Tourism potentials of Ulu Apad: a traditional governance system of the original Balinese people in Penglipuran Village

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Abstract: This paper aims to uncover the tourism potential of the Ulu Apad of Penglipuran Village. The Ulu Apad is a traditional governance system that exists only in a Bali Aga Village, believed to be the village of the original Balinese people. Using in-depth interviews and observation, the author extracted and discussed the tourism potentials of the Ulu Apad based on data collected from purposively selected informants. In addition, a literature review was carried out to provide secondary data. The result of the qualitative analysis shows that the Ulu Apad is a potential cultural tourist attraction. The system is so unique that it is different even from fellow Bali Aga Villages, and other customary villages. The system ensured that the most experienced and knowledgeable individuals are chosen to lead the village. Despite its uniqueness, the Ulu Apad has not been utilized as an attractor of tourist visits to the village due to its complexity. The intangible nature of the Ulu Apad means that special effort needs to be put in to ensure its attraction can be enjoyed by the tourist. This article provides insight into how to best utilize the intangible nature of the Ulu Apad as a cultural tourist attraction.

Key words: Ulu Apad, Bali Aga, Penglipuran Village, cultural tourist attraction, tourism potential

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Introduction

There are three types of customary village in Bali. The first is called *Bali Aga* Village. The second is the *Apanage* and the third is called *Desa Baru* or *Desa Anyar* (Ardhana, 2020; Suacana, 2011)*.* Penglipuran Village is one example of the *Bali Aga* Villages. This type of village is thought to be the most original and ancient village in Bali. Its people are the original Balinese (Covarrubias, 1937), descendent of the people of Bali Island known as the *Bali Aga* people or the Mountain Balinese (Pringle, 2004; Reuter, 1996), who were against the occupation of the imperialistic Majapahit Kingdom and maintained their tradition deep in the mountains of Bali. Therefore *Bali Aga* village is not influenced much by the Majapahit Kingdom which once occupied Bali island in the year 1343 (Covarrubias, 1937). Bali Aga villages have a unique system in how they govern their village, called *the Ulu Apad* System which influences the village both in terms of its governance and religious matter. The *Apanage* Villages are influenced a lot by the Kingdom of Majapahit, while the *Desa Baru* is the opposite. The *Desa Baru* is a modern village formed during and after the Dutch occupation of Bali in the early 20th century (Ardhana, 2020; Suacana, 2011).

As a tourist destination, Penglipuran possesses cultural and natural attractions. The cultural attractions consist of the architectural design of the houses and the village, the village governance system, and the daily lives of its people. The natural attractions are its bamboo forest and its surrounding scenery. Sustainability in their tourism village management, especially in the conservation of their culture has been recognized by The Ministry of Tourism (MOT) of The Republic Of Indonesia with a Green Gold Award awarded in 2017. In addition to its cultural uniqueness and natural beauty, Penglipuran is a very clean village. This has led to the award received by Penglipuran as the third cleanest village in the world in 2016, after Giethoorn Village in Netherlands and Mawlynnong in India as the number one and two respectively (Listyorini et al., 2018).

The Destination Management Organization (DMO) of Penglipuran Village has not used the Ulu Apad to attract visitors to the tourism village. A preliminary interview with a tour guide that has brought visitors to Penglipuran shows that information concerning the Penglipuran Village that is delivered to its visitors or asked by the visitor usually about the traditional house, the marriage system, the funeral ceremony, and the caste system of the people. The other tour guide who is also a travel agent owner mentioned that information which is usually asked by visitors or discussed by them with their tour guide is about the cleanliness of the village, the daily life of the villager, the traditional architecture, and its culinary. Further exploration of visitor online reviews available on Tripadvisor shows that reviews about Penglipuran are classified into 17 groups. Those groups are bamboo forest, traditional village, cleanest village, original Balinese, Bali village, traditional drink, homestay, house building, beautiful ancient temple, bus tour, friendly local people, sell food, Kintamani area, authentic Bali, Balinese kitchen, worth visit dan tourist destination (www.tripadvisor.com). Examining those 17 groups, culture is the most reviewed subject about Penglipuran. Interestingly, the *Ulu Apad* never appears in all of those reviews, even though some cultural parts of the village especially the *Tri Hita Karana*, the *Tri Mandala*, and the *Hulu Teben* Concept are learned, seen, or enjoyed by a visitor who wrote their review on the platform.

The *Ulu Apad* System is a governance system that is used by *Bali Aga* villages on Bali Island that are considered the indigenous village of Bali, whose people are considered the Descendents of the "original" Balinese, known as the *Bali Aga* People (Yudantini, 2013, 2020). Unlike the governance system practiced by *Apanage* or *Desa Anyar* village in Bali, the *Ulu Apad* System is more communal and collective in its nature (Nugrahaningari et al., 2017). The system allows all villagers to perform particular tasks, especially in ritual activities, where those tasks are related to those performed by other villagers. The system fosters equality among villagers in that they all have an equal right to one day reach the top position in the village council.

There are 62 *Bali Aga* villages in Bali (Yudantini, 2020). Even though they are related by the existence of sacred ancestral and ritual ties, there are differences between the *Ulu Apad* implemented in those villages, which is explained in detail by Reuter (1996). The *Ulu Apad* means pushing to the top (Yudantini, 2020). It consists of 2 (two) words, *Ulu* and *Apad*. *Ulu* means the head, while *Apad* means the ladder. Together, they formed the concept of *Ulu Apad*, which means walking through the ladder to reach the top of the ladder. In the definition, the ladder refers to the position in the *Ulu Apad* System, while the head refers to the top position on the ladder. Every man in the community who is representing their family in the *Ulu Apad* village council will climb the ladder of rank or position in the village council one step at a time. The climbing is ruled by a specific regulation, until, and if God willing, they can reach the top position as the head of the *Bali Aga* Village.

Given its uniqueness and relatively unknown nature to visitors, the *Ulu Apad* can be developed, packaged, and managed as a tourist attraction. A tourist attraction is something that provides the motive to visit a destination (Cooper, 2016), and represents the primary motivation to travel (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2012). There are 3 types of attractions. They consist of natural attractions, man-made attractions, and events. Fletcher et al. (2018) mention that a tradition is a form of man-made tourist attraction. The village's traditions are also a potential cultural tourist attraction (Putra et al., 2020). Therefore, the *Ulu Apad* as a tradition of *the Bali Aga* community is a potential cultural tourist attraction of Penglipuran Village. Unfortunately, the uniqueness of the *Ulu Apad* has not yet been informed or promoted to visitors visiting *Bali Aga* Village, especially Penglipuran Village which is quite popular as a tourist destination. The phenomenon gave rise to questions about the *Ulu Apad* System as to whether the tourism authority doesn't think that the system has tourism potential to be developed or promote as an attraction. Whether the *Ulu Apad* System doesn't have tourism potential in it? Or whether the authority knows about the tourism potential but doesn't know how to develop them. This paper trying to discuss this matter to produce better knowledge about the tourism potential of the *Ulu Apad* system as well as to determine ways to communicate the tourism potential to visitors.

This paper discussed the tourism potential of the *Ulu Apad* System of Penglipuran Village, one of the most popular tourist destinations in Bali. Penglipuran is a customary village and is part of the Bangli Regency in Bali Province. Located in the middle of mountainous Bali Island, the

village is physically unique, tidy, and different from other villages in Bali. Therefore it provides an opportunity for those who love photographing for their social media. For those who love cultures, Penglipuran provides an opportunity to acknowledge a different aspect of Balinese culture that is different from those they may witness especially in the southern part of Bali.

Methodology

This article is written based on qualitative research, where multiple methods of data collection were utilized (Creswell, 2014). Primary data for the research were collected through in-depth interviews and field observation. Secondary data was collected from literature related to the research object. Informants for the research were chosen purposively from Penglipuran Village to maintain the validity and reliability of the data collected. The first informant was *Jero Kubayan Mucuk* of Penglipuran Village, who is the current leader of the *Ulu Apad* village council of Penglipuran Village. As the leader of his community, his knowledge and experience are beneficial for this study since not everybody can reach the position of *Jero Kubayan Mucuk.* The second informant was the previous *Jero Bendesa Adat* of Penglipuran Customary Village. As a *Jero Bendesa*, his knowledge and experience are also beneficial for this research since he directly works with the *Jero Kubayan Mucuk* in the preparation and execution of the religious ceremony in Penglipuran Village. The third informant was the head of the tourism organization responsible for tourism management in Penglipuran Village. Additional important information for the writing is also collected from the current *Jro Bendesa* of Penglipuran Village, who replaces the previous *Jro Bendesa* of Penglipuran Village. In addition to in-depth interviews and literature review, the research also utilized observation and documentation as data collection methods.

Data were analyzed qualitatively to allow the researcher to study Penglipuran Village as a cultural group in its natural setting. Data collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation were carefully read to observe the emerging themes. The data were then classified and organized based on the emerging themes, and relationships were observed to draw the meaning of those relationships (Veal, 2018).

Results and Discussions
Results

Three themes emerged from the in-depth interviews done with the *Jro Kubayan Mucuk, The Jro Bandesa*, and the leader of the Penglipuran Tourism Organization. The first theme is mainly concerned with the description of the uniqueness of the *Ulu Apad*. The second is concerned with the unique selection process of The *Jro Kubayan Mucuk* as the leader of the people of Penglipuran Village. The last theme is concerned with the unknown nature of the *Ulu Apad* among tourists. The discussions of those three themes are as follows.

Ulu Apad of Penglipuran Village, a unique government system

The result of the in-depth interview shows that the people of Penglipuran are considered themselves as descendence of people from Bayung Gede Village. This village is located at Kintamani, not so far away from Penglipuran Village. According to Dewi & Manik (2016), Bayung Gede Village is the mother village from which 28 *Bali Aga* villages were born. It is also from the Bayung Gede village that the bloodline of villagers from 3 (three) of those 28 villages can be traced back. Those 3 (three) village are Sekardadi Village, Tiga Kawan Village and Penglipuran Village (Dewi & Manik, 2016; Reuter, 1996)

The interviews also show that *the Ulu Apad* governance system implemented in the community, especially during the preparation of the religious ceremony in the Penglipuran Village is very unique, where every villager has the right to lead the village and the community, once their time has come. The informants explained that despite using the same governance system of *Ulu Apad*, there are differences in its implementation between the *Bali Aga* village. Previous studies confirmed this by mentioning that the *Ulu Apad* implemented at Penglipuran Village is quite different from the one implemented at its mother village, Bayung Gede, or the one implemented at Suter Village and Abang Batudinding Village (Nugrahaningari et al., 2017;

Yudantini, 2020). Those differences are the products of differences in the size of the area and the number of early families who found the village.

The interviews further show that those differences manifest in the differences in the number of leaders of each *Ulu Apad* System. While there are 16 leaders of *Ulu Apad* at Suter Village and Abang Batudinding, there are only 12 leaders of *Ulu Apad* at Penglipuran Village. The early number of families who found Penglipuran Village is 76 families. This is different from *Ulu Apad* System in Bayung Gede, which is made up of 164 families. The smaller the number of families who found a village, the lesser the number of leaders in their *Ulu Apad* village council. Representatives of 76 families of Penglipuran Village are called *Pengayah Ngarep* (meaning: serves directly) which means the group of family representatives who are directly responsible for the planning, execution, and monitoring of the religious ceremony or ritual in Penglipuran Village. Those people who are not among *Pengayah Ngarep* called *Pengayah Roban*, are involved in every religious ceremony, but their involvement is not compulsory.

In *Pengayah Ngarep*, each of those 76 families assigns one of its members as their representative. He must be a man who is already married. Each of those representatives is given a number ranging from number 1 to number 76. The smaller the number means the more senior the owner of the number in the system. Ownership of this number always changes, because there is repositioning that happens between the family in the system, just as illustrated by climbing the ladder, from the first level to the next. This is made possible by a condition called *Ngelad* or retire, which means a condition that makes a member of the system have to give up his position in the system. The condition can be one of the following: 1). the youngest son or daughter has been married, 2). one of their grandchildren has been married, 3). his wife has passed away, and 4). other condition that makes the member unable to perform their duty, such as severe illness. If for example, the person who is *Ngelad* is on number 72 in the system, that makes the person who is previously on the number 73 position will take the number 72 position, the number 74 will take up the number 73 position, and so on. The representative who is *Ngelad* will step aside from the council and retire from his duty to his community. As soon as a person *Ngelad,* his family will choose a replacement to represent the family in the system. The newly-chosen family member will enter the *Ulu Apad* council and start his role in the system from number 76, not inheriting the last number of his predecessor when he *Ngelad* or retire. This means that the replacement should start learning the duty of those *Pengayah Ngarep* from basic tasks. If there is another *Ngelad* happening in the family of upper position, then he will move up 1 position to occupy position number 75, and so on until he reaches the number one position, or until he also gives up his position before reaching the number one position due to the *Ngelad*. The dynamic of the position of a family in the *Ulu Apad* council are always recorded in a sacred traditional record made from wood and bamboo called *Cakcakan Ulu Apad*, as shown in Figure 1.

(Source: Utama, 2022)

Figure 1. The sacred record of family position in the *Ulu Apad* Council, called *Cakcakan Ulu Apad* (Jro Bendesa Budi, 2022)

Cakcakan Ulu Apad are kept in the Penataran Temple (Pura Penataran)

Twelve (12) of the most senior member of The *Pengayah Ngarep* are called *Jero Kancan Roras (roras* means twelve in Balinese*)*. They filled 6 different ranks or positions as the leader of *the Ulu Apad* System of Penglipuran Village. Those position have different name and thus indicate different tasks and responsibilities. The name of the position are as follows: (1) *Jero Kubayan Mucuk* (Number 1 in the system), (2) *Jero Kubayan Nyoman* (Number 2 in the system), (3) *Jero Bahu Mucuk* (Number 3 in the system), (4) *Jero Bahu Nyoman* (Number 4 in the system), (5) *Jero Singukan Mucuk* (Number 5 in the system), (6) *Jero Singukan Nyoman* (Number 6 in the system), (7) *Jero Cacar Mucuk* (Number 7 in the system), (8) *Jero Cacar Nyoman* (Number 8 in the system), (9) *Jero Balung Mucuk* (Number 9 in the system), (10) *Jero Balung Nyoman* (Number 10 in the system), (11) *Jero Pati Mucuk* (Number 11 in the system), (12) *Jero Pati Nyoman* (Number 12 in the system). The naming of the position indicates 2 (two) things. The first is the different job descriptions, and the second is the seniority. Based on the naming system of the *Jero Kancan Roras*, we can understand that there are 6 different positions, with each position being filled by 2 persons. However, there are differences between the 2 (two) persons filling the position. Those differences can be understood from the last word in the name of their position. For each position, there is a *Mucuk* or the tip and there is also a *Nyoman* or the latter. The former is the senior (position and experience-wise, not age-wise), while the latter is their juniors. The name *Kubayan* means the leader in the religious ceremony. The *Bahu* are those who help the *Kubayan* in putting the offering in the proper position. The *Singgukan* makes sure the offerings are complete before being offered while the *Cacar* helps the Kubayan in distributing the offering to be put in the correct position after being checked by the *Singgukan*. The *Balung* distributes the meat for the offering, after being prepared by the *Pati*.

The Kubayan Mucuk is "the Chosen One"

The position of *Jero Kubayan Mucuk* is the highest position in the *Jero Kancan Roras* of *Pengayah Ngarep* in the *Ulu Apad* System of Penglipuran Village. Not everybody in Penglipuran Village can reach this position, even though the system allows for it. The condition mentioned earlier in this writing, The *Ngelad,* ensures that not everybody can reach the top position of *Jero Kubayan Mucuk*. That is why it makes sense to say that only "the chosen one" can reach the top position. It also means that a person who holds the *Jero Kubayan Mucuk* position is the most experienced and wise in the village, since the person has been in the system for years to climb up from number 76 to number 1, and also had experienced all of the task and requirements from *Jero Pati Nyoman* (number 12) until *Jero Kubayan Nyoman* (number 2) in the *Jero Kancan Roras*'s position of *Ulu Apad* of Penglipuran Village.

The interviews reveal that the current *Jero Kubayan Mucuk* who is also one of the informants for this research, by the time the research was conducted, has been in the system for almost 42 years. The first time he entered the *Pengayah Ngarep* was in 1976. After 40 years, in 2016 he reached the position of *Jero Kubayan Mucuk*. This means that he has experienced the duty of the *Jero Pati, Jero Balung, Jero Cacar, Jero Singukan*, as well as the *Jero Bau* and *Jero Kubayan Nyoman*, and has climbed 75 ladders in the *Ulu Apad* system to reach the *Ulu* or the highest rank/position in the system.

The Unique yet Untold Story

Given its uniqueness, it is surprising that *Ulu Apad* has not been a popular tourist attraction for visitors of Penglipuran Village. It is unusual because a tourist attraction needs to be attractive and unique (Boniface & Cooper, 2005; Cooper, 2016; Fletcher et al., 2018; UNWTO, 2007), and the *Ulu Apad* that has been discussed above has the requirements of sheer uniqueness. When this is asked to the informants, the answer was that to understand the *Ulu Apad*, one needs a lot of time. The informants mention that it needs a minimum of a full day only to understand a bit about the *Ulu Apad*. The system consists of concepts, terminology, and rule that is quite hard to comprehend even for a non-*Bali Aga* Balinese. Therefore, the DMO of Penglipuran Village seems to decline in utilizing its unique asset to attract visitors.

Despite the difficulties to understand the concept, literature shows that there is the attention given by scholars to *Bali Aga* and its *Ulu Apad*. An ethnography text written by Reuter (1996) explains in detail the reality of differences that exist in the culture of Balinese especially those of Southern and Northern parts of Bali, or between the Balinese people of the sea and the Mountain Balinese known as the *Bali Aga* with their *Ulu Apad*. Given that a handful of foreigners especially those who are interested in ethnography may have read or heard about the *Ulu Apad*, this should be a stepping stone to further shed light on the almost stereotypical understanding of the visitors that Balinese Culture is the same throughout the island.

Discussions

Ulu Apad, for whom?

McKercher & du Cros (2003) and Du Cros & McKercher (2015) proposed a cultural tourist typology consisting of 5 types of tourists. The first is The Purposeful Cultural Tourist. This type of tourist consists of those whose primary motive in visiting a destination is to experience cultural tourism. The second type is the Sightseeing Cultural Tourist. Similar to their purposeful colleagues, this type of tourist also seeks cultural tourist experiences even though they are not as deep (shallower) as the former seek. The third type is The Serendipitous Cultural Tourist. This type is made up of those who are initially travelling for activities other than cultural experience but ended up being involved in a cultural experience. The fourth type is The Casual Cultural tourists, who are weakly motivated by cultural motivation, resulting in shallow cultural experiences. The last type is the Incidental Cultural Tourist. This type of visitor travels for reasons other than cultural experience but participates in a few cultural tourist activities, resulting in shallow cultural experiences.

Based on Du Cros and McKercher's typology we can think that those who will be interested to visit and learning about the *Ulu Apad* of Penglipuran are the Purposeful Cultural Tourist and The Sightseeing Cultural Tourist. This is because those types of visitors who according to Cros and McKercher may be interested in a unique and distinct cultural tourist attraction. They are also those who will be willing to allocate their time and money to learn about the *Ulu Apad* which is quite difficult to comprehend in a short amount of time.

Unearthing the Untold Story

No matter how unique a cultural attraction is, nobody will come and visit it unless they know something about it. This implies the need to package the attraction into a product that the visitor will buy, and promote it to the Purposeful Cultural Tourist and The Sightseeing Cultural Tourist. In doing so, we must first understand the nature of *the Ulu Apad* System as an intangible culture (Yudantini, 2020), requiring a special way to package it as a tourism product to maximize the experience gained by the visitor who visited it. The analysis shows that story is best to communicate the attractiveness of *Ulu Apad* to the visitors and to enhance the quality of their experience. While adding quality to the visitor experience, the story will also contribute to the conservation of the cultural asset of Penglipuran Village.

The tourist experience is something that is personally encountered, lived through, and affects a visitor (Arsenault & Gale, 2004), consists of visitor's comprehensive psychological responses toward a perceptual and rational experience of their vacation (Zhang et al., 2018) that form the core of their vacation (Stanovčić et al., 2021). Experience may involve observation or participation. It may be active or passive, planned or opportunistic personal or shared. It may differ between individuals due to differences in backgrounds, values, beliefs, and attitudes (Seyfi et al., 2020). Arsenault & Gale (2004) also mention that there are five ways to create a memorable cultural tourist experience. The first is by telling it as a story, 2). By making the asset come alive, 3). By making the experience participatory, 4). Focus on quality, and 5). To make the experience relevant to the tourist.

Concerning storytelling, Du Cros & McKercher (2015) stated that adding a story to a place, a tangible or an intangible asset will add meaning to that place, bringing it to life, making the place relevant, and therefore provide an extraordinary experience for the visitors (Mei et al., 2020). Should this be implemented in Penglipuran, it will require an effort to document the *Ulu Apad* System so the story can have a strong basis for consistency. Given that *Bali Aga* villages are tied to one another by ancestral ties (Reuter, 1996), preparing a narrative detailing the origin of *Bali Aga* village, and their *Ulu Apad* system should not be a difficult task. Reference and information for the narrative can be found at Penglipuran itself as well as at its sister village, Tiga Kawan Village and Sekardadi Village, and also at Bayung Gede Village as its mother village. Building on the tangible and intangible aspects of the *Ulu Apad* and placing extra attention on the authenticity of the story (Mei et al., 2020), The DMO can start by collecting and standardizing the narrative of their origin from the elder and also from the literature available. The local tour guides can then study the story and present them to visitors visiting the village.

Making the assets come alive means that the experience should be enjoyable and enhance visitor satisfaction while adding learning opportunities for the visitor, something that will be appreciated by the Purposeful Cultural Tourist and The Sightseeing Cultural Tourist. The *Ulu Apad* System and its uniqueness as a product of the *Bali Aga* Culture offer something very interesting to learn. The system itself, the equal opportunity for all the villagers to reach the top position in the system, and the beautiful way of the system making sure that the person at the top position is the most suitable one is a very interesting point to learn and understand. Should this be a story, then those 3 (three) points should be the main point of the story. Virtual reality (VR), Augmented Reality (AR) and Mixed Reality (MR) technology are gaining more attention as the technology that can enhance the quality of stories in creating memorable tourism experiences (Han et al., 2019; Marasco, 2020), as well as visitors' satisfaction (Bae et al., 2020) for those who are interested in novelty and education (Kurniasari et al., 2022). VR, especially cinematic Virtual Reality (CVR) can make the visitor feels as if they are immersed in the story presented as a film. A story detailing the preparation of a ritual in the "*Bale Lantang*" is the type of scene that will be

interesting to be presented through VR or CVR since this scene can not be seen every day in the village. Another example of a story that may be interesting to be enjoyed virtually is the narrative detailing the process when the ancestors of Penglipuran Village first came to start the village and set up their *Ulu Apad* village council. Even though this kind of technology needs a lot of time, effort, research, and funding to be prepared, this is a potential way that can be carried on since both VR technology and Augmented Reality (AR) are predicted to be an important part of the visitor experience in cultural tourism (Han et al., 2019).

(Source: Utama, 2022)
Figure 2. The *Bale Lantang* in the *Bale Banjar* (community hall) of Penglipuran Village.

Tourism is an active participatory experiential activity and exploring the village of Penglipuran may increase the participatory side of the experience. Participatory experiential activity will create creativity and skill as the result of contact with a community and its culture (Musthofa, 2020). One of the uniqueness of Penglipuran as *Bali Aga* Village is the existence of *the Hulu Teben* concept implemented in the village's spatial plan (Ardiyanto & Nadiroh, 2019; Priyoga & Sudarwani, 2018; Sudarwani & Priyoga, 2018).

(Source: Utama, 2022)
Figure 3. The *Hulu-Teben* concept of settlement area of Penglipuran Village.

Experiential participatory through guided tour will allow the visitor to directly observe that the temple as the holiest place of Penglipuran Village is the highest place (*Hulu*), while the cemetery associated as the opposite of the holiest place will always be placed at the lowest part of the landscape (*Teben*). They will also discover that the settlement is always in between those places. Experiential participation can also be achieved by taking the visitor to enter one of the housing compounds and then having them listen to the explanation about the traditional building available in each of the 76 housing compounds in Penglipuran Village. In doing so, the track, the story or explanation, and the people assigned to deliver the explanation should first be prepared.

(Source: Utama, 2022)

Figure 4. Puseh Temple, located at the north end of the settlement area (*Hulu*) of Penglipuran Village, where the *Jro Kancan Roras* usually hold their meeting.

Quality is a critical element of the memorable tourist experience. That is why quality should always be the focus in unearthing the tourism potential of *the Ulu Apad* System of Penglipuran Village. Quality of cultural tourism can start from authenticity. Together with a memorable tourist experience, authenticity will result in the satisfaction of visitors (Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2018). In doing so, the DMO of Penglipuran Village needs to plan the touring routes, the attraction visited, the story for the storytelling, the storyteller, and the staff who serves the visitor more carefully.

It is also important to make the experience relevant for the tourist since every visitor seeks different interests and learning objectives. The story interpreting the *Ulu Apad* should be made easier to understand for the younger visitor, than for the older and better-educated visitor. Skillful and enthusiastic storytellers therefore important to communicate the story to the visitor (Mei et al., 2020).

Conclusions

This article discussed the tourism potential of the *Ulu Apad* of Penglipuran Village. *Ulu Apad* is an indigenous governance system of the *Bali Aga* village where the Mountain Balinese maintain their way of life. The system has enormous tourism potential. It is unique because it is different from other *Ulu Apad* systems implemented at the other *Bali Aga* Villages. The implementation of the system also varies according to the number of the family who founded the

village, as well as the physical nature of the village. As a traditional governance system, *Ulu Apad* integrated concepts, such as the *Tri Hita Karana*, the *Tri Mandala*, and the *Hulu Teben*. Those concepts are implemented in the spatial plan of the whole village, and also in the spatial plan of every housing compound in the village. In terms of governance of the village, the *Ulu Apad* is a merit system, in which every family representative has equal rights and opportunities to reach the highest position in the system as the leader, but the existence of *Ngelad* will function like a net that will select only those who are wise, healthy and experienced enough who will reach the top position to lead the community.

As a cultural product, most of the *Ulu Apad* features are intangible. That's why it needs special effort to provide it as a tourist attraction. There are strategies to make *Ulu Apad* a more enjoyable attraction for visitors. The first is storytelling. Secondly, making the *Ulu Apad* came alive to allow for more significant cultural learning opportunities is also a good way. The third way is by allowing greater opportunity for the visitor to participate while they enjoy the attraction. Those three ways should be done by focusing on quality (strategy number 4) in its delivery and also making the experience relevant (strategy number 5) for the visitor so that it brings a memorable tourist experience for the tourist. In the future, the DMO of Penglipuran Village can consider technology such as VR, AR, or MR to enhance the quality of the story as well as the visitors' experience.

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