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Governance Model of *Ulu-Apad*
Cultural Heritage of Tenganan Pegringsingan Bali-Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore the application of the *Ulu-Apad* model as cultural heritage management in Tenganan Pegringsingan. The method in this study uses an interpretive ethnographic approach. The number of key informants in this study was 10 (ten) people active members of the *adat* village community. The results are that the *Ulu-Apad* model is divided into five levels (tiers). Each level of course has its own duties, authorities, and responsibilities according to *awig-awig* (customary rules). The five tiers of the governance structure are (1) *Ungguan* (worshipped ancestor), (2) *Luanan* (advisors), (3) *Bahan* Roras (traditional village leaders), (4) *Tambalapu Roras* (the person who gives direction), and (5) *Pengluduan* (executors).

Keywords: Ulu-Apad, Cultural Heritage Governance, Tenganan Pegringsingan.

1. INTRODUCTION

Good governance has become the center of attention among many parties [1], including managing cultural heritage [2]. The governance of traditional cultural heritage organizations is undoubtedly more effective if managed directly by the indigenous peoples [3]. This is, of course, in line with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The basic foundation for the governance of cultural heritage is the norm of Indigenous self-determination [4]. Therefore, there will not be a uniform governance model for all situations [5] and cultural heritage management.

In reality, indigenous communities have a better ability to protect and maintain the land, health, and culture that are important to their lives [6]. However, indigenous peoples' cultures and knowledge systems have so far been looked down upon or even ignored by development planning experts who believe more in modern science [7]. Therefore, our goal is to explore the practice of cultural heritage management in the indigenous community that still exists today, namely the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village.

The traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan is a non-profit organization (NPO), located in the Manggis sub-district, Karangasem Regency, in the eastern region of Bali-Indonesia. At present, the Tenganan Pegringsingan Traditional Village has played an essential role in preserving, promoting, and safeguarding cultural heritage from the strong currents of globalization and threats of exploitation. Of course, all activities are carried out together (collectively), both in the decision-making process (structure), determining who is involved (process) and how to provide accountability (accountability). Experts define these activities as constituting governance [5], [8]. For them, this action is called *Ulu-Apad* (bottom-up or left and right).

The *Ulu-Apad* model originates from the original view of the Balinese people (*bali aga/mula*), which has been passed down from generation to generation (since the formation of this village, namely in the IX century), based on the *Rwabhineda* teachings, namely the harmonization of two contradictions (Benarry Opposition) and has been recorded in *awig-awig* (rules of all activities of the entire community, both socially, culturally, politically and economically). This harmonization represents the reality of indigenous peoples' daily lives to achieve balance, happiness, and prosperity, both in real life (*sakala*) and spiritual life (*niskal*a). In addition to this philosophy, this village is

also based on *awig-awig*, which binds all communities in the area. The *Rwabhineda* philosophies, *awig-awig*, and *Ulu-Apad* are part of self-determination in carrying out their mission and organizational goals. The Bali Provincial Government has recognized them based on PERDA No 4/2019 [9].

This study focuses more on applying the *Ulu-Apad* model to cultural heritage management in Tenganan Penggringsingan. It cannot be separated that this model is sourced from their actual knowledge from generation to generation and is still being applied today. Susan O. Keitumetse [10] revealed that solid participation from the community is undoubtedly essential for the sustainability of cultural heritage because of their traditional knowledge and practices, so this has also been recognized in the 1992 Rio Declaration, which states that;

"Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and duly support their identity, culture, and interests and enable their effective participation in achieving sustainable development" [10] .

This study is expected to offer valuable insights related to applying cultural heritage governance in the life of customary organizations tested over time.

2. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach. This approach can certainly build an understanding of the object of study by participating in the ethnic (culture) situation. Researchers enter as active participants to make meaning of behavior, language, and interactions. Direct observation to the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village, as an object, and interviewing local indigenous people (*krama desa Ada*t) to obtain actual data and, of course, very helpful in analyzing problems related to the application of the *Ulu-Apad* model as cultural heritage management in the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village.

Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village is located in Karangasem district, in the eastern province of Bali-Indonesia. The distance of this village is as far as 65.6 (sixty-five point six) Km or travel time for 1 hour 47 minutes from the city center of the province of Bali.

Observations are used to determine the organizational structure applied to the organization.

Interviews were conducted on ten people with 2-3 details at each level in the system. Previous studies were examined to find out the past conditions of the village and to understand the socio-cultural life of the community.

Data collection was carried out for three years and researchers were directly involved. The collected data is then analyzed, and conclusions are drawn. Data analysis is built by interpreting the past and present ethnic (cultural) situations within the scope of governance of customary village organizations.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Result

3.1.1 Ulu-Apad structure: indigenous community involvement

Every organization, whether government, private, or community, of course, has a structure in implementing its mission to achieve its organizational goals, as is the case with the Tenganan Pegringsingan Traditional Village. Tenganan Pegringsingan Traditional Village part of Bali Aga Village is a village with ancient Balinese (800M-1343M) or pre-Hindu traditions, namely before the invasion of the Majapahit kingdom [11]. Bali aga village certainly has various privileges that are still maintained to this day. One of the unique features of Bali Aga Village is the philosophy of *Rwa Bhineda* as its ideological foundation. *Rwa Bhineda* is a Dualistic Harmonic, which is about the essence of truth that comes from self-portraits (individual) called *Bhuana Alit* (Microcosm) in the form of self-appreciation, then followed by an appreciation of *Bhuana Agung* (Macrocosm), that the truth is believed to be the absolute truth to understand and explain nature and nature.

This feature is certainly the difference between the Bali Aga Traditional Village and the Traditional Villages in general in Bali. So that all Bali Aga Villages are given the authority to regulate and manage their village in accordance with the local "dresta". This is of course reinforced by PERDA NO 4. of 2017 concerning Traditional Villages, namely in article 53 paragraph (3) which states that "the organizational and institutional structure of the Tua Traditional Village follows the original structure, the Parahyangan management system, and the local compliant community system."

The application of the system in the Traditional Village with the *Ulu-Apad* model, which stipulates all indigenous peoples (*Krama Desa Adat*) based on the *Rwabhineda* philosophy, is by the *Awig-awig* Village. Based on *awig-awig*, the core members of the traditional village governance structure are called *Krama Desa Adat*. Krama Desa is Wong Tenganan who is married or in a couple with husband and wife status. The status of husband and wife must also be based on an ideal marriage and its *awig-awing* (customary rules) recognized as valid. The involvement of *Krama Desa Adat* in the *Ulu-Apad* model is determined based on seniority in the marriage order. Newly married couples will undoubtedly occupy the lowest position, while couples who have been married for a long time are in the top job.

Ulu-Apad model, it can be explained that the lowest level starts with (a). *Penguluduan*, (b). *Tambalapu Roras*, (c). *Bahan Roaras* and come to (e). *Luanan*. The position of *pengluduan* is occupied by village krama with the lowest marriage order (newly married), while in *Luanan*, this position is occupied by village krama with the highest/oldest marriage order. The village manners who occupy each position will certainly not be fixed and always change based on the order of marriage. If their partner leaves the village and already has grandchildren, they will automatically leave the village structure.

3.1.2 Processes and Responsibilities at each Level in Ulu-Apad

The Ulu-Apad system is the determination of levels in the traditional village structure based on seniority in the marriage order. According to Mr. I wayan Yasa, the Ulu-Apad system was implemented because:

> "*The seniority of the marriage order will certainly determine the level in the government structure in the Traditional Village. This is because, the more senior the village manners are, the more experienced the village manners and have knowledge and a fairly broad mindset, especially in the fields of customs and religion*".

This position, of course, starts from the lowest to the highest. The number of membership and the role of each level can be explained as follows.

Pengluduan is the lowest position or position accepted by newly married village manners. Of course, the number of this krama dress is unlimited, with the task of only being obliged to obey and carry out orders from the position above him regarding any work ordered. This position is, of course, occupied by the newly married customary villagers.

The second position is Tambalapu Roras, consisting of 12 people, six people in *Tambalapu Tebenan*, and six people in the *Tambalapu Duluan*. The Tambalapu Duluan as me (juru arah) task is to convey the meeting results, invite all village manners in a traditional activity, and pick up and escort the *Luanan* in every conventional move. The Tambalapu Duluan served as pork cutters during conventional activities, cooking and serving food made from pork. Meanwhile, *Tambalapu Tebenan* is at the level below *Tambalapu Duluan* in charge of helping *Tambalapu Duluan* in every task. During conventional activities, the *Tambalapu Tebenan* is tasked with lighting fires and lights, filling betel holders, and catching pigs which are then handed over to the *Tambalapu Duluan*. This *Tambalapu Tebenan* will replace the *Tambalapu Duluan* if one is empty.

The third position is the *Bahan Roras* with a total membership of 12, divided into six people in the *Bahan Tebenan* material and six people in the *Bahan Duluan*. The first ingredient is the village keliang or better known as "tamping takon." As a tamping takon, *Bahan Duluan* receives all questions from krama desa, either daily or in *Pesangkepan* activities. The questions asked usually concern the procedures for ritual ceremonies/activities, religion, or village development policy issues which they will then *rembugkan* (discuss) with other villages *Keliang*. If the six of them couldn't solve the problem, then they asked the *Luanans* for consideration. Meanwhile, for the following six people, *Bahan Tebenan* is tasked with assisting the *Bahan Duluan* as an interpreter (*juru Tulis*), informing the results of the decision to *Krama Desa Adat*, and informing all *Krama Desa Adat* if there is something done explicitly for *Krama Desa Adat Bahan Tebenan* will replace bahan duluan (*Kelian Adat*) later if one is vacant.

The fourth or highest position is *Luanan*, with 5 being an advisory and supervisory board tasked with regulating all traditional ceremonial activities, providing advice to the *Krama Desa Adat* when necessary, and authorized to guard the *Padruwen* (property/wealth) of the *Desa Adat* Tenganan Pegringsingan community. The *Luanan* consists of 5 people. Luan is a traditional village manners who have been married for a long time and do not have grandchildren and their marital status is still intact

However, each activity must provide 1 top vacant place that is explicitly reserved for Nini Mangku (Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa / God Almighty), who is worshiped by the local community. This level of course becomes very important in the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village structure.

3.2 Discussion

3.2.1 Stable and representative structure

The application of the *Ulu-Apad* model certainly makes the organizational structure for managing cultural heritage traditional organizations effectively without causing significant conflicts. This structure can support local objectives and internal asset management based on traditional and cultural traditions. When governance structures are changed, and critical functional responsibilities are neglected, poorly coordinated, or given undue priority over others, ineffectiveness and conflict increase—for organizations and citizens alike. There are no exact positions at any level in the structure, nor are there any vacant positions. All posts must be occupied, and all forms of responsibility are, of course, based on Awig-awig; if they violate them, they will be punished according to A*wig-awig.*

3.2.2 Capable and Effective Institution

Having good governance means making future-oriented plans, solving problems, and acting. Every social group certainly needs institutional mechanisms as "rules of the game," both formally and informally, to regulate and limit individuals and groups' behavior and authority. The rules applied in this traditional village are based on its *Awig-awig*, namely: position in the structure that requires married men and women in official marriages recognized by the traditional village (*Bulu Angkap*) of course based on the order of marriage. The reason is that if you have been married for a long time, you will enjoy a lot of experience and be wiser in making decisions.

3.2.3 Restrictions and separation of powers

Like all other communities, Indigenous communities need systems and processes that prevent those who exercise legitimate power from using that power for their gain and from changing the rules for their benefit. All actions taken by village manners are certainly inseparable from *Awig-awig*. All of them are carried out for village purposes (*Maulu Ke Desa*) so that community activities prioritize their obligations first. The village will undoubtedly give its rights. All activities carried out, both related to the resolution of social conflicts and financial activities related to the development and traditional activities, of course, have been recorded and later held a writing ceremony (responsibility) in the *Pesangkepan Agung*. This moment is held once a year based on the Tenganan Pegringsingan calendar (different from the national calendar).

4. CONCLUSION

Cultural heritage, of course, really needs good governance of traditional organizations to maintain its sustainability. The appropriate governance model certainly comes from indigenous peoples, namely self-determination [4], as in the Tenganan Pegringsingan Traditional Village. The ability of this village to preserve, promote, and maintain cultural heritage from the strong currents of globalization and the threat of exploitation to date, indeed, cannot be separated from the application of *Ulu-Apad*, is the basic foundation for its governance. *Ulu-Apad* is derived from the knowledge and traditional practices of the *Nenek Moyang* (ancestors) passed down from generation to generation. However, not all communities and indigenous peoples can still maintain traditional knowledge and practices from the threat of urbanization.

The application of governance in accordance with the traditional knowledge and practices of indigenous peoples is a testament to their ability to maintain the sustainability of their heritage. This is in line with what was stated by [10], which "revealed that solid participation from the community is undoubtedly essential for the sustainability of cultural heritage because of their traditional knowledge and practices". Besides that, there is no similar model in managing cultural heritage, regardless of its characteristics and uniqueness.

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