Can Subaltern Exist? Reinterpreting the Issue of Subalternity (Case Study of Blimbingsari Village - Jembrana Regency and Pegayaman Village - Buleleng Regency)

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to further elucidate a significant inquiry posed by Gayatri Spivak, namely, the ability of the subaltern to articulate their voice. This inquiry's significance arises within the context of social interactions, where there are discernible patterns of social dominance. Is it possible for a social group to survive without the active participation and expression of its members? This study aims to investigate how a village can persist within a social, cultural, and political framework that actively conceals its presence. The aforementioned pressure is commonly acknowledged as an inherently social phenomenon, indicating the presence of a mechanism of social hegemony. The hegemonic process is enacted through the implementation of village norms, particularly about customary villages (desa adat). The majority of villages in Bali adhere to a dual system of governance, consisting of office villages (desa dinas) and customary villages desa adat. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the focus of this research lies solely on two specific villages, both of which adhere to a single type of governance known as the official village. The two villages under consideration are Blimbingsari in the Jembrana district and Pegayaman in Bali's Buleleng district. Both communities remain independent settlements in Bali to this day. Nevertheless, the dynamics and obstacles that exist are not straightforward. This research tries to listen to the voices of the subaltern and classifies them into four main issues, namely: 1) cultural politics; 2) political economy; 3) Ideology; 4) Conscientization. Through these four issues, an understanding of how these two villages continue to exist amid existing social harmonization is obtained.

Keywords: governance, official village, customary village, subaltern

INTRODUCTION

In Bali, there exists a regulatory framework governing the administration of Balinese villages, particularly with regard to the regulations pertaining to customary village norms. The aforementioned regulation is referred to as Regional Regulation (*Peraturan Daerah/*Perda) Number 4 of 2019. The regulation encompasses communities in Bali, with particular emphasis on *customary villages* (*Desa Adat*). The inquiry pertains to the existence of communities in Bali that are not encompassed under the purview of Regional Regulation 4 of 2019. Indeed, there are settlements that do not have a traditional village, as defined in Perda 4 of 2019. The existing body of scholarly literature pertaining to Balinese villages extensively explores the intricacies and mechanisms of village governance. Suacana (Suacana, 2022) effectively elucidates the

aforementioned processes in his scholarly work entitled "The Development of the Duality of Village Governance in Bali." He provides a comprehensive explanation of the dual nature of village administration systems in Bali, which consist official villages (*desa dinas*) and customary villages *desa adat*.

Numerous scholarly investigations have been conducted on the subject matter of village administration and customary settlements in the region of Bali (Widastra et al., 2020; Fauziyah, 2022; Apriani & Erliyana, 2020). The investigation of customary villages in Bali is a widely explored area of academic research in contemporary studies. In the study's conclusion, Waren identifies three interconnected areas that contribute to the institutionalization of community government in Bali. These domains are referred to as *dinas* (official), *agama* (religion), and *adat* (custom). Throughout history, it has been observed that the three elements have the potential to strengthen one another, yet they frequently encounter conflicts and contradictions. The interplay between *dinas* and *adat*, particularly in historical contexts, has been seen to exhibit a tendency wherein the presence of *dinas* often poses a threat to the preservation of *adat*. (Waren, 1993). Waren stated:

> The institutionalization of the distinction between *dinas, agama*, and *adat* in government policy threatens increasingly to marginalize the latter, and in the process to displace the power base it offered at local level (Waren, 1993).

Suryawan highlights in his research the Balinese government's successful management of the COVID-19 pandemic through the utilization of traditional village instruments, particularly through the implementation of the gotong royong idea. This approach signifies the government's vested interest in exerting authority over Balinese customary villages. Suryawan said:

> The Pecalang and officials of the villages spearheaded the fight against

Covid-19. Prior to the pandemic, the customary villages had been coopted and made to work within the state's structures through the enactment of Regional Regulation No. 4/2019. The state utilized the social capital and influence that villages have over their communities. The villages were effective tools in the handling of the pandemic. The state's policy to form gotong-royong task forces was a rational choice; it has benefited the state by advertising its presence as responsible caregivers for the people (Suryawan et al., 2020).

The present scenario offers ample opportunity for a comprehensive examination within the framework of Balinese society, particularly regarding the coexistence of historically entrenched groups. Nevertheless, the legal significance of customary villages in Bali has been enhanced with the introduction of Perda 4/2019. The scope of public services pertaining to *adat* villages extends beyond *adat* matters and frequently intersects with other concerns. This observation illustrates the extensive reach of public services inside customary villages, often overlapping with the powers and responsibilities of formal village authorities.

When considering the role and function of customary villages as outlined in Perda 4 of 2019, it is evident that the duality of village government is unequivocal. The presence of a customary village, particularly in the context of Bali, serves as a distinct identity that runs concurrently to the officially recognized village. One issue that emerges pertains to the specificity of the concept of a customary village as outlined in Perda 4/2019. This term is particularly tailored to the Balinese cultural norms and traditions, which encompass religious practices rooted in Hinduism. The matter at hand pertains to villages lacking a customary village in compliance with Perda 4/2019. In his research of Perda 4 of 2019, Widastra presents a significant observation pertaining to the matter of minority groups. The study highlights the intriguing observation that Perda 4 of 2019

exhibits hegemonic characteristics, which may provide challenges within the diverse setting of Bali. (Widastra et al., 2020).

This research investigates two longstanding villages, namely Blimbingsari village in Jembrana Regency, which has been predominantly inhabited by a Christian population since the 1940s, and Pegayaman village in Buleleng Regency, which has been established since the 1600s. Both villages are recognized as administrative units under the provisions of Law 23/2014 on Regional Government and Law 6/2014. In light of Perda 4 of 2019, the inquiry arises as to how the presence of these two communities is connected to their inability to establish a customary village in accordance with the provisions outlined in Perda 4 of 2019. The sensitivity surrounding Perda 4 of 2019 lies in the concept of customary villages, as defined in the legislation. Notably, the term customary villages in Perda is intricately linked to cultural and Hindu practices. In relation to cultural aspects, it is plausible to posit that comprehending the subject matter may be facilitated due to the shared Balinese ancestry among the inhabitants of the aforementioned settlements. However, in regards to religious affiliation, they identify as Christian Protestants and Muslims rather than Hindus. Is it possible for individuals to assert their identity both socially and within the context of a traditional village, in compliance with Perda 4/2019? Based on their definition, it appears that they are unable to do so. In the context of village governance, it is evident that the management of the village operates within a monolithic framework, wherein the utilization of official village government is the sole approach employed. Nevertheless, they continue to persist in contemporary society. The village operates under a monolithic governance structure, adhering to the rules, norms, and processes that are applicable within the government (*dinas*).

This inquiry pertains to the obstacles faced by two villages in Bali in coexisting with the established village government system, encompassing *dinas* and *adat*. Additionally, it explores the initiatives undertaken to foster their distinctiveness as villages with unique social and cultural characteristics. The following are the primary inquiries addressed in this research endeavor.

There have not been any studies that explicitly compare these two communities in one research study. Most studies investigate both villages and their distinctiveness. In the context of Pegayaman village, there is a study that addresses the existence of Hindus and Muslims in Pegayaman village. This study focuses on examining the acculturation of the two religions in Pegayaman (Bachtiar et al., 2022). Meanwhile, in the context of the Christian village of Blimbingsari, there is a study on acculturation which focuses on the dimension of meeting Balinese and Western ideals (Turker et al., 2022). Apart from that, ongoing research on these two villages focuses on tourism and other sociological studies.

This study employs the notion of the subaltern in order to enhance the analysis and address the inquiry regarding the coexistence of these two villages in the absence of customary villages. The field of subaltern studies has traditionally not been regarded as a theoretical framework within the discipline of public administration. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is a renowned academic and postcolonial theorist (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1994). In her renowned essay titled "Can the Subaltern Speak?", the author offers an elucidation of the notion and theoretical framework around the subaltern. Hegemonic practices are frequently observed in communities commonly characterized as marginalized or disadvantaged, encompassing groups such as peasants, women, and indigenous populations, as perceived by her (Setiawan, 2018). Frequently, their voices are suppressed in an endeavor to construct a sense of self. According to Spivak's overarching paradigm, individuals who belong to

marginalized and oppressed groups face significant barriers in expressing their voices due to the pervasive dominance of power structures. Frequently, the voices of individuals are only channeled through select groups, which may not consistently convey their complete perspectives. Spivak offers a frontal critique of Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, who embody the Western paradigm positing the agency of excluded populations to articulate their own voices (Rosalind C.Moris, 2010; Williams & Chrisman, 2020). For this reason, Spivak says that marginalized groups are often voiceless (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1994)

The question is often asked: Why is the subaltern cannot speak? Borrowing a study from Gramsci (Merli, 2010), Guha (Guha, 1997a) (Guha, 1997b) (Guha, 1997b) and Spivak, it happens because of hegemonization in a social, cultural, and structural context. The significance of prioritizing the Gramscian approach becomes apparent in light of the absence of coercive measures from both the regional administration and the community, which would otherwise compel non-Hindu societies to establish customary villages in compliance with Perda 4 of 2019. The process referred to as hegemonization, according to the Gramscian perspective, is the subject of discussion (Bilton & Soltero, 2020; Lassalle, 2022; Kim, 2020).

However, it is noteworthy that Blimbingsari and Pegayaman villages are currently undergoing a social phenomenon known as the process of domination. This can be observed through the narratives recounting their extensive history as communities lacking customary governance structures. In essence, despite the absence of direct physical harm stemming from the implementation of regulations regulating villages, particularly customary villages, individuals within these communities encounter social subjugation in various domains, including the economy, culture, and even political spheres.

Hence, the inquiry in the examination of these two villages from a subaltern standpoint does not revolve around the query posed by Spivak, "Can Subaltern Speak?" but rather encompasses a more comprehensive issue, "Can Subaltern Exist?"

METHODOLOGY

Darder proposes a methodological framework that offers a more rigorous approach to decolonizing interpretive reformulation studies. In this framework, Darder outlines eleven significant considerations for analyzing the process of silencing the speech of oppressed populations. (Darder, 2019). Darder's lens of analysis includes: 1) Critical Influence; 2) Cultural Politics; 3) Political Economy; 4) History of Knowledge; 5) Dialectical View of Knowledge; 6) Ideology; 7) Hegemony; 8) Critique; 9) Counter Hegemony; 10) Theory and Practice of Alliances; 11) Conscientization. However, this study only focuses on four approaches that are considered to be the focus of this research study, namely:

1. Cultural politics examines the role of culture and power, especially in relation to the transformation of forms of cultural politics related to ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and religion. In this regard, the research focuses more on cultural aspects and political issues that influence the hegemonic process.
2. Political economy examines issues surrounding political economy in relation to the hegemonic process.
3. Ideology examines ideological issues that critically argue that there is always a set of ideas or ideologies that form the frame or lens of a policy that affects other groups.
4. Conscientization: raising awareness in order to achieve justice together.

In order to gather comprehensive data, thorough interviews were carried out with the village officials of Blimbingsari and Pegayamanan village, including the village Head, the village Secretary, and the head of the village

Consultative Body (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*). Additionally, 34 participants participated in focus group discussions in Blimbingsari village, comprising religious leaders, members of village-owned businesses, the tourism committee, village officers, and various community leaders. The FGD conducted at Pegayaman village involved a total of 11 participants, including religious leaders, the village Heads, the village Secretary, members of village-owned companies, village Officers, and various community leaders, as well as village history authors.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Blimbingsari and Pegayaman Villages: Issues of Identity and Local Policy Impact

The two villages under consideration are Blimbingsari Village and Pegayaman Village. An overview of the historical trajectory of these two settlements highlights the inherent difficulties faced by those adhering to the Christian and Muslim faiths within the Balinese context. The presence of individuals of Balinese descent who have subsequently embraced Christianity or Islam raises inquiries regarding their continued identification as Balinese and the extent to which they remain connected to their Balinese cultural heritage. Should the Balinese people's language, customs, habits, philosophical values, culture, and social conventions be eradicated from their identity? Numerous questions persist in contemporary discourse, frequently placing the social identity of these peasants at a juncture of intersecting paths. One aspect to consider pertains to the transmission of cultural and customary values, which directly regulate their social existence. In the specific context of constructing a traditional village, it appears that there is a protracted and continuous discussion surrounding this matter. According to Perda 4/2019, these communities lack a customary village as per the official definition. The identification of

individuals as Christians or Muslims within a historical village cannot be ascertained based on the criteria outlined in Perda 4/2019. In the first chapter, titled "General Conditions," Article I:10-12 is discussed:

10. Krama *Desa Adat* is a Balinese citizen of Hindu religion who is Mipil and registered as members in the local *Desa Adat*.
11. Krama Tamiu are Balinese Hindu citizens who are not Mipil, but registered in the local *Desa Adat*.
12. Tamiu is a person other than Krama *Desa Adat* and Krama Tamiu who resides in the Wewidangan *Desa Adat* temporarily or resides and is recorded at the local *Desa Adat*.

According to Point 10, it is specifically stated the individuals residing in a customary village, known as krama *desa adat*, are required to adhere to the Hindu faith. Within this particular setting, religion assumes a significant role as an indicator for discerning the presence of a customary village, as viewed through the lens of Perda 4/2019. Additionally, there are definitions for Krama Tamiu and Tamiu. Krama Tamiu refers to those within a community who maintain a strong connection to their Hindu identity. Krama Tamiu refers to individuals who reside within a certain traditional village setting and are officially registered as residents of that village, distinct from Krama *Desa Adat* and other subgroups within the community. Despite not being associated with any specific religious affiliation, the mention of "other than Krama *Desa* and Krama Tamiu" clearly underscores that Tamiu individuals are Balinese residents who do not adhere to the Hindu faith. The inquiry pertains to the scenario in which Tamiu is of Balinese origin yet does not adhere to the Hindu faith. Do those with complete Balinese identification continue to be referred to as Tamiu? The term "full" is used here to indicate that individuals are of Balinese ethnicity. The unequivocal response to this inquiry is that

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individuals of non-Hindu Balinese descent are indeed encompassed within the Tamiu criterion. The absence of an article description in this particular section of Article 1 is deemed to be unambiguous. This statement suggests that the concept of an *adat* village is specifically designed for groups having a Hindu religious heritage, rather than being applicable to non-Hindu communities. Non-Hindu individuals are afforded the liberty to formally arrange and oversee their societal affairs, in essence. This issue does not pose a significant challenge in an individual's personal sphere, but it warrants consideration within the broader framework of a community,

particularly within the context of a village. The community, which originates from Balinese heritage rather than external migration, continues to uphold the enduring structural ideals passed down by their ancestors in their everyday social interactions. Both the Blimbingsari and Pegayaman village communities continue to uphold and observe numerous Balinese traditions. Nevertheless, engagement in customary rural dialogues entails a multitude of repercussions that necessitate careful consideration and resolution. The following table provides a summary of the concerns about the influence of the conception of Perda 4/2019.

Table 1. Concern of Issues

No	Issues	Blimbingsari Village	Pegayaman Village
1	Cultural Politics	- Building a customary village from the perspective of Balinese culture and Christian values - The fear of building a traditional village is the fear of being merged with another village. - How is the relationship between official villages and traditional villages? In the village competition, the score is zero. Whereas other values are very high, - The construction of Christian village monuments and symbols has never been realized or allowed. - In a social context, it is often asked why Christians still use Balinese names or Balinese culture.	- Pegayaman has an "*adat* village" led by a Penghulu. But it is not recognized as part of an *adat* village. - It was once proposed to be recognized, but could not be done because it must have the main requirement of having a temple: Pura Kahyangan, Pura Puseh and Pura Dalem. - Pegayaman village has been recorded in chronicles as a Balinese community, in Buleleng chronicles (puru agung), Blahbatu, and very old folklore. - The traditional village as an old village - In Pegayaman there are three ethnic groups: Balinese, Javanese and Bugis.
2	Political Economy	- Strong economic self-help from the village makes the village still exist and independent. - Village funding assistance is only sourced through the official village program. - The issue of inheritance is still a problem because there are no social rules (inheritance rules	- The kingdom gave Pegayaman village (about 2000 hectares - up to Tabanan) an area to live and cultivate as an economic base for the community but also as a stronghold against enemy attacks. So it was economically independent. - Traditional village funds never

No	Issues	Blimbingsari Village		Pegayaman Village	
			only exist in church deed).		touched Pegayaman village, despite being an old village.
3	Ideology	-	Blimbingsari becomes "Jembrana's Penglipuran Village"	-	Building a Balinese Muslim village
		-	Blimbingsari became the Besakih of Balinese Christians	-	Sri Aji Kumpi Bukit Sitindih an identity of struggle (Babad). Considered: if there is no Pegayaman, there is no Buleleng
		-	Balinese culture is Balinese Christian culture (Bali is my body, Christ is my Soul)		
4	Conscientization	-	Change from village development to development village through village deliberation	-	The village has been conscious of writing its history since 1648.
		-	Building the concept of Trihita Karana in a Christian understanding/perspective - Building altars of gratitude in fields, subak, in places related to protecting nature, humans and God.		

From the Table 1, it is clear that the voices from below are the social issues that exist in the context of village communities in both villages.

Cultural Political Approach

Cultural political issue pertaining to these two communities is the absence of a customary village as defined by Perda 4/2019. The primary criterion for constructing a customary village in both communities is the nonexistence of the Kahyangan Tiga Temple. This phenomenon can be attributed to the absence of a Hindu religious background in both areas. The historical account of Christianity in Blimbingsari commenced with the ceremonial immersion of twelve individuals from the Balinese community on the eleventh of November, 1931 (Ketut Suyaga Ayub, 2014; Sunarya, 2022; Tunas, 2022) and then some moved to Blimbingsari village and opened this village in the 1940s. Since then, Christianity has been the basis of their beliefs, but they still maintain their Balinese traditions. Similarly, tracing back to the year 1648, Pegayaman village

has endured to the present day, preserving its robust Balinese customs alongside an amalgamation of cultural influences originating from Java and Bugis. However, it is imperative to acknowledge the community's acknowledgment of Pegayaman village as an ancient hamlet in Bali that possesses significant historical worth, particularly within the framework of the Buleleng kingdom's endeavors. Nevertheless, the traditional notion persists in both communities through the incorporation of their "customary governance order" into the established customary framework. Blimbingsari Village is governed by Klian *Desa Adat*, who is affiliated with the local church. The church serves as the institution where *Adat* ideals are cultivated and situated within a specific environment. The development of Balinese ideals and their associated cultural elements, such as gamelan music and dances, can be attributed to the influence of the Church. Hence, the Klian *Adat* is an integral component of the ecclesiastical institution. Similarly, within the context of Pegayaman village, the designation of Klian *Adat* has been substituted with the term Penghulu. The

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role of the Penghulu entails the coordination of customary protocols pertaining to cultural norms and many social affairs. The responsibilities and functions of the Penghulu encompass not only religious affairs, but also social problems, customs, and cultural aspects. (Andiani et al., 2022).

To clarify, it may be observed that the customary and cultural systems in each of these villages possess fundamental elements of effective organization. The establishment of the customary order's structure has occurred, albeit with the caveat that it remains contingent upon the presence of an individual who possesses knowledge, respect, and comprehension of customs. The current state of the structure does not encompass all of its subordinate structures. Nevertheless, both settlements persistently strive for acceptance as integral components of the traditional villages in Bali. Both villages have made attempts, whether formally or informally, to advocate for the inclusion of Christian and Islamic traditional villages into the broader Balinese cultural framework. Nevertheless, this proposition has not garnered acceptance. The villagers' perspectives have elicited diverse opinions. The distinctiveness of Blimbingsari village lies in its Christian identity. In accordance with the village legislation, it is mandated that a population of no less than 2500 individuals or 500 families be present in order to meet the population requirement. The population of Blimbingsari Village is lower than the specified quantity. As a result, the village elders attempted to establish a traditional governance structure to preserve the village's distinct identity and prevent its assimilation into neighboring communities. Nonetheless, the aforementioned endeavor remained unfinished due to the lack of clarity within the Balinese government regarding the notion of a traditional village during that period. Ongoing deliberations were being conducted to establish precise definitions for the ideas pertaining to customary villages. Up to the present

moment, the village in question has refrained from further engaging in the discussion on the establishment of a customary village. This is particularly noteworthy, given that the definition of a customary village has already been defined in accordance with Perda 4/2019.

The village of Pegayaman continues to adhere to the traditional concept of a customary village. The village elders have made multiple attempts to establish the Islamic traditional village in Pegayaman as a recognized local wisdom in Bali. However, these efforts have been met with limited success due to various reasons, one of which is the requirement set forth in Perda 4/2019 that a village must possess a Kahyangan Tiga temple in order to be classified as a traditional village. Both Pegayaman village and Blimbingsari village are not feasible options.

Political Economy Approach

The historical narrative of these two settlements revolves around the arduous endeavor to preserve their distinct cultural and societal characteristics. Despite the contrasting historical origins of these two villages, it can be inferred that both have endured as autonomous settlements up to the present time. These autonomous settlements possess the capability to meet their fundamental requirements. The majority of the inhabitants in these two communities are engaged in agricultural occupations. The presence of these essential demands renders these communities partially autonomous from governmental reliance with regards to the accessibility of fundamental necessities. The implementation of village government programs aimed at enhancing natural resources has created enough opportunities for fostering inventiveness and bolstering the local economy. Nevertheless, due to the absence of a customary village status as defined by Perda 4/2019, the allocation of funding from the customary village does not extend to these two communities. These entities' arrival is characterized by the absence of an official

distribution channel, specifically in *Adat* village. While other villages possess a Local Public Development (LPD) in the form of a credit union village institution, these two particular villages lack such an establishment. Nevertheless, the pursuit of business, savings, and loan operations, as well as the enhancement of the village economy, is undertaken through the utilization of the village's economic ingenuity in collaboration with the community. The historical narrative of these two settlements revolves around the arduous endeavor to preserve their distinct cultural and societal characteristics. Despite the contrasting historical origins of these two villages, it can be inferred that both have endured as autonomous settlements up to the present time. These autonomous settlements possess the capability to meet their fundamental requirements. The majority of the inhabitants in these two communities are engaged in agricultural occupations. The presence of these essential demands renders these communities partially autonomous from governmental reliance with regards to the accessibility of fundamental necessities. The implementation of village government programs aimed at enhancing natural resources has created enough opportunities for fostering inventiveness and bolstering the local economy. Nevertheless, due to the absence of a customary village status as defined by Perda 4/2019, the allocation of funding from the customary village does not extend to these two communities. These entities' arrival is characterized by the absence of an official distribution channel, specifically in *Adat* village. While other villages possess a LPD in the form of a credit union village institution, these two particular villages lack such an establishment. Nevertheless, the pursuit of business, savings, and loan operations, as well as the enhancement of the village economy, is undertaken through the utilization of the village's economic ingenuity in collaboration with the community.

Ideology Approach

The inhabitants of these two settlements are Balinese people who have undergone religious conversion. Blimbingsari village is recognized for its status as a Balinese Christian community, while Pegayaman village is renowned as a Balinese Islamic village. Individuals frequently encounter challenging circumstances in order to preserve their sense of self. The investigation into the continued use of Balinese names, Balinese dances, Balinese gamelan music, and other aspects of Balinese culture indirectly raises questions about their cultural identity. The phrase "Bali is my body, Christ is my soul" is employed by Balinese Christians as a means to articulate their ideological comprehension of their personal and collective identity. The historical roots of the early Christian community in Bali may be traced back to the village of Blimbingsari. As a result, Balinese Christians frequently congregate in this village, where they engage in various religious activities within a church building that reflects Bali's distinctive architectural style. The central shrine served as a place of devotion for those who traveled from various locations to pay homage to their deity. The individual envisions a scenario akin to the religious site "Besakih" in Bali, Indonesia, with Christian elements incorporated.

Conversely, the conviction that their profound historical contribution to the development of Bali is also firmly ingrained. The Pegayaman people hold a profound belief in the ideology known as "Sri Aji Kumpi Bukit Sitindih," which signifies their enduring connection to the Buleleng kingdom and their role as protectors of the kingdom and its inhabitants. The aforementioned aspect imbues their collective identity with profound significance while also possessing historical significance within the context of Bali.

Conscientization Approach

The inhabitants of these two villages possess a strong understanding of their cultural

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affiliation with the broader Balinese community, which motivates them to actively contribute to the development of Bali. The notions of village development are inherently self-contained within their own framework. The village encompasses not only a normative delineation but also a philosophical essence. The philosophical concept of Tri Hita Karana is likewise embraced in these two settlements. The spatial arrangement and placement of various elements within the sacred space, community housing, gardens, school, and other areas are all designed in accordance with the philosophical principles of Tri Hita Karana, which have been deeply ingrained into the Balinese culture. While the philosophy is not explicitly employed, the notions are evidently discernible in the arrangement of the aforementioned venues. Hence, this observation demonstrates the individuals' recognition of their unaltered Balinese identity.

CONCLUSION

Can Subalterns Exist? goes beyond the scope of Spivak's seminal work, "Can Subalterns Speak?". Demonstrating one's status as a minority group in Bali can be a challenging endeavor. However, both communities's persistence in maintaining their existence and position, while not being recognized under the customary village classification outlined in Perda 4/2019, is ongoing. The phenomenon of power and hegemonization does indeed take place. According to Foucault, power and hegemonization extend beyond coercive and physically destructive aspects. Individuals then engage in a deliberate adherence to the structures of authority and dominance, incurring the associated repercussions. The current situation in the context of customary villages, as shown in the implementation of Perda 4/2019, exhibits a process of hegemonization occurring in Blimbingsari village and Pegayaman village. Both phenomena, over a period of time, exhibit

recurring patterns of power dynamics and the level of acceptance within their respective social contexts. Despite being silenced, the individuals managed to assert their presence and assert their cultural and economic identities, thereby ensuring that their voices were not only acknowledged but also actively resisted. The Balinese individuals maintain their cultural and historical identity, thereby preserving their Balinese heritage. The aforementioned villages are classified as non-traditional villages, as per the regulations outlined in Perda 4/2019. However, the inhabitants of these villages continue to embrace their traditional Balinese identity and rituals as an integral part of their everyday existence. Hence, Balinese rituals and traditions hold significant importance in their daily lives, although they lack normative recognition. The viewpoint presented can be categorized as a subaltern perspective, which inherently diverges from the dominant perspective shaped by power dynamics and political influences.

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