The Dilemmatic Study of Local Policy Implementation towards "Bali Aga" Traditional Village in Culture Conservation (A Case of Tenganan Pengringsingan Village, Manggis District, Karangasem Regency)

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Abstract

Unlike traditional village of Bali Aga, Tenganan Pengringsingan Village has a unique culture inherited from its ancestors. To strengthen its resilience, then local policies have been established which are passed down from generation to generation. The fundamental challenge is maintaining the existence of culture to face the globalization era. The description of this article is based on information through observation, interviews with community leaders and cultural observers of the Tenganan Pengringsingan Village. Not all cultures can be preserved due to the demands of tolerance from the influence of the social dynamics which have emerged lately. Finally, the local policy in preserving the culture of Tenganan Pengringsingan village has a dilemma, on the one hand, it maintains the mandate of its ancestors, but on the other hand, it cannot avoid the social dynamics due to the globalization era, so that there are some cultures undergoing change.

Keywords
ancestors; bali aga; cultural preservation; local policies; traditional village;

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1. Introduction

Bali as one of the islands in Indonesia not only has official villages as implied in Law No. 5 of 1979 but also there are traditional villages called *pakraman* that have existed since ancient times. This situation was supported by the explanation of article 18, especially part II of the 1945 Constitution stated "In the territory of the Republic of Indonesia there are approximately 250 Zefbestuurlandschappen and Volksgemeenschappen such as villages in Java and Bali. They have an original arrangement, and therefore can be considered as special areas. Each form of the villages is now maintained, so now there is still dualism. Sudantra (2007), mentions "a dual system in the village governance, the existence of *pakraman* villages alongside official villages".

During the New Order government which tended to implement a centralized system, Surbakti in Subanda (2007) stated that "great power with a very centralistic and bureaucratic government system was most prominent in the New Order era". Not without reason, it is stated by (Subanda, 2007), that "terms in the public interest, national development for all walks of life are usually used as justifiers of state power to force someone or group of citizens to be willing to obey the wishes of the state". During the New Order, government efforts to standardize a centralized system were strengthened and maintained, along with Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning Village Governance. Introducing the view of Sudantra (2007) "in the context of Law Number 5 of 1979" the village is an administrative area under the sub-district with a similar form and arrangement under the sub-district". Government bureaucracy is quite decisive at the village level, especially since positions at the village level tend to be bureaucratic. It is reasonable that the centralized system persisted and was accepted, meaning that "in giving a response to the centralization and bureaucratization of the government, the people in Bali generally did not reject or resist, but rather accommodated the government's policies" (Warren in Subanda, 2007).

The rolling of reformation which began in 1998, led to various changes that continue to occur. Prasojo (2012), mentions "The momentum of the reformation in 1998 was not only correlated with bureaucratic changes but also had an impact on the system of government and central - regional relations with the implementation of the decentralization". The current reformation is not only applied in the (central) government but is also followed, even in most cases, initiated by a number of sub-national and local governments in Indonesia through public sector innovation programs as an effort to bureaucratic reform". As a result of the principle of decentralization, accompanied by the granting of regional autonomy, it caused a spirit of optimism among the regional political elite to take part, and because the demands of regional autonomy began to get positive attention. Aditya *et al.*, (2019), Demands for the principle of decentralization are not excessive, even containing a truth, some people agree that "the goal of regional autonomy is nothing but to bring decision-making locus at the level of government closest to the community (principle of subsidiarity)". "In addition, the range of services becomes more efficient and effective because the span of control becomes smaller" (Prasojo *et al.*, 2012). In the meantime, "the spirit of Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning regional government and also the results of amendments to the 1945 Constitution article 18 b paragraph (2) have firmly provided an opportunity to revive original autonomy in the administration of governance at the village level" (Suacana, 2009).

Dwipayana in Subanda (2007), asserts that "indigenous villages can act authoritarian against individual freedom and a number of minority citizens". Suacana (2010), mentions "Villages in Bali, especially traditional villages/pakraman often perceived as a non-formal institution which is relatively democratic and autonomous so that they are totally independent of other forces outside". In addition, new problems may arise, including political developments which are difficult to avoid by Pakraman village. Looking at the current situation, with the dualism of the village, it means that from the side of policy, the official village is in the context of national policies and traditional villages/pakraman in the context of local/traditional policies. But there is a tendency to overlap both in terms of territoriality and the existence of village manners. *Arya et al.*, (2014), states "there are possibilities, among others: (1) one official village has the same area and population as one *pakraman* village, (2) one official village covers several Pakraman villages, (3) one pakraman village, consisting of
several official villages, (4) one official village covering several Pakraman villages and some from other Pakraman villages).

On Friday, February 8, 2019, the Undiknas Denpasar Faculty of Law and Social Sciences (FHIS) group conducted a field study and gather information about the potential and culture of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village as the target of the visit. As a traditional village in Bali known as the Bali Aga Village, it is estimated to have formed since pre-Hindu times in Bali. On the other hand, there is the term Balinese village Apanaga whose existence began when the entry of Hindu influences from the Majapahit kingdom. Each traditional village has customs, a culture that tends to be different, for example; marriage, death, traditional clothing, traditional ceremonies, including customary territorial control including natural resource potential. Based on the description of the background above, this article wants to analyze one of Bali’s local wisdom, which is related to the dilemma of implementing local policies correlated with the preservation of the potential of traditional Bali Aga villages, especially Tenganan Pegringsingan.

2. Materials and Methods

This research is a qualitative study. The research was carried out by observing the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village and conducting in-depth interviews with the village chief and community.

Theory

The policy is a simple word, but it has meanings that sometimes lead to unequal interpretations. Keban (2017) and Pasolong (2017), state that "policy is a series of alternatives that are ready to be chosen based on certain principles". Furthermore, it is said "policy is a result of in-depth analysis of various alternatives that lead to decisions about the best alternatives" Pasolong (2017). Frederick in Leo (2008), states that "policy as a series of actions/activities proposed by a person, group or government in a particular environment where there are obstacles (difficulties) and opportunities for implementing the proposed policy in order to achieve specific purpose". On the other hand Persons (Redit, 2016), states that "policy is a set of actions or plans that contain political goals". Furthermore, Nurchollis (2007), argues that "policy as an organizational decision, contains provisions that can be used as behavioral guidelines in; a) further decision making, which must be done by either the target group or the organizational unit implementing the policy. b) the application of policy both in relation to the implementing organizational unit and the intended target group ". Looking at the statements above, it can be understood that the policy contains several principles, namely: 1) the policy includes a series of actions proposed by a person or group in a certain environment. 2) contains political objectives, 3) provisions that can be used as behavioral guidelines. 4) there are target groups, 5) there are obstacles in achieving goals. 6) there are opportunities for new policy proposals. The concept of policy that has been conveyed above tends to be more relevant to modern organizations such as the state. However, every organization may adopt the concept, including traditional organizations such as traditional villages.

In Bali, there are awig-awig or perarem which are essentially not different from traditional policies. Therefore, in this article, awig-awig is a special term for local policy. Purwita (Subanda, 2007) mentions "awig-awig comes from two words namely a means no and wig means damaged. Thus awig-awig means something that makes it better. "Furthermore, MPLA Bali in Subanda (2007), mentions" awig-awig traditional villages contain: 1) Sukerta Tata Pelemahan, namely the rules about traditional village areas. 2) Sukerta Tata Pawongan, which is a rule concerning traditional village residents. 3) Sukerta Tata Agama, namely the rules about religion. 4) Pamidanda, namely sanctions given to villagers if they violate awig-awig". Awig-awig is usually made by the village and for the residents of desa adat, in the next development, the term perarem is known based on an agreement with the villagers of desa adat.

Implementation basically is the operationalization of an activity to achieve certain goals. Pasolong (2017), defines "implementation as a summary of various activities in which human resources use other resources to achieve strategic goals". Another opinion from Gordon (Pasolong, 2017), that "implementation is concerned with various activities directed at the realization of the program". At first glance, it is understandable that policy implementation means implementing policies. Edward III (Santosa, 2008), states that policy implementation is the stage of politics between the establishment of a policy. However good the program that
has been made will be useless if it is not carried out according to the purpose. Basically, the implementation of local policies known as *awig-awig/perarem* is an activity governing the area, villagers, religion, and sanctions

3. Results and Discussions

*The Local Policy and the Efforts to Preserve the Potential of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village (Between Hope and Reality)*

When entering the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, the beauty can be seen at a glance. The village which is flanked by three hills located behind, on the right and left sides of the village has a forest area that looks still intact in the District of Manggis and lies jutting in from the highway adding to the impression of a remote village. Only on the first road to enter the village is not covered by hills and becomes a gate to enter the village. Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is also located not far from Candi Dasa tourist area (only two kilometers away). This village is one of the ancient villages in Bali. The boundaries of this village are: on the north there are Adat Macang and Bebandem Villages, on the east there are the Bungaya and Asak Traditional Villages, on the south there are the Pesedahan and Nyuh Tebel Custom Villages, and on the west there is the Ngis Indigenous Village. It is said to be ancient because the community was allegedly still maintaining the potential and culture inherited from generation to generation by their ancestors. Overall it has an area of 917.2 hectares, divided into 8 percent of settlements, 22 percent of rice fields, and 70 percent is dry land. Understandably, this village area consists of three parts, namely settlement, plantation and rice fields. Tenganan Pegringsingan village consists of three *banjars* namely *Banjar Kangin, Banjar Kauh* and *Banjar Pande*. The existing buildings are still maintained by traditional architecture.

The local policy of the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan in outline can be observed from two sides, namely: First, policies about the village area. Sukerta the weakening system, namely the rules about traditional village areas. The potential of the village in question is: a) Natural resources, namely rice fields, dry land and settlements which are owned by a total of 917.2 hectares. The policy of the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan is the prohibition of the sale of land, because the existing land is the right to use. In this case, the 917.2 hectare land belongs to the village, the assets in the form of land are fully controlled and become collective assets of the traditional village without the right of ownership b). Settlement, land for settlements is provided 8% of 917.2 hectares. One family is only allowed to have one house c). Trees must be preserved and there is a policy of not cutting down trees (there are four types of trees, namely: taep tree, pangi tree, durian tree, and pecan tree). Durian fruit, pangi, taep, candlenut can be enjoyed together by citizens. For example during the durian harvest season, the fruit is collected in the community hall and shared by the community d). Not allowed to catch fish with hazardous materials / potassium e) Not allowed to shoot birds, f). Not allowed to make wells. Second, the policies on the local culture of the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan include: a). Marriage, including: the prohibition of polygamy and polyandry, the obligation to marry a resident of Tenganan Pegringsingan (endogamy), if there are residents who marry people outside the village, they do not get inheritance, through a ceremony based on village customs, for men, the process is 20 months. b). Prohibition of child adoption. The swift modernization, the development of social dynamics, accompanied by the era of globalization, this article tries to examine the integrity of the village's potential and traditional village culture whether the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village is able to preserve the potential and culture of the village inherited by its ancestors.

Land is an asset fully controlled by customary villages, and becomes a collective asset, the management is given to indigenous villagers. In addition, the forest area in the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village is intact as customary forest. The forest is maintained, preserved and utilized in a sustainable manner to meet the collective interests of the indigenous villagers. Most villagers earn their living as farmers. *Suriyani (2016)*, mentions "most are only as landlords who rent their land to the cultivators, only a small proportion still go to the forest". Next, a shift occurs, which can be seen from a tall tower. Leasing land by customary villages for tower sites is motivated by tolerance and in the public interest, indicating that there is a conversion of land from traditionally managed land to relying on agricultural and forest products for business interests (leasing land). Indigenous settlements are arranged in such a way, the barn which is supposed to be used for storage of rice, its function begins to decline and even disappears. It was said that "the existing barns are still used to
store local paddy only for ceremonies” (Suriyani, 2016). The function of the barn has begun to decline and even disappear, it can be caused by local rice plants starting to disappear and replaced with new types of rice.

Cutting down trees is permissible on the basis of agreement with the owner and village verification, and is intended to build a house for newlyweds. After cutting down, it is obligatory to plant new trees as a replacement. The four trees are preserved because they have the potential to produce fruit that is beneficial to the community.

1) Now, the traditional clothes consist of destar.
2) The land turns out to be leased to the tower and village wells.
3) It is not permissible for polygamy and polyandry: women marry men from outside the village whose rights and obligations are revoked and must leave the village, if the village man is married to a woman outside the village the woman must equate his religion first so they can stay in Tenganan but the couple including his descendants cannot be candidates for the village legislature.

4. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the analysis above it turns out that local policies in the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan as an effort to preserve the village's potential do not last long, experiencing a dilemma, due to reasons of tolerance for social dynamics. This happens because customary villages do not fully have freedom. In Bali it is known the phrase "desa mawacara" which is that every village has the right to govern itself according to local traditions, on the other hand traditional villages also adhere to the "negara mawatata", namely the state has the right to regulate customary villages. The village of Tenganan Pegringsingan is not fully able to preserve the potential of the village in both its region and culture. There are a number of neglected policies, for example the prohibition of leasing land that has been violated for tower sites and wells.

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