

Banjar Adat and Local Wisdom : Community Management For Public Space Sustainability in Bali Province¹

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Abstract

Bali has abundant common resources, including Bale Banjar, lumbung desa, Pelaba Pura Area, Public Cemetery, coastal region and forest. As so far, the public space was managed by banjar adat, that is community that living in an area and tied together due to common praying place e.g Pura Puseh, Pura Dalem and Pura Desa. Each banjar adat has strictly bonding rules for each member that known as awig-awig. Even there is silent conflict among group in the banjar adat however the existence of public space still well maintained. The paper try to expose public space management pattern in Hindu community Bali and the own wisdom in relationship with conservation of physical and social environment. Result of analytical study indicated that norms rigidity is the most important factor for the successfully of Balinese to maintain public space that managed by the community. Norm's rigidity tends to encourage sustainable activities in social living, resources and environment conservation and believe in God. Frequency of Balinese in common activities at each banjar adat is minimally 12 times for six months. This make social control functioninf effectively especially on the behaviour of banjar adat member that deviate or destory common property resources that own by banjar adat.

Key words: *Banjar adat, Community Management, Common Property Resources, Sustainability*

INTRODUCTION

Development is differing than growth where is development more emphasizing at the process and not only including quantitative extension but also qualitative factor like institution, cultural and organizational where the economics applied. Therefore, regional economics development should included integrated planning between physical aspect, economic, institution and social. As so far, social aspect often neglected, relative to physical development (e.g. road, telecommunications facilities etc). This condition able to generate negative impact on socio-economic living and local institution that in turn lead to exploitation of environmental and traditional institution .

Meier and Stiglitz (2001) has described that there is economics evolution thinking where initially only emphasizing on level of economics growth so that physical capital factor become determinant of development process efficacy. In line with the progress, efficacy of development is not only measured by achievement of economic indicator (just growth) but also non-economics indicator. [The] mentioned also push the happening of friction of idea to capital accumulation step by step, which initially only emphasizing at physical capital accumulation [is] later; then accompanied with human being capital accumulation, science and finally social capital. Such situation encourage

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gradually shift on capital accumulation idea, that initially only emphasize on physical capital accumulation and followed by human capital accumulation, sciences and finally social capital.

Expanding opinions by various results of research and theoretical study start to consider institution roles in economics growth concept and also regional development. Institution impact of resources degradation is clearly indicated especially for common pool resources (collectively own). The characteristic cause market mechanism fails to create incentive to yield good price. Institution problems that related to characteristic of common pool resources are including not existing private property right, existence of free rider, corruption behavioral and rent-seeking behavior. The main interest of the paper are to explain how institution by means of social capital can affect natural resources and environment performance and in turn will reduce degradation problems. We gratefully to get appreciation in presenting the significance of local wisdom of banjar adat in terms to maintain environmental resources, especially common property resources.

Social Institution and Common Pool Resources Management

Regional social characteristic is more emphasizing on social community living, that covering community activities in social organization, professional group, artistic and sport group which growing and expanding in Bali. The social characteristic has close relationship with growing of social capital and affect on regional economics development. Many social organization that growing and expanding in Bali are include *desa adat* or *desa pakraman* (custom village), subak, subak abian and sekaha in artistry field and sport group.

Growing and expanding group in a society becomes a interaction vehicle for society member in the region. Intense and repeated interaction tend to avoid situation like Prisoner's Dilemma, that is suspecting each other so that resulting harmful decision making for all parties. The groups become important in considering common pool resources (CPRs)

In Bali, there are some social group of society that commonly called as development pillar namely Banjar, Banjar Adat (Banjar Pakraman), Sekaha and Subak. There are difference function and form between official village (*desa dinas*) and *desa pakraman* that followed by lower structure that is *banjar dinas* and *banjar pakraman*. *Desa dinas* and *banjar dinas* is relate to all administration activities while *desa* and *banjar pakraman* relate to religious activities. As the result, it is possible that the two forms has different area coverage. *Desa* and *banjar pakraman* also knows as *desa* and *banjar adat*.

Desa Pakraman have village character and functioning as couple of *desa dinas*. It is possible that *Desa Pakraman* consist of one or more banjar adat. The head is known as *bendesa adat* and appointed by *krama desa adat*. The highest power hold by *sangkep (paum, parum)*, the members meeting. The principal difference between *desa dinas* and *desa pakraman* is that member of *desa pakraman* is *penyungung* (member) of *pura kahyangan tiga* (kahyangan tiga temple: altar to pray on God as creator, preserver and world mixture and all His creation), social unity that strengthened by religious ceremonies and holy custom unity, while member of *desa dinas* have no

binding. In general, the binding is due to patrilineal lineage, although do not close possibility existing outer membership by place of residence.

Desa Pakraman have been established since old Bali era, precisely since arrival of Mahayogi Markandya Pura in eighth century. The terms of *keraman* in Bwahan inscription, 916 Çaka, interpreted as a group of society that inhabiting a given region. The difference of Çaka year and Masehi is 79 years. The living society pattern of what is called as *pakraman* more settled by Mpu Kuturan that is a religious and civic expert. Mpu Kuturan ruled society living in *desa pakraman* and introduce smaller groups according to the profession such as *banjar*, *subak* and *sekaha*. *Desa* and/or *banjar pakraman* play to guide custom activities related to Hindu people (*upakara-upakara*) and religious activities. Of course, their existing interaction will build social capital among individual in a homogeneous, known as bonding social capital. More and more allocated time to develop bonding social capital will reduce opportunity to develop bridging capital social.

Tabel 10. Number of Desa, Banjar Dinas and Adat in Bali, 2006

District	Desa	Banjar
Jembrana		
Dinas	51	153
Adat	63	257
Tabanan		
Dinas	122	122
Adat	339	779
Badung		
Dinas	62	361
Adat	119	329
Gianyar		
Dinas	69	495
Adat	266	517
Klungkung		
Dinas	59	243
Adat	92	208
Bangli		
Dinas	69	315
Adat	155	387
Karang Asem		
Dinas	71	552
Adat	185	567
Buleleng		
Dinas	147	472
Adat	166	409
Kota Denpasar		
Dinas	43	396
Adat	35	492
Bali		
Dinas	693	3007
Adat	1420	3945

Sources : Data Bali Membangun, 2007

Banjar Adat (Banjar Pakraman) in Bali

In Bali, there is a community organization that still relevant to reduce common property resources degradation namely *banjar dinas* and *banjar adat (banjar pakraman)*. *Banjar adat* represent a social unity that based on region unity. Member of *Banjar Dinas* are include both indigenous people and migrant. In mountain area, the nature of banjar membership is only limited to one who born in the banjar. In this case, lead to strong tyings among banjar member that specifically will develop bonding social capital.

Member of Banjar Adat meet at certain days which have been specified in Bale Banjar, a building property of banjar that used for common activities. Banjar Dinas headed by kelian dinas while banjar adat headed by kelian adat, selected for certain period banjar's member. Kelina banjar undertake responsibility to manage administrative matter while kelian adat (kelian banjar pakraman) responsible on social and religious activities. In the other hand, kelian adat also addressed any existing problem that concerning with custom.

Understanding of local wisdom in *Banjar adat*

Understandings of local wisdom that exist in a region require understanding of the culture. According to Geertz (1973), culture is configuration of values system, qualitative meaning and idea development in life. Conceptionally, local wisdom is part of culture. local wisdom is traditional culture element that deeply rooted in human life and community that related with human resources, source of culture, economic, security and laws. local wisdom can be viewed as a tradition that related with farming activities, livestock, build house etc.

Griya (2007) stressed that revitalization of local wisdom should be viewed in holistic manner from two different option and not stand in opposition, not trapped in narrow traditionalism echo and fanatic to face present and future reality which more and more complex. The option for revitalization of local wisdom are: (1) local wisdom in static, dogmatic, and fanatic of past traditionalism context that related with historical establishment and excellence and (2) local wisdom in context of present transformation and adaptation and dynamic, flexible and selective on changing in the future.

Local wisdom can be classified as part of social capital that should be paid attention in the implemented development. Local wisdom, in the form of norms and traditional network will be sustained if trust feeling among society members established as basis for moral behavior.

Morality provide direction for social coordination and cooperation of all activities so that human being can coexist and interacted each others. Build of trust feeling is the part of affection process that early established in a family. As long as trust feeling exist in behavior and family relationship, hence the reciprocity and trade off principles will be established (Bordieu, 1986; Fukuyama, 1995). Local wisdom and traditional institution that well maintained in Bali relate to conservancy of environment that having character of common property is describe hereunder

Banjar Adat and Gotong Royong (Mutually Help)

Societal living in Bali recognize mutual help (nguopin) that covering activity such as rice field and garden (planting, weeding, harvesting, pest controlling), household activities (repairing house roof, house wall, digging well etc), in family ceremonies or celebrations, in death and accident or in environment conservation (e.g. Pura (altar for praying), bale banjar, bale kulkul, and cemetery. Nguopin among individual is usually based on by congeniality that energy aid should be reciprocated by the same energy. Besides nguopin, there are also mutual help among sekaha. The similar means referred as ngedeng (pulled), such as gamelan group pulled to join in in praying ceremony. The last form of mutual help is collective work (ngayah) for religious, community and government need. Bali society recognizes the existence kalapatra. The awareness realizes many variations according to local difference. Hindu that have long integrated into Bali society, also act as strengthening element on the existence of unity awareness. The effect of Java-Hindu culture in Bali since Majapahit era, creating two forms of Bali society, namely Bali-Aga and Bali-Majapahit. In general, Bali Aga society inhabit village in mountain area while Bali Majapahit generally expanding on plain area and the largest of Bali population. Most of mountain area occupied by natural forest that stretched from west to east direction, divide Bali into two regions: the smaller plain in the north and the larger one in south. As so far, the natural forest still maintained and preserved because most of large pura – a place for praying Hindu people – build in the forest area, such as Pura Pulaki, Pura Batukaru, and the biggest temple, Pura Besakih, which located in Gunung Agung.

Rerainan in Banjar community: a moment when people praying to thanks to its Creator that creating environment to support living. The Bali society recognizes many holy days that celebrated for every 7 months and relate to thanks to its Creator that creating environment and animal. The feeling is based on *Tri Hita Karana* concept that affirm the harmonious relation between human being and God, among human being and also human being with the environment.

In fact, rerainan is a local wisdom that still maintained as so far and become significant factor that prevent negative behavior of Bali society in term of environment management including coast and forest, such as Nyepi, Tumpek Wariga and Tumpek Uye.

On *Nyepi* holy days, entire Bali people stopped their activities for one day (24 hours). In general, this interpreted as opportunity for the nature to rest after 355 day fulfilled by pollution from human activities. However there is a deep meaning, an opportunity for human being realizes what has been conducted for the past year and making correction for the later and promise not to repeat again in the future.

Tumpek Wariga is a day when Hindu people praying to thank to God about the existence of flora on this earth. In can be Imagine, how hot the earths if The Creator is not create immeasurable plant with difference function.

Tumpek Uye is day when Hindu people submit thank to The creator about all animal creation as source of animal labor (ploughing, guard the house, etc). AHIMSA is a hindu teaching that recommend mankind in order not to kill, not hurt other God's creation. This teaching is not only applied among human being but also to Animal and plant that applied by *tumpek wariga* and *tumpek uye*.

All of local wisdom that still strongly maintained in *Banjar adat* community hasve realized the effect. At this time, Bali remain have common resources that well

maintained such as existence of clean and beautiful coast, existence of green mountain, existence of bale *banjar* and, existence of *pelaba pura* land as source of village earnings, the well maintained city park, and ancient heritage. Conservation responsibility and maintenance of public space are not carried out by private sector but member of *banjar adat*. The large roles of *banjar adat* in Bali, especially in managing and maintaining resources sustainability in the form public space can disregard. Therefore, the development of Bali should consider and involve member of *banjar adat* as one development pillar in Bali, besides the *subak*.

Enclosing : *Banjar Adat* and Local Wisdom to sustain Common Resources

Economics thinking continue to expand and support the appearance of various school of thinking. Integrated of social and politics in economic activities, school of thinking that consider significance of institution to address market failure; latter known as New Institutional Economics (NIE). Institution is substitution of market system especially when market price fails to express correctly production cost.

Local wisdom as part of social capital that attached in an institution, often substitute the limitation of information system that resulting transaction costs (e.g lobbying cost). The transaction costs increase when market economics actors are not recognizing each other. In other words, the transaction costs will be reduced with good coordination and interaction between market and development actors. The interaction and coordination, refer to Ostrom (1992) expressed as early establishment of institution. Furthermore, North (1990) in Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) stated the importance of rule of the game, that is institution, that arranging incentive for each member group if conducting certain activities related to their effort to achieve expected result.

Maintaining of local wisdom as norms that believed by community, become one alternative to reduce social costs that generated by individualistic behaviors, such as rent seeking and corruption. Lopez and Partner (2000) and Damania (2002) indicating that rent-seeking and corruption behavior contribute on natural resources and environment degradation especially for common resources pool. Local wisdom reduce transaction cost by decreasing opportunistic behavior mechanism (opportunist attitude is a attitude that take account individual interest and unwilling to cooperate) in each effort to realize resources sustainability.

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