

Hybrid Governance and Social Capital in Kemiren Village Tourism Development and Resilience

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Abstract

Indigenous tourism villages currently face a dilemma between local economic growth and the potential for excessive cultural commodification. Kemiren Village represents a unique sociological resilience anomaly amidst the dynamics of the modern economy, but still maintains the existence of their Osing culture. This study aims to analyze the role of social capital in Kemiren Village, specifically focusing on how each actor mobilizes embedded resources to build a hybrid governance system amidst the expansion of tourism in modern era. This qualitative descriptive-analytical study uses a social constructivism paradigm by examining the social capital of each actor. Data were collected through participant observation, archival documentation, and semi-structured interviews with 6 key informants during the field research period in June 2026. The findings were systematically analyzed based on the framework of Nan Lin's Social Capital and W. Richard Scott's New Institutionalism. The concept of Nan Lin Social Capital in Kemiren Traditional Village does not operate as an egalitarian communal bond, but rather embodies embedded resources through a Hybrid Governance structure, integration of formal state tourism administration with indigenous normative laws. The network's location in villages provides systematic differential access and marginalizes marginalized actors. Interview data revealed that elite groups, such as BUMDes and Pokdarwis, monopolize and control the flow of tourist guests, while the confessions of MSME actors in the outlying areas (Kemiren Etan) confirmed that they were alienated from access to the tourist market. To mitigate this conflict of inequality, village actors implemented Hybrid Governance, a hybrid of modern bureaucracy, adherence to village regulations, and customary sanctions. This approach was validated by informants' testimony regarding the collective fear of Buyut Cili's ancestral curse, which proved effective in disciplining residents and tourists from consuming the Tumpeng Sewu dish before the sacred prayer at the mosque was completed. Despite this and amidst the pressures of mass commodification and cultural festivalization, the resilience of the Osing tribe's civilization remains strong through adaptive resistance strategies, successfully defending against the monopoly of global market capital flows. This study extends Nan Lin's theory and modifies Scott's Institutionalism by proving that social capital inequality actually underlies the birth of hybrid institutions that protect tradition. They pragmatically tolerate bureaucratic imbalances while using hybrid governance as an institutional safety net to strictly protect their sacred ancestral philosophy.

Keywords: adaptive resistance; customary village; hybrid governance; osing community; social capital



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Introduction

Tourism villages are currently being eyed as centers of economic growth and spaces for cultural interaction, placing local communities as key actors in everything from planning to harvesting tourism benefits (Pramanik et al., 2019). The development of indigenous tourism villages also raises pressing issues related to unequal access to social capital in their governance. Data from the Ministry of Tourism's Tourism Village Network (Jadesta) records 6,189 tourism villages, indicating that cultural elements play a significant role in the national tourism village ecosystem (Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2024). To date,

there is no definitive national statistical category for comprehensively identifying indigenous tourism villages. The governance of each tourism village has its own characteristics, and what is interesting is how the social capital of each tourism village is built and developed.

Indigenous community-based tourism currently faces structural dilemmas, such as strengthening the economy and fostering pride in local identity, while simultaneously triggering excessive commodification that diminishes indigenous traditions (Cohen, 1988; Mosco, 2009). Indigenous communities are often vulnerable in their tourism village governance due to the penetration of market hegemony and regulations (Tosun, 2000). All of these aspects are also based on differences in social capital within village governance. This empirical reality is clearly illustrated in Kemiren Village, Banyuwangi Regency, which boasts high social capital and now interacts with modern economic dynamics and external actors, such as the Osing Deles business network. Despite having a developed tourism infrastructure through homestays and small and medium enterprises (SMEs), Kemiren's transformation into a more professional ecosystem remains hampered by limited governance. The village government struggles to align the economic logic of tourism with the preservation of cultural identity, as well as a failure to fully integrate the relationships between local and external actors (Safitri et al., 2025).

The selection of Kemiren Traditional Tourism Village as the subject of this research is based on several unique sociological reasons rarely found in other traditional communities. First, Kemiren possesses an anomalous ecological openness, not hidden behind geographic isolation, unlike Wae Rebo or Penglipuran. Analytically, Wae Rebo's cultural resilience is strongly supported by the natural barriers of extreme geographic isolation. Penglipuran, on the other hand, maintains its autonomy by relying on the supremacy of protectionist customary law regulations, namely *awig-awig*, and institutional security instruments (*pecalang*), which operate within a homogeneous environment. Conversely, Kemiren is an anomaly because it is an open ecological settlement village without closed gates, located amidst a highly pluralistic semi-urban landscape. Second, Kemiren's Osing ethnic identity is not presented as a static form of exoticism, but rather emerges as a product of historical trauma and prolonged political resistance. This includes the collapse of Majapahit and Blambangan to the repressive intervention of Islamic Mataram and the Dutch East India Company (VOC) during the Puputan Bayu War (Asshidiqi & Agustiana, 2022). Third, and most importantly, Kemiren's cultural resilience is squeezed within the demographic, political, and bureaucratic landscape of East Java. The village has historically been squeezed by the dominance of coastal Javanese, Mataram, and Madurese ethnic groups. Some parties even consider the Osing language as just a "broken dialect" and remove it from the local curriculum, however, the cultural identity of this community has proven to remain intact (Asshidiqi & Agustiana, 2022).

Kemiren Village, which has a population of 2,569, is nationally recognized as an Osing Traditional Tourism Village and is part of the Ijen Geopark. (Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2025). Kemiren's achievements were demonstrated by its second-place finish in the Institutional category at the 2024 Indonesian Tourism Village Awards (ADWI)

and the 2025 ASEAN Homestay Award (DPMPSTP Banyuwangi Regency, 2024; Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2025). The economic conditions of the people in Kemiren Village are helped by the multiplier effect of the tourism sector and the growth of independent businesses owned by residents, such as homestays and other MSMEs. However, this growth also presents new economic challenges, such as the risk of income dependence and financial constraints in supporting traditional house preservation programs. Tourism governance in Kemiren actually implements controlled commercialization to prevent the degradation of ancestral values. This traditional protection mechanism operates by limiting only economic transactions. This demonstrates that traditional tourism governance also requires strong institutional infrastructure and social capital injections to ensure that economic gains are not achieved at the expense of sacred traditions.

Therefore, research that analyzes the social capital of each actor in the Kemiren cultural village is necessary. From Nan Lin's perspective, collective social capital is actually the result of the accumulation of social capital of interconnected individuals (Lin, 2017). This study focuses its analysis on the role of social capital of the Osing community in the form of networks, trust, and norms for the development of the Kemiren Traditional Tourism Village. By referring to Nan Lin's social capital theory and W. Richard Scott's New Institutionalism, this study does not only view social capital as a romantic value of togetherness, but rather as a determining instrument and embedded resource mobilized to engineer hybrid governance to preserve cultural autonomy (Lin, 1999, 2001b, 2017; Scott, 2008). Operationally, the concept of social capital proposed by Nan Lin is positioned as a variable measured through three main dimensions, namely network location, embedded resources, and mobilization. First, network location describes the hierarchical and strategic positions of key actors, including the village government, Tourism Awareness Groups (Pokdarwis), cultural leaders, and MSMEs, in the network of access and exchange of influence. Second, embedded resources encompass the accumulation of deeply rooted intangible cultural assets, such as social trust, the authority of traditional elders, reciprocal cooperation, and rich historical and gastronomic knowledge. Third, mobilization acts as a crucial catalyst that transforms these passive communal values and resources into collective action, ultimately serving as a bulwark to defend the autonomy of local tourism governance against predatory external interventions (Janah et al., 2026). Every rule, institution, and economic action cannot stand alone, but is embedded in the social network structure of its actors, as in Nan Lin's social capital (Granovetter, 1985). Social capital determines how much capacity they have to mobilize resources to design regulatory pillars for the sustainability of the tourism ecosystem.

The results of each actor's social capital can be seen in traditional village management, which attempts to reconcile the rationality of state administrative law with the norms that exist within society (Antlöv et al., 2016; Budiadnyana et al., 2026; De Archellie et al., 2020). To analyze the institutional stability of this governance system, Scott proposes a three-pillar approach. First, the regulatory pillar operates through coercive instruments through binding formal frameworks such as Village Regulations (Perdes) and Village Head Decrees (SK). Second, the normative pillar consists of constructs of ethical propriety, standards of

hospitality, and moral obligations, such as mutual assistance, which are upheld and enforced through social sanction mechanisms. Finally, the cultural-cognitive pillar encompasses fundamental belief systems, civilizational identities, and sacred philosophical values that are deeply internalized and naturally embodied by the community as a reality that is considered normal. This research is interesting because of the limited research through this theoretical lens, which positions the Osing community as active and rational social agents. They tactically mobilize their social capital to navigate and manage the flow of tourism commodification. This flow of tourism is not allowed to disrupt the local order but is instead transformed into an instrument that strengthens the pillars of autonomy and the architecture of traditional village governance (Regina & Ekomadyo, 2023).

Literature Review

Literature reviews on traditional villages largely explore community-based tourism approaches and the impact of cultural commodification, with a specific study of the Osing community in Kemiren. Most of the literature either highlights the destructive impacts of tourism commercialization or examines Kemiren Village, tending to adopt a resilience perspective. There is still a lack of comprehensive literature discussing the traditional tourism village of Kemiren, particularly regarding the social capital of each actor. Therefore, this study is interesting to fill this gap by specifically examining how the articulation of social capital of the Osing community is integrated into and influences the development trajectory of the Kemiren Traditional Tourism Village. This can be seen from the first literature, existing studies on the Osing community, such as those by Nurhadi et al. (2022) and Danugroho (2022), which only focus on the expansion of relational networks and event-centered cultural resilience. These studies fail to holistically position social capital as a key architectural pillar of the hybrid village bureaucracy. Second, the broader discourse on tourism-led commodification and community well-being (Pramanik et al., 2019; Chen & Kong, 2021) largely ignores the unique complexities of communal indigenous communities characterized by historical trauma, identity politics, and distinct geopolitical vulnerabilities. Third, although recent investigations have highlighted indigenous community participation and sustainability issues (Priyandoko et al., 2023), they predominantly offered top-down bureaucratic recommendations without dissecting the bottom-up agency of organic social capital or the specific mechanisms used to convert these resources into instruments of autonomous governance. This study is expected to fill the existing gap by specifically applying Nan Lin's structural perspective to analyze how individual social capital elements are actively mobilized to build, direct, and maintain the tourism ecosystem of indigenous communities in Kemiren Village.

Based on the literature review, the originality of this research focuses on empirically examining the strength of the social capital of the Kemiren cultural entity or the discourse on traditions there. This study does not reduce social capital to merely a homogenous collective attribute in general, and avoids the assumption that collective capital is merely the accumulation of individual capital ownership. Instead, by precisely applying Nan Lin's

structural perspective, this research's unit of analysis focuses specifically on the resources embedded within the social network structure. Specifically, this study seeks to unravel how the fundamental elements of these resources in the village are structured. Furthermore, this study examines how these elements are asymmetrically accessed and mobilized by actors based on their structural positions (network locations) to support the hybrid tourism governance ecosystem in Kemiren Village.

Method

This descriptive-analytical qualitative study employs the social constructivism paradigm (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014) to explore the sociological depth of the Osing community's social capital in shaping the governance of the traditional tourist village of Kemiren, Banyuwangi. Spatial observations focused on two intersecting arenas: open cultural-economic spaces (the Barong Ider Bumi ritual center, the Tumpeng Sewu celebration, and homestay activities) and bureaucratic spaces (the Village Hall, the Pokdarwis secretariat, and the MSME association). The operational framework of this study analyzes six integrated sub-foci, there are network location, embedded resources, mobilization, institutional rules, normative pressure, and structural stability, to holistically evaluate the village's institutional resilience.

Nan Lin's social capital concept functions specifically as an agency variable, namely the driving force that mobilizes community resources, which is divided into three main variables. First, the concept of network location is measured through indicators of tourist flow monopoly and bureaucratic extractive authority extracted from interviews with Village Heads and legal archives (Perdes) categorized as power asymmetry and differential access. Second, embedded resources are measured through the preservation of communal rituals and cultural philosophy, data obtained from traditional leaders and coded as cultural capital and traditional legitimacy. Third, the concept of mobilization is evaluated from the collective mobilization of residents in festival celebrations through interviews with MSME actors, coded as adaptive resistance. Meanwhile, the New Institutionalism framework functions as a structural variable, namely the institutional institutions formed to become the Kemiren traditional village. This variable is dissected through the three pillars that form the institution. First, the regulatory pillar is analyzed through indicators of the level of compliance with Village Regulations and standardization of the ticketing system drawn from legal document studies and interviews with village officials, which are coded as bureaucratic compliance and formal control. Next, the normative pillar is measured through indicators of communal ethical obligations obtained from observations of community interactions, coded as moral pressure and social sanctions. Finally, the cultural-cognitive pillar focuses on indicators of dogmatic adherence and spiritual fear, explored through interviews and observations of indigenous community activities, coded as hybrid institutions.

Data collection was obtained from the integration of primary and secondary sources through participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and a review of public archives. Informants were selected through sampling until data saturation was achieved. Interview data

was collected by selecting six key informants: one institutional official, one Pokdarwis board member, one policymaker, one institutional cultural official, and two MSME operators. Interviews were audio-recorded with prior consent and transcribed verbatim. To protect cultural ownership and anonymity, informants' identities were coded, and sensitive cultural narratives were validated through member-checking with traditional elders. Data analysis applied an interactive model (Miles et al., 2014) that involved data condensation and review of other supporting literature, followed by open and selective coding. This coding process was systematically managed to accurately map the theoretical framework. The analysis culminated in the presentation of data and the drawing of final conclusions. The validity of the findings was rigorously tested through triangulation of sources and methods, while prioritizing decolonial ethical sensitivity that positions indigenous peoples as sovereign subjects over their own cultures

Result and Discussion

1. Network Architecture and Actor Constellations in the Kemiren Indigenous Tourism Ecosystem

A critical sociological analysis of the governance of the Kemiren Traditional Tourism Village requires an interpretation that goes beyond the normative glorification of social harmony among indigenous communities. However, in its development, social capital should not be equal, as Nan Lin initially argued, so this tourism ecosystem does not operate in an egalitarian vacuum (Lin, 2001a). Instead, all socio-economic relations in Kemiren Village are continuously constructed, distributed, and negotiated based on highly complex asymmetries of power and capital among actors. Referring to Nan Lin's conception, social capital in Kemiren does not simply operate as romanticized traditional bonds of togetherness, but rather as resources embedded in a network structure, where access to and the purposeful mobilization of institutional resources are predominantly steered by actors in strategic positions, although peripheral actors still maintain limited independent networks (Lin, 2001a). Therefore, the operationalization of cultural tourism through participation in mass rituals, such as Tumpeng Sewu and Barong Ider Bumi, can be interestingly studied sociologically in terms of how they constitute social capital. In this space, different access and structural inequalities can be reproduced, managed, and maintained to maintain a pseudo-balance in the village ecosystem (Diartho et al., 2025; Sumarmi et al., 2026).

In sociological literature, Robert Putnam's social capital approach comprehensively classifies communal relations into bonding, bridging, and linking dimensions (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). In the Kemiren Traditional Village, the bonding dimension of social capital is strongly manifested through kinship ties and the tradition of mutual cooperation (Lin, 2001a). However, when faced with the dynamics of tourism commercialization that rely on capital circulation, Putnam's framework has limited explanatory leverage because it tends to assume the distribution of these relations in an egalitarian landscape. Therefore, Nan Lin's structural approach offers far superior explanatory power in this case. Within these structures,

access to formal tourism support and the mobilization of village-level resources are purposefully controlled predominantly by actors occupying strategic hierarchical positions (network locations) (Rachman et al., 2023). Nan Lin's social capital theory explicitly states that the macrosocial structure is essentially pyramidal in terms of accessibility and control over normatively valued resources, such as wealth, status, and power (Lin, 2017). Lin argues that individuals or groups occupying higher positions in a network, particularly those occupying structural gaps or holding hierarchical authority, will have far superior access to information, a broader scope of influence, and a greater asymmetry of dependency compared to actors in peripheral or marginal positions. In the context of empirical data, tourism governance in Kemiren Village also has a network architecture in the village that is indirectly stratified into layers of power that accurately reflect the network location of each actor (Sabrina & Krisnanda, 2025). At the top of the decision-making pyramid are the Village Government and the Jolo Sutro Village-Owned Enterprise (BUMDes) as the main stakeholders. Established in 2012 and beginning a massive expansion of its business units in 2017, BUMDes has very strong regulatory and extraction functions (Rohimah et al., 2024; Sabrina & Krisnanda, 2025). This institution oversees all tourism-related economic activities and holds the authority to allocate profits to Village Revenue (PADes). The hegemonic power of BUMDes Jolo Sutro is clearly visible in its structural policy which requires all business units under its jurisdiction to contribute a portion of their income to BUMDes to fund the development of village assets and facilities (Rohimah et al., 2024). This position grants the BUMDes absolute authority over the distribution of financial resources, the legitimacy of permits, and the direction of village spatial planning.

In network theory, actors who control structural holes are those who are able to connect previously unconnected groups, thus enabling them to control the flow of information and resources, such as the Kencana Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis). Pokdarwis occupies a crucial position as a structural hole or intermediary node (Riannada & Mardiyah, 2021). Pokdarwis Kencana occupies this central operational position by performing three primary institutional functions: first, as a motivator that both inspires and disciplines the local community; second, as a facilitator or driving force that organizes Community-Based Tourism (CBT) initiatives; and third, as a communicator that bridges the village bureaucracy with external market actors such as travel agencies, international tourists, and government ministries. The majority of Pokdarwis Kencana's members are proactive, digitally literate village youth. This demographic composition allows this middle-class elite group to monopolize access to human resource (HR) development training programs, mastery of social media marketing algorithms, and cross-institutional cooperation networks (Bakker, 2020). It is this control over instrumental social capital that distinguishes the capacity of Pokdarwis Kencana from that of the Kemiren indigenous community at large.

The effectiveness of social capital is indeed determined by the network position of each actor in the social hierarchy, such as the existence of a database network controlled by the Village Government. According to village officials, the main structural position is held by the Village-Owned Enterprise (BUMDes), which functions as the sole management body for

village tourism business units, coordinating MSMEs, homestays, and art studios (Policy Maker, personal communication, June 25, 2026). This hegemonic narrative is reinforced by one of the Pokdarwis board members, who positions his organization in a crucial “structural gap” as an Event Organizer (EO) that manages tourism flows through a Pentahelix collaboration model based on the legal framework of the 2017 Regent Regulation (Perbup) on Tourism Villages (Pokdarwis board member, personal communication, June 25, 2026). The legitimacy of this elite bureaucratic network is uniquely supported by cultural institutions. One senior official of a traditional institution positions himself as a spiritual figure who consciously delegates all technical authority and tourism documentation entirely to Pokdarwis and the younger generation (Institutional Official, personal communication, June 26, 2026). Sociologically speaking, this delegation grants the village youth elite unlimited leeway to monopolize access to resources. However, from the perspective of peripheral actors, this concentration of authority is sometimes perceived as a conflict of interest. One independent homestay owner expressed concern regarding certain figures holding dual mandates, one within a voluntary social institution and another managing a commercially lucrative tourism sector. For this informant, this arrangement creates a perception of an unequal playing field in accessing tourism benefits, reflecting the latent friction between elite networks and independent MSMEs (MSME operator, personal communication, June 27, 2026).

At the most basic level of this network’s architecture lies a communal indigenous community consisting of small-scale homestay owners, former art studio leaders, and small-shop vendors (Sabrina & Krisnanda, 2025). When analyzed through the lens of participatory governance, the involvement of grassroots communities in Kemiren Village varies significantly depending on the domain of participation. They are active during the implementation phase, such as preparing rituals and providing hospitality services, and they partake in the benefit distribution through the trickle-down effects of tourism. Although the community is involved, not all feel substantially involved in project planning, budgeting, or the formulation of the strategic tourism vision. Grassroots communities are generally only invited to attend Village Deliberations (Musdes), held as a formality to demonstrate transparency in the use of village funds, or simply to receive information about tourism programs unilaterally designed by the authorities (Sabrina & Krisnanda, 2025).

This disparity in network access (differential access) compels actors outside the bureaucratic sphere to respond in different ways. MSME operators have broken their dependence on guest referrals from Pokdarwis by building independent networks through Online Travel Agents (OTAs) and citing the success of several homestays due to their quality (MSME operator, personal communication, June 27, 2026). On the other hand, structural alienation affects operators in outlying areas (Kemiren Etan). Warung owners, completely excluded from the flow of tourists, which the village authorities do not distribute fairly, are forced to struggle on their own (MSME operator, personal communication, June 27, 2026). The most radical form of alienation is experienced by one of the studio’s founders; due to the independent nature of his network, he is often the victim of exploitation, with the dancers he

has trained being “poached” by studios affiliated with the elite (MSME operator, personal communication, June 27, 2026). Disappointment over this power imbalance led one of the studio’s administrators to close the studio in 2015 and withdraw from the village bureaucracy.

These structural dynamics give rise to a sociological phenomenon known as the alienation of local communities from decision-making (Ernando et al., 2025). Empirical studies have found that the Osing indigenous community in Kemiren often feels alienated from tourism projects in their area. They are aware that their village has transformed into a global tourist destination, but they are less involved in how the policy-making process takes place or who the key behind-the-scenes actors are who benefit most (Ernando et al., 2025). This alienation is exacerbated by structural reforms, as most people involved in small businesses and homestays have only a basic education, making it difficult for them to articulate their political interests to village elites (Claudia et al., 2019). As a result, communities prefer apathy or voluntarily delegate their political decision-making rights to parties perceived as having greater legitimacy and intellectual competence, namely the Village Government and the Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis).

Although excluded from the strategic planning process and experiencing bureaucratic alienation, destructive resistance did not, in fact, occur in Kemiren. The local community continued to provide full support and actively participate in the implementation phase or on-the-ground activities, such as working together to clean the village, preparing tumpeng, and serving tourists (Sabrina & Krisnanda, 2025). This compliance and active participation at the execution level stem from two compensatory mechanisms. First, the community experiences extraordinary emotional satisfaction and pride (expressive returns of social capital) from the recognition of the Osing ethnic identity by external parties. Second, the community receives direct economic benefits (trickle-down effect) from the influx of tourists; although the amount is not comparable to the capital circulation at the BUMDes level, it is still considered sufficient to improve the communal standard of living at the subsistence level (Regina & Ekomadyo, 2023). This study attempts to classify actors into specific network locations, as presented in Table 3, developed through a hybrid analytical approach. The main categories are applied deductively based on Nan Lin's hierarchical network parameters, while the assignment of specific actors and their structural characteristics emerge from the qualitative coding of interview transcripts and observational data on resource distribution.

Table 3. Classification of Actor Network Locations based on Nan Lin's Theory

Network Location Classification (Nan Lin)	Actor Representation	Characteristics of Access and Control
Central Actor (Core Network)	Village Head, Head of Pokdarwis	Monopolizes regulations (Perbup, BUMDes), controls tourist flows, and exploits dual institutional decree (SK) positions.

Cultural Intermediary Actor	Head of the Customary Institution	Serves as the anchor of cultural legitimacy but delegates technical control and documentation to the youth elite.
Strong Independent Actor (Strong Peripheral)	Owners of Kedaton and Kemiah Homestay	Relies on independent financial capital and global literacy (OTA, English) to break the village monopoly.
Alienated Subordinate Actor (Weak Peripheral)	Independent MSME Owners, Head of Art Studios	Excluded from guest routing, falls victim to character sabotage, loses dancer assets, and receives zero village capital assistance.

Source: Author's, 2026

The described configuration of network positions empirically confirms the validity of Nan Lin's sociological postulate that the distribution of social capital within society is never perfectly even or decentralized (Lin, 2001a). Elite groups occupying advantageous structural positions, namely BUMDes Jolo Sutro and Pokdarwis Kencana, have historically tended to exclusively mobilize far greater resources to perpetuate their bureaucratic power and accumulate economic capital. Conversely, communal entities, which, ironically, are the rightful owners of this traditional culture, are placed in a position of subordinate dependence, where they must constantly negotiate their economic fate through compliance with the policies of the local elite.

2. The Accumulation of Capital by Each Actor as the Foundation of Hybrid Governance

Amidst the power imbalance, Kemiren Traditional Tourism Village has paradoxically demonstrated remarkable sociological resilience. The village continues to achieve remarkable success and recognition on the international stage, strengthening its cultural autonomy. This achievement is evidenced by Kemiren Village's success in winning the prestigious ASEAN Homestay Award 2024/2025 at the ASEAN Tourism Forum (ATF), an award given to destinations deemed successful in preserving traditional ecology while authentically empowering their communities (Febrianto, 2025). Furthermore, Kemiren Village was selected for the Upgrade Programme of Best Tourism Villages 2025 by UN Tourism (Arka, 2025). Being enrolled in this capacity development pathway does not mean that Kemiren has competitively outperformed other global destinations, but rather that the village possesses significant cultural potential and is currently receiving targeted international mentoring to address its managerial shortcomings and meet the stringent standards of global sustainable tourism governance. Therefore, a discussion is needed on how Kemiren Village can still navigate the destructive currents of tourism globalization without losing its cultural autonomy.

This paradoxical analysis can be examined through the second pillar of Nan Lin's Social Capital theory, namely the existence and functionalization of resources embedded in the structural framework of community networks (Danugroho et al., 2026). Nan Lin emphasizes

that social capital is not just about relationships or "who you know" (the structural aspect of the network), but specifically refers to valuable resources, such as wealth, power, or status, that are embedded, owned, and accessible through these social relationships (Lin, 2017). In the demographic context of the Osing community in Kemiren, this communal social capital is not only manifested in bonds of friendship between residents; rather, it has gone through a long process of historical accumulation, crystallizing into a very resilient intangible cultural capital. The cultural resources embedded within it encompass the entire epistemological system of the local community, such as the continued use of the ancient Osing dialect; the preservation of distinctive traditional house architecture (Tikel Balung and Baresan); the uninterrupted practice of magical rituals (Barong Ider Bumi); sacred rituals to ward off evil and purify the village through Tumpeng Sewu; the tradition of paying homage to the grave of the village founder (Buyut Cili); the richness of the local culinary system, such as the ritual of making Pecel Pithik; and, most importantly, the preservation of the philosophical value of weluri (obedience to ancestors) related to the ethos of reciprocal cooperation (Sabrina & Krisnanda, 2025). This collection of intangible cultural assets is the source of the resilience of the Kemiren community. Within the framework of the operational governance of the Kemiren Traditional Tourism Village, deeply embedded communal resources are institutionalized as cultural capital by village actors into the Hybrid Governance architecture (Cleaver, 2017). This practice is a concrete manifestation of governance that is tactically designed to combine and unify two forms of rationality that often clash, namely the rationality of state bureaucracy (capitalist market logic) and the rationality of the "living law" or the sacred values of local wisdom.

The ontological depth of these embedded resources was comprehensively analyzed by a villager. He dissects the philosophy behind the sacred dish Pecel Pitik, which means "diucel-ucel saben dinane ketitiko barang kang apik" (teaching a work ethic of hard work for the best results), as well as the conical architecture of Tumpeng Sewu, which embodies the equilibrium of the triangular relationship (God, Humanity, Nature). Mastery of this communal social capital is also evident in the Mlabot system, where residents come to help with celebrations without a physical invitation, as the presence of a formal invitation is actually considered an insult to their spiritual closeness. One of the studio's administrators applies the local cultural philosophy of sugih hati (generosity of heart) to continue training artists for free and weaving leaf mats ("Pesinauan") to preserve the art, even without financial incentives from the bureaucracy (Studio administrator, personal communication, June 27, 2026). The person's account was cross-verified with the collective memories of several other traditional leaders and consistently aligned with the researchers' direct observations of ritual practices during the Mlabot communal system.

On the other hand, deeply embedded communal resources can also create structural barriers. From a network perspective, the bonding social capital that has historically served as a vital mechanism for preserving ethnic identity can sometimes result in closed networks. Sociologically, this closed orientation can inadvertently slow down a community's collective adaptability and delay the adoption of external business innovations introduced by independent MSMEs (MSME actor, personal communication, June 27, 2026). Furthermore,

displays of embedded material wealth serve as visible markers of socioeconomic stratification within the village ecosystem. During communal events (Mlabot), residents from the village center (Kemiren Kulon), a demographic group that generally has greater spatial and institutional access to tourism capital, often display multi-layered gold jewelry, such as Ringgit necklaces (MSME actor, personal communication, June 27, 2026). At communal events (Mlabot), this cultural opulence serves as a barrier to social intimidation, alienating lower-class residents in the Etan area. Interestingly, despite these structural vulnerabilities and threatening class divisions, Kemiren's social structure continues to demonstrate resilience, leading to institutional adaptation.

The accumulation of existing social capital has created a hybrid governance system in the traditional village of Kemiren, defined by three pillars: regulatory, normative, and cultural-cognitive. The regulatory pillar is manifested in how village elites enforce a system of compliance with modern administrative practices. This traditional village fully complies with Village Regulations regarding the legal status of Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes), the obligation to prepare a transparent Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBDes), the implementation of CHSE (Cleanliness, Health, Safety, and Environmental Sustainability) certification to attract foreign tourists, and the implementation of QRIS-based cashless payments, which received immediate praise from the ASEAN Tourism Awards panel (ASEAN, 2026). The normative and cultural-cognitive pillars serve as anchors that prevent moral degradation or destructive and exploitative commodification. This is clearly seen in how the tradition of mutual cooperation, which originally served as an ancestral agrarian adaptation mechanism for the Osing subak system, is now reinterpreted as an instrument for conflict resolution (Rohimah et al., 2024). As business competition intensifies due to the commodification of homestays and competition in the culinary tourism sector, this spirit of reciprocal cooperation is being rekindled for economic gain.

Indigenous communities' adherence to tourism regulations designed by the Village Government and the Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) often stems not from the threat of sanctions, but from a sociological fear of social sanctions. Communities have an unwavering cognitive trust in the village's guardian figure, Buyut Cili (Regina & Ekomadyo, 2023). For example, when behaviors violate customary norms, such as eating Tumpeng Sewu before congregational prayers at the Grand Mosque have concluded, the community believes this will incur a curse or be stoned by an unseen entity (Regina & Ekomadyo, 2023). This dogmatic belief serves as a highly effective, embedded control mechanism for disciplining not only villagers but also capital agents, local investors, and visiting foreign tourists. Through this approach, the cultural pillars of traditional customs provide sacred legitimacy that underpins the implementation of modern regulations managed by Pokdarwis Kencana. Through institutional integration within a hybrid governance framework, the cultural capital of the Osing people, which in previous decades was closed-off, static, and isolated, has now evolved into highly liquid, valuable assets (capitalized assets). This conversion of cultural assets has successfully generated the accumulation of multiple returns (returns on social capital)

projected by Nan Lin's theory. These returns take the form not only of benefits derived from instrumental actions, such as the rapid post-pandemic increase in MSME revenue, the surge in BUMDes income, the improvement in the quality of traditional houses receiving subsidies, and the opening of new job niches initiated by tourism agencies, but also of benefits derived from expressive actions.

3. Mobilization of Collective Action, Inequality of Access, and Structural Barriers in the Festivalization of Culture

One of the most striking distinctions in Nan Lin's theory of social capital, which conceptually sets it apart from other social determinism theorists, is the clear division he draws between the concept of "access" to social capital and the process of "mobilizing" that capital (Lin, 2017; Small & Perry, 2021). Lin argues that merely possessing network connections or potential access to cultural wealth is insufficient. These embedded resources remain dormant unless activated through purposive mobilization. Furthermore, Lin distinguishes the outcomes of this mobilization into two distinct categories, which are instrumental returns that aim to acquire new resources and preserve existing resources. In the context of Kemiren Traditional Village, analyzing how cultural capital is engineered and mobilized is crucial to understanding how the local elite secures instrumental wealth, while simultaneously maintaining expressive cultural resilience against external capitalist interventions.

In the context of the cultural history of the Kemiren Traditional Village, the most tangible and aggressive sociological manifestation of the concept of "purposeful social capital mobilization" is reflected in the emergence of the phenomenon of cultural festivalization spearheaded by the bureaucratic elite; specifically, this can be examined through the process of commodification of the Tumpeng Sewu agrarian ritual and the Barong Ider Bumi procession (Danugroho, 2022). Long before, Tumpeng Sewu was a village ritual purification operating in a metaphysical realm, where the activity was highly communal, sacred, and performed exclusively to fulfill spiritual obligations and ward off internal misfortune within the Kemiren community (Danugroho, 2022). However, a radical ontological shift began to occur regularly, particularly after 2015, which coincided with the tourism industry's agenda through the massive Banyuwangi Festival (B-Fest) (Sahrul, 2022). This initiative marked the beginning of an era of large-scale tourism, where rituals were engineered by elite bureaucracies and Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes) into commodities for public spectacle, catering to global tourists' desire for exoticism (Sahrul, 2022). This cultural transformation did not occur spontaneously, but rather required the mobilization of collective action, both exploitative and cooperative, with communities mobilized to standardize their visual identity of dress; village spaces restructured to provide special VIP areas for official guests and elite tourists; and the duration of religious ceremonies shortened to accommodate the attention span and practicality of tourist itineraries. The biggest one actually comes from the reproduction of Pecel Pithik culinary which was previously only eaten as an offering to ask for blessings, now mass-produced as a commodity sold to tourists at high prices.

The in-depth analytical findings of this study indicate that this massive collective mobilization process has left problematic sociological residues. It is precisely at this crucial moment of explosive commodification and capital circulation that Nan Lin's thesis on the inequality of social capital becomes clearly and tangibly apparent in the social interactions of the Osing community (Lin, 2017). This reality empirically refutes the often-stated romantic thesis that indigenous communities are entities free from capitalist whims. The apparent stability in Kemiren Village's tourism management masks underlying structural frictions. When ritual elements are transformed into marketable economic commodities, it introduces asymmetry in free-market competition. Empirical signs of this latent friction are not manifested in village-wide hostility, but rather observable through specific, localized grievances from independent MSME operators regarding the unequal distribution of tourist routing and promotional access. While these isolated testimonies do not indicate a systemic communal breakdown, they highlight how structural barriers carry sociological risks; this unequal capital penetration not only marginalizes peripheral actors' economic circulation but also possesses the potential to reduce the perceived sacredness of cultural values into mere transactional objects. More deeply, the concept of "differential access" which is highly hierarchical based on the structural position (network location) of actors also plays a key role in determining which groups benefit most from this cultural "festivalization" phenomenon (Lin, 2001a). The top elites who control the Village Government's regulatory framework, large private travel agencies from outside the region, commercial homestay owners, and the leadership of Pokdarwis Kencana and BUMDes Jolo Sutro are institutionally able to exploit the momentum of this "festivalization" to accumulate economic capital and raise the political prestige of their institutions to a higher level.

A deeper investigation confirms Nan Lin's thesis that structural asymmetry triggers distortions in access to the distribution of mobilization outcomes. This failure in the distribution of social capital has de facto divided the village into two parts: Kemiren Kulon (the center) and Kemiren Etan (the outskirts). One of MSME operator testified about how his economic mobilization was destroyed by sabotage; his Warung Cingkir was falsely accused of causing the accumulation of trash at the Tempat Pembuangan Sampah (TPS), while large-scale establishments like Jukung stall in the West continued to thrive (MSME owner, personal communication, June 27, 2026). This structural discrimination reached an extreme point where Etan residents were denied permission to rent takjil stalls during Ramadan, were excluded from the abundant distribution of sacrificial meat which instead became a "meat-drying rack" on the porches of elite homes in the West and faced manipulation of the ranking system for subsidy assistance (KIP/Bansos), sparking conflicts fueled by jealousy. To top it all off, a delegation from the East who had borrowed military uniforms (TNI) lost the Independence Day competition to a delegation from the West, who were wearing nothing but baby doll dresses and chanting "bobok cantik," solely because of the judges' close ties to the elite.

Faced with these structural barriers, rational actors choose autonomous mobilization strategies as a form of adaptive resistance. For example, one MSME actor commented on the

unequal distribution of tourists by the Pokdarwi community, which tends to be exclusive, by independently restructuring their business. They independently expanded the capacity of their homestay through village intervention or regulation. A similar step was taken by an art studio owner, who chose to optimize local skills through a side business making coconut palm crafts to achieve economic independence while minimizing dependence on bureaucracy. Conversely, for lower-class groups, such as the "Wetan" residents, this systemic alienation actually triggers a fatalistic attitude. This situation is reflected in the emergence of resigned expressions such as "this is just not my destiny." On the other hand, most ordinary community members, consisting of farm laborers, manual laborers, or housewives who provide tumpeng (rice cone) dishes, did experience an increase in income on the day of the event, but this is merely a manifestation of a temporary, trickle-down effect. Although new job opportunities in the tourism industry have opened up widely in the village after being awarded internationally, some local people consciously choose not to take full advantage of them (adopting an apathetic attitude) or are reluctant to participate because they feel that the main resources (capital, information, promotion) and access to tourism market networks are mostly owned by small groups (the inner circle of Pokdarwis and BUMDes bureaucrats) (Riannada & Mardiyah, 2021).

The most compelling aspect of the sociological analysis of Kemiren village governance, distinguishing it from other indigenous communities in Indonesia, is their cultural resilience. Although the Kemiren community continues to face real threats of economic alienation, oppression from the hegemony of modern capitalist tourism, and structural inequalities resulting from the penetration of global market access, its inhabitants are not destroyed or absorbed into the system (Danugroho, 2022). They employ sociological strategies of adaptive resistance, based on pseudo-traditional arts or measured cultural engineering. This concept guides the community in making strategic commercial compromises, deliberately presenting the "outer shell" of Osing culture (such as art parades, colorful welcoming dances, and modified culinary dishes) to be exploited and consumed by the mass tourism industry for economic growth. However, at the deepest level, the community independently continues to protect the substance and core philosophical values of their religious rituals and ancestral wisdom, ensuring they remain uncontaminated by capitalism. This claim is supported by the Pokdarwis board, which presented evidence that approximately 1,100 households (KK) voluntarily raised personal funds (Rp250,000–Rp300,000 per tumpeng) to organize the Tumpeng Sewu event without any funding from the Village Budget (APBDes) (MSME operator, personal communication, June 27, 2026). An MSME actor added that this mobilization is deeply ingrained in the community's culture, and that the Barong Ider Bumi and Tumpeng Sewu rituals will continue to be carried out independently by the community even if the village government decides not to organize them (MSME operator, personal communication, June 27, 2026).

The most compelling evidence of this cultural engineering is seen in how the Tumpeng dish has retained its religious essence and function as a medium for prayers to ward off misfortune (*selamatan*) before being introduced to the commercial market. Sacred customary

rules such as the absolute prohibition against anyone, whether local residents or tourists, tasting the Tumpeng Sewu dish before the ceremonial prayers at the grand mosque have been fully recited are strictly enforced with repressive authority through the threat of moral sanctions and binding spiritual fears, without the slightest room for negotiation or compromise, even for tourists (Danugroho, 2022). By focusing on what should be preserved, the Kemiren community has successfully leveraged their traditional celebrations to attract external cash flow, while continuing to practice their ancestral rituals without disrupting the intrinsic values (embedded philosophy) of their culture. Communal harmony in Kemiren Traditional Village is not a natural inheritance, but rather the result of consciously managed power negotiations amidst structural class inequalities (Lin, 2017). This access gap has been successfully transformed into a Hybrid Governance system deeply rooted in a spiritual approach to Osing customs, enabling the community to engage in adaptive resistance to the destructive impacts of capitalism (Rohimah et al., 2024). Ultimately, the Kemiren tourism ecosystem stands as a successful institutional prototype where tradition, managed by a capable elite, disrupts and harnesses the flow of global commercialization for local interests.

Conclusion

This study concludes that social capital in the tourism ecosystem of Kemiren Traditional Village does not function as an egalitarian and romantic communal bond, but rather manifests as an embedded resource engineered through a Hybrid Governance structure. Based on Nan Lin's structural framework, the centralization of network locations by Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes) and Tourism Development Committees (Pokdarwis) triggers systematic differential access, marginalizing peripheral actors from the distribution of economic benefits derived from tourism. This has also given rise to social pathologies in the form of spatial exclusion and marked class segregation. Nevertheless, amidst the pressures of mass commodification and exploitative cultural "festivalization," the resilience of the Osing tribe's civilization persists through adaptive resistance strategies. The communal society pragmatically tolerates this inequality by selling the outer layers of its culture to the global market, while simultaneously building an institutional safety net that fully protects the philosophical essence and spiritual sanctity of its ancestral heritage from the grip of the hegemony of tourism capitalism.

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