

Modification of Ancient Village Government Management in Bungaya Traditional Village, Karangasem Between Tradition, Negotiation, and Modernity

I Ketut Susila Dharma¹, I Putu Gelgel², Ida Ayu Ketut Surya Wahyuni³
Universitas Hindu Indonesia¹²³
iketutsusiladharm@gmail.com¹, putu_gelgel@yahoo.co.id², ayoen43@gmail.com³

ABSTRACT

Modification is the process of changing an object's properties, structure, or behaviour, and the goal is often to add value. This change is not intended to produce a complete transformation, but rather to simply change essential elements to achieve a better result. The traditional government system of Bungaya is modified to ensure its continued sustainability as an ancient village. According to the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, *De Penyarikan Desa* is given greater authority to optimize the *Pawongan* (relationship among humans) and *Palemahan* (relationship between humans and environment) aspects while the *Parahyangan* (relationship between humans and God) aspect still remains directly managed by the highest leader of major ceremony (*pemucuk desa*), *De Kebayan Wayan*. Modifications are occurred due to internal and external demands. For example, the desire to maintain the concept of *Ririgan Enamlikur*, which is the characteristics of ancient villages and to improve administration to become more transparent and accountable to internal demands. External demands, such as the ease of transportation between islands/cities and the emergence of information technology, also contributed to the preservation of the relevance of the Bungaya traditional village in contemporary times.

This idea is in accordance with Alfred Schutz's theory of motives for action, which divides social action into two motives: because of motives that are based on past causes and in order to motives that focus on future goals. The modification process is initiated by *De Penyarikan Desa*, who has just completed formal schooling, by organizing a meeting or deliberation held by the traditional village community (*pasamuan desa tegak*). With the approval of the highest decision-making forum in the traditional village (*paruman desa tegak*), the next step is to follow the steps of the management function, planning, organizing, actuating and controlling (POAC). This is done to ensure that the implementation goes well. *De Kebayan Wayan*, as the leader of the member of the *Ririgan Enamlikur* (*Paduluan Enamlikur*) is retained and the function of *De Penyarikan Desa* is given additional responsibility to carry out the tasks previously carried out by the *Keliang Desa Adat*. With the requirements and experience as the leader (*pemucuk*) of the traditional organization of *Paduluan Ririgan Enamlikur*, *De Penyarikan Desa* is expected to be able to accelerate the achievement of the vision and mission of the Bungaya Traditional Village.

Keywords: *Modification, Ancient Village Government Management, Bungaya Traditional Village*

I. Introduction

Bungaya Traditional Village, located in Karangasem, Bali, is categorized as an ancient village. The village is famous for its distinctive rituals and the friendliness of its people, making it a treasure trove of history related to agriculture and religion. As one of Bali's Ancient Traditional Villages, it has existed since before the colonial period, that is, before the influence of the Javanese kings entered Bali. Over time, after the arrival of Rsi Markandya to Bali, Bungaya Traditional Village underwent a transformation due to the cultural influence of the Javanese kings, resulting in acculturation between local and new cultures.

One of the traditional village government systems that still exists today is the concept of *ririgan* or often called the *Hulu Apad* system, that *Hulu* means head or leader, and *Apad* means to support, support those above. Therefore, the *Hulu Apad* system is a leadership system that works hand in hand from the first to the last, supporting those above. In Bungaya Traditional Village, the *Hulu Apad* system is known as *ririgan* or sequence because the process of replacement is carried out in a unilinear sequence every year in the *Pesaluk* ceremony, which is the leadership succession procession in the *Ririgan Enamlikur* system. The traditional *ririgan enamlikur* government in Bungaya traditional village consists of twenty-six positions. The bottom five levels are called *Sinoman Teben*, led by *De Tunda*, the middle seven levels are called *Sinoman Dulu*, led by *De Bahan*, and the top (*pemucuk*) is called *De Kebayan (Das Sollen)*.

The *Paduluan Desa* who is the member of the *Ririgan Enamlikur*, election is held annually in September (*purnama kapat*). This is regulated by *Pararem No.1 of 2024* concerning the change of leadership ceremony of the *Paduluan Desa*, held once a year during the *Purnama Kapat (Ngalinggihang Paduluan Desa)* and the Appointment of *Prajuru Desa Adat* who is the traditional village officials responsible for maintaining and implementing community life based on local customs and traditions. This implementation begins with the ceremony or ritual performed as a form of purification for the village and its inhabitants called *Nyengker Desa*, appointment of new members of the *ririgan enamlikur* called *Nerag*, and *melancaran*. The ceremony is continued by a change of sitting position at *Bale Agung* and the *Pesaluk* procession.

During 1793M, the traditional government of *Ririgan Enamlikur* underwent several changes. In 2023, they added the sections of *Keliang Desa Adat* who is the title of the village head, which usually comes from the *Bali Apanaga* leadership typology and *Penyarikan Desa* who is the secretary to *De Kebayan Wayan*, tasked with representing *De Kebayan Wayan* in external affairs. *De Kebayan Wayan* is the highest leader of major ceremony (*pemucuk desa*). In 2024, the *Prawayah* and *Paduluan Desa* came in, and the *Penyarikan Desa* function was merged with the *Keliang Desa Adat (Das Sein)*. *Prawayah* is a village elder who had retired from the *Ririgan Enamlikur* traditional structure, and are typically honored with the title *De Manten* or *De Salah*. This merger was carried out to maintain the *Awig-Awig* pattern of

customary governance. *Awig-awig* is regulations set by the traditional village authority, intended to be followed by all residents within the jurisdiction (*wewidangan*) of the traditional village. However, in recent decades, social transformation, pressures from central government regulation, and citizens' needs for public services have driven changes and adaptations in the customary governance system.

The main problem is how an traditional village like Bungaya can manage its village administration with the demands of the state without losing its autonomy and cultural identity. This research is therefore important to understand the dynamics of modifications to ancient village governance management and the extent to which these transformations affect customary structures and values.

II. Research Method

This research is designed to examine the modification of ancient village government management in Bungaya Traditional Village, Karangasem between tradition, negotiation and modernity through qualitative research with a phenomenological perspective. The paradigm used is the interpretative paradigm which sees that social knowledge is built from the way humans interpret their own world, therefore it has the task of being able to understand the subjective meaning of social action in modifying the management of ancient village government in Bungaya Traditional Village. The primary data source is the informant and is determined through purposive sampling, they are appointed purposively by considering

their knowledge of the problem being examined. In order to collect data, it is used three types of techniques, namely observation techniques, in-depth interviews and document studies.. The relevant theory for this research is Alfred Schutz's theory of action motives, which divides social action into two motives: because of motives that are based on past causes and in order to motives that focus on future goals.

III. Result and Discussion

3.1 Bungaya Traditional Village

The history of traditional villages in Bali began in the Old Balinese period, around the ninth century, known as *Kraman*. The location or area where the *Kraman* is located is called a village or *desa pekraman* (Wanua, Tani; Dharmayuda, 2001:1). Bungaya Traditional Village is influenced by Hindu values, and these values are even the basis for making the village religious. This can be seen from the Hindu philosophical concepts and values applied so that the village becomes *sima swatantra* (autonomous) which includes the following four elements:

1. *Parimandala* (village area)
2. *Karaman* (village members)
3. *Datu* (village head)
4. *Tuah* (protection from God)

These four aspects are known as *Catur Bhuta Desa*. The *Tuah* element is manifested in the *Kahyangan Tiga*, which is the place for villagers (*karaman*) and the village head (*datu*) to seek blessings and protection.

3.2 *Paduluan Desa*

According to the *Appendix of the Decree of Pesamuhan Agung II MDA Bali 2021*;14, the typology of traditional villages in Bali is divided into three categories, namely: first, the Old Traditional Village, also known as the *Bali Aga* or Ancient Bali Traditional Village, is a traditional village that existed before the influence of Javanese kings who arrived on the island of Bali; second, the *Apenaga* Traditional Village, which is a traditional village that emerged after the arrival of Javanese kings from Majapahit until the independence of the Republic of Indonesia; third, the *Anyar* Traditional Village, which is the development of the *Aga* Traditional Village or *Apenaga* Traditional Village. This occurs for reasons of seeking a new life or as a result of natural disasters such as mountain eruptions or floods. Bungaya Traditional Village is included in the first category, the *Aga* Traditional Village, with a traditional government system known as the *Paduluan Desa Enamlikur* concept.

Paduluan Desa is a term for the members of the *Ririgan Enamlikur*, which consists of pairs for each position with an age difference between the older (*Wayanan*) and the younger (*Nyomanan*). The origin of the word *Paduluan* refers to “dulu”, to which the affixes ‘pe’ and “an” are added, signifying someone who is earlier or more senior. Therefore, the *Paduluan Desa* consists of members of the *Ririgan Enamlikur* from the lowest to the highest position (from *Pamuit* to *De Kebayan Wayan*). The *Paduluan Desa* is in charge of managing the traditional administration of the Bungaya

Traditional Village, and in its daily activities is assisted by the *We Desa* or *Keliang Desa Adat*. The duties of the *Paduluan Desa* include aspects of *Parahyangan* (relationship between humans and God), *Palemahan* (relationship between humans and environment), and *Pawongan* (relationship among humans), therefore that harmony of these three elements can be achieved.

3.3 *Paduluan Desa Enam likur*

The concept of the *Ririgan Enamlikur* is as follows in more detail:

Para Prewayah			
Tegak Adasa	De Kebayan Nyoman	De Kebayan Wayan	Sinoman Dulu
	De Baan Nyoman	De Baan Wayan	
	Tatak Baan Nyoman (Goak Dulu)	Tatak Baan Wayan (Goak Dulu)	
	Tegak Adasa Nyoman	Tegak Adasa Wayan	
	Tatak Adasa Alitan Nyoman	Tatak Adasa Alitan Wayan	
Tegak Saat	Tegak Adasa Pengelis Nyoman	Tegak Adasa Pengelis Wayan	Sinoman Dulu
	Tegak Saat Nyoman	Tegak Saat Wayan	
Tidak punya hak suara dalam paruman	Tegak Saat Alitan Nyoman	Tegak Saat Alitan Wayan	Sinoman Teben
	De Tunda Nyoman	De Tunda Wayan	
	Goak Teben Nyoman	Goak Teben Wayan	
	Goak Alitan Nyoman	Goak Alitan Wayan	
	Pengelis Teben Nyoman	Pengelis Teben Wayan	
	Pemuit Nyoman	Pemuit Wayan	Sinoman Teben

Table of *Ririgan Enamlikur* of Bungaya Traditional Village

As shown in the table above, there are 13 hierarchical levels of position, from the lowest to the highest. Each level is divided into two categories: “senior” (*Wayanan*) and “junior” (*Nyomanan*), making a total of 26 stages that each *Paduluan Desa* (village member) will go through over the course of 26 years. If a member becomes permanently unable to continue (*keempakan* or passes away), then the

member directly below in the hierarchy will move up to the next stage.

Requirements for Appointment as Paduluan Desa (Traditional Village Member):

To be eligible for inclusion in the *Ririgan Enamlikur*, the following conditions must be met:

1. Must originate from the traditional village hamlet (*muwed*)
2. Must be married and not married to a cousin (*misan*)
3. Must not have physical disabilities (*nenten cacad angga*)
4. Must still have a living wife (*bulangkep*)
5. Must reside within the *wewidangan* (territory) of the traditional village
6. Must uphold the local customs, *awig-awig* (traditional law), and *pararem* (customary rules) of the traditional village

The leadership system of traditional Hindu organizations in Traditional Village has evolved and transformed over time. The traditional Hindu organizational leadership system in ancient Bali is called *Hulu Apad*, or in Bungaya Traditional Village is called the *Ririgan Enamlikur* concept. This traditional leadership system has a different structure, main tasks, and functions from traditional organizations. To date, the leadership systems of traditional Hindu organizations vary. Certain organizations use the *Hulu Apad* or *Ririgan* system, with the leader called *Kubayan*. Other organizations use a more modern system, the *Keliang Desa Adat*. This paper will examine how Bungaya Traditional Village deals with

modernization through modifications to its traditional village government so that traditional organizations can adapt to the changing times.

In Bungaya Traditional village, the change of leadership occurs every year on *purnama kapat* (around September). First, the ceremonies of *nyengker desa*, *nerag*, *ngemping*, *ngempel*, *pesaluk*, and *melancaran* are performed. The people of Bungaya know that there will be a change of leadership by performing this series of ceremonies in *sekala* and *niskala*. According to Purnawan's research (1979:61), the concept of *Ririgan Enamlikur* has been used for generations from 1793 AD until now, in accordance with the *awig-awig* in Bungaya Traditional Village.

3.4 Cultural Adaptation

The *Paduluan Desa*, *Prawayah*, and *Keliang* of Bungaya Traditional Village try to preserve the traditional government system by making necessary modifications. The goal is to meet the demands of the times that are laden with practicality, economy, and pragmatism while maintaining the values of traditional *ririgan* management. To achieve this goal, an internal approach was used to revamp the existing administration. In addition, externally, a modification of the traditional model of the *ririgan* concept is carried out, so that the daily operations are represented by *De Kebayan Wayan* to outsiders. This modification is ritually carried out by *De Kebayan Wayan*, while external operational matters are carried out by *Keliang Desa Adat* or *Penyarikan Desa* (*Pararem No.1 Year 2024*). From an anthropological perspective, cultural adaptation is the process by which

societies adjust to changes in the environment, whether in social, economic or political terms (Koentjaraningrat, 2000). Indigenous communities in the context of a modern state must be able to adapt to the formal system established by the government.

3.5 Challenges, Obstacles and Cultural Hybridization

Challenges and obstacles in the implementation of modified governance management in Bungaya Traditional Village can be grouped into two aspects, namely internal obstacles to the *Nerag* process. During the appointment of new members with the concept of *Ririgan*, issues such as abandoned houses arose, indicating an unwillingness to engage in the process. This is due to the assumption by joining the *ririgan* system, their future becomes less promising. It is important to find a solution to this obstacle so that the younger generation understands the significance of the *ririgan* concept both in terms of scale and spirit. Meanwhile, external obstacles come from the incessant media highlighting materialistic things, which encourages the younger generation to support modernization (or rather westernization), which is not necessarily of good quality. This is a collective challenge in maintaining local wisdom throughout the villages in Bali.

The concept of cultural hybridization (Homi Bhabha, 1994) explains that when two cultural systems interact, there is not necessarily a replacement, but a process of negotiation that gives rise to a new form that contains both. In the context of traditional villages, cultural hybridization can be seen in new practices that combine

traditional values with modern bureaucratic apparatus. This middle ground is better known as “compromise management” in the five styles of managing conflict (Thomas Kilmann Intrsument, 1974).

3.6 Negotiation of Local Power

Foucault's (1980) stated that power is not a single entity, but distributed and negotiated at various. The relationship between traditional villages and official villages illustrates a space of competition and negotiation regarding authority that constantly changes with socio-political shifts. Generally, power is perceived in a repressive context: as a force applied by the state or dominant institutions to suppress the weaker. Foucault's concept provides a new perspective that power is not only a tool of oppression, but is also productive and shapes social life that flows throughout all aspects of existence.

3.7 The Social and Historical Context of Bungaya Traditional Village

The people of Bungaya, often referred to as *Bali Mula*, maintain a heritage that dates back to before the Majapahit era. Their social structure consists of *banjar*, *kawitan*, and has a strong spiritual basis. The management of customary governance is carried out by *De Kebayan Wayan* with support from *De Penyarikan Desa*, who is the highest authority, and decisions are taken collectively in a *paruman* forum.

Since the Village Law (2014) was enacted, the recognition of traditional villages as legal entities equal to Village Offices has created a duality in terms of

authority. In this context, Bungaya must be able to integrate modern systems without disrupting the basic principles of custom that have existed for a long time. Today, the community's Bungaya is living smoothly. The two official villages in the Bungaya Traditional Village area are expected to coordinate effectively during the *Usaba Ritual*. Each series of events will be conveyed by the traditional village to the two official villages. The *Pesaluk* procession, which is the process of changing *De Kebayan Wayan*, is held once a year by way of *ririgan*. The community knows about it because at the beginning of the year, the traditional village distributes a calendar that shows the implementation of *usaba* in the Bungaya Traditional Village area, including the change of position in the *Paduluan Desa Enamlikur* on *Purnama Kapat* which is held in September-October. As such, it is already considered a routine annual activity.

In contrast to *De Penyarikan* of Bungaya Village, *Pararem No. 1 of 2024* stipulates a term of office of 5 (five) years that has a major impact on the *krama* and the community. Elections are carried out by the all *Prewayah*, while the *Paduluan Desa Enamlikur* is discussed in the *Pasamuan Desa* at the Bale Agung Temple. Operationally, the traditional village government and the connectivity of traditional village development programs are led directly by *De Penyarikan Desa*. Prior to the change in the management of traditional village government, the operational implementation was handled by the *Keliang Desa Adat* and *Penyarikan Desa*, without a time limit for leadership, known as "longlife leadership". This is the main reason for the change in

government management to avoid dual leadership and for term limits.

3.8 Modification

Changes in government management in Bungaya Traditional Village cannot be separated from the term "modernization", as well as the influence of the stakeholders power such as the government, the village communities, and the local communities. By implementing changes to the village government management system that has existed place for a long time, it is expected that the organization will become more focused, more efficient, and non-overlapping.

Ultimately, it can provide better services to the community, and improve external coordination. Improving the quality of leadership, openness and administrative compliance are the main reasons for the modifications, while pressure from younger generations and environmental dynamics also contribute to the acceleration of change in the management of traditional village governance in Bungaya. Diachronically, changes have been made since 1793M until they culminated in early 2023, marked by the issuance of *Pararem no.1 of 2024* in August 2024, regarding *Ngalinggihang Paduluan Desa* and *Ngadegang Prajuru Desa Adat*. The long process shows that although the village wants to maintain the classical system of village government, it also does not want to be left behind in the progress of the times. The Compromise Management concept proposed by Thomas-Kilmann, which includes five conflict management styles, began to emerge as a solution ((Thomas-Kilmann, 1974).

3.9 Forms of Modification that Occurred

The communication system between customary institutions and the formal government system has also changed. In the past, *penyineban* and *pekakas desa* were used to disseminate important information. Now, most communication is done through digital platforms, such as WhatsApp groups between *prajuru*, announcements on community social media, and even "online meetings" between *prajuru* and village YouTube channels used for documentation of customary activities. This transformation reflects that technology does not function as a substitute for norms or values, but as a support the continuity of the existing system. In addition, there have been changes in the participation of *prajuru adat* in the Village Development Plan Deliberation, which relates to physical and social development. *De Penyarikan Desa* and *Prajuru* are present in this forum not only as cultural symbols, but also as active people in voicing the needs of the community based on *Tri Hita Karana*. This shows that traditional village management is open to participating in an additive and participatory manner in the country's development plans.

In the implementation of *Usaba* (*Parahyangan*), such as *Usaba Muhun-Muhun*, sometimes the people of Bungaya call *Usaba Memedi*, which means to expel things that disturb humans, carried out by symbolically burning a combination of leaves that have been given a symbol like a monster using lime betel, before burning the leaves have been placed in every corner of the house/place of worship.

Information to all *Keliang Banjar Adat* (Head of Traditional Hamlet), *Desa Dinas* (Head of Administrative Village), *Banjar Dinas* (Head of Administrative Hamlet) is conveyed in one digital media of the Bungaya Traditional Village community.

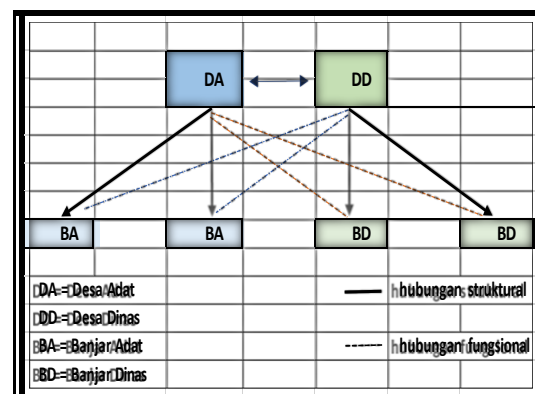


Table of Relationships between
Traditional Villages
and Administrative Villages

3.10 Factors Influencing Modification

In addition to regulatory and technological aspects, internal community motivation is a crucial factor in making changes. Bungaya's people are increasingly accepting of formal education and global discourses, which ultimately increases expectations for transparency, accountability and professionalism in traditional village management. This motivation arises from within the community itself, especially from the educated younger generation who still hold on to the preservation of tradition. Spiritual and cultural dimensions also contribute as drivers of change that often not realized.

The people of Bungaya easily accepts change because they believe in the concept of natural balance (*Rwa*

Bhineda) and universal harmony. This changes is not considered a rejection of tradition, but rather as part of the *taksu* (spiritual energy) that continues to live and evolve with the times. In the customary perspective, stagnation is seen as a loss of *taksu*, while adaptation is interpreted as a way of maintaining the continuity of values that have been upheld over the years. *Taksu* is a terminology, concept of life, and philosophy of art as a representation of spiritual power and peak energy needed in all aspects of life (social, religious, and cultural) of Balinese Hindus.

This affirms Schutz's idea that the motives of individual and group actions can be grouped into two: because motives, which are oriented inwardly or internally and in the past; while in order to motives, which are oriented towards the future, remain relevant to the times.

3.11 The Dynamics of Negotiating Tradition and Modernity

The negotiation between cultural heritage and modernity in Bungaya is not without its problems. A number of senior figures in the customary community expressed concerns about the tendency to incorporate bureaucracy into traditional values, such as the requirement to use official letters in meetings, or the need for written documents for decisions that were previously only agreed verbally. However, these tensions were resolved through the *nyegara gunung* approach, the principle of harmonizing the spiritual and physical worlds, the modern and the traditional.

It is important to note that this change did not happen uniformly or linearly. In some traditional hamlet, the

transformation took place more quickly due to the influence of innovative and responsive local leadership. This suggests that Bungaya's customary government developed naturally and in accordance with the local environment. As such, Bungaya can serve as an example that traditional villages are not just relics of the past, but active actors in responding to change in a relevant and dignified way.

IV. Conclusion

The modification of ancient village government management in Bungaya Traditional Village is a strategic application of the rules and needs of the modern era. This process illustrates that traditional villages are not static, but dynamic and able to adapt to change without losing their identity. Collaborative strategies, the utilization of technology and the involvement of the younger generation are steps to ensure the relevance of indigenous villages in the midst of changing times. Bungaya demonstrates how ancestral heritage still exists and functions within the current socio-political structure. There are two main reasons for the modification of ancient village governance in Bungaya Traditional Village. First, from an internal perspective, the ancient village is trying to maintain the principle of *Ririgan Enamlikur*, make improvements to internal administration and learn to adapt to the latest developments in information technology. Secondly, externally, to remain relevant to the times, there are special treatments listed in *Perda No.4/2019* for ancient villages as well as consultations conducted with the Traditional Village Council.

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