HOUSING ADJUSTMENT IN CANGGU TOURISM AREA, BADUNG BALI: QUO VADIS BETWEEN NEEDS OF TOURISM AND INDIGENOUS LOCAL CULTURE

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Abstract - Houses have a very important meaning for the people in Bali. House does not only function as a shelter or as a reflection of social status as a function of the home in general. For Balinese, the dominant house serves as a place for the "yadnya" ceremony, starting from ceremony of newborns to dead people. Traditional Balinese housing has a basic spatial concept that has been inherited from generation to generation with binding space rules based on Hinduism. The Tri Angga concept is a basic reference in the development of space vertically, while the sanga mandala concept is a reference for horizontal development. This concept underlies the pros and cons of the development housing today. Which can be developed and which buildings can be changed, no one stakeholders, or communities that can legalize it. Spatial conflict arises when a home is used for tourist accommodation. Residents use part of the house or part of the building to rent, because they do not have new land specifically for tourist accommodation. The entry of this tourism function should not shift the function of rituals that are required to exist in Balinese Traditional Houses. This study took a case study in Canggu Village, North Kuta District, Bali Province. This area have many space development conflicts in Badung during the years 2017-2018. Construction of backpacker accommodation which then develops into dormitory begins to enter the sacral area. Disagreements between the government, community and business people towards changes in the homes of traditional communities have encouraged the importance of studies of change in orientation of the space. The extent to which the population circulation limits and the extent to which tourists can enter the Balinese house ritual space are basic references to space additions or changes. This study uses a method of direct observation of the activities of residents and tourists in traditional Balinese homes that also function as tourist accommodation. The initial sketch was made as a comparison of the physical arrangement of the existing space. The rate of change that occurs before and after tourism enters compared to the applicable regional regulations. The findings of this study are the basic concepts and methods of adding space in traditional Balinese homes as a consideration in the preparation of detailed spatial plans in Badung Regency.

Index Terms - Traditional Balinese Housing, Adjustment, Space.

I. INTRODUCTION

Traditional Balinese homes have basic spatial concepts that have been inherited from generation to generation with binding room rules based on Hinduism concept. Space hierarchy such as Tri Angga which regulates construction of space vertically and regulation of buildings in Bali should not be built beyond the height of a coconut tree (15 m). Cosmological orientation of the space that called sanga mandala concept is arranges placement of the building horizontally, starting from the area considered sacred to the profane area. The Balinese people believe mountain as the center of the orientation of holy area and sea is the estuary of the profane area. In religious ritual activities, the axis of sunrise and sunset also greatly influences the arrangement of space in traditional Balinese homes. These rules have an impact on the development of traditional Balinese homes today. Moreover, with the presence of tourism activities that utilize residential houses, demand innovation for the Balinese community. One thing that is the main challenge in making changes to traditional Balinese homes is the existence of cultural and religious activities that are obliged to use one of the buildings in the house. Human ceremonies are born to death, cannot be separated from the buildings that are in traditional residences. The main building that binds Balinese people to return home to their hometown is the existence of a holy place in family site inside home. Balinese people called it the term is sanggah or pemerajan. Sanggah / Merajan in every house has pelinggih which is very closely related to the lives of family ancestors in the past. In some cases, previous ancestors had pelinggih-pelinggih established based on an incident. As one example when one family member experiences a chronic illness where the doctor has sentenced him to have no life expectancy, one day a family member begs for healing in a village temple, a family infected with a chronic disease can recover completely. To express his gratitude and family devotion, in pemerajan then built a pelinggih was established for the worship of the village temple. From these various events, several types of pelinggih were born which were used as the basis for making a family run. However, the Balinese people in the past did not record in detail the history of the pelinggih, so to make

a change, the family still had concerns to reduce the number of existing pelinggih. Problems involving the development of merajan (family temple) are also often experienced by more than one community of brothers. When another brother wanted to develop a residential house, adat obliged new families who had separated from the nuclear family to create new shrines for newly built dwellings.

Another characteristic of traditional Balinese homes in addition to the existence of family sanctuaries in the house is the arrangement of buildings with many times inside a site. Each building has different values and meanings. Starting from the entrance of a residential house that called angkul-angkul. Angkul-angkul is the boundary between the public zone and the private zone of the residents. The development of transportation modes that exist in Bali, brought enormous changes to the form of angkul-angkul. Now most traditional Balinese homes have two entrances in a yard. The first entrance is made to maintain the concept of culture and custom functions while the second entrance is used to access the car into the house. Moving on from angkul-angkul, traditional Balinese homes have Bale Daje and Bale Delod which used to function as occupants' beds. After the legalization of tourist accommodation built inside the house, bale daje and bale delod turned function into a commercial function. The rooms inside are rented to tourists. The form of outer space and space in the two buildings was developed according to the needs of tourists who use accommodation. After building a bed for residents of traditional Balinese homes, Balinese people also have kitchens and barns. In the past, Balinese were known as an independent agrarian community. The Balinese people always produce their own staple food such as rice and vegetables from processing the results of family rice fields. But now, family rice fields have been rented to tourists, so the number of rice fields in Bali is decreasing every year. Granary is now only a display and symbol of traditional buildings in a house.

Not much different from lumbung, kitchens that once stood as independent buildings, nowadays Balinese home kitchens are made more modern, following the development of cooking technology that enters Bali. Fire stoves that were once obliged to use wood fuel, have now turned into more practical electric stoves or gas stoves. So that the kitchen area of a traditional Balinese house can now be minimized with a minimalist interior. Of all the buildings, the buildings that are most tied to Balinese customs and culture are bale dangin buildings. This building is located on the east side of the site, usually located not far from the existence of a family sanctuary. In this building the place of Hindu human ceremony is from being born into the world until death. Starting from these various phenomena, many Balinese people today have the desire to develop their homes following the changing times. One side of land in Bali is increasingly expensive. Regional regulations do not allow people to build a building exceeding 15 m. Customs and strong philosophies contained in every building of a house, make people think thousands of times to make a change to their occupancy. The question is now, how do Balinese people survive amid the need for shelter due to the development of the number of family members and the pressure of tourism. At another angle, the community is still strongly tied to customs and culture. This study tries to review more about the changes in traditional Balinese homes specifically for Canggu Village. Canggu Village was appointed, because this village is one of the areas with a high level of conflict in the construction of tourist accommodation in Badung Regency in the 2017-2018 period. The local policy legalizes houses to function as tourist accommodation, which is called the "pondok wisata" with the maximum number of rooms allowed to be rented for 5 (five) rooms. However, in its development, the arrival of backpacker tourists to Canggu has a major impact on the physical changes of traditional houses.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The fundamental problem in this research is how the way the community maintains the sustainability of its residential concept in the midst of the insistence on the tourism function that goes into the homes of Balinese people. This study uses a method of direct observation of the activities of residents and tourists in the traditional house of Canggu which also functions as tourist accommodation. Data was collected through open interviews with the Canggu community who have tourist accommodation in their homes. Interview methods are flexible, questions asked to informants can develop in the field according to the conditions of the informants interviewed in the field. The criterion of the informant is to have the age of 17-65 years. Data obtained from interviews were then compared with facts in the field. Documentation of existing home conditions. The results of the interview in the form of a house before tourism entered a sketch was made as a comparison of the physical arrangement of the existing space. The rate of change that occurs in homes before and after tourism enters compared to the applicable regional regulations. The findings of this study are the basic concepts and methods of adding space to traditional Balinese houses as a consideration in the preparation of detailed spatial plans in Badung Regency.

III. DISCUSSION

Each region has a different understanding of the space around it. The philosophy of developing space in the community is in line with the development of human activities from time to time. Balinese people believe that a residential house reflects a harmonious

relationship between humans and gods, humans and fellow humans, and humans with the surrounding environment. Family holy place as a symbol of the manifestation of devotional service of the inhabitants of the house of God and ancestors, better known as the Parhyangan. The interaction between the occupants of the house and the people who come to visit, or the interaction between fellow family members is reflected in the existence of open space in each building as the implementation of the Pawongan. Palemahan itself is shaped inward oriented centered on natah (core in the house) located inside of the house. This concept is known as "Tri Hita Karana".

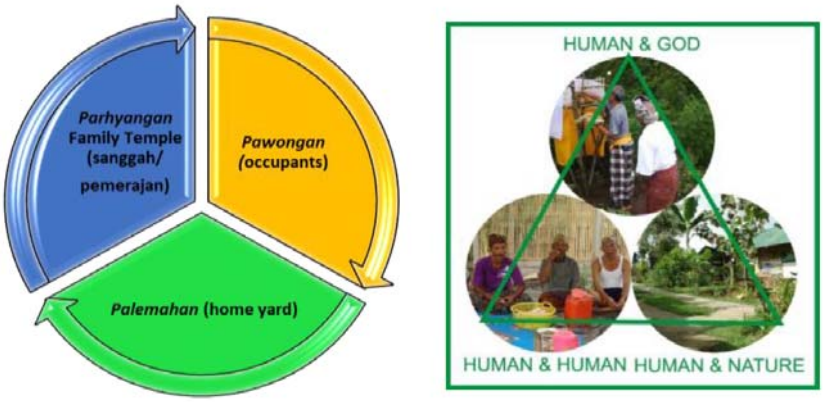


Figure 1. The Tri Hita Karana Concept as the Basic Philosophy for the Development of Balinese Traditional Houses
Source: Author

Besides Tri Hita Karana, Balinese people also have a basic philosophy that is used as a reference in determining the orientation of space or buildings including; 1) The cosmos axis of Bhur, Bhuwah and Swah (hydrosfir, lithosphere and atmosphere), 2) The ritual axis of Kangin-kauh (sunrise and sunset), the natural axis of Kaja-Kelod (mountain and sea). The derivatives of the three concepts produced cosmological operations called Nawa Sanga or Sanga Mandala (division of nine zones in each residential unit). In observing Canggu Village as the object of this research, it was found a specific thing in every home development. The Canggu community is more dominant using the sunrise and sunset orientation as the basis for the development of its residential house. One of the main symbols of the center of space orientation is the existence of sanggah natah in the middle of the yard with the orientation always facing the west of the site. This concept is inseparable from the background of the livelihoods of the previous Canggu people who lived in the coastal area with the main livelihood as fishermen. Canggu fishermen are very dependent on sunrise and sunset every time they will go fishing to the sea. As a form of devotion to the Sang Hyang Surya (sun) pelinggih natah was made.

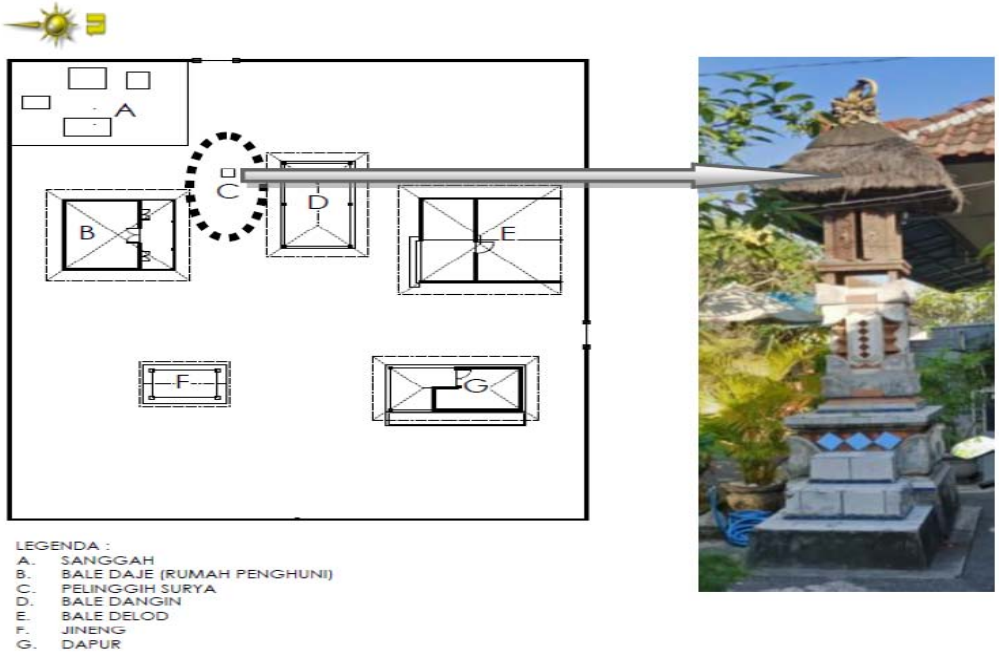


Figure 2. Sanggah Natah is a manifestation of the Canggu community's devotion to the Sang Hyang Surya (sun), as well as an orientation center for residential development.
Source: Author

Adjustment is better known by the community with the term adaptation. However, when reviewed more deeply, the term adaptation leads to physical adjustment. In the concept of adaptation, self-adjustment is only interpreted as an effort to defend ourselves physically rather than psychology as a whole. Various indicators such as interaction between humans and interactions between humans and the environment are not included in this concept of adaptation. According to Ali and Asrori (2012: 173-174) self-adjustment is interpreted as a conformity, in which humans get a strong pressure to be able to avoid deviations of behavior both morally, socially and emotionally. Self-adjustment is also interpreted as mastery. Mastery here rests on the ability to design and group responses in certain ways so that difficulties, conflicts and hopelessness do not occur. In other words, self-adjustment is seen as the ability of mastery and self-development so that emotional impulses become controlled and directed. Mustafa and Fahmi (1977) also describe self-adjustment as a continuous process that aims to change behavior with the aim of getting a more harmonious relationship between humans and the surrounding environment. This opinion is also supported by the theory put forward by James F. Calhoun and Joan Ross Acocella who revealed that adjustment is an ongoing interaction between humans and the world around them. Houses as a place of interaction between families where the spaces created in them are a reflection of the activities of residents in their daily lives. Morris (1975) states that every family tries to meet the need for housing as a dynamic of change. This change is a manifestation of the occupants' adjustments to the development of the number of family members, changes in habits of residents, and changes in civilization in the world.

To see further changes at the locus of this research, namely Canggu Village, the first thing that can be seen is the development of the daily lives of its residents. The former Canggu traditional house grew as a fishing settlement. Most of Canggu's ancestors came from Kerobokan Village. This can be seen from the location of the Canggu temple “hyang” which until now most of them are still located in the Kerobokan area. Previously, the residents of Canggu only relied on the results of catching fish on a stone beach. But after tourism began to enter the Canggu area in 1998, the community began to look at tourism as their main livelihood. Tugu Batu Bolong Hotel which used to be the only tourist accommodation in Canggu Village, now in 2019 it is very difficult to compete with the existence of cheap accommodation built in residential areas. Badung Regent Regulation Number 6 of 2016 Concerning the Standardization of Tourism Lodges in Badung Regency in Article 1 is very clearly stated that "Pondok Wisata Business is an effort to provide accommodation in the form of residential buildings inhabited by the owner and partially used for rent by providing opportunities for tourists to interact in the daily life of the owner ". This tourist cottage business is an individual business that has no business classification. The issuance of this policy had a major impact on the traditional houses of the Canggu community. The legacy of houses as tourist accommodation encourages people to make changes to their residential functions. Vertical development exceeding 15 m is not permitted either by custom or by official government policies. Therefore, development options are more directed horizontally. As shown in the following table;

Table 1. Changes in Community Traditional House Spaces Canggu After the Issuance of Badung Regent Regulations Number 6 of 2016

No	Building that is in a house before tourism enter	Function	Building that is in a house after tourism enter	Function
1	Family temple (*sanggah/merajan*)	place of worship of all family members	Family temple (*sanggah/merajan*)	place of worship of all family members
2	Bale daje	Bed for family members, place for *ngidih / ngeraos* ceremony to ask for a girl before the wedding procession takes place	*Bale daje* + inside toilet in *bale daje*	Building for rent. *Bale Daje* was developed by adding bathrooms in and the development of several rooms towards the side and rear. The front room of the *Bale Daje* (front porch) is still maintained as the place where the procession takes place for family members who are getting married.
3	Bale Dangin	The place where the human ceremony was held was born until humans died 	Bale Dangin	The function of *Bale Dangin* is still the same. However, in some cases *Bale Dangin* is currently made a lot of symbols placed into one with a *Bale Delod* to save space so that it can add space for tourist accommodation inside the house 
4	Sanggah Natah	the place of worship of the solar god	Sanggah Natah	the place of worship of the solar god
5	Bale Delod	bed for family members 	Bale Delod	Developed for tourist accommodation building 
6	Kitchen (Paon)	Place for cooking family members	Kitchen (Paon)	The cooking place for family members and also currently added as a function of the receptionist in the front of the kitchen.
7	Lumbung	as a place to store rice and fishery equipment 	Lumbung	Symbol of *pelinggih dewi sri* (worship of the goddess Sri). No longer functioned as a place to store rice 
8	Angkul-Angkul	Home entrance building with *aling-aling*	The colors are varied with a car garage (access to car in the house)	The position of *angkul-agkul* after admission in most places has shifted position. *Angkul-angkul,* which used to be facing the highway, was now moved to the side of the house but remained in the *teben* / profane area. The front area facing the main road is currently used for commercial functions such as art shops and restaurants.

Source: Author

The changes that have taken place in the Canggu community house illustrate an adjustment to the arrival of a new tourism function that enters the house. Tourists adjust to Balinese culture and vice versa. However, mastery as stated by Asrori (2012) does not apply to all residential units. The sacred zone where tourists cannot enter, may not even intervene in changes in form, function and form, is a zone of family sanctuary and Pelinggih Natah. Family norms cannot maintain the sustainability of the value and meaning of space in traditional Balinese homes, but cultural and customary norms are still effectively used to maintain environmental quality within the Canggu community housing units. Home development is carried out horizontally by making additional rooms and interior modifications to the existing core buildings. The most modified buildings are bale daje and bale delod. Customary and Balinese culture is an unwritten rule with a form of punishment in the form of social sanctions such as kesepekang (ostracized) by the village community. It is this norm that makes traditional Balinese homes still able to withstand the western modernization interventions carried by tourists. Traditional Balinese homes can be developed (not rigid), but the value and meaning of the space contained in them should not be removed. Forms and sizes can adjust new functions according to the development of human civilization, but space orientation must follow customs and culture.

CONCLUSION

Traditional Balinese homes have very strong cultural values and meanings. Every building unit inside a traditional Balinese house is very much tied to religious ceremonies, especially those related to the manusa yad ceremony. The legacy of the traditional Balinese house of Canggu Village as a tourist accommodation area has an impact on the sustainability of the spatial structure and the values contained in it. To accommodate the function of tourism, the people of Canggu have developed vertical spaces in the middle zone and buildings that are directly facing commercially valuable main roads. This fact shows an effort of community adjustment to the new civilization that entered the house. This change is not classified into the category of mastery of one group towards the space in the house, but rather the adjustment of behavior and physical space (adjustment). Mastery of occupants only occurs in the family sanctuary zone. Formal policies stipulated by the regions can be violated by the community, but customary and cultural norms have so far been very effective in maintaining the sustainability of traditional community homes. This phenomenon shows that the arrangement of traditional Balinese houses is not absolutely standard, traditional Balinese homes can adapt to the development of civilization. The right method is carried out before implementing changes or formulating a policy in Bali, is to learn the characteristics of residents, learn the customs and culture that apply in the local area, because every region even though it is located in one village or region with the same designation, does not necessarily have customs and culture the same one. This is what the government must really understand before establishing housing development policies.

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