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## COMMODIFICATION AND NATIONALIZATION OF LAND MATTERS ACROSS THE NUSANTARA: THE CASE OF BALI

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### ABSTRACT

*The paper examines the revolutionary influences of nationalizing the governance of territoriality land matters and land utilization on the continuity of socio-spatial as well as cultural practices and forms across the Nusantara - Indonesian archipelago. Discussion is concentrated on Balinese culturally-based territoriality that is the subject of two prominent state agendas of advancing the national economy and promoting national unity. It consists of three main sections. The first explores the diversity of Indonesian society and its top-down political environment which determines how land matters are organized in terms of local traditions and modern systems of the state. The second section provides a fundamental explanation of the complexities and richness of Balinese culture, especially those pertaining to territorial forms and practices. This is followed by an analysis of critical impacts brought about by the implementation of Indonesian state land management systems on the Adat-based practices of the Balinese. As territoriality arguably lies at the core of a culture and its survival, the final section allocates special emphasis to the implementation of the Indonesian Basic Regulation on Land Matters and Agrarian Principles (BRLMAP) and the profound effects and implications this law has for existing patterns on the territoriality of the island.*

**Keywords:** *commodification, nationalization, socio-politics, traditional and modern land governance*

### SOCIO-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE NUSANTARA

Indonesia is recognized as one of the most socially diverse countries in the world. Apart from its large population, it comprises more than 360 ethnic groups, and 250 spoken local languages with a massive variety of different cultures and traditions, scattered across the 13,677 islands that form the *Nusantara* - Indonesian archipelago (Soemarjan and Breazeale 1993; Cribb 1999). On the one hand, this diversity represents immeasurable cultural wealth. On the other, it constitutes a barrier to national development. Kumar (1979) was of the view that in terms of its natural geography and ethno-culture, Indonesia does not possess unity. Together with its religious differences this could easily lead to social disintegration (Geertz 1993). For example, there have been ongoing religious conflicts occurring in Ambon (Mollucas province) and Palu (a province of the Sulawesi Island) since 1999. Also, migration from more populated provinces to less populated ones has been always promoted by the state. This in turn has created racial tensions such as those affecting the Maduranese of the East Java in their migration to the southern part of Kalimantan Island where the Dayak people reside.

Given the above circumstances development in Indonesia has from the beginning pursued two dominant strategies. The first was a call to achieve a 'sense of one nation,' bridging the various ethnic groups in order to build up a solid national amalgamation under a national strategy of Pancasila (five national ideologies). The second was to enhance the national economy through development. Having inherited a deep nationwide impoverishment from centuries of colonization, this agenda came with the urgency of expanding the economy, and distributing the fruits of development equally throughout the country. Both of these overarching strategies have disparate and fragmented manifestations in the way Indonesian politics is designed and applied, factors to be elaborated in detail in the following section. What I will demonstrate is that any devolution of authority to local agencies is largely illusory, and that centralized state control over local culture remains the order of the day.

### **State Policies over Land Matters**

Indonesian politics is mediated through a system of government consisting of a centralized-administrative hierarchy, and the nationalization of resources that exist across the archipelago. The system is divided into two major sections in accordance with Indonesian Law No.22/1948. The first division comprises central/national government, located in Jakarta, the nation's capital city. The second division consists in the various provincial governments, located in the regional capital of each province. In principle, within Indonesia's top-down system of government, government bodies located at a lower level are accountable to those above them. De facto, there is little local autonomy despite lip-service to this ideal.

Accountability from subordinate government bodies involves the responsibility to comply with policies and decisions instigated at a higher level. Having this kind of political arrangement, the ultimate role of decision-making falls into the hands of national government departments. There is however a mechanism that local departments or government institutions are charged with to amend policies introduced by national government in order to suit local circumstances. Ironically, these amendments require national approval and must not contradict with concerns in promoting national integration and economic growth. The national interest subverts the local and while there is a tiny incorporation of grass-roots politics, it only serves to legitimize the system.

In addition, there is a process of creating overall an appropriate ideological environment for national policy. This nationalization process is achieved with the instigation of statist forms of social control and law the legitimation process. In the case of Bali for instance, Indonesian statute law has replaced traditional *Adat* systems. *Adat* in this case means a collection of communal codes and practices homologous with the *Adat* community; conformed to by the *Adat* members; and evolved over centuries to respond to various challenges faced within the community (Suartika 2005). Control over natural resources including land, labour distribution and capital allocation are all managed by rules legislated by the national government. In theory, this strategy is aimed at controlling the equitable distribution of revenues among and between the various provinces. The ultimate objective is to achieve balanced development throughout the nation, despite its obvious concentration in favoured locations, such as Jakarta and its surrounding areas.

Focussing on the issue of space, the nationalization of land is particularly critical in a market economy. This process allows governments to introduce various methods of managing and utilizing land in societies that may not yet operate on the basis of exchange values; to define and protect property rights; to encourage market competition, and the need to promote the dominant pursuit of self-interest by individuals, led by the 'invisible hand' of the market (Sandler 1997). In general, nationalization provides the state/government with a monopoly over the resource base, and to intervene in order to support its economic agenda allowing it to generate revenues from taxation, including profits derived from the exploitation of land, including natural and cultural resources, etc.

It is within this overall context of national policy that the plethora of Indonesian ethnic groups co-exists. In order to illustrate the divergence of interests between national and local situations, the following section provides a brief explanation of Balinese social and cultural environments, one among hundreds of local ways of life that exist across the Nusantara.

## CULTURAL BASED TERRITORIALITY OF THE BALINESE

The strength of Balinese culture derives from the Adat, a 'quasi-feudal' system of values which cements the community together (Suartika 2005, 2007). It has the capacity to define its own problems and solutions, and is constituted and reflected in every form of social interaction (Sentosa 2001, Samadhi 2001, 2004). The Adat system is a cultural legacy, a continuously developed means of morality and obligation, growing and updated in accordance with social challenges occurring within the Adat community. So the governance role falls to the Adat institutions (community associations), which in turn govern several Banjar (neighbourhood associations). Decisions are made based on consensus, with community meetings held regularly. Typically, the culture evolved as an agriculturally based society, where rice farming was the prime form of subsistence. A tropical climate and active volcanic geomorphology across the island supported a well-established system of land cultivation that evolved a complex irrigation system and concomitant social relations called Subak.

Balinese society is extremely hierarchical, and this manifests itself in a diversity of socio-spatial and religious practices. For example, the concept of three *Tri* is prominent to all components of life, i.e. cosmic, village, temple, house and human beings. *Tri Angga*, outlines that things are divided into three, head, body and feet, which is interconnected with hierarchical concept of *utama* (highest level = head), *madya* (middle level = body) and *nista* (lowest level = feet). Balinese language for instance, has three levels that are used to communicate among four different groups within the society. Ritual ceremonies are also classified into three categories. Space is not in exception. The whole island temple, village, houses is zoned in accordance with the *Tri Angga* principle.

In general, the sacred zone (*utama*) is for ritual purposes, the *madya* zone is for living, and the least sacred (*nista*) is zoned for disposal. This zoning system is oriented by the vertical axis based on the direction of 'mountain' and the horizontal axis is determined by the rotation of the sun, a tradition which ignores normal polar orientations. The mountain is the most sacred site, and is the 'north' direction. In reverse, the beach is the 'south' direction. The point where the sun rises every morning is the 'east', another most sacred direction. The most of the most sacred zone will be the northeast, where north and east meet. However, there is no isolation between each of the zones. The beach for instance is a *nista* zone, but it is a sacred place at the same time. The beach is a place where purification activity takes place. Neither will the beach be contaminated by this process nor will it contaminate the living and non-living creatures in this world. It is interesting to note here the clear conflict existing between traditional practices and the sun, sand, and sea worship of mass tourism (Picard 1991, Britton 1991, Rojek & Urry 1997).

As territoriality lies at the core of culture, the Adat system views land as a community's ancestral legacy and therefore a communal resource. So each Adat community has a philosophical relationship with their territory/land. It is not merely a matter of possessing land to live on, but more about a relationship between the Adat members and their ancestors. Land that is governed by the Adat system is referred to as Adat land throughout this paper. Balinese Adat territorial principles do not recognize the potential exchange value of land for monetary purposes or any other form of reward. This fact alone represents a significant barrier to state commodification and the market mechanism, placing traditional belief systems and land tenure in conflict with so called 'modernization.' Land is only used for the collective benefit of the Adat community and its institution, temples, and Adat community members. Each of these elements has tenure over certain Adat lands, with the obligation to provide physical (*ayahan*) and non-physical (*patus*) contributions where applicable.

In accordance with principles of tenure, Adat land may be defined as having two major categories (Suartika 2005, 2007):

1. Tenure held by the Adat Institution, and used by the whole community.
2. Tenure held by Adat members, and used by each individual household, as long as this household belongs to the Adat community.

Today, given the extent of national integration, Balinese cultural values and practices are subject to national objectives to advance the national economy and unity. A National Economic Development Plan (NEDP) that denotes Bali as the centre of cultural tourism in Indonesia has been adopted as the chosen method through which the above cultural forms and practices become commodified. Moreover, the idea of national unity forces the Balinese to redefine their cultural practices in conformity with state objectives, and under certain circumstances even down to the specification of forms of clothing. The presence of the state and its mechanisms therefore represent a threat to the foundation of Balinese culture and its long-term survival. Before explaining in greater detail the form of threats inflicted by the political system, the following section examines more generally the impacts of the Indonesian state.

## **THE IMPACTS OF INDONESIAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRATEGIES ON BALI AND ITS TERRITORIALITY**

Overall, Bali has been affected by Indonesian national strategies in various ways. These may be explained in three major categories, as follows.

### **Political**

- ◆ Specific forms of practices and codes which were in the past constituted by the Adat, have been replaced by a more 'modern' form of national legislation. These come as a set of written regulations (statute laws) with various legal sanctions applied to those who disobey them.
- ◆ To support the implementation of the national systems of governance, the Balinese Adat Institutions are set aside, since they share dissimilar sets of values from the state. This has brought about a duality of structure of AdatState within the Balinese community.
- ◆ The difference between the Adat and State systems is expressed in the legitimation process. The Adat and its products are regarded as non-legal forms of social control. They bind Balinese people, but are regarded as illegitimate in regard to matters pertaining to the state. The statute laws of the state systems on the other hand, are legal mechanisms. They are imposed equally throughout the nation, and require acceptance and conformance from all Indonesians. This involves the incorporation of huge ethnic groups such as the Acehnese, Timorese, Sundanese, Maduranese, Balinese, etc.
- ◆ The creation of a new Indonesian state has also eliminated traditional boundaries between provinces, in which migration from one locality to another is facilitated and promoted in order to diffuse cultural differences and promote national integration (Hugo 1996). However, the political agenda behind this internal migration has not come with appropriate physical and social infrastructures to accommodate migrants.
- ◆ Economic
- ◆ Bali's resources and its economic development is defined, directed, and controlled by the National Economic Development Plan for Bali (NEDPB). This development plan outlines Bali as the central point for tourist development within the nation, on the basis of its unique culture and environment. This overall development strategy is focussed solely on inflating national revenues, with no serious incorporation into law of any appropriate system for the conservation of local culture.
- ◆ These revenues are to a large extent generated from taxation. The idea of nationalization provides national government with full control over the extraction, management, distribution, and use of these taxes. Hence a disproportionate share to government with much less return to local people has been a common occurrence. There is no statistical data available to demonstrate this statement, but the fact becomes apparent when one observes the moderate provision of social and physical infrastructures in Bali. The poor capacity of Bali's medical services which were required to help the victims of the 2002 Bali bombing is an obvious example of how the NEDPB undermines the very origins of its own revenues.
- ◆ The government's modest financial capacity to accelerate development of tourist amenities in Bali, motivates the NEDPB to promote and prioritize participation by private enterprises. This leads to a trend where the role of private investment is prominent. As a general illustration, during the period of 1999-2004, the total capital invested for development in Bali was 10,547.21 billion Rupiah (US \$ 1.628 billion) (Planning Development Board of Bali

2005). The Indonesian government only provided for 24.74 % of this total investment, with the remaining 75.26 % made available by the non-government/private sector. The government support for tourism is basically generated from the national budget (51.22 %), the budget based on the Presidential Instruction (20.76 %), and the local budget (28.02 %) (Planning Development Board of Bali 2005).

- ◆ Aditjondro (1995) suggests that the majority of private investors commandeering Bali's tourist industry are those of national and national-international joint enterprises whose base is in Jakarta. The centralized government decision-making process in Jakarta has nourished such monopoly practices. This mechanism provides more political and economic opportunity to individuals who have close ties with government officials, thereby allowing them to intervene in the decision-making process.
- ◆ The above monopolies continue to be a determinant factor strengthening nepotistic practices. State-licensed companies exist at many levels of the hierarchy resulting in development capital having a 'free for all' in regard to the available resources.
- ◆ At the same time Bali's mass tourist development has generated a lucrative image continuously attracting economic migrants from the neighbouring provinces (Pitana 2004). Ironically, while a transmigration policy has been aimed at reducing Bali's population by allocating large numbers of Balinese families to various less-populated provinces across the nation, no government policies have been instigated to regulate the inflow of economic migrants to the island. Rather than enhancing Balinese culture as a major economic resource, such policy failures undermine the very 'Balineseness' of the island.

### **Social**

- ◆ Bound by the concept of national integration and unity, every component part of Balinese society which was in the past founded by the Adat system is now to be directed by nationally instigated notions of Indonesian nationhood.
- ◆ Bali's compliance to being part of a nation extends to its acceptance of various practices and forms of Indonesian national culture, a process furthered by government policy which only supports local practices whose values coincide with the national agenda.
- ◆ The longevity of Balinese society and its culture is further endangered as the development of Bali's tourist industry has not been equipped with a mechanism in which cultural practices are nurtured and conserved as they are simultaneously exploited to support the production of state revenues and those of private capital.

### **The Threats to Balinese Culture and its Socio-spatial Practices**

In a modern state like Indonesia, the state has the controlling power over its territory and people, and the practices related to its market society are prominent, ownerships are defined, individual interest and competition are promoted etc. In the case of the traditional Adat systems on the other hand, members of the Adat community have the most important position, shared values are highly regarded, and community interests and needs are addressed before those of individuals. Threats emerge when the state bureaucracy is imposed onto a complex society such as Bali, with little or no concern for the Balinese and their Adat.

Threats facing local culture may therefore be categorized into those relating to national economic strategies and practices, and those relating to the state's agenda to build, strengthen, and maintain national amalgamation. The first group contains threats induced by nationalizing and commandeering local resources to support the nation's revenue, and also to support wealth creation for privileged groups. The second group considers threats resulting from state action to nationalize and undermine local political systems and traditional communities.

### **The Threats resulting from the National Agenda on Economy**

The critical practices mentioned above are the National Economic Development Plan (NEDP) introduced to promote national cultural tourism, and the implementation of the Basic Regulations on Land Matters and Agrarian Principles (BRLMAP) introduced to manage matters pertaining to land. These will be discussed in greater detail below.

## **The Tourist Industry**

The strategy to promote Indonesian national cultural tourism goes in line with present global trends where local culture aligns with 'tourist culture' (Urry 1995, Chambers 1997, Waters 2000). The diversity of cultural capital which exists throughout the archipelago has enabled the country to take part in the global tourist market (Hill 2000). In choosing Bali as the centre of Indonesia's tourist development, it is apparent that Balinese culture and its associate products and rituals are a prime target for commodification to meet tourist needs, as well as meeting national objectives in generating revenues.

Threats to culture take place when strategies merely aim at giving priority to economic goals set by the national government and its development partners, without providing proper mechanisms to protect culture from the damaging impacts of capitalistic practices in Bali (Mitchell 1995, Aditjondro 1995, Picard 1996, Suartika 2007). These practices began when the state's limited political and financial capacity to develop the industry was seen to be a major obstacle, especially when the industry was designed to boost national revenue. The NEDP was introduced as the mechanism which would encourage the private sector to participate. This participation has since triumphed with eighty percent of investment schemes in major tourist facilities in Bali being held either by national or national-international joint private corporations based mostly in Jakarta and Surabaya (Aditondro 1995). The remaining participation consists mainly of local and or local-national joint enterprises. How much of the profits are returned to the Balinese still remains a matter for significant speculation.

This situation has no doubt contributed to the Balinese economy by creating more jobs for e.g. waiters, room service attendants, receptionists, accountants, handicraft makers, etc. The entire process however is aimed at exploiting various factors of production labour, land, and cultural capital in generating profits. Crudely stated, the underlying system of barter inherent to quasi-feudal society, the exchange of goods and labour, as well as free service to the community is undermined. In its place, this practice is inevitably traded in modernity for wages and a 'free' labour market. As part of this overall process, Adat community members and their collective culture are then slowly turned into an exploited service industry for state joint ventures and venture capital, promoting a service mentality to the detriment of significant cultural rituals and processes.

Bali's tourist industry supported by national development planning has deepened the entire scope of cultural commodification (Suartika 2005). For instance, sacred dances are presented as tourist attractions; the duration for several art performances are compressed from 3 hours into 30 minutes to suit the tourist timetable; many territorial forms are sacrificed to allow the development of various tourist facilities markets, community squares, beaches, paddy fields, temples; elements used in religious shrines are misused as elements of landscape by various tourist facilities; certain forms of religious offerings are used as interior decoration in hotels and their rooms etc. These misdemeanours are practiced to supply tourists with 'appropriate' facilities and surrogate cultural experiences. As the numbers of tourists increase, more facilities are required, and practices relating to cultural commodification are impacted. While even colonization by the Dutch recognized the inherent value of Balinese culture, the new colonization of global and national finance capital shows no such respect (Picard 1996).

The national government's support for capitalist practices does not adequately generating proper strategies to protect local culture. To recognise and establish these strategies, many things need to happen: first, an analysis of the bearing capacity of Bali's physical, social, and cultural environment (Kakazu 1994); second, a study of Balinese culture to identify its critical cultural forms and practices in order to sustain the culture; third, recognition of the strategic roles of the Adat institution in relation to Balinese society; and fourth, the inception of a development plan that balances economy, environment, and culture. All these strategies are omitted from the NEDPB and there can only be two reasons for this. Overall, there is the immediate need for the nation to generate revenue by all possible means, and this coincides with the idea of wealth creation within a global market society, of which the Indonesian economy is a part. Then we also have to deal with the presence of corrupt government officials, with personal economic and political interests that have provided paid access to private enterprise to interfere, and to also

direct, the decision-making process in favour of the business goals of such enterprises, and their shareholders.

In the short term this condition has brought huge economic successes for investors. However, the focus has fundamentally changed, as the main value of culture as lifestyle changes into culture as a means for revenue and wealth creation the culture industry (Scott 2000, Adorno 2001). Because there is no other employment, people are forced to participate in the deconstruction of their own cultural heritage. This continuous modification of Balinese cultural elements will inevitably result in permanent changes that will destroy one of the most unique cultures left on earth, a consequence that is not expected to be good for future generations of Balinese, tourists, financial investors, and even the national government. Typically, the unrestrained greed of capitalist enterprise is slowly destroying the object of its own wealth creation.

### **THE INDONESIAN BASIC REGULATION ON LAND MATTERS AND AGRARIAN PRINCIPLES (BRLMAP)**

State involvement endorsing capitalist market practices is further evident with the implementation of the Indonesian Act No. 5, 1960 concerning the Indonesian Basic Regulation on Land Matters and Agrarian Principles (BRLMAP). Prior to this, there were two land systems that existed in Indonesia. The first was the traditional customary law rights, and the second was the more capitalized system of having written land titles and land registration (MacAndrews 1986, Warren 1993). The implementation of this Act provided the Indonesian state with the ability to nationalize various land arrangements by registering and issuing land titles, with the Indonesian National Land Agency responsible for coordinating the process.

Realizing that land has social and political functions beyond its narrow economic value, the BRLMAP attempted to portray itself as 'user-friendly' to local people. It states that the implementation of local land arrangements will be considered when they are not in conflict with national interests, which de facto they are much of the time. While this does not sustain social space locally, it further emphasizes the domineering control of the BRLMAP/state authority. We can deduce from this that the BRLMAP was designed to achieve three ultimate goals. First, to nationalize the management of land. Second, to transfer the control of resources from any local institutions to the Indonesian state. Third, to fulfil its agenda of economic and national amalgamation, state control and the enduring exploitation of this factor of production across the Nusantara.

Consequently local land arrangements and related local institutions have, for all practical purposes, been extinguished by national law. In this regard, the BRLMAP is thus responsible for the continuous eradication of various traditional territorial forms. In the case of Bali for instance, instead of conserving local practices, the implementation of the BRLMAP has undermined and eroded them by:

1. eliminating land tenure principles, leading to the position of communal rights over land as not preferred.
2. disintegrating the Adat land.
3. installing the Indonesian National Land Agency to take over role of the Adat institution over land matters relieving this community institution from its authority over roles, rights, and duties.

Revolutionary changes to land tenure practices are caused by the basic requirement under the BRLMAP to register land and the identification of rights over land. Articles 16, section 1 of the BRLMAP states that these rights over land include the right of ownership; right of exploitation; right of building; right of use; right of lease; right of opening up land; and right of collecting forest products. Failure to register land results in its classification as unregistered land. Rights over such land are consequently taken over by the state. This policy has further disintegrated the coherence of Adat land by redefining tenure held by Adat members into private rights. However,

in the case of Adat land tenure held by the Adat institution, its right over this land has not been confirmed, as the institution is not considered a legal entity. Rights to these lands are jointly shared between the state and the Adat institution. This interference requires the Adat to consult with the government for all changes to its traditional land use allocation and subsequently means that Balinese socio-spatial practices are to be subsumed to state imposed agendas and subject to state approval. While this may be viewed as wholly justifiable and in the national interest, surely it is also possible for development to take place where local interests are included to the benefit and long term interests of both parties.

The BRLMAP however gives *hak ulayat* (right of use) over communally used Adat land to the Adat institution as a representative of the Adat. In relation to this right, article 3 of the BRLMAP states that:

*“.....the implementation of the 'Hak Ulayat' (the propriety-right of communal property of an Adat (community) and rights similar to that of Adat communities), in so far as they still exist, shall be adjusted as such as to fit in with the national and state's interests, based on the unity of the nation and shall not be in conflict with the acts and other regulations of a higher level.”*

This article obviously carries two significant implications for the *hak ulayat*:

1. The first relates to the existence of *hak ulayat*. This right will only be recognized by the BRLMAP if it existed on the day of the inception of this regulation. *Hak ulayat* is not recognized in areas where the right existed in the past but is no longer current. Further, *hak ulayat* will never be introduced to an area where such rights have never existed.
2. The second point is the application of the *hak ulayat*. The *hak ulayat* shall be applied in a way that is consistent with national aims and objectives that are based on national unity, and is not against national law and other higher regulations.

The BRLMAP furthermore explains when the application of *hak ulayat* is restricted:

1. *Hak ulayat* does not apply, when its application is not in line with the national aim of issuing the right of exploitation (*hak guna usaha*) of land by a particular party.
2. *Hak ulayat* is not recognized when community members refuse to allow major deforestation activities to take place in order for the government to carry out major projects, such as developing a new housing area and the development of large cultivated areas to increase food supply.
3. Being part of a system that recognizes national law, the community with its *hak ulayat* must not in line with national aims and objectives.
4. It is not possible for the *hak ulayat* to have absolute right over land, as its existence is in conjunction with other parts of the nation that may also have similar rights and needs for land.

The introduction of individual rights over land is critical in a market society in order to endorse market practices such as, selling and buying land, land leasing and transfer etc. Hence within capitalist society, communal rights, communal consensus, and community agreements are not favoured. They tend to slow down market practices, and do not promote the idea of atomised, individualistic wealth creation, respecting communal interests instead. Both of these principles are in serious conflict with the basic functions of state sponsored capitalism. Moreover, communally shared practices and use values are in contradiction to modern society's individual interests and exchange values, as promoted within the BRLMAP. By curtailing the participation of the Adat institution, the BRLMAP has restricted community access to community land while at the same time pronouncing private wealth creation. Therefore, the mission of the BRLMAP to secure legal access to land for all Indonesians has not been evident and above board.

Hence we may conclude that the implementation of the BRLMAP constitutes a threat to Balinese culture, not simply savaging its territorial traditions, but in its entirety. According to Hall (1973), territoriality is one of ten major elements that construct culture. In his 'Matrix of Culture,' he denotes each of these cultural components as a primary message system. Together they are intertwined to form the cultural matrix. So disturbance to one has the potential to destabilize the entire culture.

### **Threats resulting from the Agenda to Promote National Integration**

In explaining the threats facing local culture resulting from state-owned agendas to promote national amalgamation, this paper has addressed selected state actions taken to nationalize its various political agendas: the development of an Indonesian national culture; nationalizing institutional systems; instigating national forms of law; creating national forms of social control; and establishing a national form of sanction and authority. Apart from being tools for state-consolidation, these actions have also undermined local cultural systems, such as that of Bali. Heterogeneity within the nation is conceived as a major threat in achieving national unity. Hence the answer, a uniformization process that requires immediate conformity, is created, decided, imposed, directed, and controlled by the national government at the highest level. On this basis a fully state/national government dominated process, foreign to local people, takes priority over those who have little or no involvement in determining their own condition of existence.

Threats resulting from the above situation may be classified into three categories. The first category consists of threats that disestablish elements of local culture, as an emerging national culture develops. This process is promoted by the state on one hand, and rejected by the various contributing groups on the other. For instance, Balinese handicrafts, forms of offerings, art performances, etc. are to a large extent freely embraced as part of this national identity, although they are in fact undermined and commodified to fit capitalistic enterprises and packaged for sale. Territory related Balinese arrangements incorporated within the Adat are not included in the BRLMAP. On several occasions this concern was only expressed when the Adat community interests were not in contradiction with state-owned sanctions. Ironically, this can be seen as a process of deconstructing the unity of the various elements that provide cultural coherence and a thriving social matrix.

The second category consists of threats that reconstitute basic values that have been a part of the local culture for centuries. This different form of threat is yet inseparable from the first. When culture is fragmented, the values attached to its component parts are also lost (Durrenberger 1996, McGuigan 1996). In the case of Bali, the imposing presence of national law, sanctions, and authority are intended to push the Adat aside, when in fact the Adat is the soul of Balinese culture, highly regarded, shared, and obeyed. A further example is the role of the Adat institution, seen as a relatively important form of the overall Balinese institutional system, yet it is denied democratic participation at any level of the Indonesian national government. As has been explained earlier, the Adat institution as the community representative consists of prajuru desa (Adat leaders) who are knowledgeable on matters relating to tradition as well as the Adat. Consequently, participation by the Adat institution could provide a substantial contribution to decision-making activities, especially when decisions are aimed at being implemented at the local level. The absence of these two forms of local representation within the state system severely threatens the sustainability of Balinese cultural values.

The third category consists of threats that transform an independent society into a dependent society, interconnected with the first two threats demonstrated above. As a result of national integration, local conformity to state imposed systems is mandatory, and recognition of state authority over local matters is one outcome of such compliance. When problems occur, the local community members will be less likely to resolve problems which do not correspond to their own local system. The community will have to seek solutions from the national government at the local or the national level. If roles of the Adat continue to exist, its members and its institution will be able to overcome these problems internally. A clear example of this is when there is an issue with land registration. People cannot seek help from the Adat institution as was the case in the past. It is presently considered beyond the Adat institution's knowledge and authority to do this, as issuing land registration and titles are now a part of the State system which directly enables the government to apply land tax, its central objective in revenue raising. This accelerates the process from an independent society into a dependant society and from democratic decision making to exclusionary politics.

Given the three types of circumstance resulting from the enforcement of state control in Bali to the detriment of the existing Adat system, the state system therefore cannot be considered culturally appropriate, democratic or in line with conservation best practice. This is due to the fact

that firstly, unlike the Adat, state systems are not derived from, nor widely recognized within the Balinese community. Secondly, State systems act independently yet when it comes to surmounting difficulties at a local level, the systems fail to get to the core of the problem. Currently, there exist many local cases pertaining to land and culture which remain unresolved, due to conflicting values between the Adat and the state, despite the fact that the Adat system has the proven capacity to have to resolve conflicts having managed these communities for centuries. Thirdly, due to the relationship between 'state' and 'government,' the state system is subject to change every time the nation elects a new government to power. In contrast, the Adat system is completely stable and changes to its practices are enabled in accordance with the principles of *desa* (place), *kala* (time), and *patra* (context).

## CONCLUSION

It is clear that the implementation of state imposed systems have contributed not only to breaking down the Balinese cultural system, but also the unique and complex system of the Adat. This paper refers to this condition as the process of deculturization. The above discussion has demonstrated this fact based upon an analysis of the conditions of Indonesian society and its politics in general, Balinese culture, and the commodification process affecting its cultural forms and practices.

The roots of this deculturization process are various nationalization practices imposed by the Indonesian state on Bali that do not embrace participation of the grass root level, as is the practice elsewhere across the Nusantara. The exclusion of the Adat institution from the national government hierarchy in managing land matters is a clear example. Such circumstances have become a reason for public discontent and the creation of a society that is governed by a set of regulations foreign to its traditions. This condition indeed brings about various social and political conflicts which nonetheless have not resulted in civil strife in Bali such as has taken place frequently in many areas across Indonesia (i.e. Aceh, West Papua, Riau). A centralized political system has the tendency to provide limited space for the public to learn. Given the complexity of Indonesian social geography, serious constraints are therefore placed on the majority to contribute and participate at various development stages. Overall, this condition nourishes the formation of an unhealthy dependency at the community level, while eroding their accustomed autonomy.

If in the national interest, cultures and traditions are to be sustained, there is an urgent need to mediate this situation by reorientating social and political systems in Indonesia to embrace local traditions as a resource. All of these call for future research aimed at formulating a planning mechanism in which cultural elements are appropriately accommodated within state systems and empowered at local level. Culture is a major resource in supporting the national economy. Like any other resource, local culture cannot be considered self-sustaining while being deprived of autonomy, authority, resources and traditions. Future studies should therefore address how to rectify these problems within considerate and humane planning strategies, not only in Bali, but across the multitude of ethnic groups and culture across Indonesia.

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