

PRACTICE OF TEMPLE DEVELOPMENT GRANTS' DISCOURSE OF BADUNG DISTRICT GOVERNMENT, BALI

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the policy of development grants in the cultural and religious sector of the Badung Regency Government in Bali with the realization of assistance targeting community groups in the construction of the physical infrastructure of the temple as a Hindu holy place that has political tendencies and power. This topic is researched because it is one of the public policies that is sentimental and very intimate because it directly touches social life and previous cultural values. The problem examined in this study is how the mechanism, strategy, which is carried out by the agent in exercising power. The power in question is not the power of a person but the power is everywhere and intertwined with knowledge. This research data was obtained based on the results of interviews, observations, and documentation studies which were then analyzed with the theory of power and knowledge by Foucault, and practical theory by Pierre Bourdieu. The analysis in is first indicated a mutually beneficial process between the lead district government, legislative members who became facilitators and the community, the application of religious, customary, and cultural concepts in perpetuating power and pragmatism and lack of education.

Keywords: temple development grant, public policy, power relations

INTRODUCTION

This article analyzes the policy of grant assistance for temple construction in Badung Regency. The problem discussed in this article is how the power relations contained in the policy discourse of grant aid by the Badung Regency Government as a public policy that is sentimental because it directly touches social life, religious and cultural values, and tendencies for political harmonization. The study is also directed to look at the meaning, form of basic assumptions of the policy of grant assistance for temple development in Badung Regency with critical theories of cultural studies.

This grant discourse began to receive considerable attention during the reign of the elected Badung Regent, GiriPrasta for the 2016-2020 period. This regent figure gets the attention of the wider community when massive policies or grant assistance are given to community groups. Each year the number of grant applications reaches an average of more than 600 applications. In particular, it is related to temple development grants which are part of the Planned Universal National Development Program (PPNSB) with five priority programs, namely religious and cultural customs, clothing, food and shelter, health and education, social security and employment, and tourism (Mahendra, 2007). 2020: 332). Especially in the fields of custom, religion and culture, Badung Regency also provides assistance in building and renovating temples for the welfare of its people.

The provision of this grant is sourced from the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (ABPD) of Badung Regency which is then fully distributed to the regional government. according to Wildavsky (1958: 15 in Rahman 2011: 156) talking about the budget is not an easy thing which only refers to a better budget formulation but also has to look at the political dimensions of the budget, especially who should get something and consider the reasons for who designs and gets what. The discourse of this grant aid although its basic purpose is to help empower and prosper the community not all Badung people are able to get assistance because one of the regulations that requires community groups to submit proposals with facilitators by members of the legislature or council members even though this assistance is granted on behalf of all the people of Badung. Doubts about this policy process are not only limited to the presence of an element of political tendencies but have the effect of becoming an arena of corruption.

Especially in the fields of custom, religion and culture, Badung Regency also provides assistance in building and renovating temples for the welfare of its people. The temple, which is a holy place to perform prayers, became a polemic when the sacred values passed down since ancient times began to shift with the inclusion of temples as an economic commodity. (Raka, 2015). It is not uncommon for supporting temple physical facilities and infrastructure to be part of the discourse on this grant fund. These rocks are not only targeting temples that are included in the territorial temple or 'Kahyangan Tiga' but also family temples. On a more minimalist scale, the sacredness of the old family temple with its various forms of building carvings as a profitable production and distribution business (Maharani, 2018). This could be one of the factors that shifts the culture that should be preserved instead into an

industrial culture that erodes local wisdom starting from the family level. This phenomenon can be seen in the government's efforts to provide grants to motivate and empower the community by targeting a very small scope, namely family temples.

Therefore this research is important for the following reasons. Firstly, it is a public policy that is sentimental because it directly touches social life, religious and cultural values. Secondly, the tendency of political harmonization to achieve certain interests. Thirdly, there is a tendency to consider it natural and accustomed to the assistance provided so that people's mentality will become dependent.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative. Qualitative research aims to obtain a complete picture of something according to the human point of view being studied. The location of this research is in Badung Regency. Data were collected by interview, observation, and literature study. Interviews were conducted with members of the DPRD of Badung Regency, Regional Apparatus in Badung Regency, as well as grant recipients in Badung Regency. Observations were made to see directly the power behind the discourse so that with this observation there searcher can collect information or data. Initial observations were made based on the field situation related to the location of grants carried out by the evaluation team of regional apparatus to community groups which took place in May-July 2019 by directly observing the location of grant recipients. Literature studies are obtained from reporting books, articles, decrees that support search.

This research was conducted using the theory of power relations by Foucault to see the forms of knowledge and forms of power supported by the practical theory by Bourdieu which explains the mechanism of power, the power relations that exist in the discourse and the hermeneutic theory which explains the meaning of the discourse on grant aid policies of the Badung District Government.

The construction of temples is a form of influential discourse which is transformed by the knowledge that gives birth to power. Knowledge about preserving culture and religion perpetuates this grant discourse into development tips. Not only limited to policies, grants also enter the field of Hindu religion and culture. This is based on the fact that in making decisions on grants, especially in their formulation, it cannot be separated from considerations

of interests, both related to the interests of human resource development, as well as ideological interests, political interests, and economic interests.

DISCUSSION

1. Transactional Policy

Politics and economics are no longer seen separately, but there is a process of reciprocal and dynamic interaction in the power relations effort which is further described referring to the basic problems between politics and economics. This issue raises the question of how the two processes are interrelated and how they should be related. In Foucault's understanding, discourse cannot be separated from the political goals contained in it. This political goal then becomes a kind of direction for how individuals should direct their perspectives and behavior. In this connection, the activity of giving is a reflection of the exchange system, in the sense that the gift cannot only be assessed from a physical point of view, but is understood as achievement in the context of the meaning system of the local community.

The grant aid discourse is viewed from the perspective of a political approach. The discourse on temple development grant assistance can be seen as an implicit transaction vehicle. In the process, this policy is also based on a harmonious relationship between the community as supporters and the legislature. Dirgayusa as a member of the Badung Regency DPRD did not deny that one of the examples of grant recipients came from the closest environment. The idea or the beginning of the proposal to repair or renovate the temple came from the prajuru who are part of the members of the indigenous community who come from the area of their choice, for example, the temple that comes from each area chosen by the council members, has the same perspective (interview, 27 May 2020). The beginning of the process of applying for a temple development grant in Badung Regency was inseparable from the harmonization of the agreement on the understanding. Prajuru in this case took the initiative and the initial decision to apply for a grant because he had the power to speak on behalf of his village. On the other hand, this causes the village to become a supporter of the government because it has perpetuated development in the fields of culture and religion. Therefore, the transformation of discourse in the practice of development for the welfare of the community has changed the beliefs of the community. On the other hand, this causes the village to become a supporter of the government because it has perpetuated development in

the fields of culture and religion. Therefore, the transformation of discourse in the practice of development for the welfare of the community has changed the beliefs of the community. On the other hand, this causes the village to become a supporter of the government because it has perpetuated development in the fields of culture and religion. Therefore, the transformation of discourse in the practice of development for the welfare of the community has changed the beliefs of the community.

If seen literally transactional means trade politics, there are those who act to sell and some who act to buy, taking into account the means of payment that have been mutually agreed upon (Amri, 1997). If in the buying and selling mechanism, the means of payment is usually in the form of cash, while in political practice, if there is transactional politics, it is realized in several forms including those who give, promises and there are those who receive and continuously experience novelty in the political transaction.

The process of applying for a temple development grant in Badung Regency is inseparable from the harmonization of the agreement. Prajuru in this case took the initiative and the initial decision to apply for a grant because he had the power to speak on behalf of his village. On the other hand, this causes the village to become a supporter of the government because it has perpetuated development in the fields of culture and religion. Therefore, the transformation of discourse in the practice of development for the welfare of the community has changed the beliefs of the community. Even so, the granting of this grant is justified because the statutory regulations have been based on the principle of decency, the principle of rationality where the decision to grant grants actually achieves the target and can be accounted for..

In another case, it can be seen how local legislatures practice and modify their authority in the process of determining group grant budget recommendations in the regions. Budget constraints often make the allocation process dynamic, especially since many parties have different interests and preferences, especially the political elite (Rubin, 1993:4). This was also explained by Sukayasa as the regional apparatus that oversees the performance of the temple development grant policy in Badung Regency, that before 2019 every application for proposals should contain a letter of recommendation approved by the board members regarding the amount of recommendation value to be given without going through an evaluation mechanism or price survey but later this began to be changed with the Badung Regent Regulation Number 9 of 2019 concerning changes to the Regent's Regulation

Badung Number 43 of 2018 regarding guidelines for granting (interview, 18 April 2020). The same thing was also conveyed by Dirgayusa as a member of the Badung Regency council that since 2019 if there are applications with an amount above two hundred million, it will be used as a Regional Apparatus Work Unit program and there is no approval recommendation sheet by council members.

Therefore, in this case raises concerns due to discrepancies regarding the number of recommendations with the amount that should be obtained after going through the market price evaluation stage. It can be said that the condition of the community group shows an understanding between the members of the council and the community considering its function as a facilitator to get assistance. In contrast to what happened starting in 2019, the recommendation process which is fully under the authority of the DPRD has been replaced with a new regulation coinciding with the use of the Badung Regency e-grant procedure. At this stage the overall determination of recommendations is based on the results of an evaluation carried out by regional officials who see firsthand the suitability of what is being said to be designed and what deserves to be received. It can be said that the condition of the community group shows an understanding between the members of the council and the community considering its function as a facilitator to get assistance.

2. Image of the Regent of Generous

Image is closely related to knowledge, feelings, and tendencies towards something that happens to a person's daily situation, therefore the image can change over time depending on the situation and conditions that occur at that time. According to Dan Nimmo (in Muchtar, 2016). A person's image of politics can also be used as a basis for assessing why an event can be said as an interpretation of signs that are constructed into a person's image.

Especially regarding the leaders in Badung Regency themselves, socializing their politics by providing grant assistance aimed at the community, ultimately encouraging community participation which shows the reality of experience in evaluating their leaders, on the basis that there is a correlation with attitudes and feelings by inserting the nickname of the Bares Regent. In imaging there are elements of positioning and memory, positioning explains how to place an impression and distinctiveness related to its political image to the public (Mansur et al, 2017). The Badung leader himself places his various grants and puts

his position as one of the regional leaders who care about the community even outside Badung Regency by providing grant assistance in other districts through the Badung Angelus Bhuana program.

Badung Angelus Buanawith with the meaning as from Badung to Bali, is a continuation of the grant program that has been ongoing in Badung Regency but the target is to several other regional districts in Bali. This indicates how the Badung Regency government forms a positive image as the most important element that is considered by the people in determining their perceptions and choices, therefore the leader in this case the Badung Regent uses the concept of image to mediate the distance that is not limited only in the Badung area but expands the arena between behavior of people with what is the real hope stored in the minds of the people.

Badung Angelus Buana formed through programs that support political perceptions, whether they are part of Badung Angelus Buana or populist assistance, namely policies the distribution of free laptops has become a positive imaging tool for the Regent in the community through a number of mass media with paid news (advertorials), especially in print media (Mahendra, et al, 2020). This indicates how the Badung Regency government forms a positive image as the most important element that is considered by the public in determining their perceptions and choices, therefore the leader, in this case the Badung Regent, uses the concept of image to mediate the distance that is not limited only to the Badung area but expands its political arena. The next is In memory, humans basically select the information stored in their memory with only the things that are considered important and also tend to capture messages that are simple and uncomplicated as GiriPrasta said in his speech. The assistance can be provided by the central government to provinces, districts, cities and villages, the provincial government can provide assistance to districts, cities and villages, the district government can provide assistance to villages and other governments, where GiriPrasta makes political policies to be given to relatives (communities) in Gianyar (Speech, 18 September 2019).

Emphasis on easy, uncomplicated speech and positioning oneself on an equal footing with the community indirectly believes that the actions taken by the Badung Regent related to the provision of grants continuously and are absorbed in the minds of the people that GiriPrasta is a Regent who cares and takes care of the community. The political image will undergo a process of exchange and adjustment at this point, the important location of political

communication and socialization. Political socialization that is carried out continuously will produce a political image and in turn will encourage political participation in elections that are based on majority choice, requiring a candidate or leader to form public opinion which is expected to influence political attitudes and behavior. In discourse, there is a very complex meaning mechanism. Thus, there is no absolute truth in matters of interpretation of discourse. Meaning or interpretation that is temporal or temporary because of the context is always mediated by a series of markers (Hamidi, 2011: 86).

A positive picture, by itself will increase the popularity and electability of the leader, and vice versa. People's choices can be formed through creating a positive image through appearances in the mass media which constructs the image of the Bares Regent who represents the Badung Regency government and has an impact on the image of Badung Regency itself. The construction of an image that shows the Badung Government is different from other districts by being able to move people's hearts and have a sense that this agency is capable and great in meeting the welfare of the community.

Political image is basically more than just a strategy to present a leader, to the public. But it also relates to the impression that the public has. Image is a transaction between a strategy, which in this case is a leader in creating a personal impression with the beliefs that already exist in the minds of the public. In line with what was expressed by Foucault where this image becomes part of a strategy or maneuver in exercising power within the scope of leadership.



Figure 1. Use of the “Bares” or generous Regent tagline, Badung is great in social media users
Source: instagram.com



Figure 2. Use of the “Bares” or generous Regent tagline, Badung is great in social media users
Source: instagram.com

Several taglines, such as the hashtag of the Bares Regent and the hashtag of Badung Besar, construct the image of the Regent of Bares and what is displayed on social media is an illustration of the figure of a Badung leader who is able to create Badung Regency which is considered a great regency in Bali. This also explains that the process of meaning by the community is not always influenced by knowledge about the programs offered such as grant assistance or by information that builds a political image. However, the process of meaning is strongly influenced by the impression and the criteria used by the people in assessing the image of the political leader. This natural tendency explains why images,

However, in the context of image formation, not a few have lost their attention-grabbing power. The images that were previously expected to be able to create stimulation, and information splashes turned into repetitions, finally becoming images that are considered normal. For example, when political images appear in large numbers, high frequency, and fast time, causing the message to no longer attract people's attention, as conveyed by a member of the Badung DPRD, Dirgayusa below. All the stigmas built by the Regent seem to make things easier, where these stigmas should be followed by standardization, but today's nickname as Bares Regent has started to be misused a lot where it should still exist in a mechanism and not be made up (interview, 27 May 2020). Nowadays, the nickname of the Regent of Bares is not only seen as a positive image but also many have a bad opinion because the peculiarity of the stigma seems to make it easier in various aspects attached to the Regent of Bares. Therefore, political imagery can influence public opinion with the formation of public opinion in the community can influence one's political attitudes and behavior.

3. Religion and Political Ideology

Ideology is understood as the ideas that bind and become the basis of justification for all social groups. The binder of this ideology is not its function as a subject to hold and believe in true beliefs but the actions of various beliefs themselves. Ideology is basically interchangeable with its concepts of knowledge and power. When the concept of ideology is read as knowledge and power, significant structures emerge that shape social relations within and through power. Ideology here is understood as a number of views of life from groups that form their identity as a group and become the justification for the actions taken (Barker, 2014: 139-140).

One of the things that the Badung Regency Government wants to achieve is the goal of preserving the concepts of culture, customs, and religion, such as his presentation in an interview with GiriPrasta on the ANTV Bali media in 2017 which stated that Hinduism in Bali has almost all of its time spent on In implementing adat, a lot of funds are spent for adat interests so that for development it is hoped that the community will not spend more funds for it, the Badung Regency government helps the community with a grant policy.

This explains how temple development assistance becomes a form of influential discourse that is transformed by the presence of knowledge so that it gives birth to power. Knowledge will preserve culture and religion perpetuate the discourse of this grant as development tips. Not only limited to policies, grants also enter the area of Hindu religion and culture. This is based on the fact that in making decisions on grants, especially in their formulation, it cannot be separated from the consideration of interests, both related to the interests of human resource development, as well as ideological interests, political interests, and economic interests. In addition to the transformation regarding the practice of discourse and development, there is the possibility of changing society. Knowledge is the way how power imposesit self on the subject with out giving the impression that it comes from a particular subject, because the scientific criteria seem to be independent of the subject. (Haryatmoko, 2016:17).

Knowledge of the development and development of traditional arts culture is then captured that the need for this can be achieved, especially in the cultural sector, especially the construction of temples where the agent who plays the role of kelian adat (the chairman of the committee) has the power to speak on behalf of the grant because he becomes a village representative who then channel it into aspirations addressed to board members. In

Pilliang's understanding (in Wijaya 2012:142) every discourse there is an interrelated relationship between the expression of the discourse, the knowledge that underlies it and the power relations that operate behind it. In these power relations, it will be seen the influence of the knowledge relations consumed by the people who produce the discourse, so that the network of power networks will be seen along with the discourse that is raised.

In Bali, especially with the majority of the Hindu community, they know the basic concept of Tri hitakarana. In the concept of natural harmony (Tri Hita Karana) it is explained that there is Parhayangan which means maintaining a harmonious relationship with the creator or God Almighty, Pawongan which means maintaining a harmonious relationship with all living things and finally the existence of Palemahan which means maintaining a harmonious relationship with other natural environment (Sudarsana, 2017). The philosophy of Tri Hita Karana is the happiness of inner and outer life caused by a balanced and harmonious relationship between man and man, man and God, and man and the environment, the substance and values contained therein are very broad and have never been degraded by the times.

The concept of Tri Hita Karana teaches Hindus about the approach used to achieve goals. The understanding of the basic conception of Hindu religious teachings is also one of the philosophical foundations related to the emergence of temple development policies. Temples as symbols of Hindus become the basis of ideologies regarding religions that are intertwined so that they give rise to power. Religion has the meaning of a bond that must be obeyed by humans, the bond that is created is a belief in the existence of a higher power than humans and is intangible but can affect human life.



Figure 3. *Kahyangan Tiga Mengwi Temple* (source: DyahMaheswari documentation, 2020)

According to Durkheim, it is difficult to distinguish which one is pure religion and which one is the result of religious interpretation (Nurdinah, 2013: 268). There is an indication of the loss of philosophical value in the holy place of the new temple because of the grant assistance for the construction of temples and temples. It is also used as a place to carry out political activities through policies. Its main concentration lies in the broad influence, determining the welfare and interests of all members of society. The interpretation of religion comes from humans in their authority to regulate the discourse of translating their religion, is temporal, and turns into a culture so that it can be accepted. Culture is the embodiment of human interaction with the environment which is motivated by religious norms and based on local customs, therefore the nature of inheriting culture and traditions inherent in every human being, one of which is the existence of a temple as a place to perpetuate beliefs about religion, and this belief creates a situation to perpetuate cultural heritage, customs, and religion to be able to maintain the existence of culture.

4. The Power of Symbolic Domination

The discourse of temple building grants has become a battle arena for various individuals. In order to fulfill this arena, the right habitus and capital are needed. Social capital in the community is reflected through the relationships that are owned within the scope of the traditional village. Traditional Village is a unit of customary law community in Bali which has territory, position, traditional rights, and social manners of community life from generation to generation in the ties of the sacred place of KahyanganTiga or KahyanganDesa (Maria and Rupa, 2007).

In general, the capital referred to by Bourdieu is an instrument for social domination. Class is an individual or a group of people who are in a certain position and have a role in the situation. (Sindhunata, 2003). The dominance in the customary village space can be seen from the prajuru or village council which makes the initial decision regarding the use of grant funds intended for temple construction because they have symbolic capital, namely having a position, being a representative of their village and having the power to speak on behalf of their village. This is in accordance with the statement expressed by Sukarna as the grantee/prajuru community (informant), where he confirmed that the initial initiative to apply for the grant came from a village decision which was then coordinated with the council members (interview, 27 May 2020).

Indirectly, the village also acts as an extension of the government's hand in development with its social capital. In the process, it is seen how the social capital that has been established regarding the relationship and network of relationships by the prajuru to the council members as facilitators to realize the temple development grant. Furthermore, because legislative members have cultural capital, especially for Badung Regency, each community institution that submits an application is assisted by a personal assistant assigned by a member of the council in each selected area to assist the community in the administrative submission process.

On the other hand, the existence of regulations in supervision acts as a form of control carried out by the Badung Regency government or the leader becomes the dominance shown in this discourse. This form of control is carried out from the existence of regulations in monitoring actions in the monitoring and evaluation process which are carried out entirely on the basis of the Regent's Decree Number 9 of 2019 concerning changes to the Badung Regent's Decree Number 43 of 2018 concerning granting guidelines, which is the mechanism for implementing grants.

As a political strategy that involves citizen participation in the process of determining the allocation and distribution of resources. Looking at the current conditions through the discourse on grants for the construction of temples from a political perspective, it can be viewed from two angles. First, from the ruler's point of view, this is a way of maintaining power by empowering and involving the community. While the second in the community's point of view is a means of gaining access to resources by involving themselves in the planning process. In the end, the village obeyed and disciplined the government because it received grants.

5. Practical policies and support the people

Power relations lead to interdependence between various parties, ranging from those who hold power to those who are objects of power. Rulers have the ability to play an important social role in a society. Especially on the unequal material abundance in a society, for example between groups of owners of capital and groups that need capital. The realization of this assistance has more influence on the economic value in the community which has changed, as Dirgayusa as a member of the Badung government council said, that the stigma of a rich district in Badung is not neglected,

Badung Regency itself, which has already been dubbed as a rich district, has created a change in people's emphasis on cultural values. In traditional Hindu society, mutual cooperation is known. In this case, this value seems to have not been realized due to the grant assistance where the community no longer has to struggle to jointly bear the costs. The philosophy of assistance that is not stimulant so that it is pragmatic is actually a problem. That power operates and is not owned by individuals and its nature normalizes the structures of society. Unwittingly power operates in the network of public awareness. Even though they assume that the government makes a policy for the benefit of the people, to overcome the problems that occur in society.

Strengthening Politics Pragmatism in policy justifies the view that political interactions are always economically motivated. Through the discourse on the Temple Development grant, the influence and socio-religious legitimacy it has has implications that are seen as unfavorable. This gave rise to rumors about political policies as reciprocity but instead became careless because it made people's mentality to become dependent and uneducated

On the other hand, based on the policy of grants organized by the Badung Regency Government, it creates conditions where the community has confidence in the government. Due to the nature of this grant assistance, it is direct by empowering the community independently for development in the region and to the religious side with the grant through this Regent Regulation Number 9 of 2019. In principle, development in the region is touching all the needs of the community in order to realize an increase in welfare in the community itself. This is also supported by a statement expressed by Sudiarawati (an informant) as the community who positively welcomes this policy because it is considered that its designation is truly directed and the burden on the community itself becomes lighter (interview, 29 May 2020).

The role of local government in this context is as a facilitator in realizing this. The active role of the community in the development process is something that has become a necessity in the development process itself. Therefore, the impact of this policy can be directly felt by the community.

CONCLUSION

The form of the discourse on the grant to build a temple for the Badung Regency government in Bali indicates a mutually beneficial process between the leading government, members of the Council who serve as facilitators and the community. This mutually beneficial process begins with an interaction based on the area of choice and emotional closeness which is one of the basics of the transaction process. In addition, the form of discourse related to the interests of political image is also attached to this discourse.

The grant program for the construction of the Badung Regency Government Temple in Bali in its implementation is full of power relations practices played by the agents involved. To form an obedient and disciplined society, agents in power relations use a number of regulations that are regulatory in nature, starting from within the agency itself. Development ideologies and religious concepts are also played by agents to perpetuate power relations by creating thoughts of truth in the minds of the people regarding temple renewal and making people obedient and useful. In the end, the dominance of this discourse can be seen from the point of view of the rulers, as a way to maintain power by empowering and involving the community. Meanwhile, the community becomes the subordinate side who moves unconsciously to believe in the truth as a means of gaining access to grant assistance by involving themselves in the process.

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