

GOVERNMENT HEGEMONY VS. DESA ADAT RESISTANCE: DYNAMICS OF REGULATING DESA ADAT IN BALI

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ABSTRACT

The government's strategy to promote *desa adat* (customary village) materialized through the implementation of Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2019 in Bali, fostering a dynamic interaction aimed at enhancing *desa adat* resilience. This study examines the dynamic forms of interaction between these institutions. Data were obtained utilizing a qualitative approach, including literature reviews, observations, and interviews. The data analysis results are described using theories of hegemony, ideology, discourse, and the power of knowledge. The research concludes that diverse forms of interaction between the government and *desa adat* encompass involvement in the formulation of *desa adat* regulations; participation in religious rituals and cultural activities; and relevance in financial governance. Theoretical findings suggest that power operates through interactions to assert dominance over *desa adat* by spreading discourse, knowledge, and ideological strategies. This article provides valuable insights for shaping regulations that better align with the identity and autonomy of *desa adat*.

Keywords: dynamic interactions, *desa adats*, Regional Regulation Number 4/2019

INTRODUCTION

Long-standing efforts by the Bali Provincial Government to strengthen and empower *desa adat* (customary villages) have recently been enhanced by the enactment of Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2019 on *Desa adat* in Bali. *Desa adat* in Bali historically have had quite a long journey, as has been stated by many researchers, such as Liefink and Korn, who view villages in Bali as small and autonomous republics (Parimatha, 2013, p.31). The regulation governs the core elements of *desa adat* encompassing *Parahyangan* (the relationship between humans and the divine), *Palemahan* (the relationship between humans and nature), and *Pawongan* (the

relationship among humans within their communities) or known as *Tri Hita Karana*, the Balinese philosophy of life aimed at achieving happiness. In addition to regional regulations, the government often provides a wide range of support to *desa adat*, including financial assistance and various education and training programs.

However, in practice, the initiative to strengthen *desa adat* has not generated the anticipated outcomes and has even induced resistance due to perceptions that it weakens their autonomy. This resistance stems from the belief that the government's efforts to empower *desa adat* have infringed upon their independence. Excessive assistance technically and financially, overly stringent and detailed regulations through the Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2019 are seen to homogenize diverse *desa adat*.

Overall, *desa adat* can be divided into *Desa adat Bali Mula*, *Desa adat Apanage*, and *Desa adat Bali Anyar* (Ardana, 2020). According to Pitana (1994, p.145), *Desa adat Bali Mula* (Bali *Aga*) preserves ancient traditions predating the Majapahit; *Desa adat Bali Apanage* is characterized by a social system heavily influenced by the Majapahit dynasty while *Desa adat Bali Anyar* emerged from recent population movement, initially driven by economic pursuits. The distinctions among these three categories of *desa adat* highlight the distinctive features that persist in Bali today. Each community has its own set of leadership systems, traditional institutions, and even rituals.

The Bali Provincial government, based on the Regional Regulation which is guided by the principle of *Bali Mawacara* (Balinese unity), aims to establish a unified management approach for *desa adat*. However, this approach, raises concerns about diminishing their autonomy and unique characteristics. This study seeks to explore following the implementation of Regional Regulation No.4/2019, The research explores the evolving interactions between *desa adat* and the Bali Provincial government within the new framework established by Regional Regulation No. 4/2019, purported by the Government as a measure to further strengthen *desa adat* resilience and Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, which introduce new freedoms and constraints on village existence in Bali. By employing hegemony theory alongside other critical theories, the study aims to provide new perspectives into *desa adat* in Bali.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several past studies and books share similarities with this research, particularly regarding various aspects of *desa adat*. Sumarthana (2011) investigated the

establishment of *desa adat* territorial boundaries. Similarly, Sama (2021) examined government policy in resolving traditional village border conflicts,

focusing on *Desa Adat Batubulan* and *Desa Adat Lembeng* in Gianyar Regency, Bali. Djelantik's dissertation (2013), titled "Desa Pakraman Autonomy in the Implementation of Village Government in Bali Province," primarily explored the legal aspects of government, especially *desa adat* autonomy in drafting *desa adat* regulations. Atu Dewi (2019) also highlighted the importance of community participation in forming regional regulations related to the role of *desa pakraman*. However, all these studies were conducted before the enactment of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019.

From a historical perspective, Parimartha (2020) conducts in-depth studies on *desa adat*, official village (*desa dinas*), and *desa pakraman*, explaining their origins and the duality between *desa adat* and *desa dinas*. Although they are relevant and closely related in terms of problem scope, information/data sources, and study analysis, previous research has a different focus compared to this study. None have critically examined the dynamic interactions between *desa adat* and the Bali Provincial government following the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019.

METHODE & THEORIES

Metode

This study employs a qualitative method approach as it examines issues about social reality. The research focuses on using a cultural studies approach to investigate and comprehend the Bali Provincial Government's hegemony over *desa adat* following the introduction of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019. Research was conducted in several *desa adat* based on their typology. For *Desa Adat Apanage* the research is carried out in *Desa adat Kapal*, Mengwi District, Badung Regency; for *Desa Adat Bali Anyar*, carried out in *Desa Adat Ekasari*, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency; and for *Desa Adat Bali Mula* in *Desa Adat Julah*, Tejakula District, Buleleng Regency.

The primary data for this study was collected through field observations and in-depth interviews with informants, including *Desa Adat* chiefs (*Bandesa*), leaders, officials, and councils. The researcher purposively selected informants, starting with key informants such as the *desa adat* leaders at the research location who have a deep understanding of their respective villages. These key informants were then used to identify additional supporting informants through a snowball sampling. Interviews

were also conducted with government and non-governmental organization officials connected to *desa adat*, particularly following the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019. Data analysis was carried out by referring to theories that had been formulated through *emil* (native point of view) and *ethics* (scientist point of view) (Maryam, 2017).

Theories

In implementing Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2019, the Bali Provincial Government appears to exert hegemony over traditional villages, positioning them as subordinate to the Provincial Government. Hall (Simon, 2000) describes hegemony as a form of domination and subordination within power-structured relationships. Hegemony arises when the marginalized group adopts the dominant group's way of thinking, perpetuated through discourse. This occurs when the subordinate group accepts the dominant values due to being ideologically indoctrinated or persuaded both mentally and physically (Barker, 2004, p.62). This aligns with Gramsci's (1971) assertion that hegemony involves the dominant group securing the consent of the dominated group by promoting a widely accepted political vision or ideology.

According to Eagleton (1991), the strategy for disseminating ideology involves rationalizing and presenting ideas as logically as possible to make them appear natural and widely accepted. Ideology can be seen as a body of knowledge held by a societal class, producing narratives that Foucault refers to as discourse. Discourse involves explaining, defining, classifying, and contemplating people, knowledge, and abstract systems of thought, all inherently linked to power relations (Aur, 2005). Discourse acts as a means to construct specific truths and knowledge, and it is pervasive, influencing every aspect of social contexts (Poorghorban, 2023, p. 321). The discourse surrounding the implementation of Regional Regulation No.4/2019 is employed by the Bali Provincial Government to sustain its power. Those in power tend to preserve their dominance over those they control (Takwin, 2009, p.128). Foucault (1980) asserts that power operates not only through intimidation and violence but primarily through regulations and normalization.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Relation in The Formulation of *Desa Adat* Regulations

Since 1986, the Bali Provincial Government has issued several regional regulations governing *desa adat*, including Regional Regulation No.6/1986, Regional Regulation No.3/2001, and Regional Regulation No.4/2019. These regulations reflect the formal acknowledgment by the regional administration of the existence and enforcement of rules within *desa adat*, particularly through *awig-awig*. According to Marhaendra Wija Atmaja (2014), there has been *de facto* recognition of *desa adat*—where they have developed and become active to become independent of external factors—as well as *de jure* recognition of their existence through the existence of public policies, including statutory regulations and court rulings. The recognition of *desa adat* also entails respect for their autonomy, which encompasses three main powers: the authority to establish legal rules within *desa adat*, the authority to manage organizational affairs, and the authority to resolve legal disputes (Griadhi, 1991, p.58).

After Regional Regulation No. 4/2019, the Bali Provincial Government enacted additional regulations aimed at controlling the drafting of regulations in *desa adat*. These regulations extensively interfere with governance arrangements, covering various aspects from general provisions to concluding sections. Consequently, every *desa adat* must submit to and comply with the regulations imposed by the Provincial Government. This compliance is in line with the Elucidation of Regional Regulation Number 4/2019, which states: "... then the regulation and management of *desa adat* in Bali cannot be left sporadic independently, per *desa adat* or Regency/City, but must be in one unified arrangement and governance, one island, one management, one command in the Bali Province region...". Then it was further emphasized that the unity of this arrangement was based on remaining in one unified cosmological concept of *Padma Bhuwana* which was united by one unit of *Ulu*, Pura Besakih as the *lingga (Purusha)* and Pura Ulun Danu Batur and Beratan as *Pradhana*. On the other hand, not all *desa adat* consider Lake Batur and Lake Beratan to be *Pradana*, and the Besakih Temple to be *Purusha*. For instance, several *desa adat* in Tabanan consider *margi agung* (the grand road/walk) as *Ulu Purusha*, which is meant to lead to Tabanan Regency's highest peak, Mount Batukaru.

Regulations in *desa adat* are required to refer to the governor's regulations, both regarding content material, procedures for compiling (writing) *awig-awig*, *pararem* and other *desa adat* regulations, and are required to register all *desa adat* regulations with the provincial regional apparatus that handles *desa adat* affairs. The provision is as regulated in Governor's Regulation Number 4 of 2020 on Implementing Regulations of Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2019 on *Desa adat* in Bali, especially in Chapter II Procedures for Writing and Registration of *Awig-Awig*, and Chapter III Procedures for Writing and Registration of *Pararem*. These arrangements can be interpreted as an attempt by the Bali Provincial Government to standardize all regulations in *desa adat*.

On the other hand, *desa adat* is a community group that carries out its government rules autonomously, democratically, covers a certain area with clear boundaries, leader, rules (*awig-awig*) for its citizens, wealth, and is not subordinate to any higher power in a hierarchical structure (Parimartha, 2013, p.44). The Provincial Government's regulations are rigorously constructed as top-down attempts to regulate customs that are established in traditional communities. Additionally, this arrangement disregards the typical village typology and is generic in nature. Arranging different objects with the same arrangement pattern will certainly cause resistance and even become controversial. In *Desa adat* Julah, for example, in terms of *awig-awig* arrangements and writing, it cannot comply with the Regional Regulation because the community is very firm in its stance to respect its *awig-awig* which has been accepted for a long time. The head of Julah *Desa adat* stated "how can I possibly change the *awig-awig*, because I have had it like that since ancient times, as well as the *desa adat* government, it has been like that for a long time, I don't dare to change it" (interview with Yoga Tenaya, *Jero Kubayan Desa adat* Julah on 1 March 2024). It appears that traditional norms are in conflict with the regulations implemented by the government through regional regulations, necessitating assimilation in the interaction between contemporary regional regulations and traditional regulations. The dynamic interaction involved in the process of creating *desa adat* regulations significantly impacts the existence of *desa adat* itself. According to the Provincial Government, *desa adat* governance should consist of 2 (two) elements, namely *desa adat* government institutions and decision-making institutions. In the provisions of Article 28 paragraph (2) it is determined that "*Desa adat* government institutions consist of: a. *Prajuru Desa adat* (*desa adat* officers/personnels); b. *Sabha Desa adat* (decision making institution in *desa adat*); c. *Kertha Desa adat* (judicial institutions in *desa adat*); and d. Traditional *Banjar* (neighborhood) or other names". Furthermore, in paragraph (3) it is emphasized that "The

decision-making institution consists of: a. *Paruman Desa adat*; and b. *Pasangkepan Desa adat*". Each traditional village has long had its own traditional government and decision-making institutions, which sometimes differ from those outlined in Regional Regulations. For instance, the Mengwi traditional village has an institution called *mancegra*, which functions similarly to the traditional village sabha but with broader responsibilities. *Mancegra* does not only acts as a *sabha desa* but also performs the duties of the *kertha desa*. According to Article 37, paragraph (1) of Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2019, the Kertha Desa is tasked with receiving, examining, and resolving customary cases in *desa adat* based on *Adat Law*.

In addition, Article 28 paragraph (3) of Regional Regulation No.4/2019 states that decision-making institutions in *desa adat* consist of; *Paruman Adat*; and *Pasangkepan Adat*. In reality, *desa adat* do not always differentiate as such. In several *desa adat* in Badung Regency, for example *Desa Adat Mengwi*, *Desa Adat Kapal*, *Desa Adat Mengwitani*, and *Desa Adat Beringkit*, the existing decision-making institutions are *Paruman Agung* and *Paruman Desa Adat*. Meanwhile, *Pasangkepan* is better known at the *Banjar Adat* level. This also happens in most of the *desa adat* in Denpasar, such as *Desa Adat Tonja*, *Desa adat Kesiman*, *Desa Adat Sumerta*, *Desa Adat Oongan*, *Desa Adat Ubung*, *Desa Adat Pohgading*, and *Desa Adat Pagan*.

According to Article 5 of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019, *desa adat* are considered legal subjects within the Bali Provincial government structure, functioning as a subsystem of the Bali Provincial Government. As a sub-system, *desa adat* must be subject to, regulated, and controlled by the Provincial Government which is also an extension of the Central Government. This implies that the Provincial Government has complete regulatory authority over *desa adat*. On the other hand, the article's elucidation clarifies that the administration of provincial government matters about the domains of customs, traditions, culture, socio-religious, and local wisdom is included in the definition of the province government system. It is made clear here that *desa adat* are seen as components of the administration of the province government.

Desa adat will be entirely governed in line with the interests of the Provincial Government if they are placed as a government subsystem. Concerning this, Dr. Drs. I Made Mangku Pastika, M.M., the Governor of Bali from 2008 to 2018, said that "all of this is caused by the issuance of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019 which does not refer to Law No. 6/2014 on Village and thus has the potential to violate statutory regulations. This Regional Regulation will likely fail if a judicial review is carried out" (interview on 15

October 2023). In other practices, the Provincial Government has begun to hegemonize *desa adat* through Provincial Apparatus, namely the Service for the Advancement of Indigenous Peoples, the Provincial Inspectorate, and the Provincial *Desa adat* Council.



Figure 1. Interview with former Bali Province Governor
Dr. Drs. I Made Mangku Pastika, M.M., Gubernur Bali Periode, 2008-2018
(Source: Authors, 2024).

In addition, hegemony is evident in *desa adat* during the election of *Bandesa adat*. The selection process follows Provincial Government regulations established by the *Desa adat* Council at the provincial level. This involves consensus deliberation, reporting to the *Desa adat* Council, obtaining Council approval, and receiving a confirmation letter from the Provincial *Desa adat* Council. Additionally, inauguration ceremony procedures are fully governed by the Provincial *Desa adat* Council. Such pattern essentially represents a top-down strategy, elevating *desa adat* to the status of subsystems under the Bali Provincial Government, undermining their legitimate autonomy. The Provincial Government's aim to establish *desa adat* as a unified administrative and regulatory entity is inextricably linked to this pattern. This is where the government's strong hold over *desa adats*, intended to maintain the status quo, is evident.

Action In Religious Rituals And Cultural Activities

In Bali religious rites are vital for connecting with the external world and nature while maintaining social harmony. These rituals, deeply ingrained in Balinese Hinduism, pervade all aspects of life, including socioeconomic and political activities. They stem from

indigenous knowledge rooted in Hindu sacred texts. The government not only contributes to drafting village regulations but also actively participates in religious ceremonies and cultural events.

The interaction between *desa adat* and the Bali Provincial Government in the implementation of religious rituals and cultural attractions is carried out in various ways by relying on the power of the Provincial Government, including issuing circular letters regarding the implementation of rituals. Following the global outbreak of COVID-19, the Bali Provincial Government issued several directives to *desa adat* about religious rites that the community was required to perform. The Bali Provincial Government regulates religious rituals associated with *Rahina Tumpek* celebrations, occurring every Saturday *Kliwon* in the Balinese calendar. During Wayan Koster's administration, various Governor's Instructions were issued regarding these events, detailing rituals from family to provincial levels. While rooted in sacred texts, each *desa adat* maintains unique customs, traditions and beliefs, leading to diverse *Tumpek* practices. However, the government's directives sometimes clash with societal customs, causing implementation issues and unexpected tensions between the government and communities.

Furthermore, the Bali Provincial Government has implemented a variety of other measures to preserve Balinese culture. The Bali Provincial Government realizes that local culture with its various dimensions is an effective political resource for gaining and maintaining power. Domino and hegemony practices as well as the use of State Apparatus Ideology (ISA), especially religious and cultural institutions, can be used by the ruling elite to gain support and legitimacy in exercising their power (Althusser, 2014). The primary method for building authority legitimacy is to use cultural and traditional symbols. Some empirical evidence regarding the use of cultural symbols by the Bali Provincial Government can be examined through the forms of policies related to cultural symbols, including Bali Governor's Instruction Number 2331 of 2018 on Implementation of Bali Governor's Regulation Number 79 of 2018 on Balinese Traditional Clothing Days; Bali Governor Regulation Number 80 of 2018 on Protection and Use of Balinese Language, Script, and Literature; holding Balinese Language Month simultaneously throughout Bali; and the policy of *ogoh-ogoh* (giant puppets made of bamboo or wood that represent evil spirits) competition.

The Provincial Government's cultural politics, as demonstrated by the Governor's Instructions and the policies outlined above, are not only a form of implementing a religious mission, but additionally a form of cultivating the ruler's influence, charisma, and

power, both symbolic and cultural, as well as political power. The government's interactions with *desa adat* through cultural politics has influenced the implementation of *desa adat* life, as well as the social and cultural dynamics in Bali. The Bali Provincial Government's commitment to safeguard and preserve native Hindu cultural values in Balinese culture is considered cultural politics in the narrow sense. Cultural Politics concerning the Provincial Government's interaction with *desa adat* can be defined as a policy developed through the utilization of regional regulations, governor regulations, instructions, and other policies.

Chris Barker (2000, p.52) stated: "The concept of culture as class power is political because it displays the social relations of class power by normalizing the social order as a necessary fact, disguising the exploitative relations within it. Culture is an ideological construct that defines itself as a map of meaning, defines universal truth as a historically particular understanding, and obscures and perpetuates authority".

In line with this, Foucault stated that:

"the practice of power or knowledge relations is an event of internalization and structurization of power that hides behind ideology, power discourses, and social practices in people's lives. Essentially, the practice of power or knowledge causes people's social lives to become mutually controlling, suppressing, and dominating, which is viewed as inextricably linked to power. Power becomes a social reality that is both productive and invisible to the human eye since it penetrates all aspects of existence, as well as science and social practice, giving the impression that the regime in power is a regime of truth. As a result, the continuity of power becomes invisible to a person or group of individuals" (Piliang, 2004).

This is consistent with Bourdieu's view that symbolic power is the ability to dominate disadvantaged groups and to develop facts that are accepted as truth simply by stating them (Bourdieu, 1977, p.165). During religious rituals like the Rahina *Tumpek* celebration, various community leaders, including *desa adat* Heads, government officials, and educational institution leaders, participate actively as per the Governor's directives. This participation, apparently aimed at fostering community relations and supporting *desa adat*, serves to uphold existing authority and reputation. Equally significant is the rotation of large-scale religious rites across districts, which not only hold religious significance but also reflect power dynamics. These practices reveal a subtle exertion of influence by power holders to maintain the status quo, assert authority, and reinforce the identity of *desa adat*.

In large-scale religious rites, power holders emphasize strengthening and empowering *desa adat* while conveying religious teachings. They manipulate information

and public image to reinforce loyalty to *desa adat*, fostering a dominant ideology that supports material and cultural interests. The Governor, shaping this ideology, becomes an information elite, influencing public perception and promoting their favored system. In this approach, ideology originates from what the truth regime perceives as truth, which involves power relations or knowledge, where knowledge is a form of power that influences the construction of subjectivity (Foucault, 1980).

The theme that is always affirmed at every opportunity, as well as something interesting and critical as a form of subtle maneuvers and commands, is *Sad Kerthi Loka Bali*, which is required to regulate and maintain balance and harmony between Balinese nature, Balinese people/manners, and Balinese culture, which includes customs, traditions, arts and culture, and local wisdom.

According to Antl'ov, "subtle orders include moral principles for both the sovereign and the people. There are two sides to subtle orders: how leaders want their power to be perceived, and how the people perceive their leaders. Power is only deemed genuine when both parties appear to be compatible. Leaders appreciate their employees and follow societal norms. On the other hand, people accept their leaders' superior status and recognise their right to lead" (Antl'ov, 2002, p.147-150).

In this sense, the Governor's constant theme succeeds in bridging the gap between the empirical reality and the symbolic and spiritual world of *desa adat* communities, fostering an understanding of one common objective. This awareness comprises an understanding of norms, tactics, and predictable routines. This is consistent with Nurdholt and Weber's view that the relationship between ritual and power cannot be separated because public rituals are entirely political, and power is the thing that is most dramatically visualised in ritual, so that the existence of the group becomes clear through ritual (Nurdholt, 2006, p.208). Responding to this phenomenon, one of the traditional leaders gave a critical assessment of this reality, as follows:

"In our opinion, on the one hand, the high awareness and interest of *desa adatin* following all the Governor's Instructions is a form of obedience to *Guru Wisesa* (the Government) who is considered to pay high attention to *desa adats*, and as a form of State *Dharma*. However, this awareness and practice is frequently inconsistent with established norms and habits that are consistently applied in *desa adats*. Due to the large amount of cash flowing into *desa adats*, religious rites are often put aside in order to prioritise *Guru Wisesa's* instructions" (interview with *Bandes a adat Kapal*, I Ketut Sudarsana, 10 June 2023).

The dynamic interactions that emerged from *desa adat* regarding these rituals, generated responses from community figures. The majority of whom stated that the Bali Provincial Government's regulation of religious rituals does not take into account local

wisdom, the diversity that has prevailed in each *desa adat*, each of which has its own patterns, methods, and materials. *Jero Kubayan* (head of village) of Julah *Desa adat* pointed out, "We in *Desa Adat* Julah do not recognise the ceremonies as stated in the Bali Governor's Instructions, therefore we do not carry them out. If we do this, it may be considered a violation of the customary regulations that exist in the *Desa Adat* Julah ". (Interview with I Ketut Sidemen, S.Pd, *Jero Kubayan Desa adat* Julah on 19 May 2023).



Figure 2. Foto : Interview with *Desa Adat* Julah Chiefs Village (*Jero Kubayan* and *Padulu*) (Source: Authors, 2024).

Bandesa (head of *desa adat*) of Kapal further stated that "*Desa adat* have their own practices for celebrating *Tumpek* days, regarding the ritual material, time and place of implementation. This is consistent with what our elders have taught us from ancient times. The ritual that we performed was also in accordance with *Lontar Sundari Gama*. In this sense, residents in *Desa Adat* Kapal are unable to properly fulfil the Governor's instructions. However, we are still trying to make adjustments to community conditions" (interview with *Bandesa adat* Kapal, I Ketut Sudarsana, 10 June 2023).

The description of this phenomenon reveals different efforts by the government elite to establish and sustain identity and charisma, as well as legitimize their status quo, from a variety of sources. It is common for authorities or elites to seek legitimacy and then use it to hegemonize *desa adat* in order to maintain their authority. The momentum of

globalization and the spirit of reform of the political system as well as the era of regional autonomy are opportunities and ample space to construct forms of Balinese culture. One important strategy is to raise awareness and love among Balinese people for all for all of their ancestors' cultural traditions, which can also serve as a shield in the face of globalisation.

On the other hand, the Chair of the Indonesian Hindu Dharma Parisada (PHDI) Bali Province, I Nyoman Kenak, S.H. MH., believes that

"The community will interpret religious practices as taught by the Governor and the *Desa Adat* Council (MDA) in an objective manner. If an instruction is actually necessary, it will more likely be implemented, and vice versa. If you pay attention to the instructions regarding *Tumpek* celebrations, for example, which are regulated in such detail from the household level to the provincial level, it appears necessary to consider whether the *desa adat* will continue to have to carry out this every *Tumpek* or is it just a ceremonial event that takes place to fulfil the Governor's instructions, given that his village did not find anything like that which was required by his ancestors" (interview on 6 October 2023).



Figure 3. Interview with the Chair of the Indonesian Hindu Dharma Parisada (PHDI) Bali Province, I Nyoman Kenak, S.H. MH., (Source: Authors, 2024).

According to the description above, the Governor's decision to use Balinese cultural symbols as a political modality and means of power has empirically obtained sympathy and support from the public, particularly from the younger generation and cultural figures who firmly support it and make Balinese culture a symbol of their identities.

This is then shown by the obedience of the younger generation, traditional leaders, artists and craftsmen to the Government. According to Gramsci, the regime's success in expanding hegemonic power or influence inside the regime relies on intellectual obedience due to cultural and political considerations whom surrendered and obeyed the regime's rampant power, which led to total political support and legitimacy (Kumbara, 2019:43).

Relevance In Financial Governance

In implementing financial governance in *desa adat*, Regional Regulation No.4/2019 established a new platform for interaction between *desa adat* and the Provincial Government. As with regulations and rituals, *desa adat* financial management has also been implemented traditionally through Village Credit Institutions (LPD). In order to uphold the well-being of *desa adat*, they govern and safeguard their practices in accordance with the principles of *Tri Hita Karana*. These principles are put into practice in the actualization of *desa adat* autonomy, which includes the implementation of *desa adat* financial management.

Desa adat as owners of genuine autonomy, have sources of authority that come from the results of managing *desa adat* assets, inheritance of *desa adat* manners, and *punia* (donations), as well as other things that are not permanent and non-binding, such as *pecingkrem* (development derivation), *penanjung batu* (admission fee) as village members, or other similar sources. Financial management for these sources is carried out in accordance with *paruman* (*desa adat* meetings) decisions with no standard regulatory structure in place. Apart from implementing financial governance based on the *paruman* decision, *desa adat* also have their own financial institutions, namely the Village Credit Institution (LPD) which contributes to the cash/finances of *desa adat*.

In practice, the financial governance of *desa adat* is largely determined by *Paruman*. Posts on the utilization and management of *desa adat* finances are rarely prepared in a definite and routine manner every year, as is the case with the budget system implemented by the Government. If a budget is recorded or prepared, it is mostly for *Panca Yadnya* (religious rites) at the village level, such as *piodalan* (religious ceremony) at the *Khayangan Tiga* Temple/ *Khayangan Desa* Temple, as well as development needs and other rituals, all of which are carried out in a simple manner. Almost all *desa adat* retain to record revenue and spending conventionally, even manually.

Since the enactment of Regional Regulation No.4/2019, every *desa adat* has been required to create an annual budget consisting of a *desa adat* income and spending budget, as well as *desa adat* finances. The budget planning was then reaffirmed by Bali Governor Regulation Number 34 of 2019 on the Financial Management of *Desa adat* in Bali. The structure of *desa adat* expenditure and income budgets (APBDes) is detailed in Article 64 of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019, which covers the revenue, expenditure, and financing of *desa adat*. Sources of income are also regulated, including from the Provincial Government Revenue and Expenditure Budget and Regency/City Government Financial Assistance. In the expenditure segment, the terms “routine expenditure” and “programme expenditure” are employed. According to Article 30 of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019, *desa adat* officials are responsible for establishing strategic plans and development programs for *desa adat*, as well as drafting *Desa adat* Revenue and Expenditure Budgets.

Strategic planning and financial management in *desa adat* development, regulated by Article 90, involve the Provincial Government and the Regional Inspectorate of Bali Province. This includes assistance in drafting and overseeing the annual and five-year development plans, a new feature introduced by Regional Regulation No. 4/2019. Financial accountability to the government, outlined in separate Governor's Regulations, has become crucial. Failure to meet government standards may result in funding delays or cancellations. Consequently, *desa adat* rely heavily on government support, sometimes prioritizing government accountability over that to the traditional community. "We are following the government's direction regarding financial responsibility so that all administrative requirements can be met. Meanwhile, our responsibility to *krama* is more related to substances that are truly in accordance with reality. This is done so that there is no refund of the funds we have received" (interview with *Bandesa adat* Blahkiuh on 5 May 2023). The Kubayan of Julah *Desa adat* similarly stated that:

"We have to return funds to the government almost every year because we are unable to accounts for them in accordance with the Government's instructions, which appear to be oriented towards *desa adat* in South Bali. On the other hand, we genuinely need these funds, but we do not want to engage with law enforcement officials over the handling of government finances (interview with I Ketut Sidemen, S.Pd. *Jero Kubayan Desa Adat Julah* on 19 May 2023).

Bandesa adat Ekasari conveys slightly different ideas;

"We appreciate the government's help to *desa adat* because we really need it, even if the sum is insufficient to meet all of our demands in *desa adat*. However, we believe that administratively it is overly complicated; we are not a regional organisation with enough office equipment and staff; we think that it may be simplified. "If the system remains unchanged, we will always be concerned about

having to return it, especially if we are asked to be held accountable by the examiner" (interview with I Ketut Mulyana, *Bandesa adat* Ekasari on 8 January 2023).



Figure 4. Interview with *Bandesa Adat Desa Adat* Ekasari (Source: Authors, 2024).

The opinions above provide an overview of how *desa adat* desperately require financial aid from the government; nevertheless, this assistance carries a tremendous weight and is even out of line with the present order, which has never been implemented. Different opinion was conveyed by *Bandesa Adat Kapal*:

"Provincial Government assistance is similar to the Balinese proverb "big waves, big winds" (the strength of the wind is directly proportional to the strength of the waves), implying that assistance to *Desa adat* is proportional to the *Desa adat's* obligations to the Government. The complexity and difficulty of the instructions are related to many other factors, such as the obligation to adapt existing *awig-awig* to regional/governor regulations, the obligation to make *pararem* in accordance with government directions, and the establishment of several new institutions in *desa adat*. We believe that the government's attention to *Desa adat* is great, but it also keeps us as busy as office employees, in addition to our usual tasks serving the community" (interview with *Bandesa adat* Kapal, I Ketut Sudarsana, 10 June 2023).

The interviews revealed challenges in providing financial assistance to *desa adat* under Regional Regulation No. 4/2019. Meeting administrative obligations and technical implementation poses difficulties. Despite this, *desa adat*, accustomed to relying on government aid, strive to adhere to the regulations. In regard with this, financial politics, as mentioned above, is a notion of capitalism that is employed to obscure social reality in order to dominate the class by making the ideology appear natural and historical (Macey,

2008, p.198-199). The government's focus on *desa adat*, seen in increased financial aid and administrative regulations, appears politically motivated. These efforts, including administrative guidance and supervision, aim to garner support for the government through rhetoric and propaganda, ultimately serving to maintain political power.

Currently, with the adoption of the most recent regional regulations governing *desa adat*, there are several major differences from the conditions prior to the regulations' issuance. According to current regulations, financial assistance from the Provincial Government places *desa adat* as subordinate institutions of the Provincial Government, particularly in terms of financial matters, grants, and similar matters, which are needed by villages to fund development and improve the welfare of the community in *desa adat*. Another significant change is that *desa adat* personnel, who were previously only accountable for implementing financial governance to *krama*, must now be accountable to the government, particularly the Bali Provincial Government.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that dynamic interactions between *desa adat* and the Bali Provincial Government after the implementation of Regional Regulation No.4/2019 emerged in various forms such as; involvement in the formulation of *desa adat* regulations; participation in religious rituals and cultural activities; and relevance in financial governance. This entire form of interaction is a power relationship between the Bali Provincial Government and *desa adat* in Bali which is very strong in hegemony through a pattern of uniformity. Power relations to strengthen *desa adat* and legitimize the authorities. In this power relationship, the Bali Provincial Government tends to ignore the diversity of *desa adat* in Bali. The Bali Provincial Government through regulations, religious rituals, cultural attractions and financial management gently guides *desa adat* towards the wishes of the authorities, so that *desa adat* do not even feel that they are being dominated by the authorities.

Aside from actual evidence, this research provides theoretical insights regarding dynamic interactions between *desa adat* and the Bali Provincial Government following the implementation of Regional Regulation No.4/2019. The regulation dictates *desa adat* in Bali by promoting a uniform pattern based on the *Bali Mawacara* principle, despite the fact that *desa adat* in Bali are very diverse. Uniform regulation of something varied leads to opposition, disagreement, and ineffectiveness.

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