In 2012, the Balinese’s Subak was declared as World Heritage by UNESCO. This was a process proposed by the Indonesian government since 2006. Subak, a traditional irrigation system which is based on indigenous knowledge Balinese society, namely ‘Tri Hita Karana’, is a manifestation of the idea of harmony between nature, culture and spiritual values of the people in Bali. Subak is also supported by a robust institutional system, which is rooted in the community. Having declared in 2012 by UNESCO as a World heritage because it has outstanding value for the world, several new problems appears. Interpretation of heritage embedded in the Subak system was not understood by the farmers who cultivate rice there.

This paper will be talking about how the concept of heritage comes into a contest of power relation where the Subak has becomes the property of the of tourism capital owners and commercial landowners who are not farmers in Bali, rather than to strengthen the farmers as rice cultivators who are the owner of the tradition. UNESCO and the Indonesian government failed to manage this issue so that with the World Heritage recognition.

Keyword: Subak, Bali, World Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, Tourism

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND METHOD

This paper conducted from comparative research in two locations: Pakerisan watershed landscape in Gianyar, and Catur Angga Batukaru (Jatiluwih) landscape in Tabanan. The choice based as both have almost same characteristics: extensive agricultural land with the existence of subak community, yet supportive environment. Pakerisan watershed encompasses Basangambu, Pulagan, and Kumba. The sites are, Pura Pagulingan, Pura Mangening, Pura Tirtha Empul, Gunungkawi Temple. While in the Catur Angga Batukaru landscape, there are Jatiluwih subaks with Pura Luhur Batukaru, Luhur Pecak Petali Temple.

The method used is rapid ethnography. Rapid ethnography in anthropology is a limited-time data collection technique that is preceded by analysis of various problems through literature studies and the results of previous studies. (David R. Millen, 2000). Furthermore, rapid ethnography will deepen the problem through a comparative diachronic (past and present) test in order to reach certain depth from new problems that arise. (Isaac, 2013: 93). The author conducted a review study concerning to community participation in the establishment of subak as World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO. Observation and interviews also conducted with subak community such as the chairman of subak (pekaseh), members (kelihan), traditional leaders, and other stakeholders.
**Subak and Landscape Changes**

The impact of establishing a World Cultural Heritage on subak is the presence of new tourism and economy. Subak landscape, which known for its natural panorama has become known internationally. The following is an analysis of landscape changes in two subak locations:

**Tabel 1. Landscape Changes in Subak**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landscape Changes</th>
<th>Pakerisan</th>
<th>Catur Angga Batukaru (Jatiluwih)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Landscape</td>
<td>Rice fields to hotels, restaurants and tourist attractions, owned by tenure changes</td>
<td>Decreasing land ownership annually from 60 acres to 50 acres (land acquisition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Landscape</td>
<td>Declining members due to rice fields sold (cultural changes)</td>
<td>Functional subak change from agriculture to agribusiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Site</td>
<td>Subak sites change from worship place to tourist attractions (ritual changes)</td>
<td>Site functional changes from religious area (religion zone) into a public (common zone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economical Pattern</td>
<td>Declining interest in farming because landless, prefer working in hotels or tourism (livelihood changes)</td>
<td>Tourist farming communities with subak tourism commodification (mass tourism)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The greatest impact of World Cultural Heritage in subak is a change in the agricultural landscape. In Subak Pulagan and Kumba (Pakerisan watershed) most of the agricultural land in strategic locations has been controlled by outsider investors. Hotels and restaurants built leads water reserves decline through PDAM. Likewise, in Jatiluwih, land acquisition by the bank emerged as a result of loan failure. The loan was intended for tourism businesses. Changing the agricultural landscape leads to cultural landscape changes. In Pulagan and Kumba subak members gradually decline because of the land that had been sold and converted massively. In Jatiluwih, many subak organizations changed their functions from traditional institutions to customary economic institutions.

Another changing landscape is the sites itself. Tirtha Empul site in the Pakerisan watershed, since the establishment, developed as the expansion of tourist areas. The previous site was a Hindus worship place. As a result, many sites were damaged. The final is a change in the people economical pattern. As in Jatiluwih, a tourism farming community has emerged. They deliberately do farming with traditional techniques to be shown in tourism.

**Between Hegemony and Conservation**

Since the establishment of subak as World Culture Heritage by UNESCO, there has been a pattern of changes in spatial structure in subak. The changes are based on UNESCO rules that all subak landscapes are designated as conservation zones. In these zones, should not be built any additional building together with activities that can damage the ecology. This regulation from
UNESCO is still in the form of an announcement, but it has been legalized by local government to take conservation actions.

In fact, many of these rules contradict awig-awig as customary law which regulates the existence of subak. Previously in Kumba and Pulagan Subak, cattle integrated farming facilities (silvopastura) and forms of economic security through cattle sales are allowed through Awig-awig. However, since UNESCO rules apply, many farmers have changed to chemical fertilizers obtained through loans. Farmers also end up selling their land because of the difficulty in applying new rules.

Conservation zone by UNESCO interpreted differently by local governments and communities. For the government, conservation can actually be done by presenting tourism: Through tourism subak values that fading can be revitalized again. So, the local government contracting investors even the spatial planning policies unclear. This can be seen from the appearance of PT. Daya Tarik Wisata Jatiluwih in the following columns:

PT. DTW Jatiluwih was formed in 2014 by local people and governmental support. This company utilizes WCH status as a tourist attraction. Through a revenue sharing agreement with the government and locals, they developed tourism. Many restaurants, hotels and various tourist attractions are built. The development was done because there was tenure vulnerability. There is no definite agreement in the use of subak conservation. The impact of the development of the mass tourism: the agricultural landscape in Jatiluwih changed, damage and commodification of farm culture are occurred.

It can be seen that the presence of UNESCO through the green zone political conservation actually lead to hegemony. The World Cultural Heritage status then interpreted by the government, investors, and communities as a new form of capital that can be used for economic accumulation. This is important because it will present new forms of hegemony such as: (a) the perception that WCH is the exoticism of foreign tourism, (b) the crisis of cultural values as a result of social change, and (c) damage to the landscape due to mass tourism.

According to Smith, the presence of UNESCO in the establishment of WCH is colonialism legacy. Which, conservation carried out by UNESCO actually raises control and power through new rules that conflict with local values, bringing the impact of capitalization to the WCH region, and creating a global to local control (Smith, 2003: 82). It was in accordance with the conditions in Subak, there were different perceptions in the rules between UNESCO and Awig-awig.

CONCLUSION

The establishment of Subak as a World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO has changed the agricultural landscape, culture, site, and economic pattern of the community. This is due to the emergence of tourism. The emergence of tourism is a form of UNESCO hegemony through the WCH status that forms capitalism through land tenure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


**MEANING OF SIKKA IKAT WEAVING MOTIF IN THE EYES OF YOUNG WEAVERS**

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This article reveals how to interpret the woven ikat motif, for young weavers in Sikka District, East Nusa Tenggara. The meaning of Sikka's weaving shows a shift in value on the meaning of Sikka's weaving motifs. Shifting cultural values to religious and economic values, as a result of massive tourism, regional development programs, economics, religious distribution, and issues of originality such as Geographical Indications (IG). Data was collected using a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews and involved observations. The informants consisted of four young weavers in four Sikka areas, native people, and Sikka cultural experts. The results of this study are the meaning of Sikka's weaving motifs has undergone a change of function, both social, religious, economic and tourism functions. This is because of the influence of government programs, churches, NGOs (NGOs), and tourism.