

RELATION OF POWER-KNOWLEDGE IN BALI MANDARA DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

Bali has great potentials in its beautiful nature and unique culture, which the government uses as an opportunity to implement regional development using the concept of Bali Mandara. This study aims to find out why the development of Bali province applying the concepts of Bali Mandara becomes a polemic for some Balinese, the existence of a power-knowledge relation in the concept of Bali Mandara discourse, and the implications of the development process implementing the Bali Mandara program. The data were analyzed using power-knowledge relation theory and generative structure. The results showed pros and cons in the planning and implementation of the development of the Bali Province. The rules and policies arranged in Regional Regulations (Perda) to support Bali's development are power-knowledge relations that the government applies to achieve the goals. Bali Mandara program has been implemented in less than a decade. Various benefits are the fundamental basis for the readiness of the Balinese to face a better future.

Keywords: *Bali Mandara, Discourse, Relation, Power-Knowledge.*

INTRODUCTION

Bali is familiar with the Island of the God (Pulau Dewata) with excellent tourism potential, which attracted the world. Geographically, it only has an area of 0.29% of the territory of Indonesia. In the 2020 population census, the population was around 4.32 million people. This condition indeed cannot be separated from the impact of Bali's development in recent years. The potential of beautiful nature and its unique culture lead Bali to become an international tourism destination. It makes Bali possess a variety of names, such as the Island of Heaven, the Island of a Thousand Temples, and the Island of Peace (Suharja, 2016: 66).

Recently, the concept of modern tourism has led and dominated the development of the Bali Region through various policies issued by the government. In addition, the

influence of globalization with its capitalist system will prevent the development of Bali in the future. The government notices this as an opportunity to develop Bali. There is no better way to escape from the globalization of the capitalist economy implemented by western countries. Until the emergence of the concept of development based on the vision of Bali Mandara as outlined in the Regional Regulation of the Province of Bali number 9 of 2009 concerning the Medium Term Development Plan of the Province of Bali (RPJMD) 2008-2013.

Bali Mandara is a concept of a developed, safe, peaceful, and prosperous Bali. Mangku Pastika formulated this concept as Governor of Bali at that time. In 2008, he first introduced developed Bali. It is a dynamic Bali, constantly moving in the dynamics of world movements and developments. Safe Bali is Bali that has a balance of correlation between the needs of human relations with other humans, human relations with the natural environment, and humans with their God, which is in line with the concept of Tri Hita Karana. A safe Bali is also a Bali protected from other opposing ideologies such as terrorism, anarchism, and others. Peaceful Bali is Bali which is always in a conducive condition. Lastly, prosperous Bali is the accumulation of progress, security, and peace.

This study discusses the advantages and disadvantages of a decade of implementation of the Bali Mandara program for the development of Bali Province. The intention to develop the tourism industry in several areas does not always run smoothly. There is much resistance from some Balinese. This paper focuses on the existence of power-knowledge relations in the Bali Mandara discourse. There has been a great deal of interest both in the formulation of the Bali Mandara concept and in the ongoing development process in Bali for several years. Furthermore, this research will also explore what people want for Bali itself because there are suspicions of the many voices or aspirations of the people, which are contrary to the Bali Mandara discourse.

CONCEPT AND THEORIES

The concepts used in this study are Discourse, Power, Knowledge, and Bali Mandara. Discourse is a language that becomes a social event, providing a language for making statements about specific topics in certain historical periods (Haryatmoko, 2017:3-4). Discourse is also a sea of words, languages used in various circumstances (Ankersmit, 1987: 308). Power operates through means, techniques, mechanisms (Barker, 2014:231). The meaning of power in *Cultural Studies* is not repressive power, political structure, master and servant, government, and dominant social class, but a powerful strategy in which power is practiced, accepted and seen as truth. Human knowledge is nothing more

than a metaphor. The objectivity of knowledge turns out to be just fiction, to hide natural perspectives and interests (Adian, 2002: 20). Knowledge is always linked to power, the link that strengthens each other. Bali Mandara, formulated by the Governor of Bali, Mangku Pastika, is a developed, safe, peaceful, and prosperous Bali.

This paper uses the power-knowledge relation and generative structure theories. According to Michael Foucault, the concept of power is one dimension and relation. Where there is a relationship, there is a power (Sutrisno and Putranto, 2005: 146). Foucault links power with knowledge, so power produces knowledge, and knowledge provides power. Power does not always work through oppression and repression, but also the regulation implemented by the government using Bali Mandara discourse. Accidentally, power operates in the network of public awareness. Because power does not come from the outside, but it determines the structure, rules, and relationships from the inside. Foucault stated that power is always actualized through knowledge, and knowledge always has a powerful effect. Bourdieu's generative structural theory tries to understand the social structure of society and the changes and developments that occurred in it. In Bourdieu's opinion, social analysis always aims to reveal the structures of economic domination and the government's symbolic domination through Bali Mandara discourse. The structure is the rules that are formed and exist that affect the habitual development of an individual. The people are not only invited to participate in following the directions and programs launched by the government and work so organized with awareness for their necessities. In this condition, there is a dialectical relationship between the structure and how individuals construct their social reality.

RESEARCH METHODS

The design of the research is a qualitative method in which the participants were observed and interviewed without selecting purposive informants and document studies. This qualitative research method emphasizes in-depth descriptions that are emic, ethical, and holistic (Saifuddin, 2005: 89-91). The method used by *Cultural Studies* researchers is known as the naturalistic method due to its real condition. Therefore, qualitative research does not only describe socio-cultural phenomena, but also finds out the ideology hidden behind them (Ratna, 2010: 94-95). It was described in the form of words, language in a special context that is natural and by utilizing various natural methods (Moleong, 2010: 6).

DISCUSSION

The Polemic of Development Plans with the Bali Mandara Concept

a. The Existence of Bali Mandara for the Community

The management of Bali Mandara's development transition arose from the accumulation of values that exist in Balinese society, social ideals, and the struggle of thinking about the choice of point of view in reviewing problems and a future vision of Balinese culture. Bali's provincial government is humiliated, attempting to serve the population by dealing with numerous issues packed with the Bali Mandara discourse. Behind it all, it is undeniable that Bali is an Indonesian province that relies primarily on tourism for a living. Bali has its charms in the tourism sector due to its natural beauty and distinct culture, and it is the backbone of the national tourism industry. Moreover, the benefits of tourism, Bali has reached a fork in the road in its future.

Tourism is a two-edged sword that forces Bali to choose between a source of income and devastation of Balinese nature and culture. For the sake of tourism, the generic culture of Bali has been sacrificed based on the knowledge that tourism is for Bali, not Bali for tourism (Picard, 2006:185). Local cultural wisdom, which promotes the preservation of both nature and the environment and the realization of the concept of Tri Hita Karana, has become a victim of tourism interests that demand the development of various tourism infrastructures that increasingly marginalize nature and environmental conservation. If there is a question that Balinese people today find difficult to answer, it could be what is the future of Balinese culture? Or the question of whether Balinese culture will be extinct by state power, modernization, and capitalism? Covarrubias posed these questions in the first decade of modern Bali tourism's history (Covarrubias, 1937:391).

Many studies have been conducted on the challenges and dialectics of Balinese culture in dealing with the effect of modernization, science, and technology. Ideas concerning future Balinese culture and techniques for achieving them are generally provided in thematic and partial studies. Although some academics and Balinese community leaders hold a balanced stance, the majority are divided into two major views. The first view is cautious and wise, and it favors the discourse of cultural preservation and revitalization. Meanwhile, the second view prefers to believe in the open and flexible fire of Balinese culture's spirit, and is eager to explore the limitless possibilities that globalization presents.

b. Tourism-Based Modern Infrastructure Development

The Bali Provincial Government continues to boost infrastructure development in several Bali Province regions to carry out various parts of national development. Several

areas in Bali are being developed to serve the tourism industry so that it can continue to grow and thrive. It can be seen in the buildings constructed with a dominating tourism accent, such as hotels and other infrastructure designed to help the Bali tourism sector advance and meet national targets. Following that, the Governor of Bali embarked on a huge development project to assist the development of tourism in Bali through technological breakthroughs in carrying out the Bali Mandara program. Several big facilities, including the Bali Mandara Toll Road, Underpass, Bali Mandara Hospital, Bali Mandara School, and the tourism icon, the gigantic Garuda Wisnu Kencana statue, were erected to address the issues that impede tourism progress.

Governor Mangku Pastika is concerned about traffic congestion in Bali, particularly in tourist regions crowded with visitors like Kuta and South Kuta. As a result, the government understands the critical importance of developing land, sea, and air infrastructure to promote tourism. As a kind of assistance for tourism development in Bali, specifically to address the issue of congestion in tourist sites. Besides, the character of tourism that stresses comfort and safety is a crucial factor to consider. As a result, the government has made several initiatives to improve transportation in the Bali Province. One of which is the effort to develop a toll road called the Bali Mandara Toll Road, the Dewa Ruci Underpass, and the Ngurah Rai Tugu Underpass, all to relieve traffic congestion.

c. Resistance from Several Components of Balinese Society

Governor Mangku Pastika cautions Bali not to become complacent because of its ability to attract millions of tourists. As a result, his party continues to invest in infrastructural development, such as the construction of the Bali Mandara Toll Road and island reclamation, to ensure that the island remains a tourist magnet. However, behind it all, environmental activists counter that infrastructure development such as toll roads and reclamation has eroded Bali's traditional values and local life. As a follow-up, it generates the emergence of critical views, resulting in various activities in the forms of protests, pleas, and solutions. In the case of tourism that has been systematically developed since the start, the Bali government sees the tourism sector as a promising opportunity.

This caused turmoil in Balinese society, causing various resistances. The resistance was motivated by several factors, namely social, cultural, environmental, and economic factors. The economic factor is the dominant factor in the resistance from the Balinese people. In addition, the development has had a fairly large impact, such as violations of human rights, social inequality, loss of livelihoods for some residents, disruption of religious activities around the coast. Further, the impact on nature such as

the destruction of coral reefs, abrasion in other places, disruption of natural cycles, and changes in land use.

The community engaged in several resistance actions in response to the construction of tourism amenities. Various groups of people who were part of a unitary action named the Bali People's Forum Rejecting Reclamation or *ForBali* carried out resistance in various forms, ranging from demonstrations to criticism. Actions such as demonstrations in various places to reject the construction of reclamation projects carried out by some elements who are members of *ForBali* began to reverberate throughout Pulau Dewata (the Island of the Gods).



Figure 1. Indigenous people who are members of *ForBali* take action against reclamation around Jimbaran (Document: Fauzan, 2017)

ForBali is a cross-sectoral alliance of Balinese civil society consisting of institutions and individuals including students, NGOs, artists, youth, musicians, academics, and individuals who care about the environment and believe that the Benoa Bay Reclamation is a policy that harms the island of Bali. As this movement gained traction, many people realized that that the Benoa Bay reclamation plan would only threaten the nature of Bali and the Balinese people.

The Power-Knowledge Relationship Behind the Bali Mandara Discourse

Bali Provincial Regulation Number 9 of 2009 about the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) was formulated to facilitate all programs from the Bali Mandara discourse during Mangku Pastika's first term as Governor of Bali. This is the basis for making a development plan for the second period of 2013-2018, although there are dynamics of changes on the way. It is through this regional regulation that the Bali

Provincial Government carries out all development programs and all the objectives to be achieved. Making many rules and policies that support the implementation of development to be faster and avoid various obstacles. Where it all comes together to accomplish Governor Mangku Pastika's vision and objective for the Bali Mandara discourse. Discourse is a knowledge system that provides information about social techniques and governing techniques which are forms of power in modern society.

This is also an act of government language directed at the truth that occurs not only in scientific reasoning. But also colloquial language as used in meetings, political speeches, and discussions in various circumstances. Not only that, the provincial government of Bali also uses knowledge in the implementation of numerous development projects through the utilization of power relations. Knowledge is inextricably linked to power, a bond that does not cancel out but rather strengthens it. Armed with the knowledge of psychology, a person has the power to judge the mental state of others. That power is hidden in the performance of feelings, love, awareness, and instincts (Kebung, 2002: 34). Human knowledge is nothing more than a metaphor, the objectivity of knowledge is only fiction, to hide real perspectives and interests. Every discourse has a link between its expression, the information that underpins it, and the power dynamics that function behind it. Every discourse is integrated with the power that operates behind it and also cannot be separated from the power relations hidden behind it which are the product of the practice of power (Piliang, 2004:223).

Regional development in Bali cannot be isolated from the participation of the Balinese people as a whole, including the executive's role in government management. In terms of infrastructure development, Mangku Pastika, the Governor of Bali, is particularly concerned on the Bali Mandara Toll Road, the Ngurah Rai, and Dewa Ruci Intersection Underpass projects. Moreover, the reclamation of Benoa Bay, which allows investors to neglect environmental issues and cultural values, is a government dominance practice that occurs while carrying out the Bali Mandara program. The tug of war between the political interests of the elite, both at the center and at the regional level, will undoubtedly color every decision-making (Dwipayana, 2010: 5).

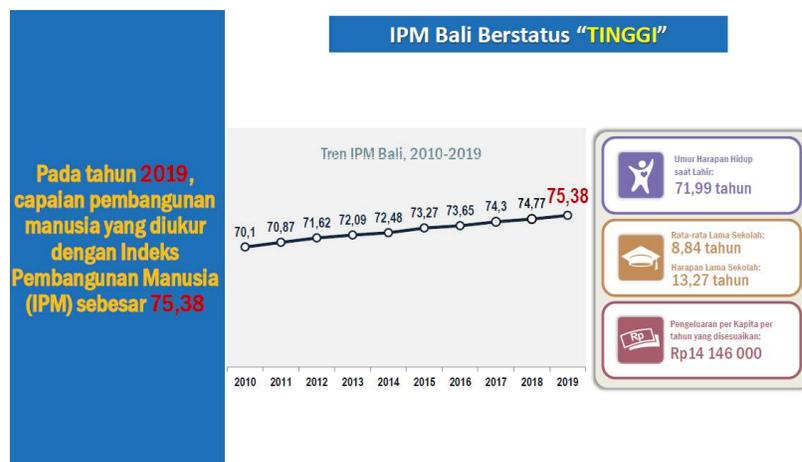
Implications of the Implementation of the Bali Mandara Development on Pulau Dewata (the Island of the Gods)

In less than a decade since the concept of Bali Mandara was implemented, various forms of implementation have been carried out, and the benefits are felt which are fundamentally the basis for the readiness of the Balinese people to face a better future.

The disagreements and differences in reviewing the urgency and priorities that characterize the process show the dynamics of a society that actively expresses its interest in good governance. The continuity of the process in the dialectic of the development of a modern, advanced and complete society in the vitality of Balinese cultural values, a structure and culture of the society in a new continuity can be seen here.

The continuity of the process in the journey of implementing leadership for a decade of Bali Mandara's development management transformation is needed as a retrospective record and social responsibility, as well as being a marker of achievements in a period of Balinese history. This culture and landscape that has been cultivated by the Balinese throughout history is the basic capital for the development of Bali tourism. Through the tourism sector, the province of Bali has contributed to Bali's tourism foreign exchange reaching Rp. 116 trillion or around 41.43 percent of the national tourism foreign exchange of Rp. 280 trillion. According to figures from 2019, foreign tourist visits to Bali reached 6.3 million persons, accounting for approximately 39.1 percent of all foreign tourists in the country. Not only that, but tourism contributed 53 percent of the Bali economy, particularly to UMKM and cooperatives, and employed approximately 1.1 million people.

As the main drive in Bali's economic development, the development of the tourism sector is directed at solving basic economic problems. Particularly in terms of increasing work prospects, expanding business opportunities, providing people's fundamental necessities, distributing income, and hastening poverty eradication. The Bali Provincial Government carries out balanced development of the tourism sector and other sectors. This is due to the fact that tourism is a very substantial contributor to the economy of Bali Province and is particularly sensitive in terms of absorbing workers.



Graph 1. Human Development Index 2010-2019
(Source: Central Statistics Agency (BPS) Bali Province, 2019)

The overall improvement in the quality of life is reflected in the improvement in the Human Development Index (HDI), showing a graph that continues to increase from 2010-2019. Improving environmental quality and natural resource management to achieve sustainable development in all sectors and fields of rural development. In addition, infrastructure improvements aim to increase the quantity and quality of various development support facilities. The Bali Mandara program focuses on community welfare, by reducing the number of impoverished people and generating job possibilities which can lower the open unemployment rate and strengthen the village's position as the foundation for economic progress.

Mangku Pastika. Many saw it as vital to continue for the Balinese people's goals and societal ideals to be achieved, while many were dismayed to witness the reality of the implications of regional development through the Bali Mandara program. The strengths and weaknesses discovered in the field must be strictly examined so that any flaws in the program's execution can be remedied immediately. The more desirable conditions are the conditions for the implementation of life in society and good governance, which can also be called Good Governance. To do this, the community and local government in Bali must carry out social transformation based on *jengah* (embarrassed) values. It is the outcome of being a government agency or institution that is most responsible for ensuring the survival of the Balinese people.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, there are pros and cons to planning and implementing the development of the Bali Province. For those who are in favor, as long as it does not violate the norms and has numerous benefits, and can solve a variety of problems, the Balinese people will embrace it. For those who oppose it, the implementation of development through the Bali Mandara program that is not in compliance with the Tri Hita Karana standard might destroy noble values and cause environmental damage. The regulations and policies are encapsulated in the Bali Province Regional Regulation (Perda), which permits the government to carry out all development programs and goals. The Bali Provincial Government is carrying out a power relation in which a knowledge system that gives information about social methods and governing techniques, kinds of power in modern society. Also, the accomplishments of the Bali Mandara program, as well as the growth of the tourism industry, have had a tremendous impact. Various forms of implementation have been carried out, and the

benefits are realized, which form the fundamental basis for the Balinese people's readiness to face a brighter future.

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