

Traditional Multicultural Security Based on Local Wisdom in Bali

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After the fall of the new order, and the era of reform, every region repositioned the central government, including the people in Bali. In the repositioning of the central government, the Balinese people established the traditional village as a shield and front guard in dealing with a bargaining position with the Government. Along with this, *pacalang*, as the conventional security of traditional villages, indirectly also increases the bargaining position of traditional security systems that are respected, idolised, and at the same time, used by various parties. The involvement of *pacalang* in various activities outside of its main obligation as the bodyguard of traditional ceremonial activities seems to be relatively diverse and has become a trend in the *pacalang* phenomenon today. *Pacalang* are involved in various political party security activities, regulating traffic, and controlling the population, including being involved in securing international events, such as the Miss World, and APEC activities held in Bali. Another phenomenon that occurs involving *pacalang*, which is quite interesting in Bali, is the involvement of non-Hindus as *pacalang*. Several places in the Karangasem Regency appear to have traditional villages which involves non-Hindus becoming *pacalang*. This also occurs in the Pegayaman Village of the Sukasada Subdistrict, in the Buleleng Regency. The Muslim residents in the Pegayaman Village are often seen dressed as *pacalang* and actively protecting adat activities. This phenomenon is interesting because the *pacalang* are no longer monopolised by Hindus, and the security of Bali is no longer just a burden on the Balinese people, but it is the responsibility of all components of society in Bali that are multicultural.

Keywords: *Pacalang, Traditional security, Multiculturalism, Local wisdom.*

Introduction

Multiculturalism societies, such as Bali, cannot be separated from Bali's openness to the outside world and in all areas of life and from various corners of the world through globalisation. Nowadays, the reality is the intensity and frequency of Balinese people interacting with the outside world, which is increasingly growing. The increased intensity cannot be separated from the opening of Bali to the outside world through the tourism sector (Indonesia, 2006; Aryawan, 2006; Azra, 2007; Bungin, 2007). The consequences of Bali as an open area for tourists, both on a national, and international scale, has direct implications for the emergence of multiculturalism in Bali.

Bali, as a tourist destination, seems increasingly open to the outside world, and will increasingly attract foreign tourists who come to Bali because the country's tourism is based on the uniqueness of Balinese culture and customs (Danim, 2004; Gorda, 1996; Ibrahim, 2020; Moleong, 1991). This is supported globally; namely the Balinese community has various forms of social organisations, and its existence is strongly influenced by the teachings of Hinduism, as it is known by the existence of a traditional village, which is now changed to *desa pakraman/desa adat* [Balinese local village with a certain regulation consist of some *banjar*]. In *desa pakraman*, *banjar subak* and various forms of *sekehe* can be found. Furthermore, the cultural uniqueness of the Balinese lifestyles of religious people is supported by the existence of various forms of social organisation based on Hinduism, which is the wealth of the Balinese, and at the same time, attracts tourists.

The phenomenon that is quite popular, and even the most popular when we talk about the problems of traditional villages in Bali, and also the problem of the security system in Bali, is the phenomenon of *pacalang* (local security in Bali). Almost all traditional villages in Bali currently have traditional safety devices called *pacalang*, and even traditional villages that did not have *pacalang* in the past, such as Hulu Apat Village or Bali Asli Village, which are unadvertised, have eventually formed a *pacalang* service.

The current phenomenon of the popularity of *pacalang* starts with the success of *pacalang desa adat* (especially, *pacalang desa adat* Sanur) in securing the October 1998 PDI-P congress in Sanur-Bali. The *pacalang* managed to regulate and bring order to the party masses, totalling tens of thousands of people. The authority and charisma of the *pacalang* at that time amazed people who saluted, and such praise came, and went (Bali, 1990; Dwidjowijoto Nugroho, 2002; Pitana, 1994). The APK made Surasman one of the security members of the Bali Regional Police, who helped secure the congress and felt greatly helped by the existence of the *pacalang*, and was astonished at the authority and charisma of the *pacalang*.

The success in securing the PDI-P congress in Sanur-Bali has finally made the confidence of various parties (private government, and political parties) increase. The various tasks and beliefs finally appear to come to the *pacalang*. The heavy task of securing international events, such as the Bali Travel Mark in June 2000, in Nusa Dua, was entrusted to the *pacalang*. The success in securing this international event led the PDI-P leaders to entrust the security of their party, Rakernas, in July 2002, in Kuta, to the *pacalang*. Again, the *pacalang* displayed their success, so they harvested praise.

In international affairs, the *pacalang* is also taken into account, and at the same time, holds an important position to assist the police in securing the Miss World 2013 beauty pageant in Bali. Furthermore, the *pacalang* was involved in driving the APEC 2013, which according to the police, the involvement of the *pacalang* was considered very important in activities that took place on 7–9 October 2013. The euphoria of the *pacalang*, as a traditional safeguard institution that initially only had an area of obligation in *adat* activities, also seemed to be widespread in activities outside *adat*. Moreover, the roles of *pacalang* members had expanded not only to Balinese who were Hindu, but also non-Hindu. There are several villages where the majority of the population is non-Hindu which has also formed *pacalang* to secure various religious or non-religious activities in the village area. This phenomenon becomes interesting because *pacalang* are no longer only Hindu residents, but have also expanded to include Balinese citizens of various religions, tribes, and even foreign nationals in Bali (Samego, 2001; Wingarta, 2006; Subanda, 2005). This means that the *pacalang* phenomenon not only faces a multicultural society, but has also issued multicultural-based citizens as its subjects.

Along with the demands of the community, their role includes attending various forms of ceremonies, whether related to customs or religion, so that they can run in an orderly, safe, and smooth manner. It is necessary to have a security task force specifically assigned with maintaining supervision and order in their environment. Furthermore, the security task force, is currently known as traditional security (*pacalang*). The problems faced by *pacalang* when carrying out their tasks, especially amid multicultural communities, concern not only *krama* (residents) of their indigenous village communities, but also dealing with community members who come from outside their traditional villages.

The *pacalang* is a traditional security task force of the Balinese people who has the duty and authority to maintain the security and order of traditional villages or *desa pakraman*. The existence of *pacalang* cannot be separated from the existence and development of villages in Bali. The inhabitants of the Bali island, long before they experienced outside influences, especially the influence of Majapahit, when in some villages in Bali some had or were equipped with village security officers, known as *Jayabaya Desa* and also gave the names of village traders (Suryasa, 2019; Duizenberg, 2020). Furthermore, this security officer became

the forerunner to the formation of a branch that was formed in a particular village and is now better known as *pacalang*. When *pacalang* are assigned to the task, it not only concerns *krama banjar/desa adat*, but is often dealing with the wider community, especially *pacalang*, who are assigned to traditional villages/*pakraman*, which are very prerequisite coloured multiculturalism.

Research Methods

This study took place in the Dalung Village of the North Kuta Subdistrict, in the Badung Regency. The village was chosen as the research location because it was representative of multiculturalism and specifically, in terms of ethnicity, religion, tribe, nationality, and area of the original population (Peniro & Cyntas, 2019; Chemmel & Phillipe, 2018; Vowel et al., 2017). A multicultural population is required in this study, with the theme of traditional security multiculturalism. To obtain valid data, three data collection techniques were used: observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. After the data was collected, data analysis was undertaken using qualitative descriptive analysis by emphasising the contextual content, and process. In this research, several analysis activities were carried out and beginning from the process of collecting the data (Suryawan et al., 2020; Subawa et al., 2020). The beginning of this research activity was defined as the preliminary observation stage, where data was obtained from direct interviews and was organised. In other words, data was arranged and grouped by type, data categories, and description units following the needs and priorities of interpretation or discussion of the research results. The obtained data varies greatly before completing the interpretation data. Therefore, the researchers perform a 'digest of data' to facilitate understanding and give meaning.

Results and Analysis

The Role of Traditional Balinese Security in National Security

The optimisation of the role of the *pacalang* in Bali seems to reach a climax when the role of the *desa adat* began to dominate in all aspects of Balinese life, specifically after the collapse of the New Order. When the new order collapsed, almost all regions in Indonesia repositioned the central government, including the Balinese people in repositioning with this central government, wherein the Balinese established the traditional village as the spearhead of the defence or bastion of Balinese culture (Tama, 2020; Putri & Wirawati, 2020). The dominant role and special attention given by the supra-local government to the customary village finally led to the strengthening of the role of the *pacalang* in Bali. The *pacalang* therefore played a role not only in the traditional authority corrector, but also in official affairs, wherein official affairs were generally held or under the authority of the police. The phenomenon of strengthening the *pacalang* has broader implications in the context of national security. There are several national events or official affairs that have been carried

out in Bali which have involved the *pacalang* maintaining a leading role, so it is as if the police are acting as assistants in the national context.

The rapidly increasing population in the Bali area has caused the characteristics of the community to become multicultural because those who become residents of the *desa adat* authority are not only natives, but migrants. This fact encourages the realisation of a multicultural society. Concerning security and order, it is often the *pacalang* who deals with the community. On the other hand, the fact exists that the *pacalang* cannot fully carry out their duties according to the provisions because the society is very complex, and has various ethnicities. For that reason, the task of the *pacalang* must be adjusted to the village, when *desa kala patra* includes accommodating the demands of the wider community. If it is not adjusted, the *pacalang* will receive criticism, as the *pacalang* are often called arrogant, pretentious, rigid in carrying out tasks, and so on. On the one hand, the *pacalang* party is required to carry out their duties within the stipulated provisions.

The Balinese people should open their eyes to observe that Balinese culture and society are undergoing rapid changes, specifically towards a complex form of society, and especially the North Kuta Subdistrict's Dalung Village, which has entered into a very dynamic multi-ethnic and multicultural social reality, as a result of development and openness. Bali does not belong to the Balinese alone, but belongs to the nation, and even the world. When collective consciousness diminishes or disappears, ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism in Balinese society can become a source of social conflict. The development of multiculturalism in Balinese society can be a source of open social conflict in the future, if it is not anticipated intensively by the community.

While the results of research on the *bendesa adat* [*desa pakraman* leader] Dalung I Made Parmita S.Ag., to avoid the disruption of public order security, both in the national context, and locality by playing security: (1) If you meet new people, establish good communication, the way through greetings, say hello, hi how are you? Where do you come from? Are you new here? Recommend as friends to know each other. (2) Do it properly, don't overdo it, so it doesn't arouse suspicion. (3) When finding something suspicious, immediately convey the authorities or the local village apparatus. (4) With neighbors, establish good communication by showing the character in a strong individualistic aspect, even making it a habit of showing polite attitude to neighbors and saying what can be helped when they have a celebration, this problem seems simple, but it is quite effective in addition to building relationships the new one can also be to build mutual trust (interviewed on 25 August 2019).

According to *kelian desa adat* Tibubeneng I Gede Sardana, the success of the *pacalang* in carrying out their duties was greatly influenced and determined due to the orderliness of other parties. To avoid overlapping, and chaos when the coworkers carry out tasks, it is considered

necessary to coordinate. According to Siagian (2008), coordination is the activity of organising and integrating activities, methods, materials, ideas or suggestions in a larger unity of activities in harmony, supporting each other so that work activities take place more effectively and are directed towards achieving goals. Regulating traffic is related to the task of the *pacalang* to maintain security and order in the implementation of traditional, and religious activities, especially if the Dalung highway, and the Padang Luwih highway are utilised, which are vital roads connecting various regions. The regulation on the use of the road is coordinating with other parties who have authority in the field of traffic management. In this regard, the parties in question are the Police (North Kuta Badung Police), DLLAJR Badung Regency.

Whereas, the *pacalang* in *desa adat* concerned with traffic management find it is not as complex as the problems faced by the *pacalang* in the Dalung, and Tibubeneng traditional villages because the road users in the Canggu traditional villages are not as busy as the roads found in the Dalung, and Padang Luwih traditional villages. This fact also causes the *pacalang* in the Dalung, and Padang Luwih traditional villages to face more complex problems when compared to the *pacalang* who work in the Dalung traditional village. This is related to the regulation of the use of the road, when each customary village is carrying out traditional, and religious activities. Thus, coordination needs to occur concerning traffic management, especially in several villages in the North Kuta Subdistrict, especially in the Dalung Village. It is hoped that road users, who are not related to traditional, and religious activities, can continue their journey to their respective destinations to avoid the appearance that the *pacalang* in the Dalung Village are very arrogant, and overact, just as the *pacalang* do in other places. This is especially the case when managing traffic related to their duties to maintain security and order in the implementation of traditional, and religious activities. On another aspect, as stated by Wiana (2011), several essential values must be used as a guideline, especially for the *pacalang* when carrying out their tasks: (1) willing to cooperate, both with the Government or other parties; (2) likes to consult, and discuss when resolving various disputes; and (3) accommodating a variety of opinions. The coordination with related parties is carried out on the *paras paros, sagilik-saguluk, salunglung sabayantaka* (consensus agreement) to prevent problems from arising.

Pacalang Phenomenon in Research Locus

Based on the results of interviews with several *banjar* in Tukad, and Padang Luwih in the Dalung Village, the findings can be summarised as a form of the *pacalang* phenomenon in dealing with multiculturalism development, as stated in the following sections:

Manage Traffic

In the village environment, there are a variety of traditional and religious activities, most of which often utilise public road facilities. In this connection, the use of the highway is not only limited to the *banjar/desa* (residents), but the community members also utilise the public facilities. Almost all places on the highway are never quiet at all times of the day. However, at certain times, without the knowledge of the road users, suddenly their travel path is used as a place to carry out traditional and religious activities, and the road user community on the path is very disturbed. On the other hand, we desire that different interests can be fulfilled, so we need officers who regulate the use of the road. For this purpose, the local commander is tasked with regulating traffic, and if necessary, the commander coordinates with the authorities. Based on the information submitted by the Secretary of Desa Adat Padang Luwih, Nyoman Pratiwi, the *pacalang* who serve in the customary village environment are tasked with regulating motorised vehicles, in addition to smoothing the course of traditional and religious activities, as well as regulating other roads, which had nothing to do with *adat*, and religious activities. Some *pacalang* members, in particular, have had the opportunity to attend education and training related to traffic management. Such training is provided by competent parties, namely the North Kuta Badung Police Department.

Providing Ease of Access in Religious Rituals

For the *pacalang* whose duty is to maintain security and order in the implementation of traditional and religious activities in the local environment, they make it easy for residents from their indigenous villages, and those from outside (the wider community), who have urgent needs. In this regard, the *pacalang* in the village, especially during the solitude, also patrol during the Nyepi day to warn everyone — both Hindus, and non-Hindus — not to come out, and not to turn on the lights at night. The *pacalang* are also often seen intercepting every vehicle that passes through its territory. For some *pacalang*, the Nyepi is not a ritual practice as advised by priests, but an opportunity to express ethnic and territorial identity. However, in such circumstances, the *pacalang* still permits the wider community who have clear interests, especially those who use motorbikes to pass the closed road, such as providing convenience to students, and educators.

Conduct Population Control

Considering that each village in the region has experienced developmental progress, the vast development of housing complexes is causing rapid growth in the number of migrants. To realise the orderly population administration, it is deemed necessary to curb the population, especially in new residential areas, bearing in mind that the population problem in the village is not only the responsibility of the village official, but also involves the customary village

through the *pacalang*. In this context, as explained by Putri and Wirawati (2020), the security of the existence of the *pawongan* in the territory of the *desa adat/pakraman*, (2) protection of property belonging to *desa adat/pakraman* manners, both in the form of movable and immovable objects, (3) protection against the threat of the rights of public order from all customary manners of *desa adat/pakraman*.

Accompanying the Administrator (Management) of Banjar Adat Collected Fees

In several *banjar adat* that occurs in their area, there are housing development zones. In the relevant *banjar*, there is a provision that is imposed on migrants, which is subject to monthly contributions of a certain amount, and which is adjusted to the function of the house, as security money. At the time of the collection of the contributions to each house in a housing complex, the *banjar prajuru* (management), and the *banjar* official are accompanied by the *pacalang*, who come from the *banjar* itself. The *pacalang* are present when the *banjar adat*, and *banjar dinas* [national officer] collect real fees to prevent unexpected acts. The presence of various components of the *banjar dinas*, and *banjar adat*, including the *pacalang*, are expected to avoid illegal levies on residents. Although it is not the result of scientific research, as a result of the observation of researchers in the homes of migrants, settlements, housing, and temporary residents, it is apparent that the *pacalang* officers who attend contribution fee collection, carry this work out on an ongoing basis. There is no impression that the *pacalang* are arrogant in approaching the community.

Maintaining Security and Order Creativity at Sekehe Teruna

Usually, in celebrating the Galungan, and Kuningan holy days, the Sekehe Teruna in each *banjar* conducts bazaar activities. So that the bazaar activities can run orderly and smoothly, the security and order aspects are handled by the *pacalang*, who come from the local *banjar*. As usual, the bazaar visitors are not only from the local *banjar* environment, but also from outside the *banjar*, and even from outside the village, with various background differences. It was noted from the lively bazaar activities which were held, there appears to be a diversity in the ways of appearance, passion, and multicultural behaviour.

Conclusion

The presence of the village area security officers (*pacalang*) can be estimated to have existed since the emergence of the *desa pakraman* in Bali; a very popular term after the adoption of the Nyepi day or silent day, as a national holiday. This is understandable given the condition of the Balinese people on the Nyepi Day is so *sipeng* (lonely) because at that time, Hindus practised solitude. The situation certainly requires security in the *desa pakraman* area, to ensure safety, orderly, and smoothness in the implementation of the level of seclusion. On



this security task, often the *pacalang* are stated to be the police of the *desa adat*. The term is not excessive because, in reality, the *pacalang* not only secures the level of seclusion, but also serves in various other traditional village activities, such as *piodalan*, *melasti*, and *ngalawang*, as well as village competitions. Here, the *pacalang* acted as police, in general, securing villages, managing traffic, motorcades, and taking actions as needed when violations or riots occur.

Becoming a *pacalang* is now a matter of pride, not because of a *saput poleng*, *keris* at the waist, and ears with a bud, but because the role of the *pacalang* is becoming stronger, and sharper. It began to appear that many *banjar* or *desa* built special posts for the *pacalang*. Unwittingly, they built an institution. This organisation certainly arouses solidarity among its members. Now, the Balinese, when they need security comfort and supervision in environmental activities, immediately remember the *pacalang*. In the New Order era, their memories must be Hansip or the Police. For the *pacalang*, as a traditional security task force, its existence may not be able to avoid change. Such change is good, due to its internal dynamics, as well as the influence that comes from its external factors, namely the demands of contemporary society, which is characterised by modern culture. For the existence of the *pacalang* to survive, it is necessary to adjust to the demands and challenges that come from the community. The Balinese often make use of, and make excuses for preserving the purity of ancestral culture to express their agreement or disagreement (Sarad, 2002). For the sake of holding traditional and religious ceremonies, they feel the right to freely close public roads because to close the road requires security, and they use the *pacalang*, as the persons in charge.

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