Research Article

HOW A POWER RELATIONSHIP AFFECTS THE PRACTICE OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN BALI, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

The study of the practice of Balinese Traditional Architecture (BTA) is very interesting to do, especially related to power relations that work on BTA's work, since the era of kingdom until this era of globalization. The discourse of establishing traditional Balinese architecture in one period is seen as an articulation that can be illustrated by a number of other periods of power. Power that is understood as a complex pattern of strategic relationships within a given society, triggers a game of power in all its forms and further complexes the existence of the BTA. The purpose of this study is to reveal the various power relations contained behind the discourse of BTA. This study uses qualitative method with descriptive interpretative approach. Data collection with observation and documentation. Informant determination was done by purposive sampling. Data analysis is based on deconstruction theory, power of knowledge relation, and power of discipline. The findings of this study reveal the form of power knowledge relation in BTA summarized in the BTA design guidance, namely palm leaf kosalakosalikosali. This guide becomes the truth in the collective habitus of the Balinese community in arranging space and buildings, be it shrines, dwellings, public buildings, and buildings of death. The power of discipline works to discipline the body of Balinese society in the practice of BTA by applying all the values and norms in the design guidelines are established. It is understood as an articulation, but in the present era the articulation is disarticulated by the discourse of land limitations and pragmatic content of the global era. Balinese people choose to negotiate and normalize in traditional Balinese architecture practice.

INTRODUCTION

Balinese traditional architecture is understood to have two, namely the architecture of Ancient Bali and Architecture Bali *Arya*. Ancient Balinese traditional architecture developed in the early days of Bali's history (778 AD) until the fall of the Kingdom of Bali by the invasion of *Majapahit* Kingdom (1348 AD). Since then the traditional architecture of Bali *Arya* dominates the traditional Balinese architectural practices, spread over the plains of Bali (South Bali). The area of the South Bali plains became the central power of the *Gelgel* Kingdom, *Klungkung* as an *adhipati* of the Majapahit Kingdom in Bali (Sueca, 2007).

Practice of Traditional Balinese architecture Arya developed by the Aryan Majapahit supporters of the king of "*Dalem*" Klungkung, while the practice of ancient Balinese traditional architecture done earlier by the Balinese *arya* and the people of Ancient Bali.

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Consequence as the ruler of war lost the practice of ancient Balinese architecture marginalized, and only survive in mountainous areas along the central mountains of Bali.

The practice of traditional architecture of Bali *Arya* era or also known as Balinese Medieval era (Runa, 2008: 11), then more popularly referred to as Balinese Traditional Architecture (hereinafter abbreviated as BTA), develops steadily into a single knowledge about BTA. Its existence has been widely researched and became the object of study of local, national, and foreign researchers (Dwijendra 2008, Gelebet 1986). The books on BTA mostly only reveal the existence of spatial and architectural buildings of the traditional era of Bali *Arya* only. This means that the power of knowledge of traditional architecture of Bali Arya or Balinese era has dominated the knowledge of Balinese architecture, or in other words the knowledge of Balinese *Arya* architecture becomes the only truth in the BTA realm.

The practice of traditional architecture of *Arya* Bali is perpetuated through the implementation of architectural guidance which is summarized in the guidance of *astabhumi* design for spatial planning, and *astakosalakosali* for its structures, as well as other guides, such as *dewaasta* (sacred

building), *janantaka* (wood classification), *warigadewasa* (choice of development day), *indik mekarya bade* (building of the cultivation), and other design guidance.

The main contents of the BTA's design guidelines emphasize spatial and building arrangements, such as: classification of land usage rights, size of building elements, building type, building naming, type of materials, decorations, and other building elements, which will affect good or bad for property owners, in addition it also refers to the traditional social status of the owner. The traditional social status of the owner of a traditional Balinese house that is generally matched by the concept of *catur warna*. The term *catur warna* is more understood as a caste (*caturkasta*) in the Balinese tradition, consisting of Brahmins, Ksatrya, Wesia and Sudra. The first three classifications belong to the tri-class group as traditional Balinese aristocrats who live in "*jeroan*" (inside *griya*, castle, and *jero*), while the latter is *jabawangsa*, ie for prehistoric people (ancient Balinese and Balinese *Aga*) who beyond the *jeroan* (Dwijendra 2009, Sueca 1999).

BTA's design guidelines are implemented in the *Gelgel* kingdom territory that covers the whole of Bali. The teachings in this design guide are spread from mouth to mouth for generations, thus forming the collective habitus of Balinese society, that if it builds to fit the guidelines. This practice is very well established, even today seen in its main traditional villages in the area of South Bali.

The last two decades there has been a shift in the practice of BTA, particularly in the city of Denpasar. A number of Balinese community homes are no longer using the standard in BTA design guidance. The discourse of land constraints dominates the main reason for resistance to the traditional guidelines of the architecture (Suantara, interview 2017). The practical and efficiency discourse also surfaced, even though the government has already regulated it in the regulations related to the Balinese Balinese display.

The study of the BTA practice is interestingly done by the approach of cultural studies, to uncover hidden knowledge in a number of power relations working in it. The research questions that can be formulated are: (1) How does the form of relation the knowledge power in traditional Balinese architecture? (2) How does discipline power work to discipline the Balinese society in practices of traditional Balinese architectural?

Research Methods

The method used in this study is qualitative research with analytical descriptive approach. The study was conducted in Denpasar as a barometer of architectural development in Bali. The Theory of Knowledge Power Relation and the Power of Discipline (Michel Foucault, 1970) is used to dissect the above research problems. Library studies, in-depth interviews of competent informants in Balinese architecture (purposive sampling), and field observations were conducted to gain a deep understanding of data interpretation. The data obtained were analyzed with a critical approach to unearth hidden knowledge in the BTA practice discipline.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Culture is a very powerful articulation, especially when used by those who are privileged to speak (Foucault, 1970: 26 in Wijaya, 2017: 6). Thus there is always an opportunity for cultural change, along with the emergence of new articulations. New articulations will de-articulate previously established and established articulations.The excavation of various discourses in BTA's realm is done through the searching of these architectural practices, some forms of power relations can be formulated as follows:

Form the Relation of Knowledge Power in Traditional Balinese Architecture

Strong articulation of traditional Balinese architectural practices, coming from the *Aryan* regime during the reign of *Gelgel* Kingdom (1460-1550 CE). *Arya* regime in the era of Balinese medieval with the characters of *Dalem Sri Kresna Kepakisan* as *adhipati* kingdom of *Majapahit* in Bali, a science developed from the knowledge of *Shiva Siddhanta* who positioned the God *Shiva* as the highest god. This means that since *Shiva Siddhanta* was promulgated through the king's order, he himself has articulated previous cultural practices. After *Shiva Siddhanta* became a sole practice which also underlies Balinese art practices, he has drowned previous religious practices underlying the practice of Balinese ancient architecture.

The strong articulation of traditional Balinese architectural practices developed in the era of *Gelgel* Kingdom has been summarized earlier in the period of *Mpu Kuturan* arranging the socio-cultural and religious life of Balinese (8th century). The summary of these traditional Balinese design guides, reproduced massively and is applied massively and structured throughout the kingdom of Bali. The discourse of traditional Balinese architecture is one of the programs in the framework of social arrangement and religion of Balinese society during *Dalem Watu Renggong* period.

This is in accordance with Foucault's thinking expressed by Lubis (2014a: 85), that power is exercised in order for a discourse to materialize. So the discourse about traditional Balinese architecture is the knowledge that spread to society all over the territory of *Dalem Gelgel* with safe and well established. The area of Bali became safe and prosperous of its people during the reign of *Dalem Watu Renggong* in *Sweca Linggarsa Pura* or *Gelgel* (Ardika *et al*., 2015: 281). This shows the religious and social arrangements including architecture carried out intensively during the reign of *Dalem Watu Renggong* in *Gelgel*, even the peak of the golden era of Balinese culture.

Dalem Gelgel disposes the power of his knowledge in the field of architecture into the form of traditional Balinese design guidelines. One of the most inherent in the collective habitus of Balinese society is summarized in the script of *lontar kosala-kosali* 'building layout'. Other design guides include: *astabhumi* (spatial layout), *astadewa* 'sanctuary', *janantaka* 'building materials', *sukat* container 'building of death', *wariga dewasa* 'good bad development time', and other architectural script (*lontar*).

The power of knowledge in Foucault (Lubis, 2004: 173; Lubis, 2014b: 165-168; Barker, 2014: 232) summarized in the traditional design guide, is understood to be reproduced by traditional architects (*undagi*) as intellectual actors organic in traditional Balinese society. The process of reproduction of knowledge as a tool and product of power in Foucault (Surahmat, 2014: 49) is very well established and holistic in every process of Balinese property development, such as:

temple, house (*puri, griya, jero, umah*), public buildings (*banjar* or *bale)* and others (holy place, house of the king and his relatives, pastor's house, minister's house, ordinary people's house, public buildings, or at the place of business).

The power of knowledge as a strong articulation of Balinese traditional spatial and building that has been established for five centuries, has been articulated in this era of globalization. The discourse of land constraints experienced by the Balinese, especially in the city of Denpasar and other major cities in Bali, has articulated the values and norms that exist in traditional Balinese design guidelines that require relatively wide land. The text of the *asta kosala kosali,* has deconstructed itself. These traditional design guidelines have been irrelevant to the narrow land conditions and difficult to obtain in the present era. A number of negotiations, normalization, and rationalization are forms of re-compromise to seek and enforce a new truth.

People prefer to build with practical and efficient consideration and other pragmatic thoughts. The Balinese prefer to build by following the practical and efficient discourse of life, rather than living the values and norms of *asta kosala kosali,* or calculating the profit and loss if built with the traditional concept of the capitalists. Foucault warns, when a discourse is born, that discourse is actually controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed according to the will of the author (Lubis, 2014b: 168).

This phenomenon corresponds to Foucault's view of the power of discourse, that discourse actually promotes certain activities in social life (Lubis, 2014a: 84). The new truth that has been repeatedly discourse by the global-era organic intellectuals with the agents of the capitalists and the pragmatists has been regarded as a new truth which was then consciously followed by the Balinese people. Finally the power of knowledge in this new articulation has been de-articulated the previous discourse.

The Power of Discipline in Traditional Balinese Architecture

Knowledge in traditional Balinese design guides scattered as the collective habitus of Balinese royalty, has been able to discipline Balinese bodies in every development of their property. Compliance and obedience in traditional Balinese architecture practices is inseparable from the role of *undagi* as an organic intellectual actor in Gramsci (Simon, 2004: 144) who always conveys the knowledge of the traditional design guidance along with other organic intellectual actors, such as *adat* customs, stakeholders and *adat* administrators, saints pastor. (*pinandita* and *pemangku*)

The Balinese body's discipline of the truth of knowledge developed through the application of traditional Balinese design guidance in architectural practice, which seems to be obedience to the power of *Lord Shiva* in the teachings of *Shiva Siddhanta* is disposible through the power of *Bhagawan Wiswakarma* as the god of the *undagi* or the development gods. Furthermore, it is represented in the real form of *Dalem Gelgel's* power. This means that the people of Bali are obedient to the power of knowledge "king in the king" of Bali.

The belief that the king is a god incarnate in the concept of dewaraja (Suyoga, 2014: 74), shows discipline to *Shiva* is actually the power of discipline to the king. Obedience in carrying out the design provision is a benchmark of obedience to the power of the king. The development of property that does not follow the rules of design is defined as a form of dissent, and it is common to know that resistance to the king is a death.

Until finally the colonial era conquered the entire kingdom of Bali and built with the concept of European buildings, especially in government centers and the Balinese economy during the colonial period in Bali (1906-1945). A number of Dutch government buildings in Bali are built with layout and buildings as well as modern structural systems. Development of development in trade centers that generally belong to ethnic Chinese, also evolved multilevel buildings following the European style. Marginalization symptoms also occur on the face of the traditional royal city of Bali by the face of European style buildings.

The political application of *balinisering* or *balisering* 'digging on Bali', was one of the cultural policies that saved BTA at the time. *Balisering* recommends that development in Bali adjust to the nature of Bali and is based on the traditional Balinese architecture listed in the palace *asta kosala kosali.* Building materials are advised to use building materials that reflect Balinese cultural peculiarities, such as using brick walls, rooftops of reed roofs or bamboo roofs (Ardika *et al.*, 2015: 495-496).

Furthermore, the Balisering concept materialization is done with the construction of modern Balinese facilities such as: *HIS Sila Dharma* school in Klungkung, *HIS* in Denpasar, the arrangement of *Kerta Gosa* building of Klungkung royal heritage, as well as the construction of *Bali* Museum in Denpasar, *Gedong Kertya* Museum in Singaraja, central government with a grand intersection as the center of the state re-affirmed.

The power of knowledge in BTA again becomes the "truth" in development in Bali. BTA's concept re-disciplined the Balinese people to obey and obedient to the power of knowledge in BTA through Balisering discourse which discourse strongly by the intellectual actors namely the Dutch East Indies government. On the other hand, the knowledge behind Balisering's cultural politics is a "truth" in the framework of the development of tourism that the Dutch East Indies government initiated in the 1920s. Foucault declares knowledge formed in the context of relations and power practices, and subsequently contributes to the development, improvement and maintenance of new power techniques. There is no truth contrary to the power of knowledge because there is no truth beyond power/knowledge (Barker, 2005: 85). After the era of independence, BTA's knowledge continues to discipline Balinese people in building their property in the private and public sphere. Government of Indonesia's republic regulations through the disposition of Bali's Local Regulation capture the episteme in the practice of BTA. The defense of the identity of Bali becomes public discourse produced to build truth in Balinese society.

Issuance of Local Regulation No. 2, 3, 4 of 1974 aims to regulate the development of various sectors in Bali, including the development of tourism facilities that have been developed since 1920 reorganized. In order to realize the developoment of buildings that have traditional Balinese architectural style and character in general and local and integrated with environment, then published by Local Regulation No. 3, 4, 5 year 2005 about requirement of building architecture (Runa, 2008: 13).

The era of trade services industry, especially in the era of information and global communications without limits with heterogeneity and mobility are not controlled, it is necessary to reinterpretation of traditional Balinese design guidelines. A number of government regulations mentioned above that aims to organize land use and the development of the modern era. It can be understood that BTA's hegemony pattern becomes a bit hardened into a relationship of domination between state or government to its people.

BTA's discipline power in the modern era to date entering the early 21st century as an era of globalization, the Balinese people discipline themselves to be obedient and obedient to the knowledge contained in the rules of spatial and building law which are produced by the power of republican government related to the construction of community property. Violation of this rule is certainly dealing with the consequences of positive legal sanctions, which articulate the moral sanctions of the previous era. At this level the practice of dominating power in the thought of Gramsci (Simon, 2014: 19-24), is more pronounced than the power of the royal period that had previously hegemonized the practice of traditional Balinese society architecture. The practice of traditional Balinese architecture is derived from Derrida's thought (Lubis, 2014a: 62), can be called as a legacy of the hidden domination of the kings upon his people, unconsciously dominated people because it has been knit in the language of "discourse".

CONCLUSION

The form of power knowledge relation in BTA is summarized in BTA's design guidance, ie, script *lontarastakosalakosali.* This guide becomes the truth in the collective habitus of the Balinese community in arranging space and buildings, be it shrines, dwellings, and public buildings.

The power of discipline, discipline the Balinese body to obey in practice BTA by applying all the values and norms that exist in the design guidelines. Obedience to the BTA is a form of obedience to the power of God "*Shiva*" which is disposed to *Bhagawan Wiswakarma* 'god of the building' and is actually a form of King *Dalem Gelgel* dominance.

The revitalization of BTA's power of knowledge and discipline in the colonial era began with *Balisering's* cultural policy. A form of sustainability of the practice of the hidden domination of kings over their unconscious peoples because power has been hidden behind the discourse. It is understood as an articulation, but in the present era the articulation is disarticulated by the discourse of land limitations and pragmatic content of the global era. The Balinese prefer to negotiate and normalize in traditional Balinese architecture practices.

The power relations of knowledge and discipline on the architectural physical form of traditional Balinese architecture, is the materialization of the concept of preservation of BTAstyle. Conservation is advisable to do with a conservative approach, revitalization, and innovation. BTA's works can then be classified into pure balinese traditional architecture, modern balinese traditional architecture, and postmodern balinese traditional trchitecture, as inventory and answers to the times.

Acknowledgment

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