Democracy Model Based on Bali Local Wisdom Values for Capacity Building of Regional Governance

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Abstract

This research was conducted applying a qualitative method for assessing governance in Bali Region. The stage of research began with the collection of primary and secondary data. The second stage was choosing a theory as a means of analyzing the data. The third stage analyzed and interpreted the data that had been selected. The fourth stage was to do the writing and construction of research results. The results showed that the values of the local wisdom of Bali, which is reflected in its democratic models, showed how the government and people of Bali held a governance rule. Strengthening institutional capacity and the capacity of the policy was strongly supported by the development of this democratic model. In this context, there is a symmetrical relationship between the accountability and transparency of government who is regarded as Guru Wisesa with the level of public trust in him. It is also supported by the implementation of the five values of local wisdom in giving service (seva) to the public, namely: Sathya (Truth), Dharma (virtue), Shanti (Peace), Prema (love) and Ahimsa (abstinence violence). However, the model of democracy with the values of local wisdom is not enough to produce a democratic political system without the support of the situation, conditions, and political institutions. Freedom and equality (equality) as part of the democratic values are still hampered by paternalistic cultures that restrict the freedom of society.

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1. Introduction

Implementation of local governance is inseparable from democratic values embraced by the community in the area. Cultural regions in Indonesia including Bali save a lot of potential values of democracy, which is still used as a guideline in social life. Those values are the first layer that ideas conceived matters most substantive in public life,

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followed by more concrete layers; norms and law (Koentjaraningrat, 1987: 11-12), will much determine the pattern of society democratic life.

Democratic values that developed in Balinese society are social capital, capital religious-cultural and spiritual-psychic capital for the development of regional culture in the future. The values are in line with the concept of 'Tirtha' proposed by Kautilya (2003: 229), that impulse to elevate the condition of a pluralistic society leading to higher levels of welfare, based on integrity and spirit of togetherness. By applying this concept, the defense of the community can be done and delivered to the embodiment of the dynamic life force.

When examining political developments and government in Bali, it does not always run smoothly and harmoniously. Robinson (2006) in his book Dark Side of the Island of the Gods: The History of Political Violence has to review that trace the history of Bali alone, many showing violence and political anarchy, like wars between kingdoms, the slaughter of thousands of alleged communists, and the involvement of Bali in the national revolution has dragged Bali puddles conflict. To him, Bali history is already "familiar" with violence.

Although the social conditions of the population in the province of Bali is 'homogeneous' predominantly Hindu (91.7 percent) and have Bali ethnic (88.9 percent) however, this area has always indeed held the potential of a great conflict. Some several potential conflicts, not only the latent but also which has been empirically manifest in the development of social and political life in Bali.

The dynamics of politics and democracy in Bali can be seen as a process of the dialectic between continuity and change. Elements of local wisdom that is compatible with democratic values in the life of the Balinese can also be identified. With this research, it is expected that local cultural repertoire can be identifiable and of what kind can be maintained and the elements of innovation anything that can be fused into a collective of the social learning process, in an effort to nourish the development of democracy in Bali to support local governance. Therefore, research on strengthening the capacity of local governance through the development of a model of democracy based on the values of local wisdom becomes very important.

2. Research Methods

This research was conducted using qualitative method for assessing governance in Bali Region. Stages of research began with the collection of primary and secondary data. The second stage was choosing a theory as a means of analyzing the data. The third stage, analyze and interpret the data that has been selected. The fourth stage is writing and constructing research results.

3. Results and Analysis

3.1 Democracy Transition Era

Study on governance in Indonesia cannot be separated and in parallel with the ongoing era of democratic transition that began in the mid-1990s. Uhlin (1995), in his book *Democracy and Diffusion: Transnational among Indonesian-Drawing Lesson Pro-Democracy Actors,* has pioneered the discussion on this matter. In his study, he highlighted the many actors who pro-democracy as well as a variety of foreign influences (especially the West) on a variety of democratic discourse that developed at that time.

The process of transition to democracy and is often associated with some important changes in the democratic process in Indonesia after the reformation of 1998. Issues that arise during the transition period are also the focus of several subsequent researchers. A Dutch and Indonesian research team at the expense of the sponsor of the Royal Dutch Academy of Science has produced research works that are edited into a book by NORDHOLT and Abdullah (2002) with the title of *Indonesia in Search of Transition.* Some central issues are addressed, namely the development of regionalism, elite, civil society, and democracy, in addition to the experience of the crisis and the mediation process in Indonesia during the era of democratic transition. Chapter discussion of civil society and democracy in this book provides many benefits, especially when discussing the relationship between state and civil society as an integral part of the village governance.

Other researchers also discuss similar issues, among others Gaffar, (2004) with his writings, *Politics Indonesia: Transition toward Democracy*, which saw democracy and civil society as two things that cannot be separated. Civil society is regarded as an independent community and is able to fill the public space available between the people and the state. Thus the public will be able to be a bumper of state power. Similarly, the state does not decide everything about him. The democratic system in Indonesia for 32 years under the rule of the New Order, to him it is far from the

so-called democratic government and does not create a civil society. People sovereignty was blocked to join the talk, there is no a realization of people's rights to enjoy the basic rights to them as human beings, the emergence of a sense of fear of the people to talk about the country, the aspirations of the people was neglected, as well as the electoral system which was conducted every five years away from the so-called honest and fair. Developing a model of democracy that can inspire democratic village was also very dependent on the socio-political dynamics of rural communities in the transition.

Hiariej *ed.* (2004) in his book Political Transition after Suharto revealed that the transition to democracy is just one part of a larger political project towards democracy in Indonesia. A political project that encompasses the restoration of models and ideals of democracy is in accordance with the needs of the people of Indonesia. Thus, the "reality" and the imagination of the Indonesian democracy are not an endpoint and a necessity in the trajectory of history. Democratic transition, as said by Philpott (2003) in his book *Breaking Indonesia*: *Postcolonial Politics and authoritarianism*, as previously described, in fact, more of a social construction. Guided by the idea of Foucaultian, Philpott found that the construction was built by the Indonesian political discourse and the study of the elitist, historicist, orientalist, and stuck in a realist spatial reasoning. In this regard, both Hiariej and Philpott thought tried to be integrated into developing an understanding of the democratic transition that is applied in this study.

Research conducted by the research team of The Habibie Center (2009) on Local Democracy: Change and Continuity of the Values of Local Cultural Politics in East Java, West Sumatra, South Sulawesi, and Bali can help explain the extent to which the values of democratic culture has developed in the community locally in Indonesia. In other words, the extent to which the values of feudal culture have been successfully removed and replaced by the values of the democratic culture.

There are two understandings of democracy, namely understanding the normative of which it is ideal in nature and procedural understanding of which is empirical (Gaffar, 2004: 3-7). *The first understanding* is usually formulated conceptually well, beautiful and attractive as well as an idea something was going to do by the state. The normative term "government of the people, by the people and for the people" which is usually translated into the constitution of each country is one such example. *The second understanding* is more oriented to the practical implementation of democracy in everyday political life, also known as procedural democracy, which saw democracy in reality, in this case how the ideals are run, which is called the political performance by Bingham Powell

Of all the indicators that have been raised that the understanding of the indicators or preconditions to observe whether a system embracing procedural democracy or not, that is related to the existence of elements. In this case the possibility of rotation of power, lack of accountability of holders of power, political recruitment is open, it provides the opportunity to use the basic rights of every individual who is able and willing to carry it out, the elections were orderly and free, as well as recognition elements of conflict that are manageable.

In that regard, it is in a democratic political system, the dimensions of accountability get a very reasonable place. Usually, it is realized with the accountability mechanisms of what is taken by public figures, whether they are a professional politician as well as holding positions in the government bureaucracy. In this case, words, actions or deeds, as well as policy options are taken must be accounted for. This requires accountability, which is closely related to the disclosure of openness concerning tolerance for dissent, political recruitment, as well as the function of the press.

Tolerance for dissent is needed as the distribution policy pursued by the government. This is a reflection of the exercise of democracy right in a country that adopts democracy through critique identified with displeasure to the government. In the general election, the existing political parties should be allowed to argue about government policy and criticized the government in the hope that can provide inputs for the policy to be pursued.

2.2 Governance Capacity

The concept of governance became popular replaces the concept of government previously applicable. The concept of governance has a meaning that is both hierarchical relationships of having to govern. Government ruling is on top, while the community who are ruled is at the bottom. To change the position of the relationship between government and citizens, which was originally hierarchical becomes hierarchies, still needed a change of philosophy and way of thinking, including the creation of a new term that is appropriate.

Terminologically, governance is understood as governance so that there are still many who think that governance is a synonym of government. In fact, governance is more a deconstruction of the previous applicable rule. Interpretation of the practice of governance during this time was more referring to the behavior and the capacity of governments so that good governance will automatically be achieved if there is good government. For more details, Table 1 below can provide a comparison between the concepts of government with governance.

Table 1
Comparison of the Government Concept with of Governance

No.	Element Comparative	Government Concept	Governance Concept
1	Understanding	The system implementation of the state functions, both in the broad sense (executive, legislative and judicial) as well as in the narrow sense (executive).	Mechanisms, practices, and procedures for how governments, the private sector, and citizens organize resources and solve public problems.
2	Nature of the relationship	Hierarchical, in the sense that reigns on top, while the citizens are governed at the bottom	Hierarchies, in the sense that there is equality of status and only differ in function.
3	Component Involved	Subject only one, namely government institutions	There are three components involved, namely the public sector (government), private and public sectors.
4	The holder of the Dominant Role	The government sector	All play a role according to their respective functions
5	Effects Expected	Compliance citizens	Citizen participation
6	Expected Outcomes	Achievement of the objectives of the state through the obedience of citizens.	Achievement of the objectives of the state through the participation of civil society and the life market (business) competitive

Source: Wasistiono (2005) "Decentralization, Democratization, and Establishment of Good Governance", in Haris.
Decentralization and Regional Autonomy. Press LIPI, Jakarta, p. 56

Indeed the concept of governance should be understood as a process, not the structures and institutions. Governance also shows inclusivity. In this case, if the government is seen as "they", then governance is "us". Government implies as if only the politicians and the government do control, do something, and to provide services, while the rest of "us" is a passive recipient. Meanwhile, governance merges the difference between "government" and "governed" because we are all part of the process of governance (Sumarto, 2003: 2).

The concept of governance, mainly used in academic circles, is a concept used to describe the interaction between the state, market / private sector, and civil society/citizens, as companion concept of governance. Governance requires a redefinition of the role of the state that also means in the redefinition of the role of citizens. In this case, there are greater demands on citizens, among others, to monitor the accountability of the government itself. The concept of governance itself consists of diverse contemporary perspective, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Contemporary Perspectives of Governance

Perspective	Originator	Principal Idea
Governance as the Minimal State	Gray (1994), Rhodas (1994)	Government intervention in public life is very minimal.
Corporate Governance	Hillmer (1993), Charkai, 1994, Tricker (1994)	Refers to how an organization is directed and controlled
Governance as New Public Management	Osborne and Gaebler (1992), Rhodes (1997)	Less government and more governance
Good Governance	World Bank, Hyden, and Bratton	Corruption-free government
Governance Political Governance as Social or Governance Interactive	Kooiman (1993)	Public and private sector participation in solving social problems or creates social opportunities

Governance as Self Organizing Network	Kicker, et al. (1997)	Society actually has its own network
Governing the Economy	Wade (1990), Campbell (1991)	Directing the management of the economy toward a prosperous community.
Governance and governability	Hay & Jessop (1995)	Governance as a business and as a system of governance and governability with the outcome of political and managerial standards.

Source: Nurmandi (2003), "Changes in Government Perspectives and Implications", in Karim, the complexity of the issue of regional autonomy in Indonesia, Student Library and Department of Government UGM, Yogyakarta, p. 110-111.

In addition, governance is defined as the mechanisms, practices, and procedures of government, in which citizens organize resources and solve public problems. In the concept of governance, the government only became one of the actors and not always the most decisive actor. The implication, the role of government, both as agents of development as well as providers of services and infrastructure will be shifted into a body capable of driving the creation of an environment that facilitates others in the community and the private sector to actively participate in making the effort (Sumarto, 2003: 1-2). Thus, governance demands a redefinition of the role of the states; it means that there is also a redefinition of the role of citizens. In addition, there are greater demands on citizens, among others, to monitor the accountability of the government itself.

There are three pillars in the Implementation of governance (Azhari, 2002: 114; Harris, 2005: 55). *First*, governance economics, namely economic policies, and institutions are necessary to support the economic development of efficient, equitable, fair, productive, and sustainable. *Secondly*, the political field of governance, processes, and institutions formulating participatory and democratic policies that are able to create public order and the unity of the nation and the state. *Third*, the administrative areas of governance, i.e. policy institutions, mechanisms, and processes of policy implementation are able to support the implementation of government functions and development.

Implementation of the three pillars has just occurred when there is a network of cooperation and partnership of mutual support between the three institutions or governance actors with roles as follows.
a) State or government runs the functions of law enforcement, public order and national security, public policy, regulate and control the structure of incentives and investments, as well as the collection and distribution of tax revenues.
b) Civilians who run the functions of collective representation of the people, and then distribute a public service and service responsibility towards society.
c) The private sector or the business world, the task is to produce goods and services, create jobs, and increase wealth.

Developing the capacity of local government, as stipulated in Presidential Decree No. 59 the Year 2012 on the National Framework for Capacity Building Regional Government aims to improve the performance of local government in conducting the affairs of government authority.

National framework for the development of local government capacity is a guideline of building local capacity that govern the scope, mechanisms and stages, budgets, the relationship between levels of government, authority and responsibility in order to develop the capacity building of local government by the Government and in with the implementation of the capacity building of local government by Local government.

The scope of local government capacity development includes developing the capacity of policy, institutional and human resources.
a) Capacity development policies include:
  1) preparation and adoption of regional policies in the form of local laws and regulations of head of the region conducted by the principles of good governance and in accordance with laws and regulations;
  2) evaluation of the implementation of regional policies for assessing the effectiveness of its implementation; and
  3) Building commitment of all of the regional administration to implement regional policies that have been established.
b) Institutional capacity development includes:

1) an increase in the capacity of an organizational structure that is effective, efficient, rational and proportionate;
2) increasing the capacity of governance implementation of the duties and functions of each unit of local government;
3) institutionalization of an organizational work culture that is productive and positive based on noble values of national culture;
4) increase the capacity of the budget to support the improvement of the quality and quantity of development and local governance;
5) increase the capacity and quality of infrastructure according to the needs and demands of the task; and
6) Implementation of standardized operating procedures in local governance and public services.

c) Development of human resource capacity includes increasing knowledge and insight, skills and expertise, as well as the formation of attitudes and work behaviors of the regional administration, conducted through the organization of formal education, training, and courses, seminars, internships, mentoring, education, personality, and education in the post.

Development of a model of democracy has significance to analyze democratization and decentralization at the local level being developed up to now, namely a change of system and model of authoritarian-centralized to a decentralized democratic (Dwipayana *et.al,* 2003: v) or from systems and models of "Leviathan" towards a system of "lilliput" (Piliang, 2005: 352).

Model of democracy based on local wisdom will influence how the government and people of Bali explaining the concept of democracy as a basis of strength and independence in today's democratic transition. Adoption of democracy based on local wisdom that affects the capacity of local governance in terms of the shape and nature of the relations between the people of Bali with the government as part of state institutions. Some of them are as follows:

First, in strengthening institutional capacity, direct election system has long been applied in turnover of prajuru 'village leader' positions in the villages of the low land in Bali. They are usually chosen from, by and for Pakraman 'traditional village' through Paruman/sangkepan 'meeting' in specific manners held for it. Election of prajuru usually runs democratically by the rules set forth in awig awig 'traditional law' of the village. In the village of Bali Aga (Old Balinese villages) trust towards seniority and who are more experienced in taking the position of village prajuru will have the higher opportunity. The model of democracy has become a solid foundation for the national system of direct elections to choose the president and vice president, and direct elections to elect governors and regents. Thereby strengthening governance capacity, especially institutional capacity is strongly supported by the development of this democratic model.

Second, in strengthening the capacity of policy, attention, and involvement in the Bali manners took part to create good governance through the implementation of the Guru Wisesa teachings. The Government is positioned as a teacher to be accountable, transparent governance. There is a symmetrical relationship between accountability and transparency as Guru Wisesa with the level of public trust in government. The loss of accountability and transparency in governance will result in erosion of trust and legitimacy of government.

Third, strengthening the capacity of governance policy capacity is also supported by a model of varied democracy. With the development of the concept of *desa-kala-patra* 'village-time-tradition' which means that the variations are indeed recognized and appreciated, according to the area, timing, and the objective situation that was going on. Even then the 'right to be different' from a village society also justified in Bali, so the expression of justification known as desa mawacara that means the village has the right to govern themselves in accordance with local tradition evolved followed with Balinese concept Mawacara. The application of this model in a democracy is in line with the principles of multiculturalism in a sense that the most ideal which implies the will to bring all the cultural expressions into the structure of the balance where respectful practice for difference is intended to address the problem of 'exclusivity' that could trigger ethnic conflict, racial or religious. Contemporary philosophy of multiculturalism as described by Fay, do not just teach, "recognize, appreciate and welcome difference", which is considered the slogan is too static, but made "engaging, questioning and learn" in order to be able to capture the dynamic nature and synergistic pure multicultural interactions.

Fourth, strengthening the human resource capacity of the apparatus has been supported by a democratic model based on the values of local wisdom that developed in the life of the Balinese people have inherited aspects of positive thinking that should be cultivated in the strengthening of democratic life in Bali, and Indonesia later. Some of them: Tatas, tetes (prudence in action); Tat Tvam Asi (tolerance without accentuating differences); paras paros (mutual give

and accept the opinions of others); salunglung sabayantaka (united we stand but divided we fall); merakpak danyuh or different idea doesn't mean eliminate friendship. (Suastika, 2005: 16-18).

Fifth, in strengthening institutional capacity, there are some principles used as a reference in democratic life in Bali. Balinese people rarely identify the activity of politics and democracy as an area of pragmatism and opportunism that prioritizing its own interests or groups in seizing and maintaining power. However, with the release of personal interests, releasing a total ownership mind of "mine" and "yours", a true leader will be able to dedicate all his ability for joint prosperity and elevate the reputation of his country (Jendra and Maswinara, 2001). With so democratic life and politics is not regarded as a taboo anymore, but precisely as a way to fight for the welfare of society (Jagaditha).

Sixth, strengthening of human resource capacity through the development of five leaders of the value of local wisdom in doing service (seva) to the public (Suacana, 2009), namely: 1) Sathya, uphold truth and strive constantly fight, no matter how bitter. In revealing the truth should be able to generate the common good, and not harm as well as the expense of other parties. Truth is practiced in a way that would be able to overcome the barriers of difference in race, ethnicity, ideology and even religious beliefs. 2) Dharma, applying virtue without taking into account their own interests or groups, as well as using the body and mind for the good of the people. Sariram Aadyam Khalu Saadhanam Dharma. 3) Shanti, cultivate peace at all times that emanated from the consciousness of the inner reality. 4) Prema, foster pure love without ego. Can overcome parochialism within them and identify with other groups in a single entity. And 5) Ahimsa, never use violent means. Last Hymn of Rg. Veda holy book has signaled the importance of a sense of togetherness. Sam gacchadhvam, sam vadadhvam, sam vo manamsi janatam. Gather, Discuss together, and make our mind unite.

Seventh, in the strengthening of human resource capacity, democratic values based on local wisdom that is already used as a reference for efforts to create equality and harmony among village members (Balinese) and new comers (migrants).

Eighth, weakening the capacity of human resources occur with the implementation of democratic values in the life of the Balinese people are still facing a number of issues such as the reinforcement of institutional and political actors the past undemocratic (feudalism or oligarchic).

4. Conclusion

The model of democracy based on the values of local wisdom applied in local governance of Bali is part of the democratic principles, in particular, democracy empirical/procedural. The values of local wisdom in the democratic model adopted will influence how the government and people of Bali explain the concept of democracy as a basis of strength and independence in the democratic transition that is currently underway.

Adoption of democracy based on local wisdom affects the capacity of local governance in terms of the shape and nature of the relations between the people of Bali with the government as part of state institutions. Some of them are as follows:

First, in strengthening institutional capacity, direct election system has long been applied in Bali. The model of democracy has become a solid foundation for village members in the national system of direct elections to choose the president and vice president, and direct elections to elect governors and regents. Thereby strengthening governance capacity, especially institutional capacity is strongly supported by the development of this democratic model.

Second, in strengthening the capacity of policy, attention, and involvement in the village member of Bali took part to create good governance through the implementation of the *Guru* Wisesa. The Government is positioned as a teacher to be accountable, transparent governance. There is a symmetrical relationship between accountability and transparency as *Guru Wisesa* with the level of public trust in government.

Third, a model of varied democracy also supports strengthening the policy capacity of governance capacity. With the development of the concept of *desa-kala-patra* which means that the variations are indeed recognized and appreciated, according to the area, timing, and the objective situation that was going on. The application of this model is in line with the philosophy of contemporary multiculturalism as not just teach, "recognize, appreciate and welcome difference", which is considered that the slogan is too static, but made "engaging, questioning and learn" in order to be able to capture the dynamic nature and synergistic pure multicultural interactions.

Fourth, strengthening the human resource capacity of the apparatus has been supported by a democratic model based on the values of local wisdom that is developed in the life of the Balinese people have inherited aspects of positive thinking that should be cultivated in the strengthening of democratic life in Bali, and Indonesia later.

Fifth, in strengthening institutional capacity, there are some principles used as a reference in democratic life in Bali. Balinese people rarely identify the activity of politics and democracy as an area of pragmatism and opportunism

that prioritized its own interests or groups in seizing and maintaining power. With so democratic life and politics is not regarded as a taboo anymore, but precisely as a way to fight for the welfare of society (*Jagaditha*).

Sixth, strengthening of human resource capacity through the development of five leaders of the value of local wisdom in doing service (*seva*) to the public, namely: 1) *Sathya*, uphold truth and strive constantly fight, no matter how bitter. 2) *Dharma*, applying virtue without taking into account on their own interests or groups, as well as using the body and mind for the good of the people. 3) *Shanti*, cultivate peace at all times that emanated from the consciousness of the inner reality. 4) *Prema*, foster pure love without ego. and 5) *Ahimsa*, never use violent means.

Seventh, in the strengthening of human resource capacity, democratic values based on local wisdom that is already used as a reference for efforts to create equality and harmony among the Balinese and newcomers/migrants. This is an important prerequisite for the prevention of the possibility of horizontal conflicts in Bali, and in fostering the life of a pluralistic society.

Eighth, weakening the capacity of human resources occur because of the implementation of democratic values in the life of the Balinese people are still facing a number of problems. A democratic instrument which is used it can cause new problems that lead to the democratization of the reinforcement of institutional and political actors the past undemocratic (feudalism or oligarchic).

The model of democracy with the values of local wisdom is not enough to produce a democratic political system without the situations and conditions as well as political institutions that support. The application of the model of democracy with the values of local wisdom in some cases still reap issues, such as the reinforcement of institutional and political actors the past undemocratic (feudalism or oligarchic). Similarly, the application will be able to provoke racism indigenes anti-pluralism. The value of freedom and equality (equality) as part of the democratic values are also hampered in the local political culture in Bali because paternalistic culture which still restricts the freedom of the people.

Suggestions

By watching how the development of democracy based on local wisdom to strengthen the capacity of local governance in terms of the shape and nature of the relations between the people of Bali with the government as part of state institutions, it is suggested some of the following:

First, there needs to be thought of planting democracy based on ethics and morality in order to end the political taboo in some communities in Bali. Basic democratic values such as freedom/liberty, equality, and equation/fraternity must continue to be fought in politics and governance in addition to the procedural arrangements to participate in the policy process and compete in elections.

Second, a model of democracy with the values of local wisdom must continue to be developed in the life of the Balinese. The development contains conservation mean values of local wisdom (local genius) which also contributes to the 'indigenization' of Indonesia's democratic system so that it remains grounded in the values of the culture of democracy in the region in order to strengthen the capacity of local governance.

Third, the model of democracy with the values of local wisdom needs support situation and conditions and political institutions. The value of freedom and equality as part of democratic values should not be hampered in the local political culture and paternalistic culture that still restrict the freedom of the people.

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