

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN FACILITATING COMMUNITY ACTION IN BALI

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Abstract

Both the structure of community leadership and organizations, and the processes they undertake in pursuit of a common purpose, can have a positive or limiting role in facilitating working relationships and collective community action. These findings are the result of the exploration of the structure and processes at work in two communities in Bali, referred to as villages A and B. Data were collected through interview and informal conversations with the local leadership figures and many other community members. In village A there is an 'institution of deliberation', called Badan Musyawarah (BAMUS) in Indonesian. This institution acts as a bridge between government leadership and community leadership. BAMUS plays an effective role in maintaining the synergy between top down and bottom up approaches and strategies. However, village A faces a 'problem' in that the outsiders living in this area are almost equal in number to the indigenous population. This fact highlights the need for developing a strategy to optimize the balance between structure and process in order to integrate the outsiders and insiders in collective action. In village B, there is also an institution of deliberation, however, this institution does not work effectively for the community. The status quo remains because there is no institution that balances the activities and decision-making of government leadership and community leadership. The results suggest that, at this site, there is a tendency for the top down (government leadership) approach not to complement the bottom up (community members) approach. Therefore, it is suggested that it is critical to develop strategies to strengthen both structure and process in facilitating community action.

Introduction

Hindu communities in Bali have several traditional organizations. Neighboring families group themselves to work collectively in community organizations called banjars. Banjars operate on the principle of mutual understanding as well as helping each other to finish different projects. Some banjars unite themselves into a bigger community and form a village (desa) surrounded by some public places such as a traditional market or a meeting hall. A special tower in the community centre is the place for the kulkul, which is a wooden drum. The kulkul is an old communication tool which is still used to spread basic information long distances between Balinese communities, schools and community health centres. Either the banjar or the desa constitute the basic government unit and have a spirit of communalism and democracy as well. All decisions are made on the basis of community consensus. A desa has at least three temples –Puseh Temple, Desa Temple, and Dalem Temple that symbolize the unity of three Hindu Respected Gods for each function of creating, maintaining and destroying the world. Another well-maintained

Balinese association is the subak, the agricultural organization for irrigation that controls water flow and usage among its farmer members. This is another communal organization within a Balinese community.

Many scientific surveys as well as media publications demonstrate an interest in presenting banjar, subak and other traditional Balinese organizations as important, but only a few discuss structure and process within those traditional organizations. In fact, both structure and process play critical roles in facilitating collective community action. Falk et al (2006) has found the potential benefit of structure and process as essential factors in facilitating relationships and productive collective action. Lansing (2006) finds that networking within many Subak Temples in Bali not only provide practical benefits in managing the water system but also in the management of rice paddy pests and diseases. This paper is intended to explore the structure and process of local leadership within two Balinese communities as they potentially affect community effectiveness in pest and disease management.

Literature review

According to Woolcock (2002, p22), social capital provides “the norms and networks that facilitate collective action”. This capital includes horizontal and vertical association among people, including social working relationships within and between groups which effect the community’s productivity and prosperity. Ostrom (2000) states that social capital not only includes communication and interaction but also the risk of conflict as well.

Flora (2004) mentions that there are seven capitals, *i.e.* political, cultural, financial, natural and human capital. Social capital is also claimed to facilitate collective action to provide shared benefits (Woolcock, 1998; Isuma, 2001). A community that has high potential for social capital will be able to work collectively for achieving their goals (Krishna, 2003).

Structure in this research refers to the organization of government leadership as well as community leadership that determine the obligation and authority of each person within the organization. Process constitutes the mechanism of decision making by particular organizations. Both structure and process co-create each other (Boden, 1994). Co-construction occurs when the process of interaction creates structure and, simultaneously, the structure creates the process. For example in village A, the need to integrate government leadership and community leadership resulted in the establishment of a new institution, known as BAMUS, in which the members are government leadership, community leadership and community people. The existence of BAMUS facilitates decision making processes with both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Structure and process therefore play essential roles in collective action. The structure of an organization defines role in transforming those five capitals to goals, such as food, jobs, prosperity, schools, growth of economy, clean environment, decrease in crime, and better health. In turn achievement of these goals will support the development of capitals. On the other hand, some unexpected outcomes, such as, pollution, increase in crime and social conflict, may decrease the capitals (Pretty, 2003).

Process is an interaction between co-participants. Interaction can be between people or things (for example, computers and reference books). The output of interactions is often in the form of text, conversation or non-verbal communication, inspired by the aim, value, and purpose that is tied to the participation of people (Falk and Ballati, 2004). In addition, process encourages changes (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000). Changes include knowledge acquisition, skills and capacity to obtain new attitudes and values (Bloom, 1956). Finally, the role of leadership is inseparable from the existence of structure and process in collective action to transform various social capitals for the sake of collective goals. Leadership is often defined as those who have more strength, yet it is also defined in more general sense as facilitating successful collaboration among those who bring changes in communities, groups and organizations (Bergstrom *et al.*, 1995). Furthermore, Langone and Rohs (1995) insist that an individual in the environment of a community will not be able to control a group of people. Thus, leadership is divided among many individuals at different times, depending on the situation and skills required.

Research method

This research utilizes qualitative methods (Creswell, 1998) to study the organization, structure and process of making decisions in relation to the organization of two local communities in Bali. Semi-structured interviews (Fontana, 2002) are used and the data is analyzed based on forms of conversation analysis (Silverman, 1998)

The research in Bali was undertaken in two villages, referred to as Sites A and B. Site A is a coastal tourist village, about 10 km northwest of a major city. This village is 305 hectare in area. This site is used for several purposes: for houses and tourist accommodation such as hotels, bungalows and resorts (199 ha), dry fields (88 ha), and rice paddy (irrigated rice fields) (8.7 ha). The remaining area is used for public facilities such as streets, schools and cemeteries. Site A and change throughout population at the end of 2005 was 3331 persons, more than half (57.4%) of whom earn money from trading and industries (Central Statistic Bureau of Badung Regency, 2006).

Meanwhile, Site B village is located in the country side of Bangli Regency, about 60 km northeast of Denpasar. The village is 1200 ha, used for gardening (778 ha), rice paddies (176 ha), dry land (91 ha), house yard (48 ha) and public facilities. The population is 7829 and more than half (64.9%) work on farming land and looking after cattle (Central Statistic Bureau of Bangli Regency, 2006).

The inhabitants of Sites A and B each form a 'community', either because of common characteristics – such as religion, language and tradition- or because they were born in the same place and live together (ABS, 2002; Ridjal, 2006; Trianto, 2006). For the sake of ease of reading, in this paper is the term community leadership is shortened to CL, and these are the people who are elected by community members. Government Leadership is abbreviated to GL. These people's work is based on government policy.

Data were collected over two months, April to May 2007, with in-depth interviews of people in local leadership, either government or traditional leadership and informal

community leadership as well. The questions were based on aspects of leadership, decision making and problem solving, as well as on the working relationships with government institutions, community self-help, the general situation of the village and youth organization, and community participation in collective action.

Besides utilizing in-depth interviews to gather qualitative data, data were also gathered for quantitative analysis using a structured questionnaire, a combination of open and close questions that were given to selected community members. This method was utilized in order to characterize the representatives by age and employment. The questions given to the interviewee included information about land ownership, pest and crop diseases, communication and level of relationship within the family and others, and also the participation in collective work. There were 123 interviewees, consisting of local people, outsiders and tourists (Table 1). The quantitative data will be reported in separate paper.

Table 1. Qualitative data sets collected from Sites A and B for research into the role of community in the management of biosecurity

No	Methods	Interviewees	Number of Interviewees	
			A	B
1	Semi structure interview	Local community	16	19
2	Structure interview	Local community	25	25
3	In-depth interview	Local community	20	8
4	Iinterview	Outsider	5	-
		Indonesian	6	-
		Tourists		
		Foreign tourists	21	-
TOTAL			81	52

Results

Government Leadership and Community Leadership

The structure of government leadership at site A consists of a village head who is assisted by a general secretary and several assistants while at the level of sub village (banjar), a village head has three assistants, called kaling. A village head is not elected by community members but is directly appointed by local regency government, while kaling are appointed by government upon the agreement of community.

The structure of community leadership at site A consists of a traditional village head (bendesa adat) who is assisted by a secretary (penyarikan), treasurer (petengen), and general affairs officer (kasinoman). The traditional sub-village head (kelian suka duka) takes care of family events and coordinates communal activities for mutual benefit. Such events include various traditional ceremonies to be held because of marriage, birth, tooth filing, family shrine activities and death. Community leaders are elected by community members. At site A, as in other Balinese villages, there are three temples that are used for

religious purposes by the community. These are always called the Dalem Temple, Puseh Temple and the Desa Temple.

A unique feature of Site A is that there is an institution that acts as a bridge between government leadership and community leadership. This 'institution of deliberation' is called the Badan Musyawarah, or BAMUS (refer to Figure 1A below). Members of BAMUS include community leaders, village heads, head of the community empowerment institution, all of the environment heads, the traditional Banjar head and some community representatives.

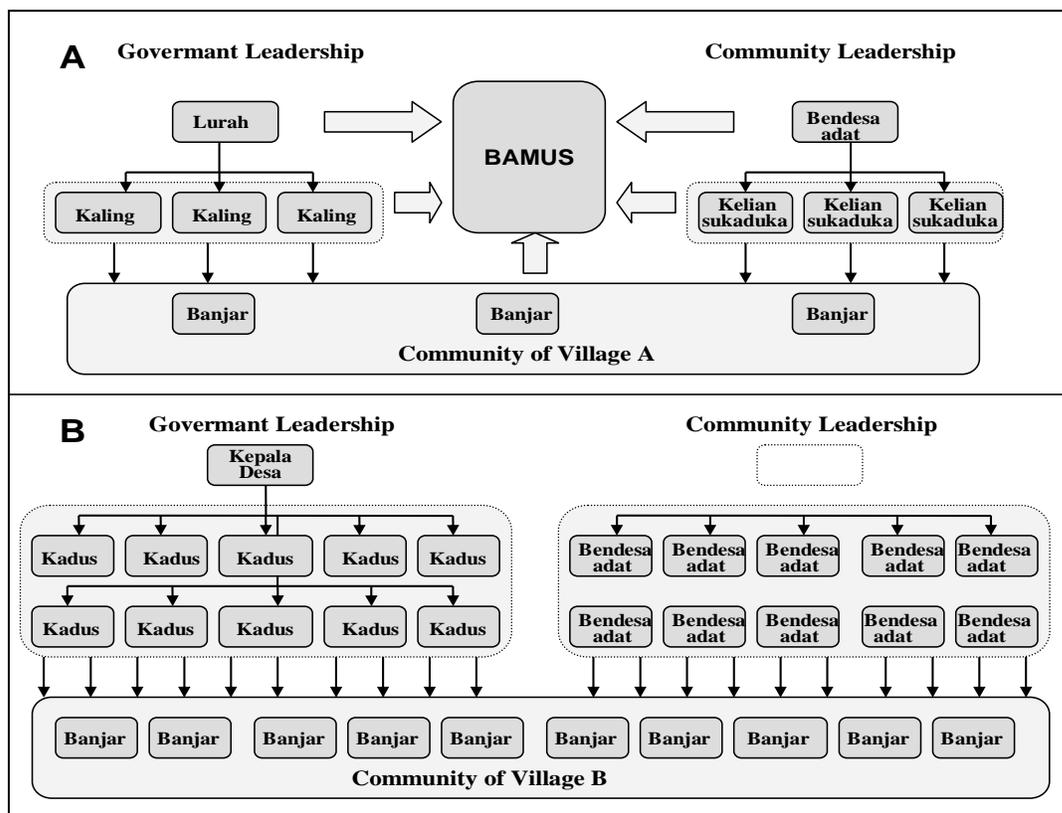


Figure 1. The structure of government (GL) and community leadership (CL), with and without institute of deliberation (BAMUS). Lurah is the head of GL at village level is located in an urban area, while kepala desa is the same position as lurah located in the rural area; kaling and kadus are heads of GL at banjar level, kaling is located in urban and kadus in rural areas; bendesa adat is the chief of CL at village level while kelian suka-duka at banjar level.

Meanwhile, the structure of GL in site B consists of a village head assisted by a general secretary and several administrative departments. At the level of sub village (banjar), a village head is assisted by a sub-village head for each sub-village. There are 10 sub villages. Both the village head and sub-village head are elected by the community. However, a sub-village still needs approval from the government after the election.

The structure of community leadership at site B is divided into 10 traditional village heads, 1 head for each banjar. It is similar to the structure at site A, the head is assisted by secretary (penyarikan), treasurer (petengen) and news teller (kasinoman). There is no coordinator for those 10 traditional village heads as shown in Figure 1B. It also demonstrates that there is no institution that has the purpose of balancing the activities and decision-making between government leadership and community leadership. That balancing is not achieved although there is a Village Counselor Committee established in this village. The members of this committee are a community person, political party representatives, teachers and priests.

There are 5 traditional villages (Figure 1B) at site B, namely Manikaji, Karangsuung Kaja, Karangsuung Kelod, Tampuagan and these are coordinating with each other, because of they share one Dalem Temple and cemetery.

Bottom-up and top-down processes

At Site A, government policies are adopted with the approval of BAMUS. The village head here always coordinates with BAMUS whenever new policies are proposed. For example, the policy concerning ‘outsiders’ (residents and visitors who were not born in the community) and the prevention of dengue fever. One of the new activities that has been conducted by the Community Empowerment Institution at Site A is a training program involving unemployed youth who are interested in working in the tourist industry. The first group to complete this training has found jobs in hotels, restaurants and other tourism facilities.

Meanwhile, community leadership has also succeeded in coordinating the construction of a multifunctional building named Wiswa Budaya. Planning for building construction began at regular meetings (paruman), usually held every 35 days at the level of banjar. After discussion in paruman, the idea was discussed at meetings (Samuan Tiga) held three monthly. These meeting are attended only by members of BAMUS and the priest. The decision is finalized at Samuan Tiga Agung, a routine meeting usually held before Nyepi Day (Silent Day). All of the family heads of the traditional community (670 families) in Site A village have to attend the meeting. The policies adopted at the meeting require the members to comply. The multi-function Wiswa Budaya was built in two and a half years with a budget of 3.5 billion rupiah (approximately \$ US 400,000) and serves as the office of village community crediting, kindergarten and meeting hall, among other purposes.

At the same time in Site B, the government policies as well as decisions of GL at the village level are implemented without any prior consultation with community members, since there is no institution that acts as a “bridge” between GL and CL. This lack of consultation threatens the implementation of government policies at the community level. In fact, the existence of Badan Penasehat Desa (Village Counselor Committee) neither involves the members of CL nor works optimally for the community. In this case, the top-down approach is not properly equalized or balanced by the bottom-up structures and processes. The community has not established a mechanism that provides a forum for participation in making decisions and for overseeing the implementation of policy implementation.

Furthermore, the implementation of the policies becomes more difficult since the community does not fully trust GL. This lack of trust is evident in the data, and is exemplified in the case of the government funding for looking after cattle. This government funding is not distributed through a forum to select the community members to tend the cattle. It was decided by GL without any advice to, or consultation with, the community. Information about the right to look after the cattle was not widely circulated. The information was restricted to either individuals or groups in the GL (in the level of

village). This case differs from the previous policies taken by CL and decided at community meetings (paruman) in which community members were given some opportunity to look after cattle.

Some policies of CL in Site B Village, on the other hand, have been effectively implemented. It is evoked by the pattern in decision making utilizing a bottom-up approach which is firstly socialized at community meetings (paruman) and then the decision is made in the next meeting after getting the approval from the whole community. The social sanction, kasepekan (the sanction of community exclusion in various community activities), strongly influences the community members, therefore, they are anxious not to defy the collective decision which has been made through paruman. The effectiveness of CL at this site is evident through the success of building a particular place for traditional music (gamelan) named Bale Gong. The community worked cooperatively then collected about Rp 65 million (approximately \$US 7500) for the building. It was a self-funded building that was the result of effective implementation of a balanced top-down and bottom-up approaches.

A similar example occurred in another village within Site B about three years ago when the community celebrated a major temple festival in Dalem Temple with a self-funded budget of Rp 250 million (approximately \$US 29,000).

Discussion

The case of CL in both sites demonstrated a multi-layered governance systems that can match social and ecological structures and processes operating at different spatial and temporal scales (Folke *et al.*, 1998b; Berkes *et al.*, 2003). It also showed flexible, learning-based management systems that can deal with the change and uncertainty inherent in social-ecological systems (Olsson *et al.*, 2007)

Structure and processes in Site A village are effective in “problem solving”. However, Site A faces a ‘problem’ in which the outsiders living in this area are almost equal in number to the indigenous inhabitants. The existing structure and processes are more focused on top-down and bottom-up synergy with the local community. This fact suggests the need for developing a strategy to optimize the balance between structure and process in order to simultaneously integrate both the outsiders and insiders in collective action. One of the strategies is to develop social capital mainly in the form of a set of bridging interactions. The research outcomes of Sangina *et al.* (2007) showed that social capital in the form of structure and bridging interactions have a high capacity for solving conflict, that in many cases were ended through mediation and negotiation between groups.

Meanwhile, it was found that there was imbalance between CL and GL in Site B Village. There was harmonious synergy in which top-down and bottom-up approach implemented dynamically in both structure and process for CL, that on the other hand, it did not occur for GL. As a result, it has lead to a negative perception of GL. Apparently this phenomenon does not only emerge in Indonesia, but other countries as well. Falk *et al.* (2006) found that there is also negative perception from the community to the Australian

government in terms of consistency, clarity and transparency. The results of this research confirm those also found by Berkes (2002) and Bawden (1994), that the leadership in Site B demonstrates that the structure of a particular institution is able to threaten the process of self-organization which includes commitment and local initiative, yet a part of it still encourages diverse thinking and ideas as well as contributing to overcome the environmental problems. There is a tendency that GL is centralized, simple and big scale, therefore those categories of authority do not have the capacity to respond flexibly (Ostrom,1988). On the other hand, the structure of CL is poly-central and will encourage more innovation and experimentation. At the same time it also provides opportunities for individuals and organizations to explore diverse ideas in order to enhance problem solving potential (Imperial, 1999).

The research therefore indicates that it is important to develop a model or strategy that allows others to plan and implement a synergy of structure and process in either GL or CL to facilitate collective action. Both research sites illustrated the need to identify capacity and needs of a community in facilitating collective action. The appropriate strategy will empower the community to utilize existing strengths to address needs (Craig, 2005). The need for such an approach is supported by Evans (2007) who stated that synergy will be easier to strengthen in a community that is formed on egalitarian social structures. Olsson *et al.* (2007), suggests that GL, as a part of the central governmental authority, should create a space to promote the process of self-organization and collaborative learning. The ability to self-organize seems to be a critical characteristic in developing flexibility in a social ecology system such as found in these Balinese communities (Berkes *et al.*, 2003; Gunderson and Holling, 2002).

Summary, conclusions and implications

The findings emphasize the mutually enriching relationship between structure and process. The leadership that is reflected in BAMUS in Site A Village encourage the emerging synergy between top-down and bottom-up approaches in making decisions for collective action, and therefore such a body (structure) would form part of a model or strategy where planned interactions (processes) would assist in harmonizing the dynamics of top-down/bottom-up forces to achieve more effective responses to change. This need is confirmed by the lack of such a body in Site B, where there is no such organization that acts as a mediator between GL and CL. Site B also lacks a set of planned processes for achieving harmonisation of top-down/bottom-up, resulting in an *ad hoc* set of outcomes depending on the event. Put another way, the emerging results suggest that, at this site, there is a tendency for the top-down approach not to be properly equalized or balanced by the bottom-up approach. Thus, it does not effectively facilitate collective action.

Findings about structure and process have strong implications for community- based management of biosecurity. To effectively manage biosecurity at the community level, community collective action is required in preventing incursions and spread, decreasing the threat, and managing the impact of new diseases against human, animals and plants as they occur naturally, deliberately, or coincidentally (Murch *et al.*, 2005). The effectiveness of community management of biosecurity is determined by a synergy between top-down and bottom-up approaches. Finally, it is obvious that structure and process in the

community determine the level of synergy of top-down and bottom-up approaches. In order to develop a model or strategy to promote effective biosecurity management, a community development plan would need to be developed. First, this plan would audit existing structures and processes. Then a comprehensive plan to address any imbalance in structure and process for that community would be collaboratively developed. Such a plan would be based on the community's existing capacity, including its local wisdom and indigenous knowledge.

Flora names seven capitals *i.e.* social, human, natural, cultural, financial and political capital. Not included in these capitals is the existence of organizations in the community as a resource or capital. It is clear that the existence and nature of organizations in communities provide a basis for developing a management plan for biosecurity. I tentatively propose a new form of capital, *i.e.* 'organisational capital' at this early stage of the research. Its importance in this research and its lack of explicit mention in Flora's work clearly indicates the need for more research about this component of the findings.

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