Welathness - Growth - Integrated - Holistic	12	27	11	3	1	2
4 : Coordination - Development - Policy Actors	13	26	10	1	3	1
5 : Development - Pattern - Planning - Directed	8	19	6	1	3	1
6 : Spatial Structure - Spatial Pattern - Regulation - Supervision - Law	5	1	2	2	0	0

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