Re-evaluating Socio-Cultural Change in World Heritage Sites: A Case Study of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province

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Declaration

I, Diana Farisah Rahman, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed _____

Abstract

Change of social and cultural activities in World Heritage Sites is often considered a threat to their Outstanding Universal Values and sustainability. As socio-cultural change is often favoured by the local community of heritage sites, especially as it offers access to development and economic improvement, heritage scholars and site managers have sought ways to allow change to happen in heritage sites without compromising heritage protection. Using this prolonged problem as a point of departure, this thesis aims to investigate the significance of socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites. This research focuses on finding the value of socio-cultural change to heritage sites, culture, and the local community and how it may affect the Outstanding Universal Values, authenticity, and the management of World Heritage Sites. Using a case study of the Bali Cultural Landscape, this research employed ethnography as a data collection strategy and Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse both the primary and secondary data. It employed cultural ecology and discourse theory to understand the drivers of socio-cultural change and interpret discrepancies and conflicts between stakeholders of World Heritage Sites. This thesis discovered that the value of socio-cultural change has been undermined in the World Heritage Convention framework. This thesis also demonstrated that stakeholders' perceptions on the value of socio-cultural change are shaped by their knowledge and interpretations of both heritage sites and local culture. As the dominant stakeholder, the World Heritage Committee introduced new approaches to the Balinese society which marginalised their traditional knowledge and subsequently affected their participation in heritage site management. Thus, the World Heritage Convention system could risk damaging the identity, values, and traditional skills of the Balinese society when local knowledge is not integrated into the management plan. Empowering this society by giving them control over the management of the World Heritage Site is therefore crucial.

Impact Statement

Using the Bali Cultural Landscape as a case study, this thesis re-evaluated the meanings and values of socio-cultural change in a World Heritage Site. This research was started to respond to the prolonged issues and problems of World Heritage Site management, mainly related to unsuccessful attempts to find the balance between preservation and the use of heritage sites. Using an ethnography data collection, this research obtained an in-depth understanding of the Balinese culture and the *subak* system. This thesis discovered that socio-cultural change is not merely an impact of development or human activities, but rather a strategy that has been systematically planned and exercised by the Balinese to sustain their traditional culture, society, and heritage sites. This thesis demonstrated that the Balinese has an adaptive characteristic that plays a vital role in maintaining a balanced and harmonious relationship between them and their environment.

This thesis benefits both inside and outside academia by demonstrating that socio-cultural change could be understood as part of traditional knowledge and heritage preservation methods rather than a threat to World Heritage Sites. The findings of this research improve our understanding of socio-cultural change and how the universal standardisation could become an obstacle to acknowledging local culture and approaches. By doing so, this research increases the capacity, knowledge, and skills of multilevel heritage organisations, including the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. This thesis also highlights that local communities' disengagement in heritage management may be intentional and strongly connected to their endeavours to protect their traditional systems and values. It shows the site managers and World Heritage professionals that appropriate implementation of the World Heritage Convention is crucial to avoid the loss of indigenous knowledge, culture, and identity. In addition, this thesis further encourages heritage scholars and policymakers to consider socio-cultural change as a key to protect the earth's natural and cultural diversity and to build climate resilience.

This thesis informs heritage managers and the World Heritage Committee that the gap between local community's perspective and what is written on the official World Heritage Site documents may be caused by the presence of different epistemologies between World Heritage Site stakeholders. It also informs academia and practitioners on the presence of language and conceptual issues that have been disregarded in the UNESCO documents and practices, which have marginalised many local communities of World Heritage Sites. Through its findings, this thesis encourages heritage scholars, site managers, policymakers, and World Heritage Site experts to further explore the incompatibility between universal and local approach and possible implications of the World Heritage Convention system that have been overlooked.

This thesis also proposed several possible ways to engage local community in the World Heritage Site management. Taking the Bali Cultural Landscape as an example, the local community could be empowered by incorporating their conservation approach into the management plan, removing the use of heritage concepts that are inexistent to the society, and giving them control over the management of the *subak* system. Provided there are government supports to protect the economic value of rice fields and rice production activities, negative implications of the World Heritage Convention and Authorised Heritage Discourse could be navigated using these approaches.

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List of Abbreviations

AHD   : Authorised Heritage Discourse
CC   : Carrying Capacity
CDA   : Critical Discourse Analysis
ICCROM : International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and
            Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS : International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN   : International Union for Conservation of Nature
LAC   : Limit of Acceptable Change
OUV   : Outstanding Universal Value
SOUV   : Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
SOC   : Statement of Conservation
UNESCO   : United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural
            Organisation
WHC   : World Heritage Committee
WHS   : World Heritage Site

Glossary

ADVISORY BODIES: Independent bodies that are mandated by the World Heritage Convention to provide evaluations of the nominated heritage sites. *153*, *189*

AUTHORISED HERITAGE DISCOURSE: Heritage knowledge and practices that are widely accepted as they have been validated by certain persons or institutions. *26, 132*

AWIG-AWIG: Traditional rules that regulate rights and responsibilities of members of Balinese institutions (such as *subak* or *desa adat*). *165, 167, 200*

BANJAR: Neighbourhood association. *163*

BENDESA ADAT/ KLIAN ADAT: Head of the customary village. *165, 268*

CARIK: Rice fields. *166*

CARRYING CAPACITY: The maximum load an environment can support without reducing its ability to support future generations. *106*

COORDINATION FORUM: A committee that was established by the Indonesian Government to coordinate government agencies and other stakeholders that share responsibilities in the management of Bali Cultural Landscape. *176*

DESA ADAT/ CUSTOMARY VILLAGE: A neighbourhood system that is responsible for implementing customary laws *(awig-awig)* and dealing with traditions and religious issues. *162*

DESAKALAPATRA: A Balinese concept which emphasises the adjustment of every aspect, action, and meaning to time, place, and circumstances. *208, 309*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY: Biannual meeting attended by all State Parties to elect the members of the World Heritage Committee, examine the statement of accounts of the World Heritage Fund and discuss major policy issues. *153*

GOVERNING ASSEMBLY: A committee that is responsible for the management of Bali Cultural Landscape. It is a democratic governing body consists of representatives of regency and provincial governments, four academic experts, representatives of all *subaks*, and also representatives of all customary villages. *173*

LIMIT OF ACCEPTABLE CHANGE: A concept that aims to find an acceptable change within a perceived ideal condition. *107*

KRAMA SUBAK: Members of subak. *166*

NGAYAH: Volunteering works that are done during religious or social activities in order to receive God's blessings or to serve a higher being. *163, 200*

NOMINATION DOSSIER/DOCUMENT: The official document submitted to UNESCO by States Parties for the potential inscription of a property on the World Heritage List, containing an extensive description of the properties, the OUV, factors affecting the properties, and a management system. *152*

OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE (OUV): exceptional cultural and/or natural values that transcend national boundaries and are of common importance for the present and future generations. *91, 149*

PALEMAHAN: A harmonious relationship between individuals and the environment. *191*

PARAHYANGAN: A harmonious relationship between individuals and the realms of the spirit. *191*

PARUMAN/SANGKEPAN: A meeting that is attended by members of Balinese institutions (such as *subak* or *desa adat*) to discuss any matter related to the institutions and to find solutions of any issues and problems that may appears. *165, 266, 301*

PAWONGAN: A harmonious relationship amongst all human beings. *191*

PEKASEH: The leader of subak organisation. *167*

PEKASEH FORUM: The assembly of all *Pekaseh* of Subak Caturangga Batukaru. *179*

PEMANGKU: The High Priest. *179, 265*

PENYUNGSUNG/ PENGEMPON PURA: Somebody who has responsibility to spiritually and physically maintain the condition of a temple. *163, 182*

PERAREM: Attachment to *awig-awig* that describes new regulations that are made to address new issues within the village/or Balinese institutions. It is usually created through *paruman/ sangkepan. 300*

PERBEKEL: Head of the Balinese administrative village. *268*

PRAJURU: The committee of subak organisation who assist Pekaseh in the management of *subak* organisation. *167*

PURA: Balinese temple. *163, 168, 184*

PURI: The home of Balinese kings and its court; also used to refer to the home of any members of the upper caste. *179, 265*

RWA BHINEDA: A Balinese Hindu principle which believes that positive and negative (or rather opposing) elements must exist in harmony and equilibrium. *248*

STATE PARTY: A country which has signed and adhered to the World Heritage Convention. Only these countries could identify and nominate properties on their national territory to be considered for World Heritage Site inscription. *150*

SUBAK: The traditional Balinese irrigation system. Also understood as the organisation where farmers share the responsibility of the use and management of irrigation water. *29, 165*

TEMPEK: Small subak. *166*

TENTATIVE LIST: An inventory of properties which each State Party intends to consider for World Heritage Site nomination. *152*

TRI HITA KARANA: The three causes of goodness. A principle that encourages a harmonious relationship between individuals and the realms of the spirit (*parahyangan*), individuals and the human world (*pawongan*), as well as individuals and nature (*palemahan*). *190*

WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE: An intergovernmental team consists of representatives of 21 State Parties that has the authority to inscribe/delist World Heritage Sites, examine State of Conservation reports, define the use of World Heritage Fund, and ask State Parties to take certain actions related to World Heritage Site management. *153*

WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE SESSION: An annual conference that is attended by all State Parties and the World Heritage Committee to decide the inscription of World Heritage properties, discuss the management of existing properties, and evaluate SOC reports. *189, 280*

WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION: The 1972 international convention concerning the protection of world cultural and natural heritage. *18, 146*

WORLD HERITAGE LIST: The list of world's cultural and natural heritage sites that are considered having exceptional and universal values. *149, 186*

WORLD HERITAGE SITES/ WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTIES: Cultural and natural heritage sites that are considered having exceptional and universal values. *149*

Acknowledgement

Related Works

- Rahman, D. and Fouseki, K. (forthcoming). *Evaluating the management plan of Bali Cultural Landscape from the local community's perspective.* Handbook of Sustainable Heritage. London. Routledge.

- Rahman, D. and Fouseki, K. (2020). *Food Heritage for Global Challenges - Cultural and social change in traditional food production practices at the World Heritage Site of subak landscape.* ACHS 2020 FUTURES: Association of Critical Heritage Studies 5th Biennial Conference. London: 26-30 August 2020.

- Rahman, D. (2017). *How should we view change in World Heritage Sites?* 5th UNESCO UNITWIN Conference in Culture, Tourism and Development: Local Identity and Tourism Management on World Heritage Sites. Coimbra: 18-22 April 2017.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Setting the problems

The 1972 World Heritage Convention framework was established to protect natural and cultural heritage sites for the present and future generations. This aim is to be achieved through international collaborations that utilise certain standards and mechanisms in order to protect the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of those sites. Countries who ratified the World Heritage Convention, hereafter State Parties, are the ones who are responsible for developing strategies to ensure the protection of Outstanding Universal Values of sites within their territory. Several measures have been developed under the World Heritage Convention framework in order to allow State Parties to receive international assistance and evaluations to ensure the sustainability of their World Heritage Sites.

As of January 2021, there are 1121 World Heritage Sites located across 167 countries. Issues related to the protection of those sites are recorded in the Statement of Conservation (SOC) reports that are sent periodically to the World Heritage Committee (WHC) by State Parties. Many SOC reports indicated that ineffective or inadequate management strategies are not uncommon in World Heritage Sites. Many SOC reports also recorded the inadequacy of management plans to protect the OUV from external factors, such as climate change, environmental hazards, tourism, and development.

Other prominent issues such as environmental sustainability, economic stability, and impacts of the preservation activities on the local community of World Heritage Sites are also discussed in both SOC reports and many heritage studies (Cassar, 2009; Okech, 2010; Ryan, Chaozhi and Zeng, 2011; Park, 2014; Silva and Chapagain, 2014; Alobiedat, 2018).[1]

Recent studies recorded many issues related to local community participation in the World Heritage Site management. Amongst all, non-cooperation and disengagement of local communities in the conservation activities is a recurring problem (Heuheu, 2004; Fletcher *et al.*, 2007; Clarke and Waterton, 2015; Vigneron, 2016). Other scholars noted several issues related to the disarticulation of local communities' voices and local communities' displacement (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013; Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; MacRae, 2017). Although positive impacts of the World Heritage Site inscription are widely recognised, issues concerning the implementation of management plans and local communities' engagement prevail. Despite the international efforts to use World Heritage Sites to advance sustainable development, these issues show that the World Heritage Convention has some fundamental flaws.

Heritage scholars also raised some issues regarding the presence of contrasting interests and attitudes among stakeholders of World Heritage Sites (Zhang *et al.*, 2014; Wang & Zan, 2011; Okech, 2007; Maharjan, 2013). While the WHC and State Parties aim to protect the OUV of World Heritage Sites,

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[1] The local community of World Heritage Site is understood as those who live within or near World Heritage Sites' boundaries. However, this thesis recognised that the concept of 'community' in heritage studies is far more problematic. See further in section 3.2.1.

local communities often want to use the site to access economic development or participate in modernisation (Ashworth and van der Aa, 2002; Jones and Shaw, 2012). Although different stakeholders' interests may create conflicts and problems in the management of heritage sites, several scholars have argued that these differences could become a positive and constructive element of heritage management as long as there is a dialogue between them (Fouseki, *et al.*, 2019; Arnold, 2010; Göttler & Ripp, 2017). However, conducting meaningful dialogues where local communities' voices are heard and validated is often challenging.

To this day, many negative implications of development and the use of heritage sites are identified. The destruction of material aspects of heritage sites, loss of integrity and authenticity, overcrowding, and commercialisation are amongst the impacts of excessive social and cultural activities in World Heritage Sites (Pedersen, 2002; World Heritage Centre, 2007, 2012; Mbaiwa, Bernard and Orford, 2008; Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud, 2009; Ryan, Chaozhi and Zeng, 2011; Park, 2014; Silva and Chapagain, 2014). Therefore, the World Heritage Convention encourages State Parties to advance their management plan to address these issues. However, considerable debates regarding ethical issues have been raised as some scholars argued that local communities should be allowed to control their heritage sites and have access to development (Silverman and Ruggles, 2007; Blake, 2011; Logan, 2012; Oviedo and Puschkarsky, 2012).

As conflicting interests between the WHC and local communities are recorded in many World Heritage Sites, balancing conservation practices and development related activities is proposed as a possible solution (Hede, 2008;

Young, 2016). The concept of Carrying Capacity and Limits of Acceptable Change have been implemented in many heritage sites in order to achieve a win-win solution that could benefit the conservation activity and the local community (Mbaiwa, *et al.,* 2008; Cimnaghi and Mussini, 2015). These concepts are often used to determine optimum visitor numbers and acceptable changes in historic environments without compromising their sustainability (McCool & Lime, 2001). Successful best practices are recorded in some sites, but unfruitful efforts are also evident in many World Heritage Sites.

Although the use of Carrying Capacity and Limits of Acceptable Change in World Heritage Site management is widely popular, the persistent management issues related to change and development indicate that this approach is not as effective as it was expected. Several discussions related to the concept of carrying capacity have been made alongside investigations about its implementation and practicality (Ly and Nguyen, 2017; Makhadmeh *et al.*, 2018). Scholars postulated that the lack of resources, lack of collaboration, and inappropriate strategies might contribute to the ineffectiveness of those concepts in addressing change in World Heritage Sites (Makhadmeh *et al.*, 2018; Alazaizeh *et al.*, 2015; Gonzalez *et al.*, 2018; Wafik *et al.*, 2011).

This research started from the idea that heritage scholars and practitioners may use incorrect strategies to tackle these particular issues. After many unsuccessful attempts in balancing change, development, and conservation practices, evaluating the strategy alone would no longer be sufficient. The issue itself needs to be re-evaluated. Therefore, there may be a need to reconsider how change, development, and uses of heritage are understood

within World Heritage management practices. Given that condition, issues related to stakeholders' different interests should also be further investigated. What if there is something fundamental that shapes stakeholders' interests? Scholars have pinpointed that a discrepancy among stakeholders' interests triggered tensions, conflicts, and ineffective heritage management (Zhang *et al.*, 2014; Wang & Zan, 2011; Okech, 2007; Maharjan, 2013). However, this thesis argued that more fundamental issues lie behind these problems, particularly in relation to stakeholder conflicts and interests concerning discourse, power relations, and epistemological differences.

Many scholars have evaluated the idea of balancing conservation and development in heritage sites, but only a few have investigated how local communities actually feel about it. Yan (2015), for instance, discovered that the local community of Fujian Tulou felt compelled to maintain a harmonious relationship with the heritage site, which triggered the loss of social and economic activities, alienation, and increased poverty. Only a few scholars were able to identify the benefits of change and development for heritage sites, culture, and local communities (Al-Harithy, 2005; Okech, 2007; Fibiger, 2015; Alobiedat, 2018). Currently, there is limited information on the local communities' perception towards change, as it is often presupposed that local communities would value the protection of heritage sites as much as they value change or development.

Indeed, there is a considerable gap in heritage knowledge on how change is perceived by local communities living near World Heritage Sites, not only in relation to their wellbeing or sustainability of heritage sites but also their traditional culture and values. Several scholars stated that perceptions of local

communities towards heritage sites are often different from those of scholars and experts. It is therefore important to examine their perceptions and how they differ (Smith, 2006; Nikočević, 2012; Yan, 2015). As Fouseki (2015) asserted, it is vital to explore the driving force of conflicting values and interests in heritage sites. By investigating stakeholders' perceptions, this thesis hopes to understand further the problems of change and management in World Heritage Sites.

1.2   Research aim and objectives

As conflicting attitudes between local communities and managers of World Heritage Sites could affect the management of sites, obtaining a thorough understanding of this issue would arguably improve heritage management practices and prevent conflicts among stakeholders. In addition, as local communities' involvement in heritage management has been acknowledged as a crucial factor in determining the success of heritage conservation (Jimura, 2016; Göttler & Ripp, 2017; Mitchell, *et al.*, 2009), investigating their perspectives and reasons behind their disengagement in the World Heritage Site management are paramount.

It is worth pointing out that finding effective management plans and appropriate engagement strategies for World Heritage Sites can be a challenge (Ginzarly *et al.*, 2019; Jopela, 2011). Many studies have shown that the discrepancy amongst the local communities, site managers, and the World Heritage Committee's attitudes in heritage management is triggered by different interests towards heritage sites and the World Heritage status (Seyfi *et al.*, 2019; Langfield & Rjhs, 2010; Wang & Zan, 2011). However, as mentioned

previously, there is a lack of extensive and in-depth empirical studies regarding the reasons behind different stakeholders' interests. This issue has been presupposed and, as a result, prevented heritage scholars from investigating issues related to discourse and knowledge construction.

Therefore, this thesis is interested in looking at the process behind stakeholders' understandings and interpretations of both heritage sites and socio-cultural change.[2] It investigated the phenomena that lie behind stakeholders' interests and attitudes and examined why they are often conflicted. This thesis also acknowledged that World Heritage Sites have been dealing with different types of change, but since socio-cultural change is faced by most World Heritage Sites, this type of change will be the scope of this thesis's investigation.[3] Thus, in order to understand problems associated with stakeholders' attitudes towards socio-cultural change, this thesis aims to investigate the interrelationship between socio-cultural change, Outstanding Universal Values, and authenticity of World Heritage Sites as well as the implication of this interrelationship on World Heritage Site management.

To achieve this aim, three objectives were set up. Since the focus of the study is the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province,[4] the first objective is to explore the perceptions of the local community towards the values and authenticity of the

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[2] As opposed to a much narrower use of the term interpretation in heritage interpretation practices, this thesis follows a hermeneutics standpoint in using the word interpretation (see further in section 4.3), which refers predominantly to the act of understanding the meaning of things that are not obvious (Schleiermacher, 1998).
[3] Based on Veillon & World Heritage Centre (2014) and a personal observation of nomination documents of World Heritage Sites submitted between 2014-2017.
[4] The official name of the site is *"Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy"*. However, it is often used interchangeably with "The Bali Cultural Landscape" and "The *subak* landscape".

site. The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and authenticity of World Heritage Sites are detailed in the nomination dossier and the acceptance document published by State Parties and the World Heritage Committee consecutively. However, several scholars acknowledged that local communities of World Heritage Sites are rarely involved in the nomination process (Jones and Shaw, 2012; Yan, 2015). Thus, their actual interpretation of World Heritage Sites is often unrecorded. As site managers and local communities have different ways of valuing heritage sites (Deacon and Smeets, 2013; James and Winter, 2017), there is a need to examine heritage values and authenticity from the local community's perspective. To this end, the first research question is:

Q1. How does the local community interpret values and the authenticity of the World Heritage Site?

This research question explores heritage narratives from the local community's perspective to see how it differs from the narratives written in the World Heritage Site official documents. This question also attempts to examine further how site managers and the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape developed different understandings about the site. It is argued by Smith (2006) and Yan (2015) that the World Heritage Convention is dominated by a singular narrative of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) that can undermine other narratives, including those of the local community. Smith (2006) defined AHD as the heritage knowledge and practices that have been validated by experts and accepted as the appropriate approach (see also section 4.4.2). Therefore, collecting empirical data directly from the local community instead of from the

World Heritage official documents is arguably the best way to understand their interpretation of values and the authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

Nonetheless, this thesis acknowledged that a local community is rather a heterogeneous group (see further section 3.2.1). Thus, it is possible that local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape may not have a homogenous interpretation towards the landscape, its values, and the World Heritage status. It is therefore plausible that contrasting perceptions and different interests also exist within the local community itself. Thus, the investigation of the local community's perceptions would also be crucial to understand conflicts within them.

Secondly, this thesis recognised the discrepancy between the WHC and the local communities of World Heritage Sites in perceiving socio-cultural change (Mehta and Kellert, 1998; Staiff and Bushell, 2013). While the WHC attempts to limit development and socio-cultural change to prevent the degradation of the OUV and the physicality of World Heritage Sites, many local communities seek to use World Heritage Sites to improve their welfare (Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; Staiff and Bushell, 2013; Caust and Vecco, 2017). However, there is a lack of empirical and in-depth research regarding the value of socio-cultural change for local communities and heritage sites, as well as how it shapes the local communities' interpretation of the sites. This investigation is necessary if heritage scholars are to avoid a presupposition about the importance of change and conservation for local community of heritage sites. It also prevents premature judgements about the local community's level of knowledge and awareness regarding impacts of socio-cultural change on the sustainability of heritage sites and traditional culture.

Staiff & Bushell (2013) and Ooi *et al.* (2015), among others, highlighted that different perceptions between managers and the local community on the impacts of socio-cultural change have triggered disputes in heritage management. Thus, understanding the local community's perception provides a deeper understanding of the significance of socio-cultural change for them. It also facilitates an investigation as to why some local communities are reluctant to participate in the management of World Heritage Sites. In addition, this information can be used to explore the link between socio-cultural change and heritage significance. Hence, the second research question is formulated as follows:

Q2. How is socio-cultural change interpreted by the local community of the World Heritage Site?

Thirdly, this thesis considers that examining the management plan of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province is essential to understand the conservation approach and management strategies taken by site managers. Examining other official documents, including Statement of Conservation (SOC) reports and Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV), is also necessary to understand the WHC and site managers' perception of the World Heritage Site's significance and the *'ideal'* conservation approach. This information is useful for evaluating stakeholders' perceptions and understanding how they possess different knowledge and interpretations about heritage sites and socio-cultural change. It is also useful for examining the reason behind ineffective implementation of World Heritage Site management plan. After all, scholars have already recognised miscoordination, miscommunication, and lack of community participation as

contributing factors to ineffective management approach, especially when dealing with socio-cultural change (Strauß, 2011; Wafik, Fawzy and Ibrahim, 2011).

Considering that management problems often appeared alongside stakeholder discrepancy, it is imperative to investigate the extent to which different perceptions and interpretations of heritage significance and socio-cultural change contribute to creating problems in World Heritage Site management. That being said, the third research question is formulated as follows:

Q3. In what ways do the different stakeholders' perceptions affect heritage conservation and management?

Through this question, this thesis investigates how stakeholders' perceptions affect the way socio-cultural change is managed in World Heritage Site. The question helps determine different management approaches taken by site managers and the local community and understand why they respond to change differently. Using this question, this thesis is also able to examine disarticulation of the local community's knowledge in the World Heritage Site management.

Using these three research questions, this thesis has untangled issues of discrepancy between the WHC and local community of World Heritage Sites, particularly in relation to different interests and different attitudes towards socio-cultural change. This thesis discovered that both stakeholders' interests and attitudes are shaped by their interpretations of heritage sites and socio-cultural change. As interpretation cannot be separated from how knowledge

and social reality are constituted, different stakeholders would interpret the same heritage site and socio-cultural change differently. Subsequently, they have different knowledge on how to utilise heritage sites and respond to socio-cultural change. This is why stakeholders' conflict is rooted far beyond merely the presence of different interests; it is grounded in stakeholders' epistemology about culture, heritage, and socio-cultural change, to name a few.

One of the key arguments of this study is that socio-cultural change is not a risk but rather a value for the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This is because socio-cultural change has enabled the local community to adapt to environmental change while sustaining their cultural practices. The Balinese has exercised socio-cultural change to minimise the impacts of environmental change on their cultural practices. Thus, they do not consider socio-cultural change as a risk for the sustainability of the Bali Cultural Landscape. On the contrary, it is a value that needs to be sustained so that the relevance of both the traditional irrigation system -called the *subak* system- and the Balinese culture in this rapidly changing situation could be maintained. However, the presence of AHD in World Heritage Site management has created an obstacle for the WHC and site managers to understand and acknowledge such the significance of socio-cultural change.

1.3 Originality and contributions

One of the most recent works on a topic similar to this thesis is of MacRae (2017), which revealed an 'awkward engagement' of the local community of Cultural Landscape of Bali Province towards the World Heritage concept. MacRae (2017) demonstrated that the difference between the local

community's system and the World Heritage Convention's standard creates a range of consequences, including the presence of multiple agendas and interests. He asserted that the poor relationship between farmers and the government is caused by inconsistency between the management plan and its implementation. MacRae (2017) also raised a discussion regarding how the local community's concerns differ from what has been written in the World Heritage documents.

Similar to MacRae, this thesis discusses the gulf of understanding between the universal model of heritage conservation and the reality at the local level. However, distinctive from MacRae's research, this thesis also includes an investigation of the roots of stakeholder's discrepancy and its implication on the heritage site and local culture. While there are growing in-depth case studies exploring the perceptions and values of local communities towards heritage sites, most studies are based on interviews and questionnaires. Although these are valid methods for data collection, it is arguably important for such an investigation to employ a more ethnographic approach that allows the researcher to immerse into the local context. In addition to using empirical data, this thesis provides an extensive analysis of World Heritage Site official documents and SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This thesis employs the theory of discourse to understand the reasons behind stakeholders' conflicts and local community marginalisation, which was not explored in MacRae's study.

This thesis further advances heritage studies, particularly the work surrounding the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). The findings of this thesis provide a deeper understanding on how discourse is manifested in a

World Heritage Site context and how AHD affects local knowledge and values. This thesis offers a way to see local disengagement as an impact of discursive practices and power relation. In addition to confirming many previous studies that discovered the occurrence of a discrepancy between the local community and the WHC, this thesis also presents further explanations as to why this discrepancy occurs and how it shapes the future of heritage management. I argue that AHD has disarticulated local knowledge and invalidated local version of heritage values, which has further led to community marginalisation and local disengagement from World Heritage Site management.

By employing cultural ecology theory, this thesis expands scholars' understanding on the importance of social and cultural change, not only for the sustainability of heritage sites but also for traditional culture and local community. It proposes an alternative way to assess socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites by demonstrating that socio-cultural change is indeed an inherited attribute of many indigenous cultures. Socio-cultural change is developed by many traditional cultures to enable the society to maintain a balance between cultural use and environmental sustainability. As socio-cultural change may be a key to the survival of many indigenous communities, incorporating this perspective into heritage management strategies is paramount. This thesis also demonstrated that, similar to heritage values, the value of socio-cultural change is also subjective and socially constructed.

Finally, in terms of methodological contribution, this thesis offers an insightful case in using an ethnography method to understand problems related to World Heritage Site management. Ethnography is not a new qualitative research strategy. Although its application in heritage research is not uncommon, the

use of ethnography for assessing the effectiveness of World Heritage Site management is unpopular. Through this thesis, ethnography is proven to be beneficial for understanding heritage issues within its cultural context. Ethnography also provides a way to understand and minimise language and translation problems that occur in transnational and international works. By employing appropriate resources and strategies, ethnography does not necessarily need to be conducted in an extensive timeframe, although a longer ethnography would certainly contribute to more comprehensive and extensive information.

1.4   Outline of the thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 describes the methodological approach of this thesis, explains data collection strategies, and provides details on data analysis and interpretation procedures. The ontological and epistemological perspective that shaped this study will be presented in this chapter, in addition to details of the qualitative research design and the justification to use ethnographic case study approach. This chapter also explains the process of case study selection and data collection methods before discussing data analysis strategy using Critical Discourse Analysis with the help of NVivo software.

Chapter 3 will review existing literature in relation to socio-cultural change and the management of World Heritage Sites. This chapter comes after the methodology chapter to facilitate a discussion related to issues that could appear from the chosen data collection method, such as the issue of language and terminology (Agar, 2011). It contains clarifications of the use of the term

local community and cultural landscape in this thesis, as well as presents a discussion related to the concept of authenticity. Several issues regarding universality, World Heritage Site management, and local community's engagement are also discussed. This chapter also provides a critical analysis regarding the role of socio-cultural change in many cultures and heritage sites as well as the implementation of 'Limit of Acceptable Change' for managing them.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion on the theoretical framework that is used to guide the analysis of the research findings. The chapter draws on two theoretical discussions: theories of cultural ecology and discourse. Firstly, the chapter presents the theory of cultural ecology, which could be used by the WHC to understand the necessity of socio-cultural change for heritage sites and local communities, and discusses more broadly the relevance and weaknesses of this theory. The chapter then proceeds with the theory of discourse and how the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) works within the World Heritage Convention framework and heritage management in general. Towards the end of the chapter, the use of both cultural ecology and discourse theory as the thesis' theoretical framework is explained.

In chapter 5, the cultural and geographical context of the selected case study is discussed in detail. The chapter begins with an introduction to the World Heritage Convention and its instruments, including the inscription process and criteria. As this study employs an ethnography data collection, extensive information about the Balinese culture and tradition collected from both literature and fieldwork discussions is included in this chapter. The profile and the management system of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province are also

explained in this chapter, alongside the description of the case study site of Subak Pakerisan Watershed.

Chapter 6 investigates values and authenticity of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province from the perspective of the National Government, the WHC, and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Using fieldwork data and official documents of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province, it closely examines the discrepancy in stakeholders' interpretations related to heritage values and authenticity as well as analyses the reason behind the discrepancy. This chapter also includes a discussion related to tangible and intangible attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape and how it is perceived differently by stakeholders.

Chapter 7 explores how socio-cultural change is interpreted in the World Heritage Site. It examines the WHC's perception of socio-cultural change and analyses the list of *'factors affecting properties'* which was developed as a guide for site managers to identify threats in World Heritage Sites. This chapter also explores the local community's perception towards socio-cultural change in the World Heritage Site and in the Balinese culture in general.

In Chapter 8, the management strategy of the Bali Cultural Landscape is examined in-depth. This chapter investigates inconsistencies between the management plan and its implementation as well as outlines the implication of these inconsistencies. In addition to discussing the management strategy, this chapter also discusses how the local community feels about the management strategy and the World Heritage Status. It also discusses different priorities amongst stakeholders in managing the cultural landscape.

In chapter 9, a synthesis of the data and analysis will be presented. This chapter brings forward the theory of cultural ecology and discourse theories to interpret research findings. It discusses the importance of socio-cultural change for the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape and the problematic use of several heritage concepts, such as cultural landscape and the notion of authenticity. The chapter also analyses conflicts in the management of World Heritage Sites and how it is related to discourse and stakeholders' interpretation of Bali Cultural Landscape and socio-cultural change. Moreover, the chapter also proposes possible strategies to navigate the negative impacts of AHD and incorporate local knowledge into the World Heritage Site management.

Finally, chapter 10 outlines key findings of the study, answers to the research questions and the conclusion of the research. While providing an overview of the study, the last chapter informs all stakeholders of World Heritage Sites on the significance of socio-cultural change and how it should be acknowledged in the World Heritage Convention framework. In the end, this last chapter also discusses the limitations of the study and recommendations for future endeavours.

CHAPTER 2

Research Philosophy and Methodological Design

2.1 Introduction

As chapter 1 outlined the aim and objectives of the study as well as the structure of the thesis, this chapter will be moving forward by discussing means and strategies to achieve those aims and objectives. In order to achieve that, there are three purposes of this chapter: to describe the methodological approach of this thesis, explain data collection strategies, and provide details on data analysis and interpretation procedures.

The first section of this chapter discusses research philosophies that are shaped around the research questions. This section explores the ontological and epistemological perspectives of the research and describes a suitable methodological approach for answering the research questions. Next, case study selection, data collection strategies, and data analysis are discussed. A reflection upon the benefits of an ethnographical approach for data collection is also examined alongside data interpretation strategy. The chapter then concludes with the limitations and ethical aspects of the research.

2.2 Research Philosophy

2.2.1 Ontological, Epistemological, and Methodological approach

Grix (2002) argued that researchers should start developing a methodological approach once their ontological and epistemological positions are clear, since

these positions shape the research questions and influence how the questions are being answered. Having a clear understanding of ontological and epistemological positions also allows researchers to determine the necessary tools and factors to successfully achieve their research aim (Grix, 2002).

According to Blaikie (2000), an ontological position defines our assumptions about the constitution of reality; it is what we assume about the nature of reality, what exists, and its appearances. An epistemological position, on the other hand, explains how we could know about that reality. Grix (2002) asserted that there is a direct relationship between ontological-epistemological positions and research methodology since the latter reflects certain ontological and epistemological positions. Grix (2002) also argued that researchers should begin with determining their ontological positions and make the way forward of finding their research methods. In other words, research methods should be led by the research questions, not the opposite.

Figure 2-1. The flow for determining a research methodology.
Adopted from Grix (2002).

Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology	Methods	Sources
•what is out there to know?	•what and how can we know about it?	•How can we go about aquiring that knowledge	•Which precise procedures can we use to acquire it?	•Which data can we collect?

Bryman (2012) suggested that there are two distinctive ontological positions: objectivism and constructionism. Objectivism implies that social phenomena and their meanings exist independently from social actors. In objectivism, truths and meanings are inherent in the objects. Constructionism is the opposite; it is an ontological position which argues that meanings cannot be

separated from social actors. In constructionism, meanings are constructed by social actors as they *"engage with the world they are interpreting"* (Crotty, 1998: 42-43). It can be observed that objectivism and constructionism are distinguished by the involvement of social actors in the creation of reality and meanings as well as by how meanings can be acquired. According to objectivism, meanings are discovered, whereas in constructionism, meanings are constructed.

Bryman (2012) gave an excellent example of how the same reality is understood differently from objectivism and constructionism positions using the idea of culture. From an objectivism approach, culture is seen as an entity which is external from individuals, whereas values and customs exist on its own in order to constrain human actions. From the constructionism approach, on the other hand, culture is seen as something that is created and continuously reconstructed by individuals. Thus, in the context of heritage studies, objectivists would view heritage as having intrinsic values that are independent from individuals, but constructionists would reject intrinsic values and meanings as they believe that values are created and continuously re-shaped by individuals.

Dragouni (2017) proposed that heritage could be seen from an alternative perspective that lies between objectivism and constructionism. She argued that as heritage is the outcome of social actions of the past and present, it has both inherent meanings and constructed meanings. However, this thesis debates this argument as inherent meanings of heritage were once also a constructed meaning. In addition, the action of sustaining existing heritage meanings is arguably part of values-making; individuals will actively participate

in the construction of heritage meanings by either sustaining the existing meanings or creating new meanings.

Therefore, I opted to adopt a constructionism approach to look at heritage and its components and argued that excluding individuals in the creation or re-creation of culture and heritage is impossible. I understood that social actors are involved in the construction of heritage meanings and significances, which tells more about actions that happen in the present rather than in the past. In this light, a universal meaning of heritage is theoretically implausible since heritage sites will be valued differently by different individuals.

In line with Blaikie (2004) who described epistemology as something related to the way we could know about reality, Walliman (2006) argued that epistemology is related to what could be regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline. Although various opinions regarding epistemological approach exist, there are two distinctive epistemological positions: positivism and interpretivism. Those epistemological positions are distinguished by whether the study of social sciences should use the same principles or methods as the study of natural sciences. Positivism can be seen as an epistemological position that advocates the use of natural science methods in understanding social reality; in contrast, interpretivism criticised the use of scientific approach to study social reality (Bryman, 2012).

As a consequence, those epistemological positions have two distinctive views of the relationship between theory and research. In positivism, the role of research is to test a theory and provide materials for the development of laws, whereas, in interpretivism, research is done to collect meanings (Bryman,

2012). That being said, an epistemological position may also further determine the choice of using either a deductive or an inductive process in research.

As Crotty (1998) and Williams & May (1996) argued, the epistemological position of a researcher cannot be separated from their ontological position. As this thesis argued that social phenomena and meanings are produced by people and constantly recreated, it also argued that different strategies are needed to understand the more complex social science phenomena. I understand that, unlike natural scientists, social scientists must be ready to accept that actions and logic can be subjective. Therefore, this thesis adopts an interpretivism position and argues that imitating natural science approach to understanding social realities is inappropriate.

For heritage studies, it may be more appropriate to adopt interpretivism since one of its core objectives is to understand social realities rather than to test a theory. This is supported by Grix (2002), who argued that positivism is not suitable to uncover concepts or problems that have a strong normative content like culture, and in extension, heritage. Although testing a theory in a heritage context may be a valid method, researchers risk oversimplifying a complex problem and thus could not obtain a more comprehensive understanding of a culture. Moreover, since people assign different meanings to heritage, we cannot assume that heritage values could always be captured by human senses. Certain values such as spiritual and symbolic values may not be recorded by human senses.

Drawing from the above ontological and epistemological positions, this study employs qualitative research as its strategy. This thesis seconded Maanen

(1979: p.520) who argued that qualitative research covers interpretive techniques which aim to *"decode, translate, and otherwise came to terms with meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world"*. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2015), qualitative research seeks to understand how people construct the world, assign meanings, and interpret their experiences. This is in line with the objectives of this research, which is to understand how people construct heritage and explore the phenomena of socio-cultural change. It is also in line with Bryman (2012) who argued that qualitative study often features an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research as well as adopts interpretivism and constructionism as its epistemological and ontological positions.

2.2.2 Ethnographic Case Study

Different scholars have used different names to identify strategies and methods of doing qualitative research. Creswell (2013), for instance, listed five approaches: narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies. Patton (2015) discussed sixteen varieties of qualitative inquiries; among others are ethnography, phenomenology, semiotics, symbolic interaction, and grounded theory. Merriam and Tisdell (2015), on the other hand, considered six research designs for qualitative research, which are basic qualitative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, narrative analysis, and qualitative case study.

It thus becomes evident that there is no universal 'approach', 'strategy', or 'design' for doing qualitative research. As there is no single way to classify

qualitative study, researchers have the authority to design and label their research (Creswell, 2013; Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). This understanding illustrates the importance of focusing on the broader characteristics of qualitative research rather than its name and classification. It also demonstrates that qualitative research may have two or more strategies, designs, or approaches.

To determine the most suitable qualitative strategy for this research, the research aim, which is to investigate the interrelationship between heritage values, authenticity, and socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites, is used as the main guideline. As it would not be possible to explore this topic without considering stakeholder perceptions, empirical data are considerably needed. Taking into account the time and resource limitation of the project, a case study is required so that an in-depth investigation of issues and phenomena related to the inquiries can be conducted.

Understanding local communities interpretations and perceptions about heritage values, authenticity, and socio-cultural change is vital for this research as it lays a foundation for a further understanding of the significance of socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites. This information is also needed to evaluate the World Heritage Site management plan and its implementation. Thus, from the characteristics of information that this thesis needs, a data collection strategy that emphasises interaction with the local community and encourages the researcher's immersion into local activities is necessary. Such a data collection strategy facilitated the researcher's attempts to understand local behaviour, local culture, and the World Heritage Site system.

As there is no agreement towards how qualitative strategies should be categorised, there are different opinions concerning the suitable strategy for this kind of research. Bryman (2012), for instance, categorised a study that has the above characteristics as an ethnography. He argued that ethnography features an immersion into social settings and a regular observation of the members' behaviours, which in the end produces an outcome that contains detailed and extensive information.

Creswell (2013) asserted that immersion into the daily lives of a cultural group is crucial in ethnography.[5] He also argued that ethnography is appropriate for exploring beliefs, meanings, behaviours of a cultural group, and critical issues such as power and hegemony. Creswell (2013), however, objected to the use of ethnography to explore specific issues. He argued that ethnography should be used to understand the way an entire culture works rather than to explore a particular issue.

Nevertheless, this thesis argues that an investigation of local communities' perception towards socio-cultural change is also, to a great extent, an investigation of how local culture works. In line with it, Merriam & Tisdell (2015) suggested that it is possible to combine a case study approach with ethnography. From their own perspective, an ethnographic case study is used to obtain an in-depth exploration of a culture or certain issues within a

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[5] Creswell (2013: p.319) did not explicitly define cultural group in his book. However, he defined *cultural-sharing group* as "the unit of analysis for the ethnographer as he/she attempts to understand and interpret the behaviour, language, and artefacts of people". He argued that members of those groups share learned and acquired behaviours. In Madden's argument (2017), ethnographers write about any group, including ethnically, culturally, and socially defined groups. Hence, a cultural group may be referred to a group that ethnographers seek to understand.

particular group. Arguably, Creswell (2013) failed to acknowledge that many researchers seek to explore specific issues as part of their efforts to understand a cultural group, which are often the case of heritage research.

Although the term ethnographic case study is not explicitly mentioned by scholars, the use of this approach in qualitative research and in heritage studies is evident (Alivizatou, 2012; Nikočević, 2012; Jung, 2014; Alobiedat, 2018). In many studies, the characteristics of ethnography study, namely immersion in the daily lives of a group and researcher's sensitivity during participant observations, have proven to be useful for understanding cultural groups and heritage issues (see further in section 2.5). Evidently, an ethnographic case study has also been used to investigate issues related to heritage management and find solutions that fit into cultural context.

Thus, a qualitative approach that combines the strength of ethnography and case study approach is highly beneficial for this research. The case study approach enables an in-depth exploration and analysis of multiple data sources, which is vital considering the time limitations of this research. The ethnography data collection, on the other hand, ensures that the local community's knowledge and culture is acknowledged and considered throughout the research process.

2.2.3   The benefits of single case study and ethnography method

The common question that researchers who use a case study approach encounter is often related to research contribution to general scientific development. Gerring (2017) argued that research that focuses on a single example of a broader phenomenon is barely enough to be regarded as a case

study. He debated that *"a single unit observed at a single point in time without the addition of within-unit cases offers no evidence whatsoever of a causal proposition"* (Gerring, 2017: p.344). Stoecker (1991) even refused to consider the case study method, especially a single case study, as a legitimate scientific research tool because it lacks external and internal validity. The ability of this method to be generalised to other cases is also debated by several scholars (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1984; Giddens, 1984).

In contrast with the above scholars, this thesis found that a single case study method offers an approach as robust as any other method for conducting social research. The case study method, first of all, narrows the distance between the researcher and the object of study and offers a concrete experience in understanding human behaviours (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The ability of a case study method to encourage researchers to 'learn' rather than to 'prove' is beneficial for researchers who seek to understand social inquiry (Eysenck, 1976). The case study method clearly provides an advantage for this thesis as it aims to untangle issues that were not investigated before.

The inability of a single case study method to be generalised was disproved by Flyvbjerg (2006). The case study method can be generalised through the falsification test, which is also part of critical reflexivity in social science and considered one of the most rigorous scientific tests (Popper, 1959). Through the falsification test, a case study method can prove the invalidity of a proposition by having one observation that does not fit with that proposition. Popper (1959) uses the famous example that the finding of a single black swan falsifies the proposition that 'all swans are white'. The use of falsification test would be appropriate for generalising the finding of this thesis. For instance,

discovering that change is indeed crucial for sustaining the traditional Balinese culture and balancing the human-environment relationship falsified the general proposition that socio-cultural change is a threat to heritage management and has only contributed to cultural degradation of World Heritage Sites.

Caudle (1994) demonstrated that a simple triangulation such as a combination of several methods and data sources would improve the credibility of qualitative research. Moreover, triangulation attempts to achieve congruence or consistent results which then proves the validity and reliability of the research findings (Rhineberger *et al.*, 2003). Evera (1997) also added that exploring congruence and even incongruence related to objects that are being observed is a way of validating the robustness of the case study method. Therefore, the combination of many sources, including interviews, conversations, observations, newspaper articles, World Heritage Site documents, national policy, and multiple academic and non-academic publications in data collection processes also enhances the credibility of this research's findings.

Jerolmack and Khan (2018) highlighted that ethnography is a powerful method to reveal local conditions and how particular culture is created, experienced, and shared. Such knowledge, they argued, cannot be fully revealed by using surveys or questionnaires. Asking informants to explain such phenomena would only result in less accurate and robust information, particularly as researchers rarely examine social interaction and non-verbal language. In addition, scholars often accepted social and cultural practices for granted (Jerolmack & Khan, 2018). Thus, by employing ethnography, this thesis

benefits from a critical observation of a culture to understand issues around World Heritage Site management.

It is common to link ethnography to a long-term fieldwork and data collection process, usually between 12 to 24 months. Often, an ethnography conducted less than this timeframe is referred to as a different term, such as 'rapid ethnography', 'short-term ethnography', or 'mini ethnography' (Bryman, 2012; Fusch *et al.*, 2017; Jeffrey & Troman, 2004). However, as Fetterman (2004) and Madden (2017) suggested, the time needed for an ethnography study could range from a few months to a few years, as long as the researcher has enough time to observe patterns of behaviours. It is the 'intensive excursion into the people's lives' that distinguished ethnography from other research, not the length of the study (Pink & Morgan, 2013: p.352).

Moreover, as long as ethnographic principles are maintained, the time span of ethnography is often fluidly adjusted to the needs of the researchers (Jeffrey and Troman, 2004). My previous familiarity with Bali and my fluency in the Indonesian language are incalculable advantages that enabled me to obtain far better materials in a much shorter time.[6] As widely known, ethnographers often struggle with language and cultural adaptation (Harrison, 2018). With my ability to speak Indonesian language and my previous knowledge of Bali, I was quickly welcomed by the subject of my study and quickly adapted to the situation of the village that I studied.

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[6] My knowledge of Bali and its culture was also developed through my master dissertation project conducted in 2015.

Ethnography also prohibits researchers from seperating humans from their context (Boellstoff *et al.*, 2012). Together with the immersion into people's lives, these characteristics enable social researchers to interpret cultural patterns and people's behaviours more accurately (Fetterman, 2004). By using ethnography, this thesis could incorporate an understanding of cultural and social system to make sense management issues and explore a more appropriate approach to navigate those problems.

2.3 Research Design

After determining the aim of the study, this thesis established three research questions that guided the development of the research methodology (Figure 2-2). Following the construction of detailed research methods and strategies, a case study was selected from the 2016 World Heritage List. A pilot work was carried out to obtain an in-depth understanding of the case study site, including the language, the profile of the local community, traditional culture and practices, as well as geographical conditions. During this time, initial interviews and observations were conducted to test the appropriateness and efficiency of data collection methods.

Adjustments to research questions, tools, and methods were made following the pilot study. As an ethnographic data collection, this thesis also allows on-site adaptations and changes. During the second data collection fieldwork, secondary data, including policy documents, the nomination dossier, the SOC reports, as well as the WHC evaluations, were also collected. Finally, this thesis employed Critical Discourse Analysis for data analysis as well as cultural ecology and discourse theory for data interpretation.

Figure 2-2. Research Design

Research aim
Research questions
Methodology
Case selection
Pilot study
Pilot analysis
Refine research tools
Data collection
Data analysis
Interpretation

2.4 The Case Study Selection

Since this thesis plans to use an ethnographic case study, the case study selection process becomes a crucial part of the research. According to Bhattacherjee (2012), a wrong case study could lead to wrong conjectures and conclusions. Thus, this thesis developed a list of criteria to select a case study among 1052 World Heritage Sites listed in 2016.

The first set of the selection criteria relates to the likelihood of a site to undergo continuous social and cultural change. This thesis excluded a single monument, gardens, rock arts, forests, national parks, battlefields, and archaeological sites because they are likely to be valued for their physical aspects and protected from any material change. It is also less likely for those sites to have a local community who is actively living and working within the

site, which is essential for this study. The case study also needs to be accessible; it should not be located in dangerous areas and safe enough for a fieldwork to be conducted. World Heritage Sites that are part of cross-country properties are also excluded as there are time and resource limitations. Finally, since cultural aspects are fundamental for this research, the potential case study must also be inscribed under cultural or mixed sites criteria. With those criteria alone, 1052 World Heritage Sites were narrowed into only 38 sites.

The second set of selection criteria is linked to the availability of instruments needed to achieve the research objectives. The ideal case study must have a management plan in place so that management strategies and implementations could be analysed and evaluated. The potential case study should also be a place where a local community lives and actively continues their traditional practices, as it is crucial to understand how change of social and cultural aspects is interpreted by the 'caretaker' of heritage sites. Moreover, the potential case study must be a site where socio-cultural change is proclaimed as a threat or discussed in Statement of Conservation (SOC) reports. Lastly, as tourism has been massively discussed as a driver of change for World Heritage Sites, this thesis considers that having a case study where tourism activities are present is ideal so that the link between tourism and socio-cultural change can also be investigated.

Table 2-1. The criteria of case study selection

Case Study Selection Criteria
• Not a single monument or gardens
• Not rock arts, forests, national parks, battlefields, or archaeological sites
• Not a cross-cultural property
• Not located in dangerous countries
• Having at least one cultural criterion (inscribed as a cultural or mixed property)
• Undergoing several changes related to social and cultural aspects
• Having a management plan
• There is a local community that lives on-site
• Having a continuing tradition
• Tourism activities are present

Two potential case studies stand out based on those selection criteria. *The Causses and the Cévennes* in France and the *Cultural Landscape of Bali Province* in Indonesia meet all of the selection criteria and have similar challenges concerning the management of sites and socio-cultural changes. However, as the researcher speaks Indonesian language, the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province is selected to optimise data collection and ethnography. According to O'reilly (2012), knowledge of local language is among the key elements of conducting successful participant observation in an ethnography study.

The Cultural Landscape of Bali Province is a cluster site consists of five areas (see also section 5.4). The sites are scattered around the island of Bali and considered as a physical manifestation of the Balinese philosophy *Tri Hita Karana*. The World Heritage Site covers the core area of almost 20,000 ha and comprises a community of more than 113,000 people, which is why conducting

a study in all areas is not possible.[7] To allow sufficient time in data collection and enable in-depth investigation related to the research questions, this thesis only chose one area to represent the World Heritage Site of Bali Cultural Landscape.

Figure 2-3. Maps of Cultural Landscape of Bali Province
(The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)
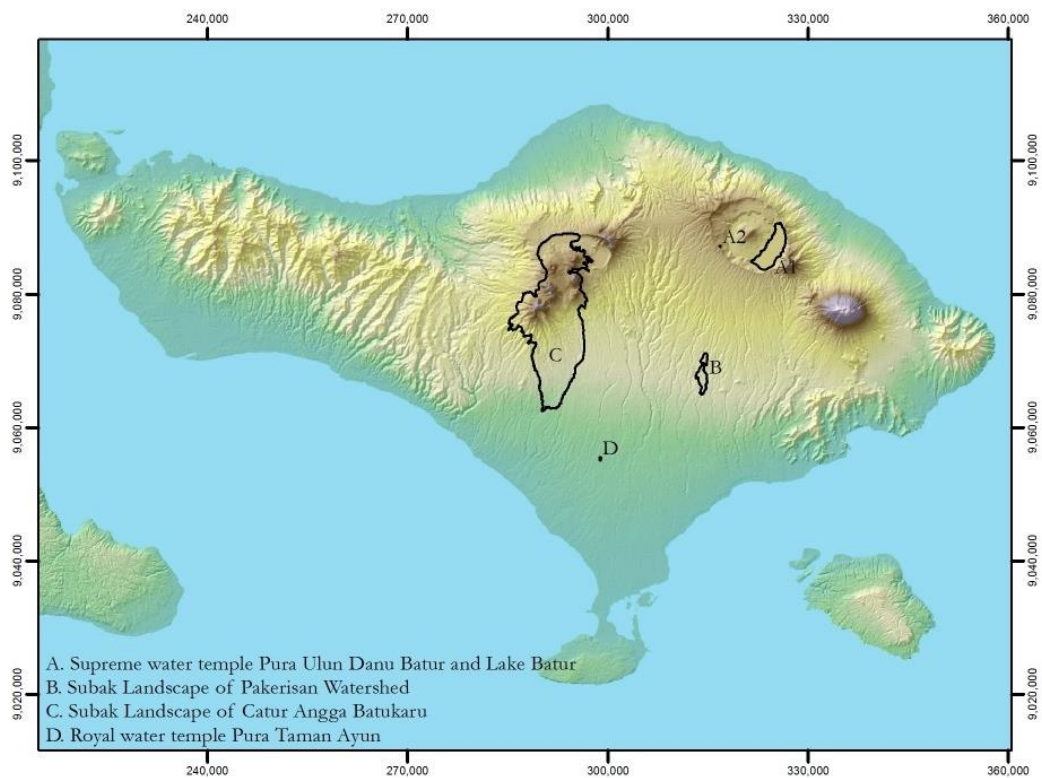
Although each site has a different profile, the Balinese culture is still widely and actively practised by the local communities of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province. All sites within the cluster experience growing tourism activities and development in the last ten years, in addition to ongoing changes related to social and cultural activities. Nevertheless, Subak Pakerisan Watershed is

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[7] Gathered from the statistical data of each regency (BPS Bangli, 2019; BPS Gianyar, 2019; BPS Tabanan, 2019).

particularly interesting due to the presence of tourism activities since the 1920s, which means that this area has been exposed to socio-cultural change long before the World Heritage Site inscription in 2012. As the management issues in all areas are relatively similar, the selection of the fieldwork case study is mostly determined by safety and access reasons.

Thus, the Subak Landscape of Pakerisan Watershed is the ideal case study site because it is located only 15 kilometres from Bali's famous tourism destination Ubud, where necessary amenities and emergency clinics are available. The village is located on the main road, 40 kilometres from the capital city Denpasar, and can safely be accessed using a motorbike, which is the primary transportation mode for the local community. As there is no public transportation in Bali, particularly in Balinese villages, both the accessibility and safety access to the case study site are paramount. The profile of Subak Pakerisan Watershed, including the village of Tampaksiring and the local community, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

2.5   Data Collection Strategies

As O'Reilly (2012) argued, ethnography is not easy to define as it is extensively used in many disciplines. Although scholars have agreed on several characteristics of ethnography, some other scholars also have different opinions on other characteristics, for instance, the focus and the duration of ethnography. As discussed previously, Creswell (2013: p.68) argued that an ethnography is focused on *"an entire cultural group"* and aims to understand how the group works. Meanwhile, Madden (2017) and Bryman (2012) asserted

that it is possible to do an ethnography that focuses on a particular aspect or an element of a cultural group.

Given that the understanding of what constitutes ethnography has stretched and developed through time, the 'intensive excursion' has successfully distinguished ethnography with other data collection strategies (Pink & Morgan, 2013: p.352). The appropriate fieldwork duration becomes an object of debate because researchers have different skills and need different time spans in order to engage with the lives of people that are being studied (Fetterman, 2004).

This thesis characterised its data collection method as an ethnography approach because it employs three distinctive features which do not exist in other data collection strategies. Firstly, the data collection method involves my participation in the daily activities of the Balinese community. It involves an effort to spend considerable time with the local group and engage in cultural activities in order to be part of the group and less of being an 'outsider' (Malinowski, 1922). Secondly, I mainly carried out informal conversations. Indeed, unstructured interviews and memo taking characterise the fieldwork of an ethnographer as researchers attempt to minimise the impact of research, especially on the behaviour of the cultural group (Creswell, 2013). Lastly, the data collection strategy involves an attempt to see and understand social and cultural activities from the perspective of the cultural group (Madden, 2017). To this end, my fieldwork included an effort to also learn the Balinese language and study traditional rituals while maintaining a reflexivity.

2.5.1 Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted for ten weeks between 17 May 2017 and 23 July 2017 in Tampaksiring and Denpasar. Seconded Fetterman (2004), this pilot study was the first phase of my ethnography fieldwork and consisted of activities that aim to understand the basics of the local culture. The pilot's primary purposes were thereby to learn the Balinese language, study the local culture and traditions, establish networks, and learn about the village and *subak* situations. More importantly, the pilot study was also conducted to test the research tools and observe problems that appeared from the chosen research methods.

Participant observation and semi-structured interviews are the primary tools used for collecting empirical data during the pilot study. I stayed at a local community's house in Tampaksiring as it was easier to learn the Balinese language and culture by living with a Balinese family. It also offered easier access to daily activities, religious practices, and social events happening in the village. Several key respondents were contacted for semi-structured interviews, but a snowball sampling method was planned to collect more respondents.[8] The interview questions, consent forms, and the information sheet had been prepared in advance.

Before explaining the details of the pilot study, it is crucial to note that this thesis acknowledges the problematic terms of 'experts' and 'communities',

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[8] Snowball sampling method is a technique to gather research subjects through the identification of a primary subject who can provide the names of other subjects (Atkinson and Flint, 2004).

which is further discussed in section 3.2. However, to enable a comprehensive analysis of the research data and the use of the theoretical framework, the respondents of the pilot study are divided into two categories: the experts and the local community group (see table 2-2). This division is based on their involvements in the official management of Bali Cultural Landscape (the Governing Assembly and the Coordination Forum are explained further in section 5.4) and their knowledge regarding the site's inscription process. The expert category consists of people who are part of the Governments, academics, or non-Government bodies who have been involved in the nomination process and the management of *subak* landscape as a World Heritage Site. Thus, most of them are the site managers of Bali Cultural Landscape. The local community is those who live or work in Tampaksiring village, where Subak Pakerisan Watershed is located.

Four different topics were explored in the pilot study, including a) the understanding of the local community of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and authenticity of *subak* landscape; b) perceptions of the local communities about change and its impacts on Bali Cultural Landscape; c) expectations of the local community towards the World Heritage status; and d) opinions of the local community regarding impacts of tourism activities.

Table 2-2. Details of the pilot study

Research tools	Participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Respondents are chosen with a snowball sampling method.
Respondents	Expert group and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed
Data collected	1. Respondents' understanding of the OUV and authenticity of the subak landscape. 2. Respondents' perspective of change and its impact on the subak landscape. 3. Respondents' expectation towards the World Heritage status. 4. Respondents' perception of tourism activities.
Equipment	Interview questions, consent form, information sheet, a recorder, a phone, a notebook

The pilot successfully collected some data needed for this thesis. Various challenges and issues also appeared during the data collection process, which showed that some data collection strategies were unsuccessful and had to be re-evaluated. First, and most importantly, although the semi-structured interview proved suitable for collecting data from the expert group, this method did not work as well with the majority of the local community who were reluctant to have a formal conversation. Although some locals were willing to be recorded, more relaxed and genuine conversations happened without the presence of a recording device. The local community also preferred telling a long story rather than answering the interview questions.

Secondly, the pilot study demonstrated that the snowball sampling method did not work as effectively either. Both the experts and the local community group were not willing to recommend other respondents for the interview. The convenience sampling was more suitable for informal and unstructured interviews as it minimised time and situation constraints for the respondents.

Lastly, as the World Heritage status attracted many researchers, multi-level governments, and various stakeholders, many members of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed have developed resistance towards research and survey activities. Therefore, changing the relationship between the researcher and the local community is vital to prevent this condition from worsening. Increasing the researcher's engagement in local activities, obtaining trust, and building a more friendly relationship with the local community were necessary.

2.5.2 The second fieldwork

During 12 weeks of the second data collection conducted from 23 March 2018 to 14 June 2018, I focused more on collecting information from the local community of Tampaksiring to investigate local community's perceptions of heritage values, authenticity, and socio-cultural change. The data analysis of the pilot study also showed that the expert group's opinions were similar to statements written in World Heritage Site official documents, including the nomination dossier and Statement of Conservation (SOC) reports. In contrast, many local community's opinions were not included in those official documents.

There were several modifications of research tools and strategies for the second fieldwork. As seen in table 2-3, unstructured interviews substituted semi-structured interviews as a method to collect information from the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. This method aimed to minimise research impacts by changing the formal relationship between the researcher and the respondents and creating a comfortable situation for the local

community. The consent form and the information sheet were also replaced by verbal consent and information.

Instead of snowball sampling, convenience sampling was used to choose respondents during this fieldwork. This thesis acknowledged O'Reilly's opinion (2012: p.43) that a convenience sampling strategy is *"not so much strategy as an unavoidable fact"* and the plausibility that the researcher does not think through *"who and what the research represents"*. However, on the contrary, the decision to employ convenience sampling for this research represents a critical element of an ethnography study. As Creswell (2013) suggested, ethnography requires the researchers to be sensitive about their impacts on people and places that are being studied. After discovering that both the expert group and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed were uncomfortable nominating other respondents, changing the selection method became necessary. Moreover, Hicks (1984) already asserted that it is not an issue when respondents of ethnography study are chosen simply because of accessibility.

Although multiple changes were acknowledged during the pilot study, I narrowed the focus of the second phase fieldwork to socio-cultural change as it was raised by the majority of respondents. The investigation mainly focused on the change of the local community's livelihood, their traditional farming practices, and social relationship and condition. Since the World Heritage Convention considers socio-cultural change as a factor affecting World Heritage Sites, it becomes crucial to compare the Convention's and the local community's perceptions concerning socio-cultural change. I also attempted to understand local perspectives concerning the management of Bali Cultural

Landscape, implications of socio-cultural change on the community and the site, and ideal management strategies.

Table 2-3. Details of the second fieldwork

Research tools	Participant observations and unstructured interviews with the local community using convenience sampling
Respondents	The local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed
Data collected	1. The local community understanding of the OUV and authenticity of subak 2. The local community perspective of socio-cultural changes (change in the traditional system, change in profession, change in local population) and its impact on subak 3. The local community expectation towards the World Heritage status 4. The local community perspective on the management of subak
Equipment	a recorder, a phone, a notebook

Over time, my relationship with the local community improved, which made the data collection easier but at the same time also more complicated. During the second fieldwork, many people were more comfortable expressing their opinions on sensitive topics and complex issues. At the same time, others also expressed their refusal to be recorded. Since members of the local community became more interested in taking part in informal conversations rather than interviews, I mostly employed unstructured interview with those willing to be recorded, and informal discussions and conversations with those who have been resistant to be involved in the research activities. However, only information from those who agreed to be included in the study are used for this research.

I argued that initially, the local community's reluctance to participate in my research was triggered by their experience from many previous research and projects, including those of the Government that rarely bring any direct benefits to the local community. This experience has made them think that such activities are a useless cause. Secondly, the local community tried not to express their views openly to avoid conflicts and problems as I might talk to other people and share their views. Furthermore, as further discussed in section 9.3, the local community's voices and perspective have been marginalised and therefore they do not see the point of expressing their opinions.

The participant observation, on the other hand, became easier as the local community came to be more familiar with my presence. My knowledge of the local language and cultural practices proved useful for this ethnography study. With those skills in place, I was quickly considered part of the local community. The local community also felt more comfortable including me in their social and cultural activities. This situation further improved the local community's trust and enabled me to obtain much more information.

Although I successfully collected desired data and information during the second fieldwork, several issues and challenges were still present. During this fieldwork, the main challenge was not related to research methods as in the pilot study, but to my involvement in the social life and relationships of the local community. For instance, it became much more challenging to maintain neutrality with members of the local community who had conflicts with each other.

From the first and second fieldwork, a total of 43 respondents were engaged in the research activities. The profile of those respondents and their involvement in the World Heritage Site management are summarised in table 2-4 below. It is to be noted that limited contexts of the respondents were provided in this thesis to ensure their optimum protection as they expressed controversial views in relation to this research.

Table 2-4. Profile of the respondents[9]

	Profession	Involvement		Profession	Involvement		Profession	Involvement
R1	Government*	Y	R16	Civil servant	N	R31	Villagers	N
R2	Academic*	Y	R17	Teacher	N	R32	Shop owner	N
R3	Academic*	N	R18	Farmer	Y	R33	Academic*	N
R4	NGO*	Y	R19	Villagers	N	R34	Farmer	N
R5	NGO*	Y	R20	Academic*	N	R35	Shop owner	N
R6	NGO*	Y	R21	Civil servant	N	R36	Farmer	N
R7	Farmer	Y	R22	Farmer	Y	R37	Shop owner	N
R8	Villagers	N	R23	Civil servant	N	R38	Farmer	N
R9	Farmer	Y	R24	Villagers	N	R39	Farmer	N
R10	Farmer	N	R25	Shop owner	N	R40	Government*	Y
R11	Farmer	N	R26	Tourist guide	N	R41	NGO*	Y
R12	Farmer	N	R27	Shop owner	N	R42	Academic*	N
R13	Farmer	N	R28	Civil servant	N	R43	Villagers	N
R14	Farmer	N	R29	Villagers	N			
R15	Farmer	N	R30	Farmer	N			

2.5.3 Secondary data

Alongside the empirical data that were gathered from both fieldworks, this research also collected secondary data from several sources. Table 2-5 below lists the main sources of secondary data that are used predominantly to analyse how the OUV and authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape, as well as socio-cultural changes, are interpreted by the World Heritage Committee (WHC) and the Indonesian Government. These documents also provide more detailed information regarding the management challenges of the Bali Cultural Landscape that are not recognised or discussed by the respondents.

Table 2-5. The primary sources of secondary data

	Name of documents (sort by year of publication)	Sources
1	Nomination dossier 2008	Indonesian Government
2	Decision report of the nomination 2008	World Heritage Committee
3	Nomination dossier 2012	Indonesian Government
4	Decision report of the nomination 2012	World Heritage Committee
5	SOC evaluation 2014	World Heritage Committee
6	Advisory Mission report 2015	ICOMOS/ICCROM
7	SOC report 2015	Indonesian Government
8	World Heritage Committee evaluation 2015[10]	World Heritage Committee
9	SOC report 2017	Indonesian Government
10	World Heritage Committee evaluation 2017	World Heritage Committee
11	SOC report 2019	Indonesian Government

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[10] The World Heritage Committee evaluation document is often also called SOC report. Thus, there are two types of SOC reports: SOC reports that are submitted by the National Governments (or often called State Parties) and SOC reports that are submitted by the World Heritage Committee.

In addition to the above documents, other sources were also investigated. These are, for instance, documents from non-government institutions, survey results, research publications, and local newspapers that contain information concerning the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

2.6 Critical Discourse Analysis

This thesis employs content analysis and discourse analysis to analyse both the primary and secondary data. To begin with, this thesis acknowledged that there is a difference between Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Foucauldian discourse analysis. They are designed for quite different tasks. CDA has developed more elaborate methods to examine textual information, thus particularly useful to analyse documents and the use of language or notions within it. Foucauldian discourse analysis, on the other hand, possesses less rigorous methods to analyse textual information but has more critical theoretical rigour. Given this condition, this thesis shall employ CDA in data analysis, but incorporate Foucauldian discourse for broader data interpretation strategies (see section 4.3.1).

Fairclough (1995: p.7) has highlighted that the core of CDA is analysing *"how texts work within socio-cultural practices".* In Fairclough's terms, text means any written and oral communication. As this research attempts to find the meaning of the heritage site under investigation and the significance of socio-cultural change from the perspective of the local community, it would be useful to examine the consistency of the secondary data with the primary data rather than to analyse the semiotic aspects of both data. This method is suggested by Hyatt (2013) as an appropriate approach to policy analysis due to its ability

to address the practicality issue of the deconstruction of text while uncovering how policy works as an agent of discursive construction.

Using CDA, this thesis does not aim to scrutinise the semiotics of policy documents listed as the secondary data. Instead, it attempts to examine non-obvious interlinks between the use of language in those documents and management practices at the local level to observe issues around heritage management and socio-cultural change. Hyatt (2013) highlighted that this approach offers a way to understand what the policy documents represent and how they contribute to power relations. In Tenorio's (2011: p.198) words, this thesis will be looking for:

> *"…what is encoded in sentences (i.e., signification) and its interaction with context (i.e., significance). In this respect, the analyst is merely doing what an ordinary reader would normally do, but with more conscious attention to processes of comprehension, their possible effects, and their relationship to a wider background knowledge than the ordinary reader may assume to be relevant."*

Utilising a deeper understanding of the Balinese culture and tradition gathered from the ethnography fieldwork, this thesis uses CDA to uncover assumptions within texts that are used to impose certain common senses, sustain power inequalities, and create a particular way of interpreting heritage significances and socio-cultural change (see section 4.4). In other words, this thesis scrutinises both written and oral communications in the Bali Cultural Landscape as a form of discursive practices. Fairclough provided a procedure of doing textual discourse analysis, which includes, amongst others, analysis of the grammar and text structures. However, as this thesis does not focus on the linguistic aspect, implementing Fairclough's three stages of CDA is arguably sufficient to understand the gaps between the local community's and

the World Heritage Committee's interpretation of heritage and socio-cultural change.

According to Fairclough (1989: p.26), CDA must contain three stages of examination: the description of the *text*, the relationship between *text* and *interaction*, and the relationship between *interaction* and *social context*. In Fairclough's framework, *interaction* is understood as the process in which texts are produced and received by human beings. Therefore, the CDA of this thesis comprises an exploration of the content of World Heritage Site documents, an examination of how those documents are produced and interpreted, and an investigation of how the production and interpretation of the documents affect social and cultural aspects of the community.

Likewise, the same method is employed to analyse management practices that are seen at the local level. First, management plans are evaluated for their objectives and effectiveness. Afterwards, this thesis evaluates how these management plans are produced and interpreted at the local community level. Then, this thesis investigates how the production and the interpretation of those management practices affect the local community and the World Heritage Site.

The secondary data is used to investigate the text and discourse within the World Heritage Convention. To understand how World Heritage Site narratives are produced and interpreted, as well as how it links to the local community's social and cultural aspects, this thesis examines the result of the empirical work. For this purpose, this thesis uses NVivo software. As a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), NVivo helps to create

codes/themes and retrieve contexts that are attached to the codes. As a repository of the fieldwork data, this software makes managing, scrutinising, and cross-referencing data easier.

2.6.1 NVivo and content analysis

It is acknowledged that the use of some Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) such as NVivo could shift qualitative data analysis closer to quantitative analysis because quantifying codes, phrases, or phenomena within the data can be irresistible (Bryman, 2012). In addition, Bhattacherjee (2012) argued that NVivo might decrease the ability of researchers to interpret data. He asserted that:

> *"… software programs cannot decipher the meaning behind the certain words or phrases or the context within which these words or phrases are used (such as those in sarcasm or metaphors), which may lead to significant misinterpretation in large scale qualitative analysis." (Bhattacherjee, 2012: p.117)*

However, such issues can be avoided as long as researchers are aware of the epistemology of qualitative research and the limitation of CAQDAS. According to O'reilly (2012), as NVivo helps to see data more closely, the software could be beneficial to spot patterns or to make qualitative analysis more transparent. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that CAQDAS is only a tool to help store, search, and retrieve data but cannot be used as a tool to *actually* do the qualitative analysis (Ezzy, 2002). In this thesis, NVivo is used as part of content analysis, where the fieldwork data are closely examined before being used as part of Critical Discourse Analysis.

NVivo could be employed as a tool to help both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Several scholars argued that the use of NVivo for qualitative analysis is distinguished by the use of inductive approach to coding (Mayring,

2000; Schreier, 2012). According to Drisko and Maschi (2015), qualitative researchers use an inductive approach to create data-grounded categories in order to prioritise the views and voices of participants over the theories. In this thesis, the purpose of using NVivo and coding strategy is not to find the reoccurrence of certain topics and eliminate anomalies like NVivo users tend to do in content analysis (Lieberman, *et al.*, 2004). On the contrary, this thesis observes *both* the appearances *and* the anomalies of topics within the data as they are important for analysing discourse.

Open coding was done as the first step of NVivo analysis. Through this stage, over 800 *codes* that record each and every important discussion during the fieldwork data collection were identified. Similar codes were then grouped into several *topics*, illustrating a range of subjects discussed in the fieldwork, such as heritage values, management of the landscape, and the World Heritage status (see Figure 2-4 below).

Figure 2-4. The first stage of NVivo analysis

me	Files	Referen...
▶ Character of people	3	8
▶ Change in livelihood	6	13
▶ Culture, customs and traditions	6	12
▶ Migration	4	7
▶ Village situation	5	7
▶ Positive accounts of tourism	2	2
▶ Negative accounts of tourism	2	5
▶ Accounts of farming and rice fields	11	40
▶ Accounts of UNESCO and WHS status	8	24
▼ Research methods	7	20
○ Set up interview is awkward and uncomfortable	1	1
○ Outsiders don't understand village's situation	1	1
○ Careful questions	1	1
○ People think researcher brings money	1	1
○ No one research complicated feelings of rice fields owners	1	1
○ Why he doesn't want to give some names	1	1
○ Some researchers hide data so they won't have conflicts...	1	1
○ Research how Balinese sustain their rice fields, not subak	1	1
○ Question that need to be asked is why subak is fragile	1	1
○ Quantitative studies needed to see the destruction from ti...	1	1
○ See spatial planning of the village	1	2
○ Go to Puri and talk to the oldest person to ask how was su...	1	1
○ Ask brahmanas about Subak in the past	1	1
○ People are cautious	1	1
○ We have to listen to the whole level of group in Subak	1	1
○ The selection of respondents is important	1	1
○ Research question to answer	1	1
○ You can see and compare other non WHS subak wether t...	1	1
○ You have to find another side of respondents for balancin...	1	1
▶ Discussions about rules	2	4
▶ Developments	5	9
▶ Land conversion and selling	8	21
▶ Accounts of Governments	7	12

The second stage of the coding involves grouping similar topics into a *subcategory* that provides relevant information to answer research questions. The final stage of the coding is the grouping of similar subcategories into a *category* that corresponds to the research questions. Codes and topics that do not directly link to research questions will be retained to be further investigated. Figure 2-5 illustrates three categories and their subcategories. The three categories are: perceived impacts of socio-cultural change; interpretation of heritage values and authenticity; and gaps between management and practices.

Figure 2-5. The second stage of NVivo analysis

Name	Files	Referen...	Created On
▼ ○ PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES	14	166	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF LOCAL POPULATION	3	6	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF CHANGE IN PROFESSIONS	13	93	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF CHANGE IN TRADITIONAL SYSTEM	13	51	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ LOCAL PERCEPTION ON CHANGE OF TRADITIONAL SYSTEM	7	16	20 May 2019 at 19:...
▼ ○ INTERPRETATION OF HERITAGE VALUES AND AUTHENTICITY	11	69	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ VALUES OF SUBAK	10	49	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ PERCEPTION OF AUTHENTICITY	4	11	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ DEFINITION OF AUTHENTICITY	5	9	20 May 2019 at 15:11
▼ ○ GAPS BETWEEN MANAGEMENT AND PRACTICES	14	329	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ CURRENT MANAGEMENT PRACTICES	14	129	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ LOCAL EXPECTATIONS OF SUBAK MANAGEMENT	8	29	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ CURRENT MANAGEMENT	14	87	26 Mar 2019 at 10:...
▶ ○ PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF WHS LISTING	10	48	26 Mar 2019 at 11:21
▶ ○ PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF TOURISM	8	36	15 May 2019 at 07:01
▼ ○ Outside these 3 main topics	14	303	15 May 2019 at 06:...
○ UNESCO Roles can't be seen		Code Annotations	

Summary **Reference**

Files\\R23
1 reference coded, 1.95% coverage

Reference 1: 1.95% coverage

UNESCO has recognised us. Indeed, I don't really know what the role of UNESCO here is. UNESCO suggests that rice fields in Subak Pulagan being kept original, don't build... But that's nature.
And what UNESCO's contributions to local people?

On NVivo, the number of references demonstrates how often a topic has been discussed by respondents of the fieldwork. However, as this research uses CDA to analyse research data, unexplained variance and anomalies from fieldwork are considered neither part of the error nor less significant like they are in quantitative analysis (Lieberman *et.al,* 2004). On the contrary, it is used to further investigate actors, social practices, and discrepancies.

2.7   Limitation and Ethical Considerations

Several limitations of this study should be acknowledged. During the data collection fieldwork, the issue of language and translation became the most prominent challenge. The local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed only speaks Balinese and Indonesian language. Thus, many English words

and heritage terms were lost in translations. I attempted to minimise this problem by articulating the meaning of terms and concepts rather than translating them into local languages. Inevitably, this translation issue also appeared in the data analysis stage when many Balinese and Indonesian terms could not be translated into English. Although the best efforts were made to bridge this language gap, there is still a possibility that I might unwittingly misinterpret or distort the meanings of words and terms during research. Nevertheless, it is to be acknowledged that in the end, this translation issue contributes to a discovery of crucial findings, such as the incompatibility of the concept of authenticity with the traditional Balinese philosophy.

There is also a time limitation on conducting the ethnography fieldwork. Although vital information is successfully obtained during the 22 weeks of data collection fieldwork, the ability to conduct an extended ethnography fieldwork would have been beneficial for generating more in-depth data concerning the Balinese culture and management of the World Heritage Site. Due to the lack of time and resources to extend the fieldwork, some information about the culture and community were obtained from both fieldwork observation and an extensive study of other scholars on the Balinese culture. That being said, the accuracy of some information related to local culture and Balinese culture in this study will significantly depend on the accuracy of studies conducted by previous scholars.

The impacts of my presence on the village and the daily lives of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed also need to be acknowledged. Although I have attempted to mitigate possible impacts, it is plausible that the contents of interviews and discussions are significantly affected by the use of

research devices (e.g., recorder, notebook) and my relationship with the respondents. During the fieldwork, I avoided giving opinions, comments, and judgements on various topics related to the World Heritage Site management as well as on local behaviours, narratives, and debates. This was necessary to enable the local community to openly express their opinions and prevent the imposition of Authorised Heritage Discourse in the discussion. Nevertheless, my efforts to create a comfortable situation for respondents, which involve an attempt to maintain a flowing and informal conversation, might have unintentionally affected the course and content of the fieldwork interviews.

In terms of ethics, Fetterman (2004) stated that ethical consideration pervades every stage of an ethnography fieldwork. Through time, the formal relationship of researcher-participants became blurred as I immersed myself into the lives of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Notwithstanding, the research ethics are adequately addressed before, during, and after the fieldwork as well as throughout the research project.

I disclosed the aim of the fieldwork and the types of data being collected to all respondents and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Informed consents were obtained from those whose information is used for this research, either in written or verbal formats. All respondents involved either in interviews or informal conversations and group discussions have been informed about the research project and made familiar with the purpose of my presence and the study. Only the recordings, notes, and discussions from those who give their consents are used and discussed in this research. All respondents have also been informed that they can retract any information they provided at any stage of this research.

Likewise, photographs and videos of activities, places, or persons have been taken with permission. Those who are in the photographs and videos gave their verbal consent for the pictures to be used. All of them have also been informed that they could retract their permission to be included in the research materials and activities at any stage. In extension, all respondents and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed have also been informed that any information or data which they consider inappropriate or disadvantageous for the Balinese culture and society could be retracted from the research discussions at any stage.

CHAPTER 3

Socio-cultural change and challenges in World Heritage Site management: A literature review

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the research philosophy and methodological approach, which include a discussion about case study selection, data collection strategies, and a procedure for data analysis and interpretation. Moving forward, this chapter will be discussing existing studies related to World Heritage Site management and socio-cultural change that highlight several research gaps in this area.

As Winchester and Salji (2016) and Adolphus (2020) stated, a literature review should be able to position research within its field, incorporate conflicting findings and inconsistencies, as well as critically evaluate existing research studies and significant debates. In that light, this chapter has three aims. First, it explains some terminologies that are widely used throughout this thesis and in heritage literature. Secondly, it provides a systematic discussion about challenges in World Heritage Site management, particularly related to socio-cultural change. Last but not least, this chapter also discusses how socio-cultural change is currently perceived in heritage management practices and cultural studies.

The term local community and cultural landscape will be discussed in the first section of the chapter. Since there are multiple interpretations regarding those

notions, it is necessary to have the same understanding on how these terms are used in this research. The next section of the chapter looks into the World Heritage Convention framework and explores issues and challenges related to its implementation. This includes an examination of problems concerning the notion of authenticity and universality. Finally, the last section discusses how socio-cultural change has been understood by scholars of cultural and heritage studies and how it has been perceived within heritage management practices. This section also explains the limitation of the Carrying Capacity and Limit of Acceptable Change approach in responding to socio-cultural change in heritage sites.

3.2   Terminology discussions

3.2.1   Local community and experts of World Heritage Sites

Local community is heavily discussed in heritage studies. The term frequently appears in World Heritage Site management plans, nomination dossiers, SOC reports, and World Heritage publications. Although the term 'community' and 'international community' are mentioned in the 1972 World Heritage Convention text and the Operational Guidelines, there is a lack of clarity regarding whom can be considered as either 'community', 'local community' or 'international community' in the World Heritage Site management context.

Likewise, the term 'experts' is also regularly mentioned in World Heritage instruments and documents. Similar to the term 'community', there is no clear definition of 'experts' in either the Convention text or the Operational Guidelines, which indicates that both terms are presupposed within the World Heritage Convention framework. It easily leads to a misconception that either

'experts' or 'community' is a homogenous group in which the members cannot be overlapped. However, in reality, a community or experts group is never homogenous (Chirikure *et al.*, 2010).

The term community, along with society and tribe, is amongst the major terms used in anthropology and social science. It is a complex and heterogeneous term that cannot be easily defined, partly because there are many attempts in defining the notion where different definitions often emphasise different issues (Bell and Newby, 1974; Howarth, 2001; Kumar, 2005). The concept of community was popularised in the 1980s through the emergence of community participation projects, but even at this time, it was poorly defined and led to several criticisms towards the objective of community participation (Midgley, 1995; Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Many scholars argued that community is a political term (e.g. Robinson, 1995; Williams, 1983). Crooke (2010) also explained that the term community is particularly useful for policy documents as it is associated with a positive sense. Li (1996) and Leach *et al.* (1999) asserted that the term is often used to portray a social group who shares similar cultural characteristic and lives in harmony even when it is an inaccurate reflection of reality. Pigg (1992) also discovered that many scholars assumed what constitutes a community, which often oversimplifies the complexity attached to a community and overlooks its actual condition.

Howarth (2001) explained that community is emerged from the need of human beings to acquire an identity and position themselves within the social world. He underlined that identity could not be established without determining

similarity and difference from other groups; therefore, it is both created from inside the community and assigned by those outside of the community. As identity can be imposed on a community, several scholars consider community as an 'involuntary construction' and thus, a contested concept (Ahlbrandt, 1984; Burkett, 2001; Howarth, 2001).

Nevertheless, the importance of community in academic discussions and professional practices cannot be ignored. It gives a significant contribution to the understanding of a group and its identity (Morley and Robins, 1995). It is also beneficial for developing intervention strategies and policies as it could provide a clear definition of the target group. In addition, as community becomes the focus of social and global development, it emphasises the benefit of development towards social aspects and the wider social processes rather than only the individuals (Midgley, 1995).

Within the heritage sector, Waterton & Smith (2010: p.8) argued that heritage professionals often use the term community because it makes them *"feel good about what they do"*. The notion of community has also been adopted to define the society into homogeneous groups of people with similarities, which is then used by heritage experts to distinguish between them and those non-expert groups (Smith and Waterton, 2009). Arguably, the division between experts and non-experts manifests authority and power. This distinction divides those who are entitled to make a decision about heritage and those who are not. Often, the community's values and opinions become simply a political gesture (Smith, 2006).

For the above reasons, Waterton and Smith (2010) criticized the use of the terms 'experts' and 'community' in the heritage sector. They argued that this notion removes the idea that 'community' and 'experts' are both heterogeneous entities and surrounded by disharmony, power, and marginality. As Howarth (2001) asserted, the term community is often imposed onto a less significant or less powerful group of people, which indicates its strong connection with discourse and hegemony. Berger *et al.* (2020) also asserted that the term community is unlikely perceived by other nations like it is perceived in Britain. Their study demonstrated that even the closest neighbours of Britain --France and Germany-- have contrasting perceptions towards the concept of community.

Despite its widespread use in heritage studies, it is evident that the concept of community is far more problematic than it is currently acknowledged. Nevertheless, this thesis will use 'community' in the same way as it is used by the World Heritage Convention. This is mainly to avoid confusion and build more focus on the discussion and analysis rather than terminology debates. The term 'community' will be used to refer to a group of people who share any similarity, including interest, geographical location, belief, or knowledge (Leach *et al.*, 1999; Li, 1996; Gauld, 2000). The local community in this thesis, therefore, should be understood as a group of people who lives within or near a World Heritage Site.

With a similar premise, experts may be understood as a group of people who are knowledgeable about World Heritage properties, have practical experience of the management, conservation, and authenticity of heritage sites, give

advice regarding the Outstanding Universal Values of the sites, participate in evaluation processes, or have joined the 1994 Nara Convention.[11]

Nevertheless, following Howarth (2001), this thesis agrees that scholars and readers need to be reminded that the notion of community, as well as expert, are contested yet often presupposed. Readers should also bear in mind that the term 'community' and 'expert' do not have an agreed definition. Therefore, the use of these terms in this thesis is also socially constructed and negotiable.

3.2.2 Cultural landscape

In 1992, the World Heritage Convention identified cultural landscape as a new category of World Heritage Sites. Cultural landscape is acknowledged as a property that demonstrates *'combined works of nature and of man'* which illustrate *'the evolution of human society and settlement over time'* (UNESCO, 2019a: par 47). This category was adopted due to the domination of monumental European sites in the World Heritage List and dedicated to enabling the inscription of different heritage sites' characteristics as well as to create a more balanced and representative list (Fowler and World Heritage Centre, 2002; Akagawa and Sirisrisak, 2008). Akagawa and Sirisrisak (2008) argued that this category only had little impact on the diversity of the World Heritage List, but evidence shows that it has increased the WHC's understanding of the connection between natural and cultural aspects of heritage (Taylor, 2009; Nagaoka, 2015).

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[11] This was gathered from the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 2019a). According to the guideline, only experts could undertake these works. It was also written on the document that the participants of the 1994 Nara Convention are considered experts.

This thesis adopts the Convention's definition of cultural landscape because it primarily discusses management issues related to a cultural landscape inscribed on the World Heritage List. However, this thesis is aware of different cultural landscape definitions among heritage scholars and practitioners and will consider this dissimilarity in the analysis. This thesis also recognises that the term cultural landscape is not universal (Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Milan, 2017), which is why different perceptions towards the meanings and implications of the term are inevitable and should be acknowledged.

It is known that the word landscape was originated from Dutch '*landschap'*, which means *'tract'* or *'region'* (Akagawa and Sirisrisak, 2008). The word entered modern English and was associated with imagery paintings and idealised pastoral scenery, which then became synonymous with the idea of cultural landscape (Taylor, 2009). The European Council (2000) and Sauer (1925) have similar interpretations of cultural landscape, which is a result of interactions between humans and their surrounding nature. Aplin (2007), on the other hand, compared cultural landscapes to eco-museums that are valued for both their aesthetic and cultural values.

However, I will argue that cultural landscape is not always created and valued for its visual aspects. This will be evident from how local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape used to perceive rice field terraces before the World Heritage Site inscription (see section 6.3). Moreover, by comparing cultural landscapes to eco-museums, borrowing Merriman (2016) and Smith's term (2006), a 'glass case display' mentality is used to understand cultural landscape. Cultural landscape becomes *"something visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with more actively"* (Smith,

2006: p.31). This also stresses the importance of tangible aspects of cultural landscape and triggers the separation between tangible and intangible aspects that are the core of many cultural landscapes.

3.3 Issues and challenges in the World Heritage Site management

Since 1972, more than a thousand natural and cultural heritage sites have been inscribed on the World Heritage List. The World Heritage fund has helped the conservation of internationally significant sites such as Abu Simbel monuments, Borobudur temple, and Angkor Wat from the potential damages caused by flood, mountain eruption, and thievery. The history of the Convention and the reasons behind the popularity of the World Heritage List will be discussed in detail in section 5.2. However, it is evident that this programme has delivered significant advantages to many countries and heritage sites. Nevertheless, just like any other international convention, the application of the World Heritage Site programme has many challenges. In this section, several problems regarding the implementation of the programme and criticisms about the inappropriateness of the framework for indigenous cultures and local communities will be discussed.

3.3.1 Ineffective management strategy and implementation

In section 5.2, various reasons and benefits that become the drivers of World Heritage Site inscriptions will be discussed. Although scholars and practitioners demonstrated the benefits of the inscription for State Parties, heritage sites, and local communities (Ameraswar Galla, 2012; Rebanks, 2013; Jimura, 2016), it is important to be aware of problems that occurred alongside the inscription to avoid the illusion that the World Heritage status

has brought more advantages than disadvantages to heritage sites. Many issues appeared during the World Heritage Site inscription and management. Countless criticisms and debates concerning conservation approaches and standards have been raised towards UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee, as well as national and local governments.

There are extensive debates about negative implications of the World Heritage status, especially regarding uncontrolled tourism and the inability of heritage sites to cope with the impacts of tourism growth (Jimura, 2011; Rasoolimanesh *et al.*, 2016; Caust and Vecco, 2017). The inability of sites to manage tourism development and overcrowding could turn the World Heritage Status into a driver of the degradation and destruction of heritage sites (Frey & Steiner, 2011). Commodification and commercialisation of local culture due to the World Heritage listing are also amongst the main issues raised by many scholars, in addition to potential damage of heritagisation to local communities and their traditional values (Ryan *et al.,* 2011; Pyykkönen, 2012; Caust and Vecco, 2017). Yet, the benefits of the World Heritage status seem to overweigh its problems (see further section 5.2.1).

Some negative implications of the World Heritage status on local communities are brought into heritage discussion by many scholars. Several studies demonstrated that local communities have received fewer or even no benefits than what they have expected (Su, *et al.*, 2015; Frey & Steiner, 2011; Su & Wall, 2012; Yan, 2015). Thus, negative perceptions towards the World Heritage status and conservation are recorded in many local communities (Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; Bianchi, 2002; Okech, 2007; Suntikul and Jachna, 2013). The World Heritage Status is also perceived more as a marketing tool

rather than a protection mechanism, which is why scholars argued that the status has benefited State Parties more than local communities or local stakeholders (Frey and Steiner, 2011; Caust and Vecco, 2017).

Debates concerning the discrepancy in understanding heritage values have been brought forward by heritage scholars. Many scholars explored the relationship between UNESCO, the National Governments, and local communities in order to investigate tensions and conflicts that are caused by different perceptions towards heritage values and/or management strategies (Rakic and Chambers, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Staiff and Bushell, 2013; Suntikul and Jachna, 2013; Cocks, Vetter and Wiersum, 2018). Although this discrepancy is an indisputable fact, heritage studies lack in-depth examinations towards the triggers and causes of such tensions, as well as how these tensions could be managed or prevented.

Some criticisms about the paradox of the World Heritage Site selection, which is for a site to have a universal value whilst at the same time being a unique representation of a certain culture, have also been discussed by Al-Harithy (2005) and Rakic and Chambers (2008). Many other scholars also raised their concerns on how the Convention has favoured western values and ideas of preservation which often conflicted with locals' views of preservation (Meskell, 2002; Al-Harithy, 2005; Smith, 2006; Winter, 2014). This led to an argument in which the World Heritage Convention is viewed as forcing European traditions, values, and ideologies on the rest of the world (Cleere, 2002; Smith, 2006; Willems, 2014; Nagaoka, 2015). Arguably, as one of the most popular international conventions, the World Heritage Convention does not only affect the management of World Heritage Sites but also affect the way heritage

conservation is understood, constructed, and implemented. Therefore, the superiority of western values and knowledge will also affect the way non-western heritage sites are managed.

In addition to that, scholars also recognised the issue of ownership that lingers in World Heritage Site management and how it has caused conflicts related to the use of heritage sites and local community's access to sites (Ashworth, 1997; Ashworth and van der Aa, 2002; Rakic and Chambers, 2008). Some scholars argued that there are attempts of '*disneyfication'* and '*fossilisation'* in World Heritage Sites as local community's access to development and modernisation is often restricted (Ashworth, 1997; Teo, 2002; Akagawa and Sirisrisak, 2008; Mydland and Grahn, 2012; Park, 2014; Willems, 2014; Yan, 2015; Caust and Vecco, 2017).

3.3.2 Local community involvement in heritage conservation

Amongst other challenges, the lack of local communities' involvement and engagement in World Heritage Site management has been widely discussed (e.g. Heuheu, 2004; Jaafar *et al.*, 2015; Goh, 2015; Jamal & Getz, 1995). Various issues such as community displacement and marginalisation are widely recorded (Su *et al.*, 2015; Popova, 2014; Jones, 2010). Although the WHC acknowledged the role of local communities in sustaining World Heritage Sites, those scholars also demonstrated that local communities have not been prioritised in the World Heritage Convention framework.

Scholars argued that lack of community participation is a result of lack of education and awareness as well as the absence of engagement instruments (Jaafar, *et al.*, 2015; Heuheu, 2004). The relationship between local

communities and heritage sites can also affect community participation in heritage and tourism management (Dragouni and Fouseki, 2018). Thus, it is evident that the reasons behind the lack of local community's involvement in World Heritage Site management are unique to each site and depend on many factors.

There is also a challenge on how local community should ideally be involved in World Heritage Site management. Chirikure *et al.* (2010) stated that many governments often prefer to work with representatives who do not always represent the interests of their community. Paddock & Schofield (2017) argued that representatives might fail to fully comprehend different perceptions of the significance of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, many World Heritage Site managers use a representative scheme to engage with local community as it is considered the easiest and quickest way to reach and involve them. We also cannot disregard the possibility that representatives might have different interests from the local community. The implication of this situation on stakeholder collaboration needs to be taken into account, particularly when deciding the best management strategies.

Tensions between local community and site managers concerning the appropriate management approach for World Heritage Sites are evident in many places. Ginzarly *et al.* (2019) demonstrated that such tensions are often caused by different interpretations of heritage sites, particularly between official and unofficial narratives. They also observed that economic and political interests have a considerable impact in shaping site managers' responses to local culture and practices, which often become a source of conflict in heritage management. As it can be seen, there is a discrepancy

between site managers and local community that contributes to shaping their conservation priorities.

Forced eviction is also not an uncommon issue in World Heritage Site management. Scholars observed that both the local community of Khami in Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe in South Africa were displaced by living too close to heritage sites (Chirikure *et al.*, 2010). As a result, these communities demonstrated no interest in the management of both sites regardless of the efforts made by site managers. Similarly, Su *et al.*, (2015) also discovered that the local community of Mount Sanqingshan had to be relocated to enable heritage conservation and tourism development. Although tourism development has delivered substantial benefits to the local economy, this relocation brought long term impacts on the social and cultural aspects of the local community (Su *et al.*, 2015).

The marginalisation of local knowledge and the local community's perception of heritage values and management are recorded in many heritage sites (Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; Maruyama *et al.*, 2016). Scholars strongly argued that such marginalisation is caused by the Eurocentrism of heritage management practices (Smith, 2006; Winter, 2009; Ndoro, 2015). Dabezies (2018) asserted that the introduction of the World Heritage system and standards caused *heritagisation* and displaced local knowledge. Therefore, it is possible that the negligence towards local perspectives and values may actually contribute to local disengagement in World Heritage Site management.

3.3.3 Socio-cultural change in cultural landscapes

The cultural landscape category of World Heritage Sites is a key to understand cultural contexts and heritage settings that are different from European heritage sites (Taylor and Altenburg, 2006; Taylor, 2009). Taylor (2009) added that cultural landscape also reflects people's ways of life, daily activities, and ideologies, which enhances the opportunity to view World Heritage Sites as cultural processes rather than cultural products. Although the World Heritage Committee made efforts to understand the cultural landscape category inclusively, there are significant differences between the World Heritage Committee and many local communities in perceiving and managing cultural landscape (Kawharu, 2009; Nagaoka, 2015).

Issues of socio-cultural change are not absent from challenges faced by World Heritage Site cultural landscape. The dilemma between allowing cultural landscapes to change and limiting socio-cultural change to protect heritage values has been a prominent discussion amongst scholars (Cocks, *et al.*, 2018; Bednaříková *et al.*, 2016; Betcherman & Marschke, 2016). Although the WHC acknowledges the need for cultural landscapes to evolve, they also highlight the importance of managing change to sustain the Outstanding Universal Values of the landscape. In theory, this regulation aims to prevent the degradation of the authenticity and integrity of cultural landscapes. However, in practice, it brings many issues to the management of cultural landscapes as conflicts appear due to different priorities. Thus, the World Heritage Convention, alongside some scholars, underlined the importance of finding a balance between change and preservation, although this has been a

struggle for many heritage sites (Mitchell, 2008; Silva and Chapagain, 2014; Wesener, 2017).

Even though the Operational Guidelines illustrated that cultural landscapes are *'the evolution of the human society and settlements over time'*, change within World Heritage Site cultural landscapes remains for its management (UNESCO, 2019a: par.47). Many State of Conservation (SOC) reports brought up discussions on how changes, development, and modernisation become an issue for heritage conservation. For instance, the cultural landscape of Lopé-Okanda in Gabon, Osun-Osogbo Sacred Grove in Nigeria, and Koutammakou in Togo demonstrated how they have to deal with infrastructure development. Despite the crucial role of infrastructures for the landscapes' protection and conservation, site managers have struggled to find a balance between allowing change and protecting the integrity of the landscapes.

Notably, problems related to change in World Heritage Site cultural landscapes are often associated with the condition of authenticity and integrity (see further section 5.2.2). This thesis seconded Alberts and Hazen (2010), who believed that the notion of authenticity is antithetical to the dynamism of cultural landscape. Currently, as the dynamic of a cultural landscape affects the authenticity and the OUV of the site, site managers are forced to choose between heritage preservation and landscape evolution. At the local level, scholars discovered that local communities are often prohibited from introducing changes so cultural landscapes could meet the criteria of authenticity for World Heritage Site inscription (Lane and Waitt, 2001; Antrop, 2006; Conran, 2006).

Numerous studies, World Heritage experts meetings, and many reports and publications recognised the evolving character of cultural landscape, but socio-cultural change is considered a potential threat for the sustainability of cultural landscapes and local cultures (Fowler and World Heritage Centre, 2002; World Heritage Centre, 2002; Antrop, 2005, 2006; Akagawa and Sirisrisak, 2008; ICOMOS, 2011). Many studies have been conducted to explore topics related to this issue, such as balancing development and population growth with the preservation of cultural landscape (Akagawa and Sirisrisak, 2008; Jimura, 2016), understanding social changes and its impacts (Williams and Schirmer, 2012), and the use of Limits of Acceptable Change in cultural landscape management (Farrell and Marion, 2002; Labadi, 2014). However, the prolonged problems and disputes have ultimately triggered some questions on the benefits of protecting authenticity and OUV for the local community of World Heritage Sites. Since authenticity is prioritised over modernisation and development which are often favoured by many local communities (Blake, 2011; Kraak, 2017), the role of authenticity in community wellbeing, sustainable development, and the sustainability of heritage sites should be investigated. Authenticity is indeed essential for World Heritage Site inscription, but how does it benefit the present custodians and the local communities of heritage sites?

3.4   Linking universal and local values

3.4.1   The 'universality' of World Heritage Sites

Scholars recognised the paradox that heritage sites need to demonstrate both their uniqueness and universality for World Heritage Site inscription (Al-

Harithy, 2005; Rakic and Chambers, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Winter, 2014). Cleere (1996) strongly argued that it is genuinely impossible for any cultural property to possess a true universality because different societies are unlikely to share the same values and knowledge. Indigenous communities in Africa, for instance, are unlikely to share the significance of European built monuments because they would have different interpretations of those monuments. Similarly, the significance of an indigenous property, such as a sacred tree for the indigenous people of Djab Wurrung, would not be fully understood by the European citizens.

The complexity of the term Outstanding Universal Value can be seen clearly during the first twenty years of the World Heritage Convention. Before the establishment of the cultural landscape category, the WHC did not share the same understanding towards the cultural significance of natural properties in many cultural societies. The cultural values of Uluru-Kata Tjuta, for instance, were only recognised seven years after its inscription and after several protests made by the indigenous community. Through the cultural landscape category, the WHC is able to acknowledge different characteristics of heritage sites, but scholars demonstrated that the problem of 'universality' of World Heritage Sites prevails (Cleere, 1996, 2002; Musitelli, 2002; Eriksen, 2012).

Al-Harithy (2005) argued that the nationalisation and internationalisation of cultural heritage could remove the connection between cultural heritage and its context. Although it might have fewer impacts on heritage properties itself, such circumstances could hinder the continuity of social and cultural processes. Al-Harithy (2005) also argued that the concept of universality disarticulates heritage values and meanings that are not aligned with

internationally accepted interpretation (Al-Harithy, 2005). Seconded his opinions, I argue that 'universality' could contribute to the marginalisation of local knowledge and ultimately affect the sustainability of indigenous practices and culture.

Musitelli (2002) argued that resistances and conflicts that emerged in World Heritage Site management could also be seen as an impact of 'universality'. Through the concept of universal value and protection, the WHC has created a system where the jurisdiction of the World Heritage Site, the right of the global community to supervise site management, and the sovereignty of State Parties come into conflict. It also means that State Parties are forced to accept a form of 'dispossession' as their sovereignty is sacrificed (Musitelli, 2002: p.328). As there is a plausibility for international and local stakeholders to have different perceptions and approaches towards heritage sites, a so-called 'collaborative management' could also bring problems as much as solutions to heritage conservation.

Alongside many scholars who considered the concept of universality as paradoxical (Cleere, 1996, 2002; Al-Harithy, 2005; De La Torre, 2013), other scholars such as Meskell (2002) and Smith (2006) criticised this concept as a dogma that was originated in the western or European countries. They argued that the implementation of this concept has privileged western countries and has been destructive to non-western countries as it advocates un-relatable management approaches to indigenous culture. It is also unlikely that the same approach would benefit two different heritage sites since it is unlikely for them to have the same significance (De La Torre, 2013).

In that light, this thesis acknowledged that the universality of World Heritage Sites might not necessarily be beneficial for heritage sites and local communities. Studies have proven that Outstanding Universal Values of World Heritage Sites are not always recognised by local communities as they have different interpretations towards the site (Cocks, *et al.*, 2018; Taylor, 2009; Suntikul & Jachna, 2013; Rakic & Chambers, 2008). Musitelli (2002) has further added that there might be political and economic interests behind the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, including in the concept of universality. It is also quoted from Cleere (1996: p.228):

> *"There is no traditional way of life that may be deemed to be universal in the modern world as tradition is by definition regional, national, or local, rather than universal".*

3.4.2 The debates on authenticity

Authenticity is undoubtedly one of the most important criteria of World Heritage Sites. However, the notion has been a subject of debate amongst heritage scholars and practitioners over the past three decades. Several charters and documents were produced as the results of international efforts in understanding and implementing this notion. The table below illustrates some of the most prominent charters and declarations that shape authenticity as it is today.

Table 3-1. International charters and declarations related to authenticity.
(Taken and modified from many sources, e.g. Nezhad, *et al.*, 2015; Kono, 2014; Stovel, 2008)

No	Title	Year	Fundamental principles
1	International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter)	1964	- Protecting authenticity is the goal of conservation practices. - There should be a universal or international standard of conservation. - Emphasising the conservation of material aspects that have historical and artistic values.
2	The 1st session of the World Heritage Committee in Paris	1977	- The test of authenticity is based on four criteria: design, material, workmanship, and setting.
3	The Nara Document on Authenticity	1994	- Authenticity is the essential qualifying factor concerning values. - All judgements about authenticity are to be linked to many sources of information such as form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. - Judgements are to be done within the site's cultural context.
4	The Declaration of San Antonio	1996	- Authenticity is related to identity, history, materials, social value, dynamic and static sites, stewardship, and economics.
5	Expert Meeting, Great Zimbabwe	2000	- In traditional African societies, authenticity is not based on physical objects, the tangible, and certainly not on the site's condition and aesthetic values. - The interplay of sociological and religious forces is a more important aspect of authenticity.
6	The Seoul Declaration on Tourism in Asia's Historic Towns and Areas	2005	- There is a need to maintain authenticity within the context of changing environments, such as historic towns.
7	Nara +20 on Heritage Practices, Cultural Values, and the Concept of Authenticity	2014	- Authenticity is a cultural quality associated with a heritage place, practice, or object. - It is recognised as a meaningful expression of an evolving cultural tradition.

The Venice Charter became the first charter to introduce authenticity as the standard criteria of international conservation practices. The charter did not introduce the definition nor parameters of authenticity as the term was understood in the same way by European experts who were present (Stovel, 2008). In this charter, authenticity was strongly linked to originality; conservation practices were designed to limit modifications in order to preserve the original setting of historic monuments. As one of the earliest charters related to historic conservation, the Venice charter emphasised the conservation of material aspects that have historical and aesthetic values and aimed to slow down the erosion process of historic monuments (Kono, 2014; Nezhad, *et al.,* 2015). This charter inspired the establishment of the first Burra Charter in 1979 and was adopted as the founding document of ICOMOS (ICOMOS Australia, 1979; Waterton, Smith and Campbell, 2006). Regardless of the outdated version of authenticity, the Venice charter remains an important charter for conservation practices until today.

The first session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee meeting in 1977 marked the start of a different interpretation regarding authenticity. Attended by representatives of only 15 countries, the meeting highlighted that the protection of authenticity was not necessarily about the preservation of the original function of historic buildings. The meeting proposed that instead of functions, authenticity should be concerned about the preservation of the original forms of historic monuments. In 1978, the first 12 World Heritage Sites were selected using four criteria of authenticity. As quoted from the first version of the Operational Guidelines:

> *"… the property should meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship and setting; authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical value."*
> (UNESCO, 1978: par.9)

Nonetheless, the difficulties of implementing the test of authenticity have been identified since the very beginning of World Heritage Committee meetings, which was particularly evident with the nomination of the Historic Centre of Warsaw in 1978. The Committee deferred the nomination of the site because ICOMOS indicated that the site did not meet the criteria of authenticity.[12] At the third session of the World Heritage Committee meeting in 1979, Parent (1979: p.19) made a case that the Historic Centre of Warsaw should be placed on the World Heritage list because *"authenticity is relative and depends on the nature of the property involved"*. He demonstrated how Kyoto wooden temples are still considered authentic regardless of their regular reconstruction. Through this effort, the Historic Centre of Warsaw was finally inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1980, but arguments over the criteria of authenticity remain.

The Nara conference was held in 1994 as a response to global issues and challenges related to the implementation of authenticity. It produced the Nara Document on authenticity in which the meaning of authenticity shifted from originality to *"qualifying factors concerning values"* (ICOMOS, 1994: par.10). The document introduced 14 sources of information that can be used to judge the authenticity of a heritage property. The Nara Document also acknowledged

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[12] ICOMOS stated that in the case of Warsaw, *"the criterion of authenticity may not be applied in its strict sense"* (ICOMOS, 1978: p.2). However, despite its lack of authenticity, ICOMOS suggested that the Historic Centre of Warsaw should be included on the World Heritage list.

the impossibility to *"base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria"* and therefore highlighted the importance for it to be judged *"within the cultural context to which they belong"* (ICOMOS, 1994: par.11)*. Stovel (2008) argued that the Nara Document has shifted heritage conservation practices from the universal absolutes towards the more relative and contextual approaches as well as corrected the misleading idea that authenticity was a value on its own. The Nara Document was then officially adopted as part of the World Heritage Operational Guidelines in 2005.

Issues concerning the assessment, implementation, and management of authenticity did not stop after the Nara conference. Many regional meetings and discussions have been held in order to understand the application of the Nara Document in different cultural contexts. The declaration of San Antonio, for instance, discussed the definition and implementations of authenticity in American culture as the Nara Document was considered incomplete for their cultural context. The declaration included more discussions about local communities of heritage sites and criticised the exclusion of this crucial actor from the Nara Document and its version of authenticity. The document argued that local community should be involved since the very beginning of the assessment of authenticity because:

> *"The concept of participation by the local community and stakeholders needs to be stronger… Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that generated it, and subsequently to that which cares for it." (ICOMOS, 1996: article 1 and 8).*

The Declaration of San Antonio also acknowledged that authenticity is a concept beyond materiality, particularly in cultural landscapes, where traditions and spiritual values are more important than physical features. It

emphasised the importance of site evolution and human adaptation in American heritage sites.

> *"Dynamic cultural sites, such as historic cities and landscapes, may be considered to be the product of many authors over a long period of time whose process of creation often continues today. This constant adaptation to human need can actively contribute to maintaining the continuum among the past, present and future life of our communities. Through them, our traditions are maintained as they evolve to respond to the needs of society. This evolution is normal and forms an intrinsic part of our heritage. Some physical changes associated with maintaining the traditional patterns of communal use of the heritage site do not necessarily diminish its significance and may actually enhance it. Therefore, such material changes may be acceptable as part of on-going evolution." (ICOMOS, 1996: point B5).*

Likewise, the Great Zimbabwe expert meeting on authenticity was also held to determine the definition and applicability of authenticity and integrity in the African context. The expert meeting highlighted the crucial features of African heritage which are often overlooked by heritage experts, including the relationship between nature and culture, tangible and intangible aspects, as well as humans and the environment. The meeting asserted that the authenticity of African heritage sites must not be based on physical objects and aesthetic values, but rather on the interrelationship between social and religious forces (UNESCO, 2000: p.4). The expert meeting also demonstrated that the word authenticity does not exist in most African languages (Saouma-Forero, 2000), which arguably raised a question about the existence of this concept within the African cultures.

The Seoul Declaration was the first to acknowledge the importance of maintaining authenticity in the context of changing environments. Reflecting upon the Hoi-An declaration that discussed the conservation of living heritage in Asian towns and villages, the Seoul declaration postulated that finding the best approach to implement authenticity in a changing environment is a crucial

part for conserving vernacular heritage that constitutes many Asian towns. Kono (2014), on the other hand, raised a concern regarding the application of the authenticity test when heritage values change or expand. He argued that the authenticity of heritage sites is often judged within a fixed context and value, which neglect the dynamic of heritage sites and values through time.

Nara +20 was the most recent meeting to discuss the concept of authenticity. Commemorating 20 years after the Nara Conference, Nara +20 acknowledged more components of authenticity, such as intangible aspects, the spirit of place, process of change, and evolving tradition that have been raised in many debates and expert discussions. Although there is no evidence that the Nara +20 has improved the implementation of authenticity, its recognition towards the diversity of heritage processes, the evolution of cultural values, and conflicts in cultural valuation and interpretations has improved the global understanding of authenticity. Unfortunately, the Nara +20 has not been used as broad as the Nara Document on authenticity and has not been adopted as its replacement in the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention.

Authenticity is particularly necessary for World Heritage Site selection; it is also currently considered important for the conservation and management of heritage sites (Mitchell, 2008; Rossler, 2008; Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud, 2009). Alongside those expert meetings, many scholars have joined the global discussion to find the best way to understand and implement authenticity in heritage sites.

Stovel (2008) argued that the major issue of authenticity, particularly in the World Heritage context, is the lack of understanding of the concept from those who prepared the nomination dossiers. Some nomination dossiers mistakenly interpret authenticity as the originality of materials or uninformatively describe the condition of the site as 'unquestionably authentic' (Stovel, 2008). Labadi's research (2007) also demonstrated that the majority of nomination dossiers had linked authenticity with the physical conditions of heritage sites. These findings demonstrated that authenticity remains an ambiguous concept even after the adoption of the Nara document and many expert meetings. Arguably, this problem also shows the challenge of implementing and adjusting different concepts of authenticity in different local contexts.

Similar to Labadi, Lawless & Silva (2017) also investigated the use and interpretation of authenticity in 31 nomination dossiers submitted following the adoption of the Nara Document. Although this document recognised many intangible aspects as the criteria of authenticity, Lawless & Silva (2017) discovered that the majority of the nomination dossiers used the earliest criteria of authenticity and emphasised material aspects as the main qualifying factors.[13] They also explained that only a few of them attempted to link authenticity with intangible aspects and interpreted authenticity based on local community's values and perceptions.

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[13] The first criteria of authenticity were suggested by the World Heritage Committee in the second meeting 1978, known as the test of authenticity. It includes the assessment of design, materials, workmanship and setting.

Jones (2010) argued that those earliest criteria of authenticity have leaned heavily towards material aspects of heritage sites and triggered an assumption that heritage sites are original and static. Lawless & Silva (2017) also argued that the process of change and the importance of cultural context has been overlooked in the attempts to understand the authenticity of heritage sites. In 2005, the Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture acknowledged that structural interventions might happen as a result of continuous change, economic development, and traditions. This memorandum introduced an approach where change and transformations in historic urban landscapes should be considered as part of its character and authenticity (Mitchell, 2008; Pendlebury, *et al.,* 2009). Aligned with Smith (2006) and Zhu (2015) who argued that culturally constructed heritage will continuously change, Kono (2014) and Lawless and Silva (2017) suggested that authenticity should also be revisited and reviewed to be applicable in the context of heritage change and transformations.

The above evidence suggests that even with the emergence of international charters that acknowledge local context and intangible aspects of heritage, authenticity is still perceived and implemented differently among experts and practitioners around the world. It is evident from the San Antonio conference and the Great Zimbabwe meeting that language issues are also found alongside the implementation of authenticity. Therefore, unlike Rossler (2008) who stated that authenticity is applicable to all types of cultural heritage, this thesis argues that authenticity might be incompatible to be implemented in some culture and heritage sites.

3.5 Social and cultural change in heritage management

3.5.1 Role of change in culture, tradition, and heritage sites

Although there are many debates on how culture should be interpreted, Keesing (1974) argued that culture could be understood as a way of life that consists of a set of ideas, beliefs, norms, and behaviours. Culture is a dynamic system which continually changes and consists of multiple traits that have relationships with one another (Varnum and Grossmann, 2017; Buskell, Enquist and Jansson, 2019). Varnum & Grossmann's (2017) also mentioned that culture has to be shared by a group that inhabits a specific geographical location. However, this argument is strongly debatable as it excludes diaspora who live outside of a geographic location but share the same culture and characteristics with people who live inside a geographic area.

As culture is an adaptive system, cultural change could be seen as a process of adaptation (Keesing, 1974). When its balance is disrupted by internal or external factors, culture will change to the direction of a balanced situation (Voget, 1963; Keesing, 1974). Change of culture might take place as a result of power shifting, subjugations, and resistance to authority (Shils, 1971). However, Shils (1971) argued that the majority of changes are imposed by environmental aspects, which is why cultural adaptation becomes imperative for culture and community survival.

Handler & Linnekin (1984: p.276), who defined tradition as a *'model of the past',* argued that tradition has similar attributes as culture to the extent that it is also constantly reinterpreted and changed. Bendix (1989) added that tradition is always defined in the present, which was seconded by Shils (1971)

who argued that there is no such thing as unchanging traditional society. In line with them, Hymes (1975) asserted that tradition is an invention as it is always reconstructed and consists of decisions made in the present, although more often than not are labelled as preservation. Tradition is therefore shaped and reconstructed by actions of the present. In other words, existing traditions have been selected by the present society who consider them as important. Only certain things from the past are chosen in the invention of tradition (Handler and Linnekin, 1984).

Handler and Linnekin (1984: p.287) asserted that tradition is actually a process of interpretation as it assigns meanings to something in the present while making a reference to the past. It is similar to the definition of heritage by Smith (2006), which is a cultural process of remembering the past in order to create ways to engage with the present. This thesis argues that heritage is also as dynamic as culture and tradition. It will be protected or destroyed based on the needs of the present societies, and it changes in order to be relevant to the present situation. Conservation, modification, and even destruction of heritage sites are arguably part of the invention process.

A notable example of the invention of heritage can be observed during the Black Lives Matter campaigns in June 2020. As people around the world were campaigning against discrimination and violence towards black communities, several statues of historical figures in the UK were removed due to their connection to slavery. For instance, the statues of Robert Milligan and Edward Colston, which were initially built to commemorate their contributions to the development of West India Docks and Bristol city, were taken down despite their heritage status (BBC News, 2020b, 2020a). This event demonstrated that

heritage is indeed a dynamic system (Bobrova and Fouseki, 2018). Its meanings, values, and significances change as people select what they consider relevant for the present situation.

As heritage is linked to culture and tradition, this thesis argues that heritage is transformed and interpreted by the present generation. As Keesing (1974: p.86) argued, heritage might be *"shaped and constrained by individual minds and brain"* as much as culture. Therefore, both the process of selecting culture and assigning meanings of heritage might involve power and authority that are associated with discourse and discursive practices. As someone is responsible for shaping and reconstructing heritage values, such thing as an intrinsic value of heritage could simply be debated. This thesis seconded Smith (2006) who argued that intrinsic values and heritage knowledge are part of Authorised Heritage Discourse (see details in section 4.4.2).

Change is a crucial topic in the World Heritage Convention framework because it is linked directly to heritage management. The need to consider change as part of World Heritage Sites has been discussed in many studies published by UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre (e.g. Fowler, 2003; Mitchell, Rössler & Tricaud, 2009; Rössler & Menétrey-Monchau, 2007; World Heritage Centre, 2002, 2004). Several scholars have discussed the efforts of the WHC and site managers to balance change and conservation within World Heritage Sites as part of sustainable development (Rossler, 2008; Amareswar Galla, 2012). However, numerous studies also demonstrated many challenges face by the WHC to accommodate socio-cultural change. Many scholars proved that changes have been restricted in some World Heritage Sites, which then limits many activities and access to the sites and causes community displacement

and the disappearance of traditional knowledge (e.g. Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; Mehta & Kellert, 1998; Kurz, Ruland & Zech, 2014; Yan, 2015; Michael, 2009; Suntikul & Jachna, 2013). The WHC may not explicitly forbid change in World Heritage Sites, but site managers have had difficulties in determining how much change is acceptable in World Heritage Sites. Arguably, this then leads to poor responses towards socio-cultural change in the World Heritage Site management.

However, the Convention also demonstrated some inconsistencies regarding its attitudes towards change in World Heritage Site. The most visible inconsistencies can be seen in what the WHC refers to as *'the list of factors affecting the property'*. Fourteen primary issues are considered as threats to the Outstanding Universal Values of World Heritage Sites, including development, industrial activities, and also environmental, social, and cultural change (see section 7.2.1). World Heritage Sites are required to record the presence of these threats in its nomination dossiers, management strategies, and monitoring and evaluation activities. The State of Conservation (SOC) reports should also be developed to ensure the effectiveness of management plans in addressing this *'list of factors affecting the property'*.

There are increasing studies about whether local communities should be allowed to participate in development rather than maintaining their traditional lifestyle. In Fujian Tulou and Kastav region, the local community's reluctance to be involved in the World Heritage Site conservation activities were recorded (Nikočević, 2012; Yan, 2015). Suntikul and Jachna (2013) also demonstrated that the World Heritage conservation standards have posed several threats to the community livelihood in Luang Prabang. Aplin (2007) argued that

restraining people's participation to a more economically beneficial way of life and development in order to enable conservation activities is unacceptable.

Although the WHC has limited capabilities in addressing issues related to change, many studies have already discussed the possibility of accommodating change and finding a balance between preservation and development in World Heritage Sites (McCool and Lime, 2001; Farrell and Marion, 2002; Cimnaghi and Mussini, 2015; Pérez and González Martínez, 2018). Among many strategies, Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) has been discussed by heritage practitioners as one of the most suitable frameworks to manage change.

3.5.2 The limit of Carrying Capacity and Limits of Acceptable Change concepts

The Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) is a decision-making framework that was first developed and used by the US Forest Service for wilderness planning, mainly to deal with carrying capacity for its recreational purposes (Cole and Stankey, 1998; Farrell and Marion, 2002). The use of the LAC outside the scope of wilderness planning, including in the management of cultural and natural heritage sites has since grown (Mbaiwa, Bernard and Orford, 2008; Diedrich, Huguet and Subirana, 2011; Stone and Brough, 2014; Enseñat-Soberanis, Frausto-Martínez and Gándara-Vázquez, 2019). Although several studies argued that the LAC is useful to balance preservation and the use of heritage sites (ICOMOS, 1999; Pedersen, 2002; Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2008; Iliopoulou-Georgudaki *et al.*, 2017), this thesis found that the

implementation of the LAC within the heritage context might be limited or even problematic.

It is necessary to remember that the LAC was developed as part of the Carrying Capacity concept (Cole and Stankey, 1998). According to McCool and Lime (2001), Carrying Capacity attempted to answer questions regarding the acceptable change within a perceived ideal condition. Cole and Stankey (1998) explained that an acceptable condition of a site needs to be defined before trying to balance several conflicting goals using carrying capacity and the LAC. Stankey *et al.* (1985) added that those conditions should have quantitative parameters that can be used to determine the appropriateness of changes or conditions of a site. However, not all heritage sites are able to develop quantitative parameters of their ideal condition, which shows an issue regarding the applicability of the carrying capacity concept and the LAC.

Carrying Capacity has been used in many areas related to environmental protection, including in the management of historic environments. According to Carey (1993: p.140), from a human ecological perspective, Carrying Capacity is a concept that concerns the *'optimum level of development and population size'* that are determined and affected by various factors such as physical, institutional, and social factors. From an environmental perspective, Catton (1987: p.413) suggested that Carrying Capacity should be understood as *'the maximum load an environment can permanently support without reduction of its ability to support future generations'*.

In the context of historic environments, Carrying Capacity is often related to tourism and visitor management. Since 1964, the use of Tourism Carrying

Capacity (TCC) has been discussed as part of the management of US wildlife areas. Several years later, the World Tourism Organisation underlined the importance of implementing TCC to avoid the saturation of tourism destinations (UNWTO, 1981). TCC is understood as:

> *"The maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time, without causing destruction of the physical, economic and socio-cultural environment and an unacceptable decrease in the quality of visitors' satisfaction"* (UNWTO et al., 2018: p. 3).

TCC is widely used to explore change and development within heritage sites, but it often focuses on tourism activities and visitor numbers (McCool and Lime, 2001; Wafik, Fawzy and Ibrahim, 2011; Cimnaghi and Mussini, 2015; Laitamaki *et al.*, 2016; Gonzalez *et al.*, 2018). The use of Carrying Capacity for addressing other socio-cultural changes in heritage sites including change in traditional ways of life and farming practices, is unevidenced.

Similarly, the discussion about the Limits of Acceptable Change in heritage studies is dominated by how it is used for determining optimum visitor numbers within heritage sites (Mbaiwa *et al.*, 2008; Stone and Brough, 2014; Enseñat-Soberanis *et al.,* 2019), determining acceptable physical changes and access (Ling, 2013; Hargrove, 2017), and pursuing sustainable tourism (Ruoss and Alfarè, 2013; Iliopoulou-Georgudaki *et al.*, 2017). Only a few studies discussed the application of the LAC beyond tourism management and visitor numbers (Pedersen, 2002; UNWTO, 2015; Schetter and Schetter, 2016). The interest in using the LAC to manage socio-cultural change in heritage sites has grown as many studies acknowledged the importance of balancing presentation and development (e.g. Pérez & González Martínez, 2018), but it was not much implemented.

The LAC was initially utilised to seek a balance between the visitor use of natural parks and their impact on the area. However, it has been adopted into heritage studies and used to balance change and its impacts. As it can be seen, the original concept of the LAC and its adapted concept addressed two different objects. The LAC was not initially established to manage change itself, but to manage *'visitor uses'* that could potentially cause change in the wilderness area. In a UNESCO publication, Pedersen (2002: p. 57) argued that the core concept of the LAC in heritage sites is to determine '*how much and what kind of change is acceptable'.* This is different from the original concept of the LAC that was developed to achieve *'minimally acceptable conditions'* of an area (Cole & Stankey, 1998: p. 7).

Cole and McCool (1998) highlighted that the LAC would not be useful for a situation in which the acceptable conditions are changeable or impossible to be measured. To apply the LAC in cultural landscapes, for example, site managers need to decide the ideal condition of the site that is unchangeable and develop quantitative indicators that can be measured. Considering the dynamic character of cultural landscape, determining an ideal condition that will be relevant for the present and the future generation might be impossible. Evidently, the LAC is incompatible with cultural landscape that evolves over time and constantly changes to accommodate the needs of their community.

Cole and Stankey (1998: p. 8) emphasised that in the LAC, all conflicting goals or activities must make compromises because it aims to achieve *'the compromise that we desire—not the conditions that we desire'.* Thus, in order to use the LAC, heritage sites must be willing to compromise preservation activities or standards to enable other activities. This might include allowing

the destruction of some parts of heritage sites to enable tourism activities. Cole and Stankey, however, already argued that the LAC is not useful for heritage sites where the site condition often cannot be compromised. Quoting them:

> *"The LAC—a process for arriving at compromise—is unnecessary in situations where one goal cannot be compromised, such as where no compromise of the integrity of cultural sites will be tolerated." (Cole & Stankey 1998: 8)*

Thus, it is clear that the LAC cannot be implemented in World Heritage Sites as the condition of OUV, authenticity, and integrity of sites cannot be compromised. The implementation of the LAC in World Heritage Sites requires a compromise of the site condition as a way to enable the use of heritage sites, which is against the objective of the World Heritage Convention to "*ensure that the Outstanding Universal Values, including the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of the inscription, are sustained or enhanced overtime*" (UNESCO, 2019a: par 96). I suspected that many site managers and heritage scholars have limited knowledge on how the LAC was designed and what it aimed to address, hence the incautious adoption of the LAC into heritage studies and heritage management.

The use of the Carrying Capacity concept in heritage management also needs to be evaluated. Prior to its use in wildlife management and anthropology, the term was initially developed far from the context of human or wildlife population; it emerged in the context of cargo shipping (Sayre, 2008; Craig *et al.*, 2012). Craig *et al.* (2012: p.54) explained that carrying capacity was defined as a simple ratio of *"the quantity of some X that a given (amount) of Y can carry"* or the amount of cargo that a ship can carry. Although carrying capacity has since been used in many other contexts, Craig *et al.* (2012)

asserted that its history provides an understanding regarding the limits of this concept for managing human environments. To quote them:

> *"Everyone can understand the idea that a ship can carry only so much cargo, or that a pasture can support only so many livestock, and so forth… But such control is elusive when sought over large, complex, and unbounded systems that are poorly understood and difficult or impossible to control. The history of the concept of carrying capacity teaches us that ideal, static, quantitative limits are extremely unlikely to exist in such cases…"* (Craig et al., 2012: 57)

In addition, as McCool and Lime (2001) highlighted, the use of carrying capacity in heritage sites implies that a historic environment is a stable entity, whilst in reality, it evolves and has different ideal conditions over time. As argued by McLeod (1997: p. 540) and Noy-Meir (1975), carrying capacity is only useful in *'deterministic or slightly variable environments',* but will be misleading to be used in *'stochastic environments or highly variable environments'* such as historic environments. Carrying Capacity works best in natural settings as it would be easier to determine the ideal condition of the site and to anticipate the direction and speed of change in such settings. On the contrary, it is much more difficult to be implemented in cultural settings because the ideal conditions of heritage sites are changing and will be interpreted differently by stakeholders. Determining an ideal condition of heritage sites that could be accepted by all stakeholders is already a challenge by itself.

3.6   Concluding Remarks

The concepts of Outstanding Universal Values and authenticity in the World Heritage Convention have been discussed and debated due to their inconsistencies and inapplicability. The idea of universality is also seen as a paradox, considering that a site must also have a unique and universal

characteristic to be inscribed as a World Heritage Site. The concept also privileges western countries and disarticulates heritage values and meanings that are conflicting with western concepts (Meskell, 2002; Al-Harithy, 2005; Smith, 2006).

Authenticity is a problematic notion to be understood and implemented. Although the criteria of authenticity have been broadened to non-physical aspects, many World Heritage Sites still use the physical criteria of authenticity in their nomination dossiers. Instead of understanding authenticity as 'the qualifying factors concerning values', many site managers and State Parties mistakenly understand this concept as the condition of originality of World Heritage Sites. This has affected not only how originality and material aspects are valued but also how change and modifications in World Heritage Sites are perceived.

Change, modernisation, and development are often mentioned as problems in World Heritage Site management as they challenge and affect conservation activities. Although the cultural landscape category was developed to accommodate the inscription of non-monumental heritage sites, many sites under this category face a challenging issue of change management. On one side, cultural landscape is recognised as an evolving heritage site which should be allowed to change. However, on the other side, change of the landscape and socio-cultural activities could degrade the OUV and authenticity of the site. Many studies have attempted to discover a better way to balance change, development, and preservation in World Heritage Sites. Scholars have explored the concept of carrying capacity and Limit of Acceptable Change (LAC) as a strategy to manage change in heritage sites. However,

both concepts have been heavily focused on the management of visitor numbers and tourism activities. There is no evidence of the successful and effective use of those concepts for managing social and cultural change.

This chapter also argued that the LAC is an inappropriate approach for managing change in World Heritage Sites. In employing the LAC, a site needs to determine its minimum acceptable condition and compromise its preservation activities to allow other activities to occur. This possesses several challenges. First, as heritage sites are perceived differently by stakeholders, determining an ideal condition of heritage sites that is acceptable by all stakeholders is an issue. Secondly, the ideal condition of heritage sites, particularly cultural landscapes, are changing over time and depends on the needs of its community (Antrop, 2005). Thirdly, under the World Heritage conservation standards, the condition of OUV, authenticity, and integrity of World Heritage Sites cannot be compromised. There are why the LAC does not work in this situation.

CHAPTER 4

The Theoretical Framework

4.1   Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed some literature and discussions related to socio-cultural change and management of the World Heritage Sites. The chapter also explored issues and challenges around the World Heritage Convention framework, both in relation to the criteria of inscription and the management of heritage sites. In addition, the chapter discussed various perceptions of socio-cultural change in heritage sites and discussed the limitation of Carrying Capacity and Limit of Acceptable Change concepts in managing change.

Building upon the gaps discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to provide a theoretical framework to guide this thesis into understanding different perceptions towards socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites and the significance of socio-cultural change to World Heritage Sites. This chapter starts by discussing the theory of cultural ecology, which explains the relationship between culture and environment. This theory links the change of culture and society with the effort of balancing human-nature relationship. The next section provides a discussion about heritage interpretation as a crucial process of selecting and assigning values rather than one way of communicating heritage values. Afterwards, the theory of discourse is described and presented to analyse the presence of multiple heritage

interpretations and understand problems around stakeholder's discrepancy. The chapter is then concluded by discussing the theoretical framework and how it will be utilised within this thesis. The use of both theories is expected to shed light upon the significance of socio-cultural change and related management issues.

4.2   Cultural ecology

In his study, Keesing (1974) highlighted many different approaches for defining the meaning of culture and understanding cultural processes. He demonstrated that culture had been understood as, amongst all, a system of knowledge, a system of shared symbolic and meaning, and an adaptive system that changes to the direction of equilibrium (Keesing, 1974). Other scholars have also discussed the evolutionary character of culture. Several studies have investigated the reasons behind cultural evolution as well as examined the process of this evolution (Boas, 1901; White, 1947; Steward, 1955). Culture is also regarded as a non-static system that has a function to serve the needs of human beings (White, 1943). It is, therefore, both stable and dynamic as it undergoes *'continuous and constant change'* (Herskovits, 1948: p.18).

Amongst other theories, unilineal evolution or classical social evolution is widely known as one of the cultural evolution theories. This theory proposed that culture and society evolved through several stages in order to reach a more complex form (Morgan, 1910). This theory argued that all societies would inevitably experience the process of evolution from a primitive culture to civilisation. However, as Western culture is used in this theory to illustrate the

more complex and somehow better culture than the indigenous non-western culture, this theory has been criticised as western-centrism and a reflection of western superiority to the rest of the world (Boas, 1894). Boas (1920) also argued that this theory did not have a rigorous scientific foundation as it was based on an invalid assumption and insufficient evidence about the complexity of different cultures.

Cultural relativism is another well-known theory that discussed the evolution of culture. Contrary to unilineal evolution, cultural relativists believe that cultural values and practices can only be understood within the cultural context (Boas, 1901). The theory argued that there is no universal or absolute truth. Therefore, there is also no possible way to judge or evaluate different cultures and practices as there will be different interpretations and truths (Bidney, 1959). This theory debated the unilineal evolution of culture and insisted that culture and societies cannot be compared (Brown, 2008). This theory also suggested that there is no similarity between two cultures and that cultural practices always have its merit, however repugnant it may seem to outsiders. However, the use of this theory has also been widely criticised, especially in regard to the normalisation of cultural practices that might violate several aspects of human rights (Tilley, 2000; Brown, 2008).

Julian Steward (1902-1972) disagreed with both unilinear evolution in which human societies evolved through the same sequences, and cultural relativism that sees cultural development as divergent and cannot be understood from outside of culture. As an alternative, Steward (1955) proposed the concept of multilinear evolution that acknowledged different stages and directions of society progression and cultural evolution. He demonstrated that cultures and

societies do not always evolve towards the European ideals of civilization and might also change towards a situation that seems inadvisable for other cultures. The concept of multilinear evolution also argued that there are similarities between certain cultures or between certain aspects of cultures. Therefore, although cultural evolution varies, cultural values and practices can be understood by others outside of those cultures.

The theory of cultural ecology was framed around the idea of multilinear evolution, and it attempted to explain the regularity of cultural change that happen in different cultures. Steward (1955) proposed that cultural change is linked to environmental adaptation. He debated the idea that human behaviours are solely determined by culture and argued that environment also plays a crucial role in determining human behaviours. According to Steward (1955), as cultural practices have contributed to helping humans adapt to their environments, the change of environment will likely result in the change of culture. Through this theory, Steward (1955) emphasised that specific cultures evolve in their specific ways to adapt to specific environmental conditions.

However, this thesis recognised how the positivism characteristic of cultural ecology conflicts with the interpretivism of discourse theory (discussed in section 4.4). Cultural ecology puts emphasise on environmental determinism and overlooks the complexity of social and cultural processes. Ingold (2000) criticised such a study as it attempted to think of nature as external to humans. Ingold argued that nature undergoes development and change alongside humans. He also underlined that *"organism plus environment' should denote not a compound of two things, but one indivisible totality"* (Ingold, 2000: p.19).

At the beginning of its use, cultural ecology indeed focused its analysis on the evolutionary character of culture. However, the theory evolved and has been used to explore the adaptive function of culture and the existence of adaptive elements within a culture (Ortner, 1984). For instance, Rappaport's (1984) study has demonstrated how some rituals has prevented environmental degradation in Papua New Guinea. He discovered that the *kaiko* ritual of Tsembaga people has contributed to protecting the environment by indirectly maintaining forests and cultivation lands.

Similarly, Harris (1992) discovered that India's religious law has contributed to protecting the agricultural food chain. The sacredness of cows in India is not just a belief; it has successfully maintained the numbers of cows and ensured a successful recovery of the agricultural system from monsoon failures (Harris, 1978). Likewise, Piddocke (1965) also discovered that the Kwakiutl potlatch contributes significantly to balancing food distribution. Potlatches become a social occasion where different tribes could distribute their food and wealth. Thus, as much as a social and cultural event, the Kwakiutl potlatch also plays a significant role in balancing food supply and goods exchange (Piddocke, 1965).

Rappaport (1984), Harris (1992), and Piddocke (1965) are among many scholars who use cultural ecology to demonstrate the adaptive function and features of culture. Their uses of cultural ecology differ from Steward's in a sense that they did not focus on how environmental change has affected culture, but rather on how culture helps humans respond to their environments. Notwithstanding, the core of cultural ecology remains similar. It enunciates the connection between the change of culture and nature. Through the lens of

cultural ecology, the role of culture to maintain the relationship between humans and their environments is reflected in its adaptive quality. The change of culture, therefore, is seen as a way to adapt to difficult or changing environments.

Vergunst *et al.* (2012) argued that the narrative of a landscape appears because of the relationship between humans and their landscape. They also underlined that those narratives might also reflect a particular way of experiencing the environment. This is aligned with Plaan (2019), who asserted that landscapes are shaped by socio-economic and political processes. Such arguments indicated a strong link between cultural and natural aspects of a landscape and the prominent role of culture in the creation and modification of a landscape.

The Balinese culture itself is famously regarded as an adaptive culture that is capable of selecting and assimilating outside influences (Picard, 1996). Many respondents of the fieldwork underlined the importance of adaptivity and how it has been used to sustain their culture and natural resources (see section 7.4). The connection between cultural practices and the natural environment in Bali is extremely powerful to the point that one of them could not be sustained without the other. This connection generates the sacredness and *taksu* of many places in Bali and inspires environment-related rituals such as *tumpek unduh* and *tumpek kandang*.[14] This culture-nature relationship is also

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[14] *Tumpek unduh* is a day to give offerings to trees and vegetations. Tumpek kendang, on the other hand, is a day when the Balinese offers their respect to domestic animals. See also section 5.3.1.

reflected in the Balinese calendar that contains complex information on what to do and avoid on particular days. For instance, *ingkel mina* and *ingkel manuk* are days when killing fish and birds are forbidden.

It is not to be forgotten that climate change, which is already a direct threat for many heritage sites, could also exacerbate existing threats such as habitat destruction, pollution, and resource extraction (Markham, 2017). Although various discussions about the impacts of climate change on cultural and natural heritage exist, heritage studies lack in-depth discussions on the likelihood of culture and local knowledge to be able to sustain human societies and mitigate climate change (Brabec & Chilton, 2015). Due to the separation between natural and cultural aspects of heritage, the relationship between cultural heritage and climate change is currently understood from only a single perspective. The role of culture in mitigating and adapting to climate change is left unexplored.

In some of their publications, the WHC described how climate-related changes would affect people's relationships and perspectives towards heritage sites (World Heritage Center, 2007; Perry and Falzon, 2014; Markham *et al.*, 2016). Some World Heritage Site managers also acknowledged environmental change as a trigger of change in cultural practices (Galla, 2012). From here, it can be seen that the core concept of cultural ecology has actually been acknowledged by the WHC. Therefore, this theory could be used to emphasise the significance of socio-cultural change in the World Heritage Site context.

Unfortunately, Kato (2006) pointed out that heritage conservation practices often separated cultural and natural aspects of heritage sites and degrade the

understanding and relationship between humans and their ecosystem. He argued that intangible heritage is a vital concept that is useful to increase the recognition of local knowledge and understand the interaction between local communities and their environment.

Thus, the theory of cultural ecology will be helpful to justify the occurrence of socio-cultural change in indigenous culture and heritage sites, as well as to understand the significance of those changes in sustaining cultural groups and heritage sites amidst the presence of environmental difficulties. By employing this theory, this thesis will be able to explain more clearly the significance of change in the Balinese culture and analyse socio-cultural change from a different perspective. Instead of viewing it as a threat, socio-cultural change can be seen as a mechanism to mitigate irreparable impacts of the environmental change on the Balinese culture and societies.

4.3   Theoretical discussions on heritage interpretation

Although the cultural ecology theory offers a way to understand how cultural practices are linked to natural environments, the presence of different interpretations among stakeholders of World Heritage Sites remains an issue in site management. As discussed in Chapter 1, tensions and conflicts concerning management practices and local involvement are seen in many World Heritage Sites. Different interests and motivations among stakeholders are behind the phenomena, but beyond that, some scholars argued that this problem is likely linked to stakeholders' interpretation of heritage sites (Smith, 2006; Nikočević, 2012). Thus, interpretation becomes a crucial starting point for examining stakeholders' conflict, the discrepancy in understanding heritage

values and socio-cultural change, as well as reoccurring problems in World Heritage Site management.

Two senses of interpretation exist in this context. The first one, and the most commonly used by heritage practitioners, is the way of 'explaining the meaning of something'. Freeman Tilden, the most prominent figure who formulated heritage interpretation, defined interpretation as *"An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information"* (Tilden, 2007: p.33). Likewise, Aldridge (1972) defined interpretation as the art of explaining the values of a place to the public. Thus, the primary objective of the first sense of interpretation is to inform visitors about heritage values (Taylor and Altenburg, 2006).

This particular definition of interpretation, popularised by Tilden (2007), Lane & Kastenholz (2015), and Littlefair & Buckley (2008), was first originated from natural park conservation movements. Currently, it is often used in association with heritage tourism and regarded as the traditional approach of interpretation (Uzzell, 1998). However, Uzzell (1998) asserted that this sense of interpretation is linked to superficial, trivial, and romantic views of history and the past. Light (1991) also argued that the aim of heritage interpretation has shifted from conservation to entertainment purposes. Nevertheless, heritage interpretation contributes to increasing the quality of visitors, improving visitors behaviour, and controlling visitors flow (Field and Alan Wagar, 1973; Tubb, 2003). It also plays an important role in enhancing people's awareness and appreciation of places (Uzzell, 1998).

The second sense of interpretation, which is the one I am mostly concerned in this thesis, relates to the way of 'understanding the meaning of something'. Ablett & Dyer (2009) stressed that the construction of meaning and human reality is taken for granted in recent practices of heritage interpretation and thus narrow the scope of heritage interpretation. They proposed that heritage interpretation should be broadened by incorporating an explicitly hermeneutic perspective in order to be more critically reflexive and culturally appropriate. From the standpoint of hermeneutics (defined below), the construction of meaning and human reality is always open to question and so needs to be made sense of through interpretation. Hermeneutics also questions the universal acceptance of one's understanding or reality, which is why interpretation might not be simply a transfer of information (Ablett and Dyer, 2009).

Hermeneutics is the name given to the theory and methodology of interpretation, devised in its modern form by German scholars, notably Schleiermacher (1998), who argued that interpretation is the art of understanding the meanings of things that are not obvious.[15] Interpretation, according to him, is not the simple matter of conveying a clear message, but rather avoiding misunderstanding, determining meaning, and understanding the motives behind a meaning. Schleiermacher (1998) highlighted the distinction between *interpretation* which aims to understand the meaning of

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[15] See also Ablett & Dyer (2009: p.216-217). To quote them: *"Schleiermacher did not believe that the meanings of things we encounter in the world are self-evident… Interpretation is not simply a matter of conveying an already transparent understanding to where there is none but also of unravelling misunderstanding, rectifying error and actively constituting a coherent meaning."*

something and *communication* which aims to present one's understanding to others.

Subsequently, Gadamer (1989), a later philosopher of hermeneutics, connected interpretation with the act of understanding, in which objectivity is impossible because prejudices and prejudgements are inevitable. He suggested that meaning is produced by individuals according to their particular situations, so different individuals are inevitably involved in the process of choosing between different possibilities. Here, he drew on Heidegger (1962) who had argued that all interpretation involves presuppositions that are often implicit and unmentioned.

Schleiermacher, Heidegger, and Gadamer all argued that language is crucially important in interpretation. Schleiermacher (1998) asserted that in order to avoid misunderstanding or misinterpretation, one must avoid errors in the use of language. Gadamer (1989) remarked that interpretation needs understanding, and language is a medium in which understanding commonly takes place. Similarly, Heidegger (1962) also stressed that, as discourse is expressed through language, both understanding and interpretation require a critical analysis of language.

Uzzell (1998: p.5) also argued that interpretation *"lies at the heart of how we acquire knowledge and understanding of the world and of ourselves"*. By considering the traditional approach and the hermeneutic approach to heritage interpretation, there are two alternative ways of seeing meanings and significances, and by extension, knowledge. Whereas the first suggests that meanings are self-evident from the object, the second argues that meanings

are socially constructed (Uzzell, 1998). To borrow Uzzell's (1998) term, interpretation is either knowledge-taking or knowledge-making. Nevertheless, both are directly linked to the construction of knowledge.

That being said, this thesis adopts a hermeneutic standpoint to define and apply interpretation because of several reasons. First, it believes that meanings, especially of heritage, are not self-evident. The presence of contested and dissonant heritage demonstrates that different significances of heritage sites are constructed through a different process of interpretation (see section 4.4.2). Secondly, stakeholders' conflict in heritage management is evidence of a discrepancy in the way knowledge of heritage sites is acquired. It is therefore crucial to address issues of interpretation in order to understand how heritage sites are appreciated before it is possible to explain what they are about to others. Following the hermeneutic philosophers above, this thesis also acknowledges the vital role of language and discourse in interpretation. The section below will provide further explanation regarding the direct relationship between discourse and stakeholders' interpretation.

4.4   The theory of discourse

4.4.1   Foucauldian Discourse and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

As discussed above, language plays a role in one's ability to understand and interpret something. For Schleiermacher (1998) and Heidegger (1962) themselves, language is linked to discourse which they understood as speech or written words. However, it is Gadamer (1989: p.412) who highlighted that discourse is more than speech or talk when he argued that *"the truth of things resides in discourse"*.

There are several epistemological discussions related to discourse as this concept is broadly perceived and interpreted. The word discourse itself originates from Latin *'discursus'* which means 'running to and from' and refers to 'written or spoken communication' (Pitsoe and Letseka, 2013). A common and broad definition of discourse is the use of language and the relationship between language and practice (Wetherell *et al.*, 2001:3), although the term is now widely used in different specialist senses beyond linguistics and language studies.

As the concept of discourse has been highly developed and popularised through the work of French scholars, notably Foucault, it is helpful to note that there is a fundamental distinction between two aspects of language. Narrative (*récit*) refers to how language is used syntactically to construct sentences and the other modes through which people express themselves. Discourse (*discours*) by contrast, refers to the underlying and often unconscious categories from which narrative is extracted and which gives it meaning. It follows that what we call knowledge in any society depends on this underlying discourse. So, Michel Foucault defined discourse as:

> *"Ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (Weedon, 1987, p. 108).*

In other words, Foucault's sense of discourse addresses the fundamental issues of what constitutes knowledge at any historical moment in a society. However, discourse is not an abstraction, but exists in and is knowable through practices. It is these practices that constitute what we call 'knowledge' at any

moment, and they are continually changing. So, the task of a historian is to study the regularities that are discernible. Importantly, for Foucault, discourse is not only 'what can be said and thought', but involves power: 'who can say it, when, and with what authority' (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013: p.24). Although Foucauldian discourse focused on how knowledge came to be constituted at any moment, it also analysed how language as discourse is central to the exercise and reproduction of power. More broadly, the transformations of such institutions as class, gender, race, and culture should be treated as the outcome of discursive practices (Eckerman, 1997; Pitsoe and Letseka, 2013).

Pitsoe & Letseka (2013) interpreted that discourse oppresses and marginalises those who do not possess power and knowledge by controlling access and dissemination of knowledge. However, Foucault (1971) approached discourse rather differently. Discourse constitutes not just the rules through which truth and knowledge are legitimised at any moment, but also the potentialities of power itself. So, discourse is not simply something the powerful use to oppress the weak, but to establish the conditions of power and knowledge themselves in any discursive formation. While discourse privileges or enables some forms of knowledge and power, at any moment, it excludes others from participation and silences other meanings and interpretations:

> *"In every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality" (Foucault, 1971: p.8).*

Martinez (2018) noted that the Foucault's earliest ideas about power in terms of repression and domination is mostly 'negative', but this idea gave scholars an understanding about how discourse can be used by the powerholders to

reproduce and perpetuate their power. Foucault's later works, however, discuss more 'positive' side of discourse, including strategies, mechanism, and how power works in creating scientific discourse (especially medicine, psychology, and economy), social institutions, and generalised disciplines (i.e., school, hospitals, prisons).

Foucauldian discourse analysis aims to challenge ways of thinking about the reality that we perceived as normal or natural by examining how they become the way they are and how it would remain that way (Cheek, 2012). This particular idea of Foucault is in line with Schleiermacher's (1998) idea that the meanings of things are not self-evident. It can be seen that hermeneutics approach of interpretation and Foucauldian discourse both concern about the creation of meaning and knowledge. Where they differ is that Foucault stresses the subtle forms of power, exclusion and silencing that knowledge entails. To put it into heritage perspective, one's interpretation of heritage sites is reflected in one's discourse. Thus, an investigation of discourse would be helpful to understand stakeholders' interpretation of heritage sites.

Foucault's work on discourse has been criticised for not employing a clear method for analysing the link between knowledge, practice, and social change (Fairclough, 1992; Sayer, 1992). As Foucault's works and focuses evolved through time, he has been accused of not having the uniform and consistent approach as well as rigorous methodology (Cheek, 2012). Foucault, however, refused to develop a particular method of doing discourse analysis, on the grounds that in doing so, he would be to try to fix a body of knowledge with all its implications for power that he was arguing against. Thus, his research framework has to be extracted by a reading of his theoretical works.

Foucault's approach was designed as a theoretical critique, not as a positive method for analysing discourse. So, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as an alternative solution. Unlike Foucauldian discourse analysis, CDA provides a methodological approach to understand the practice of discourse. One of the prominent scholars of CDA was Norman Fairclough, and although CDA's development was influenced by Foucault, Fairclough's discourse concerns more about the use of language rather than the creation of knowledge. The study of discourse in Fairclough's version is equivalent to the study of the use of language and other forms of semiosis, such as body language. His study mainly aims to investigate interaction and relationship between discourse and social practices. In this sense, Fairclough (1989) argued that language, as a social process, has social effects on society and is also affected by social practices within the society.

To Fairclough, the use of language has significant roles in social change. He asserted that a simple change in the use of language would significantly contribute to social and cultural changes (Fairclough, 1992). This particular statement of Fairclough is worthy of being noted as it suggested that the use of language in World Heritage Site official documents might be a trigger of social and cultural change. Fairclough highlighted that change of culture is *'to a significant extent change in discourse practices',* in which he also argued *'contribute to change in knowledge, social relations, and social identities'* (Fairclough, 1992: p.7-8). To some extent, Fairclough CDA informs scholars that the change of language, socio-cultural change, and change of identity are strongly interconnected.

Fairclough (1992) suggested that textual analysis strengthens social analysis as it gives attention to actual forms of practices and interpretation processes that are associated with it. He also argued that CDA provides a way to understand how social and cultural change is established. By considering that discourse, or rather the use of language, is a form of social practices, Fairclough (1992: p.64) asserted that *"there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure"*. He stressed that:

> *"Discourse contributes first of all to the construction of what are variously referred to as 'social identities'… Secondly, discourse helps construct social relationships between people. And thirdly, discourse contributes to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief. These three effects correspond respectively to three functions of language and dimensions of meaning which coexist and interact in all discourse - what I shall call the 'identity', 'relational', and 'ideational' functions of language"* (Fairclough, 1992: p.64).

Furthermore, according to Fairclough (1989), language and texts can be a powerful way to implement propaganda. He asserted that texts use specific language to persuade the readers or impose specific assumptions. Fairclough argued that a common sense is also created through the way language is used within a text,[16] and as a result, has the capacity to sustain power inequalities. The implicit elements of texts also lead readers to interpret text in a particular way and consequently, to interpret the meanings or realities in a particular way (Fairclough, 1989).

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[16] In English language, common sense is used to refer to something which the meaning is taken as self-evident (Crehan, 2011). However, Gramsci's common sense is far from self-evident. For him, *"Common sense is not a single conception, identical in time and place. It is the "folklore" of philosophy and, like folklore, it appears in countless forms. The fundamental characteristic of common sense consists in its being a disjointed, incoherent, and inconsequential conception of the world that matches the character of the multitudes whose philosophy it is."* (Gramsci, 1971: p.419)

From the brief description above, it can be concluded that there are several distinctions between Foucault and Fairclough's theory of discourse. Fairclough (1992: p.37) himself mentioned that it is important to highlight the major contrast between his textual analysis and Foucault's *"more abstract"* analysis. Foucault's discourse is related to the process of discursive formation and transformation whilst Fairclough's discourse is linked to the semiotic dimension of social practice (Howarth, 2000). It implies that whilst Foucauldian discourse analysis concerns with the broad formation of meaning and knowledge, Fairclough CDA concerns about the more immediately empirical analysis of language or text. Foucault aims to explain the construction of knowledge (through discursive practices) as well as the relationship between discourse and power in which Fairclough CDA is lacking. In other words, their concerns are different, if overlapping at points.

Although Foucault's and Fairclough's sense of discourse are contrastingly different, both address social and cultural practices that happen within a society. It is in this sense that they are relevant to investigating socio-cultural practices in World Heritage Sites as a means of learning about the study of discourse. By understanding how language that manifests in texts and other semiotic forms might affect social practices, Fairclough CDA can be used to investigate how official documents and management plans of World Heritage Sites affect both interpretation and conservation practices of World Heritage Sites.

Foucault's theory of discourse demonstrated that knowledge is articulated through discursive practices. From this, it is safe to establish that stakeholders' actions would frame their understanding about heritage sites, and so more

broadly, culture. Moreover, Foucault's theory of discourse also informs that discourse does not just privilege or enable some forms of knowledge and power but also silences other meanings and interpretations. This shows both the importance of power for the creation of knowledge and the importance of discourse to maintain power (Foucault, 1977).

That being said, both Foucault's and Fairclough's theories of discourse are considered useful to investigate problems related to interpretation and management of World Heritage Sites. This thesis acknowledges that Foucauldian scholars would find Fairclough's development of CDA lacks the critical theoretical rigour of Foucault's work. On the other hand, Fairclough's scholars would argue that Foucault's theory of discourse lacks a rigorous methodology for applying it to everyday situations. However, in this thesis, CDA becomes a useful tool for analysing official documents whereas Foucault's discourse is vital to understand otherwise puzzling and contradictory aspects of the divergence between World Heritage Convention approach and local community's interpretation.

As briefly mentioned, discourse theory of some kind is widely used in many disciplines, including Anthropology, Cultural Studies, and Media Studies. However, its use in Heritage Studies has been limited on the whole. Thus, the next two sections will cover discussions related to the application of discourse in Heritage Studies that has influenced how scholars understand heritage and problems around it.

4.4.2 Authorised Heritage Discourse and Dissonant Heritage

Discourse is linked to social practices of everyday life and manifested in both written and oral forms (Weedon, 1997). Thus, exploring the forms and manifestations that discourse takes in heritage practices is important. If discourse is treated as the ensemble of socially inscribed practices that constitute knowledge and frame the distribution of power, it may offer an interesting perspective on the complex problem of the current state of knowledge of heritage. On the one hand, discourse helps to understand how knowledge of heritage has been codified in the establishment of international institutes and the formulation of general concepts. On the other, discourse offers a way to understand how these concepts may turn out to be problematic and contested.

Smith (2006) argued that the concept of heritage stretches back to the growth of nationalism and modernity in European countries in the nineteenth century. During this time, museums were developed as repositories of collections that demonstrate national achievements and superiority (Walsh, 1992). Historic buildings were protected as immovable national collections and physical representations of national identity and achievements of modern Europe. Smith (2006) pointed out that the concept of values and conservation were developed from this situation, suggesting that heritage has been linked to the European perception of the importance of material fabric and aesthetic values. This concept of heritage, values, and conservation is considered as the dominant narratives of heritage.

Laurajane Smith (2006) has introduced the influential concept of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) and discussed its implication to heritage practices. In Smith's term, the AHD can be understood as heritage knowledge and practices that are widely accepted as they have been validated by certain persons or institutions. As Smith (2006) argued, the AHD indicates the presence of power in constituting heritage knowledge and acceptable practices.

On Foucault's account (1971), discourse at any moment constitutes a *régime* of truth and power, which privilege certain kinds of knowledge and potentialities, as well as exclusions that are manifest in forms of domination. Likewise, the AHD represents those who have power to dominate heritage interpretation and consequently suppress other groups or interpretations. For instance, in the AHD, heritage sites must be preserved for future generations. This is the dominant and widely accepted practice for heritage sites. On the contrary, the destruction and decay of heritage sites are currently labelled as an unacceptable approach, although some cultures often have strong reasons for doing that (see, for example, Kraak, 2018a; Fibiger, 2015). The AHD has a capability to disarticulate heritage actors who have a contrasting approach and wish to alter or modify heritage sites. In addition, the AHD enhances the roles of experts as the authoritative person to construct heritage knowledge and decide the *'acceptable'* heritage practices (Smith, 2006).

Smith (2006) argues that the idea of intrinsic values of heritage is also part of the AHD. She asserted that it is the experts who usually have the ability and authority to identify those values. The AHD gives privileges to experts and excludes many groups of non-experts by obscuring and devaluating their

interpretations. Moreover, Smith (2006: p.31) also argued that the AHD raised the importance of material aspects of heritage in order to create a sense of boundary so that heritage can be limited to a 'manageable' size. This is particularly useful to redirect conflicts about meaning or value into merely management issues. This is why the AHD often does not reflect cultural values or traditional practices of marginalised groups and further becomes a problematic issue in heritage management (Teather and Chow, 2003). Here, it can be seen how discourse, in privileging the knowledge of certain groups, underwrites their power while silencing the interests and concerns of other groups.

The presence of the AHD implies that contrasting heritage discourses are considered dissent from the dominant discourse (Smith, 2006). However, Ashworth *et al.* (2007) argued that heritage is inevitably dissonant. As they asserted, heritage meanings and values are nonetheless changing through time and shaped by different needs and demands of societies. The constitution of heritage values will exclude those who do not embrace such values; likewise, the ownership of a heritage implicates that someone else is excluded from the ownership (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

Meskell (2002) presented Bamiyan Buddhas as an example of dissonant heritage. It is a site that represents a negative memory for the Taliban when preserved but represents violence and autocratic leadership for the other cultural group when destroyed. Meskell (2002) particularly highlighted that the agendas of local and international communities are sometimes contradictory. They likely do not share the same viewpoints and narratives towards the same cultural heritage. She added that the concept of conservation is culturally

constructed because what is considered as conservation or destruction of cultural heritage will be different from one group to another.

Although several scholars discussed that only some heritage sites are dissonant (Meskell, 2002; Yan, 2015; Yankholmes and McKercher, 2015), this thesis seconded Ashworth (2014) that all heritage sites are rather dissonant. In line with Smith (2006), this thesis argues that heritage is a social process in which meanings, values, and management reflect the dominant articulation. Some groups simply have greater power and ability to have their interpretations legitimised than others (Smith, 2006).

4.4.3 UNESCO World Heritage Convention as an Authorised Heritage Discourse

According to Smith (2006), *authorising institutions of heritage* can be understood as conventions, charters, and documents that define heritage, its significations, and how it should be managed and used. These institutions perpetuate certain values and impose certain understandings of heritage as they authorised certain ideologies and made them a universal narrative. It seems quite generally recognised that World Heritage Convention approaches are often in contrast with locals' view of preservation (Meskell, 2002; Al-Harithy, 2005; Smith, 2006; Winter, 2014). Seconded Smith (2006), this thesis argues that the World Heritage Convention is an *authorising institution of heritage* that is capable of influencing the constitution of knowledge related to heritage sites and values.

Amongst many views of the World Heritage Convention is that change of social and cultural activity might be a threat to heritage sites. A variety of scholars

have put this forward as the case (i.e. Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; Mehta and Kellert, 1998; Yan, 2015; Suntikul and Jachna, 2013). This perception is evident in the Operational Guidelines, reports, and many official documents published by the WHC. Smith (2006) and Von Droste (2011) explained that such excessive concerns about negative impacts of change exist due to rapidly changing European post-war situation in which the World Heritage Convention was founded and tried to protect cultural monuments from destruction. This thesis, however, demonstrates in several sections, including sections 3.5 and 7.4, that socio-cultural activities and change could be beneficial for World Heritage Sites.

Criticisms regarding how the WHC misunderstood values of heritage sites and their universality have been published by a vast range of scholars (Cleere, 1996; Labadi, 2007; Kawharu, 2009; Yan, 2015; MacRae, 2017). As discussed in the previous chapter, Cleere (2002) asserted that not all cultures share the same concept of heritage and values, and thus the concept of *'universality'* is paradoxical. *'Universality'* is argued to be a European narrative as it is rooted in the process of colonisation and imperial expansions (Cleere, 2002; Smith, 2006). Smith further stressed that:

> *"The work the World Heritage Convention effectively (but unintentionally) does is to not only recreate heritage as universally significant, and in doing so authorise and legitimise the Western AHD (Authorised Heritage Discourse) within an international context, but also create a cultural and discursive climate in which certain values and ideologies become dominant in defining cultural development and change" (Smith, 2006: p.99).*

For instance, Yan (2015) recorded that experts' narratives are used to define heritage for local residents in Fujian Tulou. Tensions emerged as the local community is accused of having no awareness regarding heritage values and

preservation. Experts and authorities dominate the current heritage narratives and assert it by teaching residents to live in specific ways. Yan also discovered that the local community of Fujian Tulou interprets meanings and values of the heritage site differently compared to the official interpretation of the World Heritage Committee. In a similar case, Mydland & Grahn (2012) also observed that the Norwegian authorities and heritage experts failed to understand the local community's interpretation of heritage because experts' interpretation overruled the alternative articulations made by the local people. Here, the disparity between the local community's narratives and the AHD are evident.

Unfortunately, the World Heritage Convention not only contributes to creating universal narratives of heritage sites and possibly marginalising local interpretations. As the World Heritage Convention identifies universally important heritage places, it also defines what kind of places are considered to be universally important (Smith, 2006). The Convention also has the authority to define suitable conservation practices and particular values that need to be protected. Hence, the definitive list of *'factors affecting properties'* are created. As part of the AHD, this list denies the validity of conflicting interpretations in which socio-cultural activities and change are considered beneficial and necessary for heritage sites.

As Pitsoe & Letseka (2013) noted, discourse marginalises those who do not possess powers by controlling the dissemination of knowledge, in which conflicts then appear as a result of this oppression. Similarly, Ashworth *et al.* (2007) mentioned that dissonance appears due to the lack of agreement regarding meanings and values of heritage. It is further argued that such conflicts can only be resolved by prioritising certain interpretations (Ashworth

et al., 2007; Ashworth & van der Aa, 2002). Thus, conflicts and dissonances between local communities and managers of World Heritage Sites are a strong indication of the presence of the AHD.

By understanding how the AHD works, heritage scholars and practitioners should be able to recognise that regardless of many interpretations, the dominant interpretation made by those who have more power and authority will disarticulate other interpretations. There is abundant evidence where local communities often question the objectives of heritage protection, indicating that they do not necessarily share the same values with site managers or the World Heritage Committee (e.g. Nikočević, 2012; Yan, 2015; Putra & Hitchcock, 2007). As the institution of the AHD, the World Heritage Convention has the authority to establish the condition of power and knowledge regarding acceptable approaches related to heritage sites. Thus, many problems in World Heritage Sites might not necessarily appear due to lack of awareness, collaboration, or management strategies as many scholars argued, but rather discourse. Subsequently, rethinking what it means to improve local awareness and educate local community on heritage preservation is paramount. Could it mean that there is indeed a better approach to certain heritage sites, or a certain narrative is simply being imposed?

4.5 Towards a framework to understand socio-cultural change in World Heritage Site

As discussed previously, the discrepancy in stakeholders' attitudes towards the management of World Heritage Sites has led to conflicts and miscoordination (Nagaoka, 2015; Kraak, 2018; Ginzarly *et al.*, 2019; Chirikure

et al., 2010). Although various attempts to solve this issue are seen in many World Heritage Sites, unsuccessful outcomes are still recorded (Mbaiwa, Bernard and Orford, 2008; Ling, 2013; Ly and Nguyen, 2017; Makhadmeh *et al.*, 2018). Thus, there is a need to re-evaluate the current understanding of problems regarding stakeholders' discrepancy as this might be the reason behind ineffective attempts and strategies. This thesis, therefore, plans to use the theory of discourse to explore how stakeholders' knowledge is constituted and understand the role of discourse in creating a discrepancy.

As gaps between the WHC and local community of World Heritage Sites in perceiving socio-cultural change are evident (Okech, 2007; Santos and Zobler, 2012; Zhang, 2014), it is paramount to investigate how change happens in heritage sites and why it is often favoured by many local communities. As discussed, although change is an attribute of culture, it seems to be less accepted in the context of World Heritage Site preservation as it could deteriorate integrity, authenticity, and Outstanding Universal Values (Ryan, Chaozhi and Zeng, 2011; Park, 2014; Silva and Chapagain, 2014). Here, an in-depth investigation of socio-cultural change would provide more information regarding its significance and offer a possibility to explore alternative ways to respond to it.

The theoretical framework below is developed to re-evaluate the way socio-cultural change and stakeholder interpretation are perceived. Examining reasons behind the appearance of social and cultural change in heritage sites and stakeholders' perceptions of those changes could inform why socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites is understood and managed as it is today. This framework proposes a way to highlight socio-cultural change as a

mechanism for heritage sites and local communities to adapt to a changing environment. It also offers a way to make sense of multiple perceptions towards socio-cultural change and related issues in heritage management practices.

Figure 4-1 The theoretical framework for investigating the significance of socio-cultural change in World Heritage Site
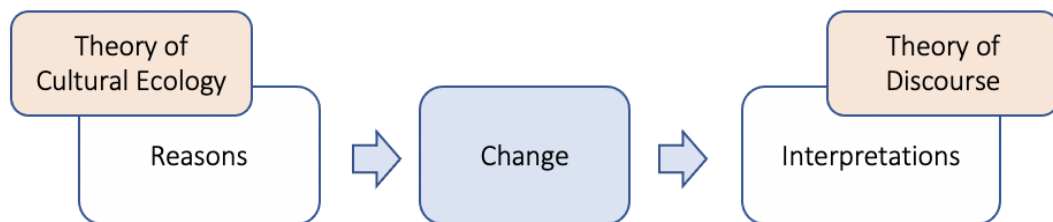
4.5.1 The logic behind socio-cultural change

This thesis notes that alongside social and cultural activities, socio-cultural change is included on the *'list of factors affecting properties'* and seen as a trigger of issues related to World Heritage Site management (see also section 3.3 and 7.2). However, socio-cultural change is often welcomed by the local community of heritage sites as it improves their economic condition, enables access to better infrastructure, and offers a possibility to achieve higher standards of living (Okech, 2007; Ekern *et al.*, 2012; Logan, 2012; Staiff and Bushell, 2013). The theory of cultural ecology postulates that social and cultural change is usually linked to environmental adaptation and thus crucial for the survival of both culture and community. Arguably, perceiving socio-cultural change as a threat is part of the AHD because many indigenous cultures and communities do not seem to share similar concerns (Nikočević, 2012; Yan, 2015).

The theory of cultural ecology is employed to make sense of socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Why does change necessary? Could it be part of local culture and community survival or merely an impact of modernisation and development? By collecting information about the Balinese culture, ideologies, and principles, I obtained an indispensable understanding of how change happens and is perceived within the culture. An empirical investigation was done to retrieve unwritten and previously undocumented information from the Balinese community.

The theory of cultural ecology suggests that cultural change is a powerful mechanism to maintain the relationship between humans and their environment (Steward, 1955; Ortner, 1984). This theory is helpful to explore the interlinkage between socio-cultural change and environmental adaptation in the Balinese culture. I use this theory to comprehend the presence of certain components of the Balinese culture, such as traditional philosophies and religious practices, that contribute to balancing human activities and environmental sustainability.

Although socio-cultural change is linked to environmental changes, it is crucial to understand that environmental issues are not the only factor that determined the appearance of cultural characteristics, actions, and skills of the Balinese. The use of discourse theory, therefore, will be able to show that environmental change only contributes to enabling and creating possibilities for the Balinese to develop their knowledge, skills, and actions.

Through cultural ecology theory, this thesis demonstrates that the World Heritage Convention has overlooked the importance of change for sustaining

the Balinese culture, the traditional society, and the environment. It also illustrates how the Bali Cultural Landscape management was inappropriately designed and has contributed to the disruption of human-nature relationships.

4.5.2 Process of interpreting socio-cultural change

Although the significance of socio-cultural change can be justified through cultural ecology theory, the WHC and expert stakeholders may preserve their perceptions about socio-cultural change and how it should be managed. Using a hermeneutics standpoint, I argue that discourse underlies stakeholders' interpretations and perceptions about socio-cultural change (Heidegger, 1962). Thus, the Foucauldian theory of discourse is employed to understand how stakeholders' knowledge regarding socio-cultural change is constituted. The theory further informs why the World Heritage Convention's knowledge is often considered the most appropriate knowledge for heritage conservation.

The Foucauldian theory of discourse also offers a means to investigate reasons behind the lack of local community's awareness regarding impacts of socio-cultural change. The theory indicated that 'lack of awareness' demonstrates the way the powerful group denies the interpretation of the weaker group and delegitimises their knowledge. According to Foucault, discourse privileges certain groups and knowledge by undermining other groups and interpretations. In other words, educating local community about the World Heritage Convention's approach to socio-cultural change is part of discursive practices.

In the Bali Cultural Landscape, discursive practices also appear in the way heritage values are interpreted. The Foucauldian discourse theory is therefore

used to understand how the dominant group determines the significance of heritage sites and management strategy. It is also employed to explain the possible implications of discursive practices on the continuity of the Balinese culture and traditional practices. This theory also provides a way to understand how stakeholders conflict, tension, and miscoordination are rooted in the disparities of the construction of knowledge and social realities.

Fairclough's CDA, on the other hand, illustrated that discourse links to verbal and textual languages, which directly affect social and cultural practices. His CDA is particularly beneficial to investigate discourse and discursive practice in the form of texts. The use of Fairclough's CDA provides a critical way of analysing World Heritage Site official documents, such as the nomination dossier, Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, and SOC reports. CDA allows an investigation of the interrelationship between texts, power relations, and discourse. It provides a way to make sense of how World Heritage Site official documents become an agent of the construction of discourse and power (Hyatt, 2013).

CHAPTER 5

Setting the context: The Cultural Landscape of Bali Province and World Heritage Convention

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how the theoretical framework is developed. By using the theory of discourse and cultural ecology, I intend to understand why and how socio-cultural change occurs in heritage sites as well as how it is understood and interpreted by stakeholders of World Heritage Sites.

Before exploring local community perception towards heritage values and socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape, this chapter will discuss cultural and geographical contexts of the selected case study. As mentioned in the methodological chapter, the Bali Cultural Landscape (or known officially as the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the manifestation of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy) was selected as a case study using two sets of criteria. As the Bali Cultural Landscape was inscribed as a cluster of five sites covering the area of more than 19,500 ha, only a single site is then selected for this research. The site of Subak Pakerisan Watershed is selected due to its safe and strategic location, in addition to its exceptional history of tourism and socio-cultural change.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to provide a further understanding of the case study as well as the World Heritage Convention programme. In the first section, this chapter discusses the 1972 Convention of International Protection

for Cultural and Natural Heritage, otherwise known as the World Heritage Convention. As discussions in this research are developed around the World Heritage Convention framework, a clear understanding of its instrument and mechanism is vital. The second section summarises key characteristics of the Balinese culture, which include discussions about the Balinese traditions, structure of the society, and the *subak* system and rituals. This understanding is crucial as it provides a context in which perception and interpretation towards the World Heritage Site and socio-cultural change are shaped. Finally, the last section lays out the profile of the Bali Cultural Landscape and Subak Pakerisan Watershed.

5.2 The International Protection for Cultural and Natural Heritage

5.2.1 World Heritage Site: what and why?

Following the increase of international attention towards the threat of flooding in Abu Simbel Temples in 1959, UNESCO and the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments launched an international safeguarding campaign in order to protect this heritage site. Using donations given by 50 countries, they dismantled and reassembled the temples to make them safe from the rising water. This collaboration initiated the establishment of an international convention that aimed to protect the cultural and natural heritage of the world. This convention appeared as a demonstration of *"the importance of solidarity and nations' shared responsibility in conserving outstanding cultural sites"* (UNESCO, 2019d: par.8)*.*

Figure 5-1. Temples of Ramses II, part of Nubian monuments that stretch from Abu Simbel
to Philae
(Source: Pivard, 2019)
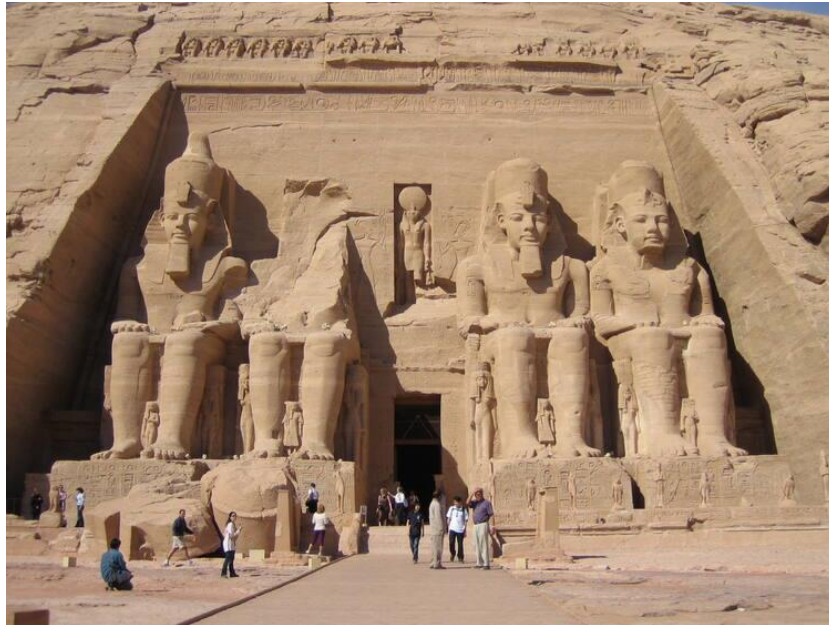
On 16 November 1972, the UNESCO General Conference adopted *the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. At that time, the Convention was only ratified by 20 countries but then grew to 194 countries in 2020. By ratifying the Convention, countries or State Parties have access to World Heritage Fund and international assistance to identify, preserve, and promote World Heritage Sites. Access to international experts, adequate preservation measures, and monitoring mechanisms are amongst the benefit of becoming a member of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2019c). The inclusion of a site to the World Heritage List has also been known to increase global awareness and international cooperation as well as attract potential donors who can help with the protection of heritage sites (Cleere, 2002; UNESCO, 2019c).

However, receiving international assistance is not the only goal of World Heritage Site inscription. Vigneron (2016) discovered that better heritage

protection, prestige, and economic improvement are amongst many motivations for State Parties to inscribe a World Heritage Site. Rössler and Menétrey-Monchau (2007) argued that the primary motivation of European State Parties is often not to receive funding but rather to enhance the conservation standard of heritage sites. However, Vigneron (2016) pointed out that heritage sites would not necessarily receive additional protections after the inscription since all nominated sites are required to have a robust protection plan before the nomination process even begin.

In many reports and publications, economic growth and social development are acknowledged as benefits of the World Heritage status that came with the nomination process and the global recognition of heritage sites (Hambrey Consulting, 2007; Rebanks Consulting and Trend Business Research, 2009; Rebanks, 2013). PricewaterhouseCoopers (2007) also showed that increased partnership, tourism branding, civic pride, and increased social capital are some positive implications of World Heritage Site inscription. Although those reports did not comprehensively discuss negative implications, risks, and disadvantages of the World Heritage Status, those benefits can indeed be seen in many World Heritage Sites (Su and Wall, 2012; Vigneron, 2016).

For local community, better income and employment opportunities, as well as improved public infrastructures and standard of living are their expectation towards the World Heritage Site inscription (Andereck and Nyaupane, 2005; Jimura, 2011; Rasoolimanesh *et al.*, 2016). The World Heritage status has also contributed to revitalising local culture and local products, increasing local pride, as well as strengthening local identity (Airey and Shackley, 1998; Shackley, 1998; Evans, 2010; Jimura, 2011). It has also attracted tourism

development, which, in extension, also increased economic growth that is expected by State Parties and local community (Buckley, 2004; Jimura, 2011). Hence, the enthusiasm to obtain the World Heritage status has never declined.

However, many studies argued that the aim of the World Heritage Convention has shifted from the protection and conservation of heritage sites to marketing and branding (Ryan and Silvanto, 2009; Meskell, 2014; Caust and Vecco, 2017). Scholars also criticised the incompatibility between the universal concept of World Heritage Convention and indigenous values, in addition to many inconsistencies found in different stages of the World Heritage Site framework (Cleere, 2002; Buckley, 2004; Rakic and Chambers, 2008). Smith (2006: p.96) added that the World Heritage Convention has made *'existential assumptions about the nature of heritage'*, which often do not fit with the narratives of non-European cultures.

Thus, although the World Heritage Convention is undoubtedly one of the most prominent and beneficial heritage conventions in the world, the weaknesses and problems that appear alongside this framework should never be disregarded.

5.2.2 Key instruments of the World Heritage Convention

The World Heritage Convention framework contains a complex system and regulation that need to be implemented at the Paris headquarter to each World Heritage Site. Briefly, this section explains key components of the Convention, how it works, and some criticisms regarding those mechanisms.

5.2.2.1 Criteria of World Heritage Site selection

To be included on the World Heritage List, a natural or cultural heritage must demonstrate that it has an Outstanding Universal Value by having at least one of ten criteria (see table 5-1) and meeting the condition of integrity and/or authenticity.[17] Since 1996, heritage sites must also have adequate site management and protection system.

Table 5-1. Criteria of Outstanding Universal Value
(Adopted from the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, UNESCO, 2019a)

(i) Represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
(ii) Exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
(iii) Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;
(iv) Be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
(v) Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
(vi) Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)
(vii) Contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
(viii) Be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
(ix) Be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

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[17] *"Authenticity only applies to cultural sites and the cultural aspect of mixed properties"* (UNESCO, 2015: p.90).

(x) Contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation

A heritage site is usually nominated under cultural, natural, or mixed criteria. A State Party, or the National Government of a country where the proposed heritage site is located, needs to explain how the site meets the criteria of Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity, and integrity in an extensive report called the *nomination document* (or often referred to as the *nomination dossier*). State Party usually involves a broad range of stakeholders and experts to prepare a comprehensive and detailed nomination dossier, which is why it tends to accommodate the interpretation of heritage experts rather than local community. Jones and Shaw (2012) argued that only a limited number of local custodians are usually involved in the inscription process.

The appropriateness of the Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity, and integrity as the determining factors for World Heritage Sites selection has been extensively debated by many heritage scholars (Musitelli, 2002; Alberts and Hazen, 2010; Frey and Steiner, 2011). The concept of Outstanding Universal Value and integrity are clearly defined on the Operational Guidelines, but even with such explicit definitions, several scholars highlighted that conflicts have appeared due to different interpretations and understanding of the terms and the difficulty of its implementation (Gullino & Larcher, 2013; Taylor, 2004; Alberts & Hazen, 2010; Lawless & Silva, 2017; Sigala, 2004).

The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* contains more detailed information regarding the implementation

of the Convention and is used as guidance for inscription, management, and assistance of World Heritage Sites. According to the Operational Guidelines, Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is defined as *"cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity"* (UNESCO, 2019: p.49). However, as discussed in section 3.4, issues related to incompatibility between universal values and local values as well as its implication on the World Heritage Site management persist.

Integrity is described as *"a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes"* (UNESCO, 2019: p.87). Many concerns were raised in relation to how this concept should be applied to evolving cultural landscapes (Alberts and Hazen, 2010; Gullino and Larcher, 2013). Urbanowicz (1989) added that World Heritage Sites of underdeveloped nations might particularly have issues with the protection of integrity amidst development and rapid change.

Authenticity was not explicitly defined in the Operational Guidelines, but the condition in which these criteria can be justified are explained. As argued in section 3.4, authenticity is the most problematic and ambiguous term in the World Heritage Convention. Although the Nara Document clearly stated that authenticity should be investigated within its cultural context, several studies discovered that many nomination dossiers still assess authenticity from the physical aspect of World Heritage Sites (Labadi, 2007; Lawless and Silva, 2017).

In order to be able to protect authenticity in the future, each World Heritage Site must identify its *attributes*. The operational guidelines did not specify or define attributes, but Marco (2013) described it as any physical elements, tangible or tangible aspects, or processes that convey the Outstanding Universal Values of World Heritage Sites. Determining the correct attributes is crucial as it will affect the management and conservation strategy.

To summarise, a site must demonstrate that it meets at least one of the criteria of *Outstanding Universal Value*, has a satisfactory *authenticity* and *integrity* condition, and identifies *attributes* that convey the Outstanding Universal Values of the site to be inscribed on the World Heritage list.

5.2.2.2 The inscription process

Prior to a nomination, each State Party must develop a Tentative List as an inventory of heritage sites that have cultural or natural Outstanding Universal Values (UNESCO, 2019b). To be considered for a nomination, a potential site must be placed on the Tentative List at least a year before the inscription process. State Party would then develop a nomination dossier that contains detailed information related to the proposed site. This dossier should include exhaustive details of the site, including its significance, justification for inscription, site boundaries, buffer zones, and a management strategy. Afterwards, the nomination document would be submitted to the World Heritage Centre to be checked for its completion.

Following the completion of a nomination dossier, the World Heritage Centre forwards the dossier to the advisory bodies who could assess the eligibility of heritage sites to be included on the World Heritage List. The International

Council on Monument and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) are two main bodies that provide evaluations for cultural and natural heritage sites respectively. They could also jointly evaluate mixed sites and cultural landscapes category. The advisory bodies will be responsible for giving recommendations to the World Heritage Committee (WHC) in relation to the inscription, rejection, or deferral of the proposed heritage sites. The WHC, however, still holds the final decision regarding the inscription of World Heritage Site. This can be seen, for instance, in 1978 when the WHC rejected the nomination of the Historic Centre of Warsaw regardless of ICOMOS's recommendation to inscribe it.

The World Heritage Committee is an intergovernmental team which consists of representatives from 21 State Parties that ratified the World Heritage Convention. Every two years, a new formation of the Committee is elected by the General Assembly as State Parties are only allowed to be part of the Committee for a maximum of six years. The World Heritage Committee meets every year to discuss both the inscription of new World Heritage Sites and the State of Conservation reports of existing World Heritage Sites. The Committee also has the authority to ask State Parties to take particular actions and remove any property from the World Heritage List.

Figure 5-2. The World Heritage Site inscription process
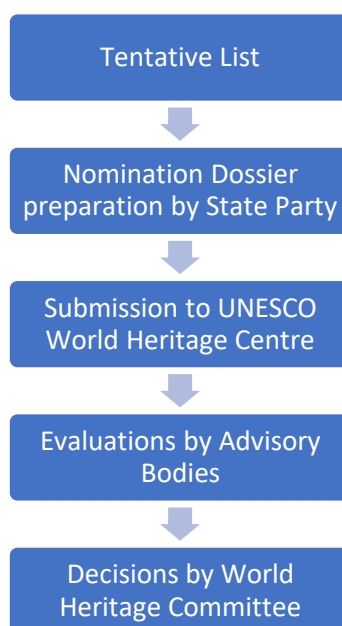
All decisions taken by the World Heritage Committee regarding the inscription, deferral, or rejection of a site from the World Heritage List are recorded in a decision report that informs the reason underlying the WHC's decision. Following an inscription, a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV), which details the significance and management strategy of a World Heritage Site, is adopted. This SOUV will be used as a reference for future management and conservation of World Heritage Sites.

5.2.2.3 Management and protection of World Heritage Sites

An adequate management system is mandatory for World Heritage Site nomination. According to the Operational Guidelines, a management system could be a formal or informal approach that integrates traditional practices, existing planning instruments, or other planning mechanisms. It should describe short, medium, and long-term actions to protect the Outstanding Universal Value of a site and aim *'to ensure the effective protection of the*

nominated property for present and future generations' (UNESCO, 2019a: par 109). A management plan includes at least an identification of World Heritage Site boundaries and buffer zones, site vulnerabilities, protection strategies, and means to ensure the implementation of the management system. State Parties are also required to include the current condition of World Heritage Sites in the management system, including threats that could affect the site's significance. This information will be used as baseline data for monitoring and evaluation activities after the inscription.

Once inscribed, State Parties are responsible for implementing the management plan of World Heritage Site. The World Heritage Committee then oversees the implementation of this management through monitoring and evaluation activities. In the monitoring and evaluation process, State Parties are required to submit a report that contains the current conservation status and actions that have been taken to protect the World Heritage Site.

This monitoring and evaluation process is divided into two categories based on their urgencies: Reactive Monitoring and Periodic Reporting. Reactive monitoring is *"the reporting by the Secretariat, other sectors of UNESCO and the Advisory Bodies to the Committee on the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties that are under threat"* (UNESCO, 2019a: par 169). It is conducted on World Heritage Sites that are about to undergo major restorations or development which could affect its Outstanding Universal Value. In this exercise, national governments are required to submit a report that outlines plans and possible impacts of a certain development on Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage Sites. Afterwards, the World Heritage Committee collects necessary information from various sources to

decide whether the properties are in danger of losing their significance. If needed, the Committee will send an Advisory Mission, which is a team of experts from the World Heritage Secretariat and/or the advisory bodies, to visit and evaluate the sites.

Following the visit, a State of Conservation (SOC) report would be developed jointly between the Advisory Mission and the World Heritage Committee. This report describes the condition of the World Heritage Site and offers recommendations to State Parties. In the following year, another SOC report would be created, now by State Parties, to demonstrate their actions and management progress since the Advisory Mission's visit.[18] An illustration of the reactive monitoring process can be seen in figure 5-3 below.

Figure 5-3. Reactive Monitoring process
(Adopted from the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention UNESCO, 2019a)

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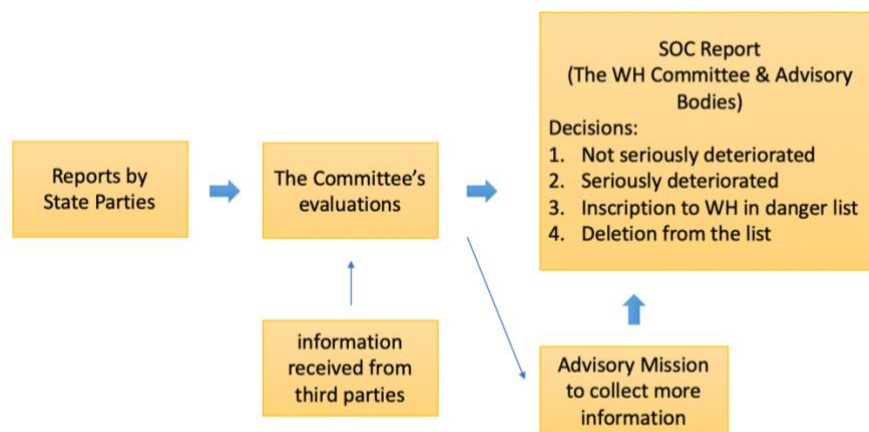
[18] SOC report of the World Heritage Committee contains decisions about whether specific issues affected World Heritage Sites, suggestions to State Parties, and requests for State Parties to implement particular actions or develop progress reports. SOC report of the State Parties primarily incorporates responses of national governments towards the Committee's evaluation. It includes conservation progress, proofs of the implementation of the Committee's decisions and recommendation, as well as the updated conservation status of the site.

The second monitoring and evaluation exercise, called Periodic Reporting, is a less urgent activity compared to Reactive Monitoring. In the Periodic Reporting exercise, State Parties are advised to submit a report to demonstrate '*the legislative and administrative provisions they have adopted and other actions which they have taken for the application of the Convention, including the state of conservation of the World Heritage properties located on their territories'* (UNESCO, 2019a: par 199). Currently, the Periodic Reporting exercise looks like a questionnaire that should be completed by State Parties every six years. These data will be used to assess the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, examine the conservation and management of World Heritage properties within a region, and formulate a long-term strategy and objective of the World Heritage Convention.

5.3   Understanding the Balinese culture and system

5.3.1   Holy water and rituals

More than 90% of the population of Bali is Hindu, an anomaly amongst other Indonesian islands where the majority of the residents are Muslim. It is a common conception to link Balinese's Hindu religion with the religion of Hindu that comes from India, but strong debates are raised by scholars who are against the idea (Lansing, 1987; Vickers, 2012; Hobart, 2016). Existing studies indicate that the Balinese religion was initially called *agama tirtha* (religion of the holy water), but since it was struggling to comply with the new-established Indonesian regulations on religion, the name was changed into Hindu (Picard, 2011; Wright, 2015).

An ethnographic work carried out by Eiseman in 1990 detailed that tirtha or holy water is among the most prominent components of Balinese belief and traditional practices. Tirtha is used in every ritual and religious activity as *"an agent of the power of God"* that could cleanse *"spiritual impurities, fend off evil forces, and render the recipient immune to demonic influences"* (Eiseman Jr, 1990: p.51). *It* is different to *yeh* (the ordinary water) as tirtha is prepared by priests and created through special treatments. Every Balinese family keeps *tirtha* in their shrine for daily worship and special ceremonies, but the more powerful holy water is usually retained for more important rituals. Eiseman Jr (1990) stated that the sanctity and power of the holy water are determined by the place from which it is obtained, people who create it, and mantras that are used to make it. Through fieldwork, I observed that tirtha remains the central component of religious ceremonies and rituals in both village and subak settings.

The Balinese holds rituals on almost every occasion. Rituals or religious ceremonies are held to ask blessings, protection from evil spirit, cleansing purposes, or to thank the Gods and ancestors for their contribution to a successful event. The Balinese has a traditional calendar that determines the best time to perform rituals or indicates times where rituals and religious ceremonies are prohibited. The Balinese calendar is also used to determine when particular activities could and could not be done. For instance, one is not supposed to pick fruits or read books every *tumpek wariga* and *saraswati* day consecutively, but one is advised to go bathing to purify themselves on *banyu pinaruh* day.

Many Balinese rituals reflect a strong relationship between Balinese society and their environment. Some of them have a crucial role in managing the use of natural resources. *Tumpek unduh* and *tumpek kandang* rituals, for instance, are created for the Balinese to respect vegetations and animals that have helped them survive. *Ingkel mina* and *ingkel manuk* are marked as the forbidden day to kill fish and birds respectively. In the Balinese culture, nature is an extremely important and inseparable component of society that is protected by Gods and Goddesses. It can also be seen in the context of *subak* as rituals are performed to ask blessings and express gratitude to Dewi Sri and Dewi Danu who are the guardian of water and lakes.

As rituals and ceremonies are part of Balinese activities, places of worship can be seen in every corner of villages, houses, rice fields, and streets. Every family has its own shrine (*pamrajan*), which they believe to be the place where Gods and their ancestors rest. In a family's compound, shrine and places of worship are built for different purposes. For instance, *padmasari* is built in the northeast part of the house to worship the highest God *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*. *Panunggun Karang* is built to protect the family from evil spirits, and *pelangkiran* is built in a room where the Balinese would like to invite their ancestors to bless their activities. Using offering as a medium, prayers are held every day to worship the Gods, pay respects to the ancestors, and to cast out evil spirits from daily activities.

Figure 5-4. A small offering is placed in front of a Balinese compound.
(Source: D. Rahman, May 2018)

Some religious ceremonies are performed daily and only take several minutes to finish. Bigger ceremonies, however, could take days of preparation and consist of hundred activities. Some rituals, such as tooth filling, wedding, and cremation, are part of the '*individual rites of passage'* that is vital for each Balinese, which is carefully planned and executed for months.[19] *Piodalan* or temple anniversary is another important ceremony which is held and prepared by members of a temple for days or sometimes weeks.

Some religious ceremonies are expensive, which often forced many Balinese to borrow money or sell their belongings to cover the cost. People do not always have access to financial resources and therefore rely upon help from

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[19] According to Eiseman Jr (1990: p. 84), the Balinese' rites of passage marks the journey in which the Balinese person undergoes a change of their capability, maturity, and vulnerability. It aims to *"purify and provide an individual with the appropriate spiritual energy to exist peacefully, productively, and healthfully in a dangerous world"*.

extended families and neighbours to prepare religious ceremonies. Luckily, the Balinese village and social structure were designed to enable the Balinese to fulfil their religious responsibilities regardless of the situation. Since the need for the Balinese to perform religious rituals is constant, the need for a robust social relationship is also unchanged. This is why a strong social relationship is crucial for the sustainability of the Balinese culture and religious practices.

5.3.2 Social and village structures

The Balinese social structure is a unique feature that has attracted the attention of many 'westerners' to come and explore the Balinese culture (Vickers, 2012). Since the 1930s, Western scholars have made many efforts to rationalise structure and characteristics of the Balinese society, culture, and tradition, but there is never a simple explanation. In addition, there is a high degree of variation concerning the structure of customary villages and society in different parts of Bali.

The caste system is probably the most notable social structure of Balinese society. There are four castes: *Brahmana, Ksatria, Waisya, and Sudra*, which were initially developed to refer to people with specific profession. Brahmana is the highest caste that is attached to priests and scholars; *Ksatrias* are royalties, politicians, and warriors; *Waisyas* are businessmen, administrative workers, and merchants; and *Sudra* includes the commoners whose jobs usually need many labours such as farmers. In the past, the caste system indicated wealth as well as ones' position and role within the society. Today, however, the caste system does not always align with one's profession or wealth as it is hereditary.

Although the caste system might illustrate one's position and their respectability in society, members of all castes usually have the same rights and responsibilities in front of temples and Gods. Thus, families of different castes might live in the same or separate villages. Unlike other villages in Indonesia, there are two types of villages in Bali: the administrative village and the customary village. The administrative village (*desa dinas*) is a government-defined village that manages administrative issues such as birth certificates and national ID issuance. The customary village (*desa pekraman*), on the other hand, is responsible for implementing customary laws *(awig-awig)* and dealing with traditions and religious issues. The area of these villages is overlapped. Thus, each Balinese is always a member of an administrative village and a customary village.

A customary village is defined by the existence of *kahyangan tiga* (three holy beings), a circumference that looks like a physical boundary but is actually metaphysical for the Balinese society. The term *kahyangan tiga* is often translated as 'three temples' where the three Great Gods of Bali reside. The *kahyangan tiga* of many customary villages in Bali usually consists of three temples that are located at the entrance, centre, and end of the villages. However, Geertz (2004) observed that it is not uncommon to see customary villages that only have two temples for three Gods. He argued that term *kahyangan tiga* cannot be referred as a physical boundary that is marked by the presence of three temples but rather should be understood as *"the idea that the three Gods reign together over a specific locality and community"* (Geertz, 2004: p.47)*.*

Each Balinese is born automatically as a member of a customary village. This is a lifetime membership but ends for the female members when they marry and join her husband to serve in his customary village. As the Balinese are tied to *kahyangan tiga*, it is also their responsibility to maintain and re-build the temples of *kahyangan tiga* physically and spiritually. Geertz's study (2004) concluded that *krama desa*, or members of the customary villages, are the ones who decide which parts of the temples should be renovated, materials that should be used, and how works should be mobilised. The study also stressed that the Balinese does not have a systematic way to transfer knowledge related to temple renovations or meanings of images and symbols. Therefore, it is evident that control over temples preservation, and in extension the value and the authenticity of those temples, belongs to the members of the society and can be different from one place to another. Geertz (2004) also emphasised that Balinese's knowledge is preserved through primarily oral transfer, and improvisation is inevitable should a person who holds key information die without transferring it to someone else. This information strongly reflects how interpretation and change are perceived by the Balinese society.

Krama desa usually called themselves *penyungsung pura,* which literally means 'somebody who carries the temples on their head' or *pengempon* which means 'the maintainer'. The Balinese's contributions to *kahyangan tiga* are varied from individual acts such as carving stones, painting God images, cleaning, to communal acts such as performing dances, music, and cooking. All these activities are called *'ngayah',* which can also be understood as 'an attempt to serve a higher being'.

The figure below illustrates an example of a Balinese village structure. A customary village often consists of one or more *banjar*, which is a small neighbourhood consists of several groups of families that have their own administration and traditional rules but still adheres to the rules of the customary village. A *banjar* is responsible for organising communal religious ceremonies and social activities to support those ceremonies. A Balinese family, usually represented by a male member, is obligated to participate in a *banjar* and entitled to receive help from the *banjar* and its members in return. For instance, a member of *banjar* is obliged to contribute his time, money, and energy to help another member who is about to perform a cremation ceremony. In return, he will receive similar help for a cremation ceremony for his family member in the future.

Figure 5-5. An illustration of a Balinese village structure
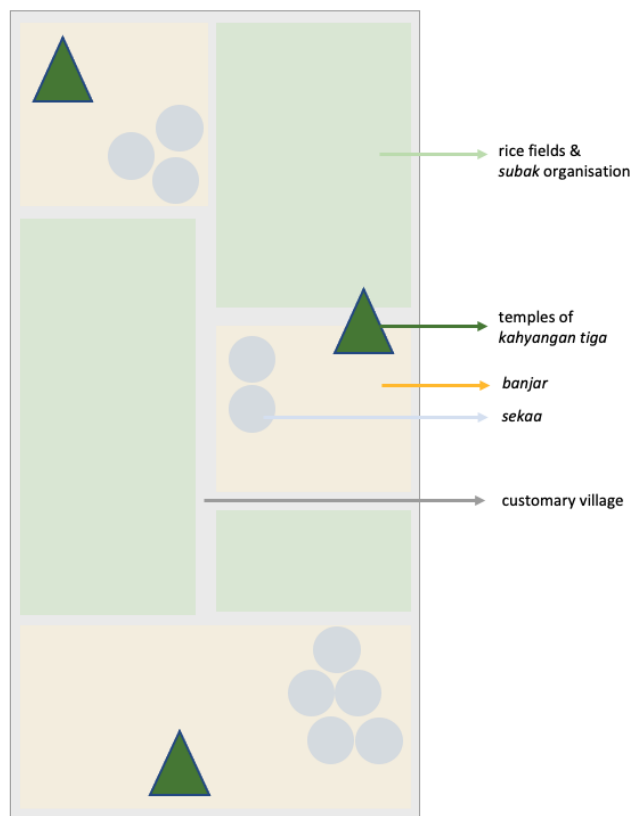
As the core of Balinese social life, *banjar* hosts both religious and social activities for its members. *Sekaa*, which means 'to become one' is a group or an organisation within a *banjar* that is created by its members who have similar professions, hobbies, or age range. For instance, *sekaa teruna* is created for teenagers and young adults; *sekaa gamelan,* on the other hand, is created as a place for members who like to play traditional Balinese music.

Customary village, *banjar*, and *sekaa* have their own traditional rules (*awig-awig*) that regulate the rights and responsibilities of its members in both social and religious settings. Each of these institutions is led by a leader called *bendesa* or *klian*, who acts as an 'elder' person and has a role to facilitate the group's wishes and oversee collective works (Geertz and Geertz, 1975: p.17). The highest authority of these institutions, however, belongs to the members' meeting (*paruman*), which is a crucial decision-making tool for issues and concerns related to the group. As the most authoritative forum, *paruman* is not only crucial in the decision-making process but also in implementing traditional laws and resolving disputes among members.

Although *sekaa* is usually a part of *banjar*, *sekaa subak* is an exception. *Sekaa subak* or widely known as *subak* organisation is an independent group outside of *banjar* and customary village, which the members are rice field owners who need water from the same sources. While the membership of customary village and *banjar* depends on the location of house compounds, the membership of *sekaa subak* is determined by the location of rice fields. Thus, members of the same *sekaa* subak might not live in the same area and therefore might not be members of the same customary village or *banjar*.

5.3.3 The *subak* system

In his work, Geertz(1980) described *subak* as a sovereign 'irrigation society' that has a similar structure as *banjar*. He highlighted that *subak* also has members' meetings, official leaders that are chosen by its members, and constitutions that contain rules, obligations, and rights of its members. Geertz pointed out that as an institution which main concern is to control irrigation, the effectiveness of *subak* is established and maintained by its precise organisation and group consensus. He also recorded that *subak* is continuously engaged in purification rituals, plantation regulation, and transfer of rice field ownership. Apart from the collective nature of *subak*, Geertz emphasised that rice fields are individually owned, and therefore could be sold, rent, or modified by its owner who has indefeasible private rights.

According to Geertz, tensions within and between *subaks* are usually discussed and solved between members and subak itself rather than bringing it to the outside and higher level. This particular observation is crucial for understanding the flaw of the Bali Cultural Landscape's management system developed by the Indonesian Government which suggested that communication between subaks needs to be facilitated (see section 8.3). Geertz also recorded that there was rarely a situation where the Balinese found an applicable law or rules were non-existent, which indicates the relevance of the Balinese traditional law to their condition, and likewise, the importance of maintaining the relevance of their laws.

Through field work observations, I discovered that *subak* could mean several things for the Balinese. The term primarily refers to the *sekaa* where farmers

gather to manage the use of water and conduct social and religious activities related to agricultural activities. *Subak*, however, is also used to call members of the *sekaa* or the farmers themselves. The irrigation system has been called as simply 'the irrigation' by most farmers, but as research and interests about *subak* grew, farmers learnt that their unique irrigation and farming system is called 'the *subak* system'. Similarly, the Balinese also learnt that 'the *subak* landscape' refers to a place that they simply call *carik* or *sawah* (rice fields).

Nevertheless, in the nomination dossier of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province, *subak* is predominantly described as an organisation where farmers share the responsibility of the use and management of irrigation water. There are different terms used by the nomination dossier to explain different components of *subak*: the *subak* organisation for *sekaa* subak, *subak* members for farmers, *subak* system for the irrigation system, and *subak* landscape for the rice fields. As it will be explained in chapter 6, such division has affected the way the WHC and site managers understand *subak*, and to some extent, its values and attributes. Unlike other stakeholders, the local community does not see *subak* as merely an object. *Subak* is also a subject and more importantly, an active system that requires an integration of its individual components.

As explained by several scholars, the hierarchy of *subak* is determined by the size and location of a watershed ecosystem (Sumarta, 1992; Bagus, 1999; Pangdjaja, 1999). The smallest element in the hierarchy of subak is *krama subak*, which are farmers or individual members of the *subak* organisation. In some places, there is a *tempek*, or a small group of krama *subak* who have rice fields located close to each other. In other places, *tempek* does not exist

and farmers are gathered directly under a *subak*. Several *tempeks* that use the same water source will constitute a *subak*. The *subak* organisation, led by a *Pekaseh*, is formed at this level to manage all interests related to the use of water and farming activities.

A group of *subaks* which are located close to each other and use the same water source is called *subak gede,* led by *Pekaseh Gede.* The highest position in this hierarchy is *Sedahan Agung* and *Sedahan Yeh*, who are the individuals who have been appointed as government's officials and work from a regency office. *Sedahan Agung* is responsible for supervising the use of water within a regency, while *Sedahan Yeh* is responsible for supervising the use of water within a watershed. As a coordinating body, both *Sedahan Yeh* and *Agung* do not have power in the internal management of *subak* organisation.

Figure 5-6. The hierarchy of *subak*

Every *subak* has its legal codes or *awig-awig* which details the rights and responsibilities of its members. *Subak* also has its own organisational structure. The committee is called *prajuru* and led by a *Pekaseh* who is in charge of the general management of the organisation. *Pekaseh* is usually elected by *krama subak* through *paruman* (members meeting) and will elect the *prajuru* himself. *Prajuru* works to assist *Pekaseh* and has their own responsibilities. Amongst them are an assistant who coordinates *tempek (kasinoman),* a secretary (*panyarikan),* and a treasurer *(juru-raksa).*

Different *subak* may have different farming rituals and ceremonies. Some *subaks* have more rituals compared to others, but they must perform at least one ritual at the beginning of each farming phase. Table 5-2 below illustrates an example of *subak* rituals that are performed during a farming cycle. It can be seen that, for instance, three rituals are performed before the harvesting season begin. *Subak* rituals are conducted both communally and individually. Communal rituals are often held in *Pura Bedugul*, a shrine that is located on the weir where the irrigation water enters a *subak*, or *Pura Ulun Suwi* that is usually located at the centre of *subak*. Some rituals are also held in other temples outside of *subak,* which are often built for specific purposes, such as for pests and floods prevention. Individual rituals are conducted at *ulun carik*, which is a shrine that is located on the water inlet of each rice field.

Table 5-2. *Subak* rituals and ceremonies
(adopted from Suradisastra *et al*., 2002)

No	Activity	Ritual	Objective of Ritual	Place
1	Water distribution	Muwat emping, Mapag toya	Permission to ask water and blessings for the water	Pura Ulun Suwi, Pura Bedugul
2	Land preparation	Ngendag mamacul	Permission to start working	Ulun Carik
3	Seeding	Mawinih/ Ngurit pari	Permission to seed	Ulun Carik
4	Transplanting	Nuasen/ Nandur, Matur piuning	Permission to plant	Ulun Carik
5	Maintenance	Mecaru	Asking protection for rice fields	Tembuku Aya & Ulun Carik
		Nangluk Mrana	Asking protection from pests and diseases	Pura Ulun Suwi, Pura Nataran Saresidi, Pura Sakenan, Pura Tirta Empul, Pura Masceti, Ulun Carik
		Nyungsung	Asking blessings for the rice	Pura Dalem Tambug & Ulun Carik
6	Harvest preparation	Mekukungan pari/ Biyukukung	Blessings and protection	Ulun Carik
		Ngusaba	Asking for safety during harvest	Pura Ulun Suwi & Pura Bedugul
		Ngaturan Sarin Tahunan	Gratitude for the rice	Pura Ulun Suwi
7	Harvest	Ngedegag Dewa Nini	Asking for safety during harvest	Rice fields
8	Storing	Ngodalin Dewa Nini/ Mantenin	Gratitude and Protection to the newly harvested rice	Rice barn

Built on Geertz's work on subak, Lansing's study in 1987 and 1991 explored the role of water temple in organising the irrigation system. Lansing argued that subak is neither a centralised system which was controlled by traditional Balinese states, nor a decentralised system that is autonomous. Lansing suggested that the system of water temple networks, which transcends the boundaries of Balinese villages, is not only engaged in the management of

irrigation water but also crucial for the existence of the whole ecosystem as it also manages social and religious aspects of subak.

Many criticisms are addressed to Lansing's studies (e.g. Nordholt, 2011). Although I acknowledged contrasting arguments between scholars on whether the water temple networks and irrigation water are actually interrelated, I refrain from contributing to the debate since a separated in-depth study is needed to arrive to that conclusion. For this research, I employed information given by the local community that several water temples are indeed related to Subak Pakerisan Watershed in terms of irrigation, social, and religious aspects.

5.4 Profile of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province

The Cultural Landscape of Bali Province was first nominated as a World Heritage Site in 2008 but deferred due to the lack of clarity of its Outstanding Universal Value and boundaries. In 2012, the Indonesian Government proposed different values and re-nominated a different cluster that consists of areas where the traditional *subak* system was still fully functioning. In order to have more understanding of the site, this section discusses the profile of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province, its geographical location, and its management system as a World Heritage Site.

5.4.1 Significance and geographical location

The Cultural Landscape of Bali Province is a cluster of five sites that covers 19,519.90 ha of core zone scattered around the island of Bali. The World Heritage Site is located in the Asia Pacific region and inscribed under the

cultural landscape category. Table 5-3 below details the size of each site and the regencies that are responsible for its management.

Table 5-3. The Bali Cultural Landscape and its authoritative regencies
(adopted from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)

No	Site	District/ Regency	Core Zone (ha)
1	Supreme water temple Pura Ulun Danu Batur	Kintamani/ Bangli	1.4
2	Lake Batur	Kintamani/Bangli	1606.4
3	Subak Landscape of Pakerisan Watershed	Tampaksiring/Gianyar	529.1
4	Subak Landscape of Caturangga Batukaru	Sukasada & Penebel/ Tabanan& Buleleng	17376.1
5	Royal Water Temple Pura Taman Ayun	Mengwi/Badung	6.9

Pura Ulun Danu Batur (see figure 5-7) is the most important water temple in Bali as it is located on Lake Batur, which is regarded as the ultimate origin of every spring water and river. As the mother of all *subak* temples, Pura Ulun Danu Batur has a crucial role in the establishment and maintenance of new *subak* and all *subak* rituals. A construction of new *subak* cannot be done without a consultation with the priest of this temple. Each year, more than 250 *subaks* in Bali make a pilgrimage to Pura Ulun Danu Batur and give offerings during the ten days festival of the Goddess of the Lake (Lansing, 1991). They bring home powerful holy water that has been prepared in this temple for their individual *subak* ceremonies. The lake and temple of Ulun Danu Batur are also considered as a representative of the Balinese cosmology (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011: II-21).

Subak Landscape of Pakerisan Watershed was included in the World Heritage Site cluster because it is regarded as "the oldest known irrigation system in

Bali" (World Heritage Committee, 2012: p.172). This site covers three *subaks*,

four water temples, and three customary villages. One of the temples, Pura

Tirtha Empul, is considered as the holiest spring in Bali and one of the most

important pilgrimage destinations for the Balinese (Permana, 2016). Since

Subak Pakerisan Watershed is chosen as the case study of this research, a

more detailed profile of this site will be explained in section 5.4.3.

Figure 5-7. Pura Ulun Danu Batur
(Source: Naud, 2011)

The largest site within the cluster is Subak Landscape of Caturangga

Batukaru. This site covers two volcanic crater lakes, 20 *subaks*, and a water

catchment forest which the boundaries are defined by four guardian temples.[20]

The landscape symbolises the interconnection between the *subak* system and

its surrounding environment. The water temples that are located here play a

crucial role in regulating the annual irrigation schedule for the whole rice fields

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[20] *Catur* means four in the Balinese language. This particular *subak* received its name from the four temples that function as the water sources for the whole rice fields within this area.

in the western part of Bali. Those temples also possess complex physical and spiritual attributes as they give meanings to distinctive features within the landscape and give the local community specific responsibilities as the guardian (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011).

The royal water temple of Pura Taman Ayun holds the primary role to collect holy water from the mountain lake and distribute it to the downstream *subaks*. The site demonstrates the relationship between the *subak* system and the Balinese kingship. The royal water temple also represents the integration of technical and social aspects of *subak* as it enabled downstream farmers to spiritually access a ritual that took place in the mountain lakes without the need of physically visiting it. With the presence of Pura Taman Ayun, only a small number of *subak* delegation needs to make a pilgrimage while the rest of *subaks* could connect spiritually through the holy water that has been collected. This role has been crucial considering the distance between low elevation *subaks* and the mountain lakes and temples. Moreover, the site also demonstrates the involvement of Balinese royal families in the protection of *subak* (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011).

5.4.2 Management system of the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province

Figure 5-8 illustrates the structure of the Governing Assembly (*Badan Pengelola*), a committee that is responsible for the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape. According to the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape, the Governing Assembly is a democratic governing body that

consists of representatives of regency and provincial governments, four academic experts, representatives of all *subaks*, and also representatives of all customary villages (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). This committee has a primary role to connect government and non-government organisations at national, provincial, and local levels that are involved in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape. As part of its responsibility, the Governing Assembly should also facilitate the coordination of relevant offices, conduct monitoring and evaluation activities, as well as facilitate communications between site managers and local communities of the site.

The effectiveness of the Governing Assembly to manage the Bali Cultural Landscape, however, is questioned by many stakeholders and the local community. Many respondents argued that the role of the Governing Assembly in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape is unclear. There is also no substantial proof that the Governing Assembly has maintained communication and collaboration with the local community (see further section 8.3.1). The World Heritage Committee itself questioned the effectiveness of the Governing Assembly in the SOC reports. Inadequate performance of the Governing Assembly and lacks of management implementation were amongst several reasons behind the Reactive Monitoring that was conducted in 2015 (see section 8.4.1).

Figure 5-8. Organisational structure of the Governing Assembly (*Dewan Pengelola*)
(adopted from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)
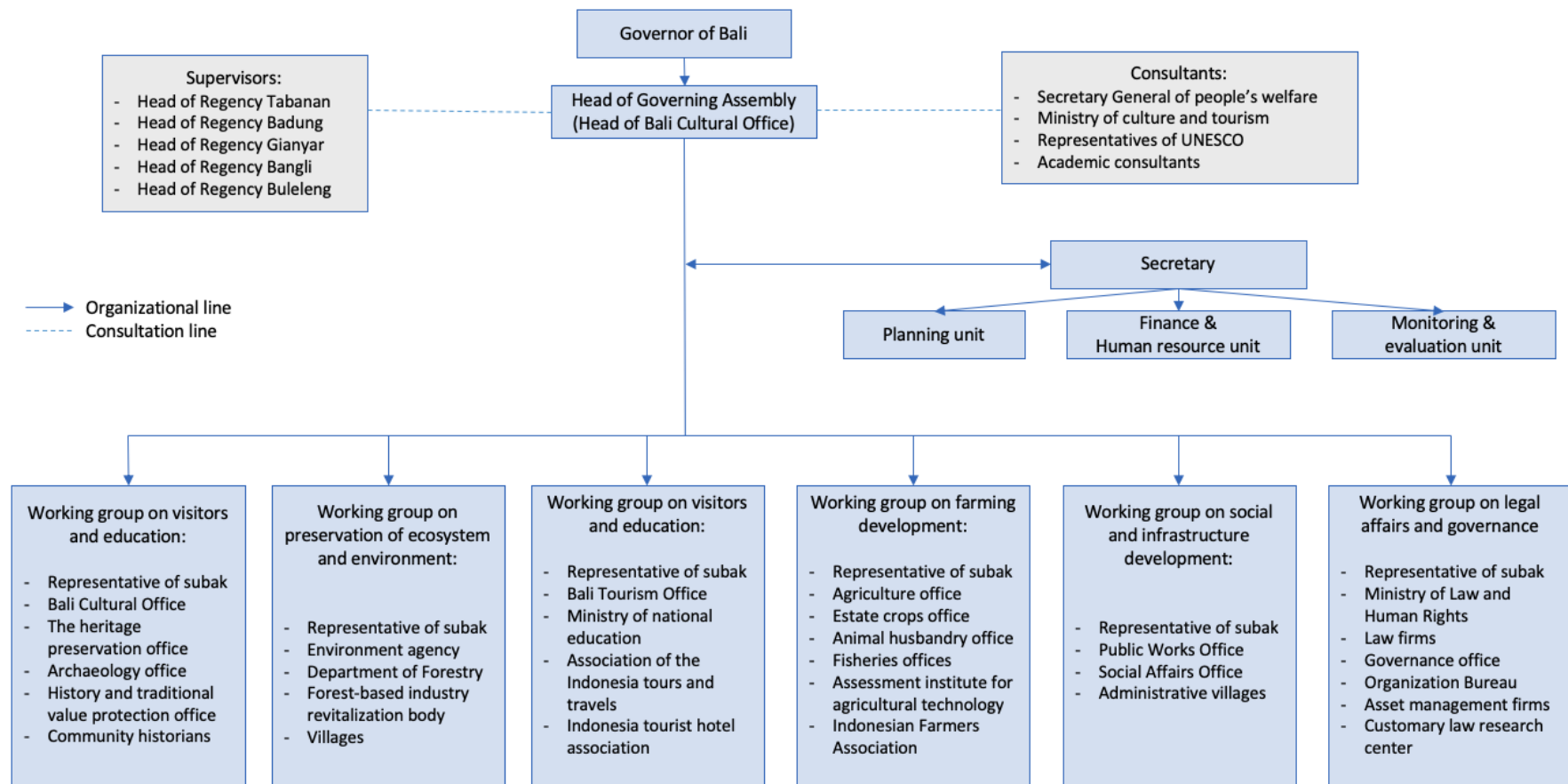
In 2014, the Coordination Forum (*Forum Koordinasi*) was established by the Indonesian Government to coordinate government agencies and other stakeholders that share responsibilities in managing the Bali Cultural Landscape. Salamanca *et al.* (2015) argued that the Coordination Forum had replaced the Governing Assembly as the official management body, particularly because the Governing Assembly has appeared to farmers as a superior top-down institution. However, this statement can be strongly debated as there is no clear and written proof that the Coordination Forum was indeed created to replace the role of the Governing Assembly.[21] On the contrary, the Indonesian Government highlighted the plan to employ both the Governing Assembly and the Coordination Forum for managing the Bali Cultural Landscape in the SOC report 2015, which indicated that the Governing Assembly was not intended to be removed.

The new Coordination Forum has a different structure compared to the Governing Assembly (see Figure 5-9). This new committee is considered as a better management body since it was designed to engage more stakeholders who were previously not involved in the Governing Assembly, such as the royal families, head of farmers, and head of customary villages (Salamanca *et al.*, 2015). According to the government decree number 11/03-H/HK/2014, the Coordination Forum ideally holds a meeting at least once a year. Each regency has also been advised to create their local Coordination Forums to manage

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[21] No statement in any Government's decree indicated the replacement of the Governing Assembly, particularly in the Governor of Bali Decree number 11/03-H/HK/2014 about the "Coordination Forum for Management of World Heritage Cultural Landscape of Bali Province" (*Keputusan Gubernur Bali nomor 11/03-H/HK/2014 tentang "Forum Koordinasi Pengelolaan Warisan Dunia Lansekap Budaya Provinsi Bali"*).

World Heritage Sites in their territory. Although the Coordination Forum has conducted several meetings in the last four years, the establishment of local Coordination Forum was not successful. Moreover, similar to their impression towards the Governing Assembly, the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed still possesses negative perceptions towards the Coordination Forum.

Figure 5-9. Organisational structure of the Coordination Forum (*Forum Koordinasi*) (Salamanca *et al.*, 2015)

Dewan Pengarah
Steering Council

Governor, Regents, relevant DG level of MoEC and MoAG, Customary Village Council

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Majelis Ilmiah
Scientific Council

Head of Subak Reserach Centre, Udayana University

Forum Koordinasi Provinsi
Provincial Coordination Forum

FORUM COORDINATOR
SEKDA Bali Province

VICE-COORDINATOR
Head of Prov Culture Office

Members
Relevant Head of Provincial SKPDs, Relevant natural and cultural conservation agency for assessment of agri technologies, Faculties in UNUD, Samdhana, Telapak, other CSOs

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Sekretariat Forum
Forum Secretariat

Section Head, History and Archaeology, Office of Culture

Forum Koordinasi Kebupaten
Regency Coordination Forum

Bangli Regency Coordination Forum

FORUM COORDINATOR
SEKDA Bangli Regency

VICE-COORDINATOR
Head of Regency Culture Office

Members
Relevant Head of Provincial SKPDs, Relevant natural and cultural conservation agencies, Batur volcano museum, Caretaker of Pura Ulun Danu Batur, customary village council

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Glanyar Regency Coordination Forum

FORUM COORDINATOR
SEKDA Glanyar Regency

VICE-COORDINATOR
Head of Regency Culture Office

Members
Relevant Head of Provincial SKPDs, Relevant natural and cultural conservation agencies, District head of Tampaksiring, Subak Council, Pekaseh within WH zone, Customary village council

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Buleleng Regency Coordination Forum

FORUM COORDINATOR
SEKDA Buleleng Regency

VICE-COORDINATOR
Head of Regency Culture Office

Members
Relevant Head of Provincial SKPDs, Relevant natural and cultural conservation agencies, Tamblingan and Buyan Lake management body, Customary village council

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Tabanan Regency Coordination Forum

FORUM COORDINATOR
SEKDA Tabanan Regency

VICE-COORDINATOR
Head of Regency Culture Office

Members
Relevant Head of Provincial SKPDs, Relevant natural and cultural conservation agencies, Puri Tabanan, Customary village council, Sabhantara Pekaseh, Pekaseh within WH zone

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Badung Regency Coordination Forum

FORUM COORDINATOR
SEKDA Badung Regency

VICE-COORDINATOR
Head of Regency Culture Office

Members
Relevant Head of Provincial SKPDs, Relevant natural and cultural conservation agencies, Pura Mengwi, Customary village council

The Pekaseh Forum is another system that was established in 2014. Unlike the Governing Assembly and the Coordination Forum that were created by the Government, the Pekaseh Forum was officialised by the royal palace (*puri*) of Tabanan and the high priest (*pemangku gede)* through a religious ritual. The Pekaseh Forum is not a committee of Government's officials but an association of 20 *Pekasehs* of Subak Caturangga Batukaru. This forum was created to facilitate the communication and coordination amongst the heads of farmers in this area. Pekaseh Forum does not exist in other parts of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This association works regularly and owns a traditional law (*awig-awig*) related to the management of the landscape, the *subak* system, and farmers welfare.

According to the nomination dossier, the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape is adopted from an adaptive management framework that has been modified to suit the site's condition. This model is adopted to enable flexibility in the management plan so it could adapt to change and the complexity of the cultural landscape (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). The *Strategic Priorities* are created as part of the implementation strategy and outline detailed actions concerning livelihood protection and enhancement, conservation and promotion of ecosystem services, conservation of the material culture, management of tourism development, and infrastructure and facility development. The Strategic Priorities have several objectives as its parameter of success, but some of them are inconsistent with the nomination dossier and local values (see further section 8.3.1).

5.4.3 Subak Pakerisan Watershed

As mentioned above, Subak Pakerisan Watershed consists of three *subaks*, three customary villages, and four temples, which the map can be seen in Figure 5-10 below. The area is located in Tampaksiring district of the Gianyar Regency, 40 kilometres from the capital city Denpasar and 15 kilometres from one of the most well-known tourism areas, Ubud. The site is situated along the main road that connects south and north Bali, which demonstrates the importance of Tampaksiring as both a destination and a connecting route.

Figure 5-10. Map of Subak Pakerisan Watershed
(Source: The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)
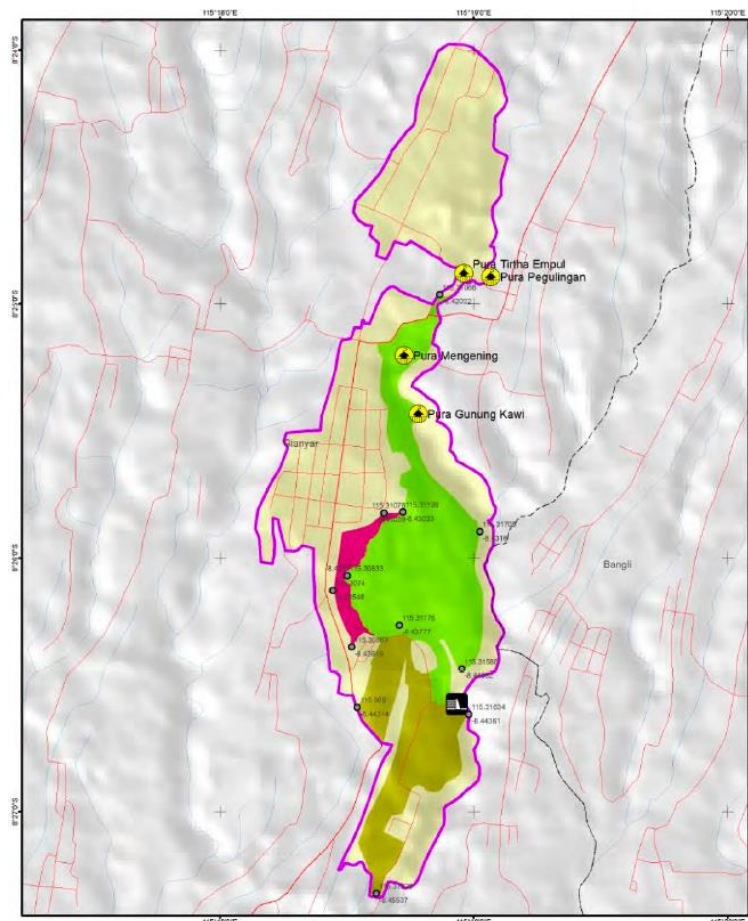
Figure 5-11. Details of the location and area of Subak Pakerisan Watershed

Regency	Gianyar
District	Tampaksiring
Subaks	Pulagan Kulub atas Kulub bawah
Customary villages	Tampaksiring Manukaya let Kulub
Temples	Gunung kawi Tirtha empul Mengening Pegulingan

5.4.3.1 The customary villages

The customary villages of Tampaksiring and Manukaya Let are particularly well-known for their religious and tourism significances. The villages host two temples that have a great significance to Balinese culture and tourism: Pura Tirtha Empul and Pura Gunung Kawi. Both temples are among the first tourism destinations in Bali to receive visitors in 1924, far before the independence of Indonesia. Those visitors were managed by the Tourist Bureau of the Netherland East Indies, who created a tour to the holy spring of Tirtha Empul, the royal tomb of Gunung Kawi, and Tampaksiring village as part of 'the Garden of Eden' and 'a South Sea island paradise' campaign (Picard, 1996: p. 25-27). Although more destinations have since been discovered on the island, these places remain popular among foreign visitors. The reputation of both villages in tourism, religious, and cultural aspects has attracted scholars, artists, and anthropologists around the world.

Following the independence of Indonesia, a presidential palace was built next to Pura Tirtha Empul in 1957. This palace was named after the village of Tampaksiring and became the only presidential palace that was built independently by the Indonesian Government. The palace also became an important landmark for the Balinese as it is the only presidential palace located outside of the main island of Java. This palace demonstrated the strong attachment of the first Indonesian President to the Balinese culture and society.

Thus, it is evident that the local community of Tampaksiring and Manukaya Let have been involved in the tourism sector and activities far before the World Heritage Site inscription. As the local community of Manukaya Let are the *pengempon* (caretaker) of Pura Tirtha Empul, they have been aware and have managed the implication of tourism-related activities since 1924. Similarly, the local community of Tampaksiring are also the *pengempon* of Gunung Kawi temple and has guarded the temple since the arrival of the first tourists on the island. The village itself has been known as the centre of ivory and coconut shell carvers. This is why the local community of both villages have welcomed tourism activities and associated works alongside agricultural activities.

Figure 5-12. The customary village of Tampaksiring
(Source: D. Rahman, May 2018)

The village of Kulub is located adjacent to the village of Tampaksiring. Although the village does not have its own tourism attraction, the residents have also been involved in tourism activities, including owning souvenir shops around Tirtha Empul and Gunung Kawi temples and developing homestays for tourists and visitors. Most residents of Kulub, similar to those in Tampaksiring and Manukaya Let, work both as farmers and tourism workers. Many households own both rice field and tourism-related home business. Therefore, it is not possible to separate farming and tourism activities in these customary villages.

Because of the village's close distance to Ubud, young people of Tampaksiring, Manukaya Let, and Kulub have access to more jobs without the need to leave their house. Many young people work for tourism facilities in Ubud and makes enough money to support their family members who stay in

the village. Those who graduated from university often work in other sectors and have to move to the capital city of Denpasar. Either way, people usually come home for religious ceremonies and important social activities in the village.

5.4.3.2 Water temples and the subak landscape

Water temples are also an essential part of the local community's life and Subak Pakerisan Watershed. It is important to note that a temple or a *Pura* in Bali is not merely seen as a building, but rather a space that is surrounded by walls (see, for instance in Lemon, 2004). In Bali, spatial orientation is strongly connected to spirituality (Eiseman Jr, 1990). Therefore, the location, direction, and design of *Pura* always follow particular principles. The most sacred direction is *kaja* or towards the Mountain Agung and the most impure direction is *kelod* or towards the sea.

There is countless *Pura* within the boundary of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. In addition to *Pura Kahyangan Tiga* that defines the border of each customary village, there are also water temples that are directly linked to *subak*, special temples that have specific purposes, temples that protect sacred places, and family temples. The visitors of those temples are not only the *pengempon* (caretaker) of the temples or people who have direct connections to them, but also pilgrims who come from other parts of the island. In every *piodalan* or temple anniversary, the *pengempon* will prepare and organise the main ceremonies, but other people often come to do *ngayah* (voluntary works) or join the rituals.

Amongst all, Tirtha Empul and Gunung Kawi temples are particularly important for the Balinese because their spring water are considered sacred and possess curative power. The water of Tirtha Empul is regarded as the holiest water in Bali, thus have been sought by the Balinese as part of their important rituals and ceremonies. Over a thousand pilgrims come to both temples daily to collect holy water or to do a purification ritual called *'melukat'*. At certain times of the year, these temples also hold a festival that enables pilgrims to stay overnight or days to ask for blessings.

Tirtha Empul and Gunung Kawi temples, along with Mengening and Pegulingan temples are the important part of *subak* because they constituted the irrigation system. Unlike other *subaks* that usually receive irrigation water from river flows that come from the lakes, the irrigation water of Subak Pakerisan Watershed comes directly from spring water of those temples (see Figure 5-13). The water from these temples is believed to be spiritually and physically powerful as it is not only enough to irrigate the whole *subak* but also to create a river stream of Pakerisan.

Figure 5-13. Pura Mengening
(Source: D. Rahman, November 2019)

The majority of temples around Subak Pakerisan Watershed have undergone several modifications. The material of temples is often replaced when they are considered unsafe or in poor condition, and this will be the responsibility of *pengempon*. As space is the core element of Balinese temples, an extreme change of the temple's physicality will be allowed as long as the spatial concept of the temple is protected. It is therefore common to see reconstruction and beautification of temples, not only in the Bali Cultural Landscape, but also on the whole island.

5.5 Concluding remarks

The 1972 World Cultural and Natural Heritage Convention aims to safeguard the world's most important heritage by establishing the World Heritage List and a set of conservation and management standards. Not every heritage site can be included on the list; only those who meet the criteria of Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity, integrity, and a sufficient management measure can be inscribed and receive the benefit of this international framework.

As a World Heritage Site, the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province was inscribed under the cultural category at its second attempt in 2012. This cultural landscape covers five areas that have been chosen because they demonstrate a fully working traditional irrigation system. This cluster is regarded as the manifestation of the traditional Balinese philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* and managed by an independent committee consists of representatives of relevant governments, academic experts, and *subaks* and customary villages.

Subak Pakerisan Watershed is particularly unique because tourism has been part of the local community since 1924. The area was the first tourism destination in Bali and remains one of the most popular destinations until today. The significance of villages and temples in this area is not only recognised by foreign tourists and scholars but also amongst the Balinese themselves. Pura Tirtha Empul is known as the source of the most powerful and sacred holy water on the island and is still one of the most visited temples by pilgrims and worshipers. The ability of the local community to manage tourism activities has been proven by their success in maintaining the sanctity of the place amidst the growth of tourism industry, development, and modernisation since before the World Heritage Site inscription. The continuity of traditional and religious practices also proves that tourism and socio-cultural change were not the reason for the degradation of the Balinese culture.

CHAPTER 6

Stakeholders' perceptions towards the significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the profile of the Bali Cultural Landscape, particularly Subak Pakerisan Watershed area, was discussed. As the Balinese culture and belief were reviewed, the significance of religious rituals and traditional practices for the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape becomes clear. Alongside a discussion about the World Heritage Convention system, the previous chapter highlighted different meanings of the word *subak* and described the management system of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

Before discussing how socio-cultural change is perceived by the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape, understanding different versions of the Bali Cultural Landscape's significance is necessary. This discussion is particularly useful to further understand how different stakeholders interpret the significance of heritage sites, which may affect their expectation towards an ideal management approach. This chapter, therefore, has two aims. First, it attempts to uncover different versions of the significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape. It is evident that the local community and the World Heritage Committee (WHC) established different ways of valuing the *subak* landscape: the local community values the site from their understanding of the *subak* system and the WHC values the site from the inscription criteria. The second

aim of the chapter is to comprehend this discrepancy and understand its implications on the World Heritage Site management.

This chapter starts by detailing the official values and authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape that are written in the nomination dossier and Statement of Outstanding Universal Values (SOUV). It then moves to discuss the local community's interpretation of *subak* values and authenticity that have been collected from the interviews and ethnography fieldwork. Finally, as different values and significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape are present, this chapter will also analyse the implication of this discrepancy on the management and conservation of the site.

6.2   Different versions of official values and authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape

As explained, State Parties need to compile a nomination dossier that contains a detailed description of nominated heritage sites prior to the World Heritage Site inscription. Once submitted to the WHC, the dossiers would then be assessed by the advisory bodies before the next World Heritage Committee session.[22] If a site was to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, the WHC would issue a decision report that includes a recommended *Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV).* This SOUV encapsulates the significance of the World Heritage property and contains a brief synthesis of

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[22] As explained in the previous chapter, ICOMOS is the advisory body for cultural heritage category, IUCN is the advisory body for natural heritage category, and both IUCN and ICOMOS are the advisory bodies for cultural landscape and mixed category. All evaluations of the advisory bodies are concluded with a recommendation to inscribe, refer, defer, or not to inscribe heritage sites. See UNESCO (2019a) for details.

the site, OUV, authenticity, integrity, and management and protection requirements which then become a reference for future conservation strategies.

Although rarely discussed, it is plausible for an SOUV to differ from a nomination dossier, particularly in explaining the significance of World Heritage Site. The discrepancy between the nomination dossier and SOUV might seem trivial as the latter is a much shorter document than the former. However, considering that conservation-related activities, including monitoring and evaluation, recommendation, and reactive monitoring activities, use the SOUV as its primary reference, the discrepancy between the SOUV and nomination dossier could significantly impact the management of World Heritage Sites.

By observing the nomination dossier and the SOUV, this thesis discovered that those documents recorded different values and authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This could indicate different interpretations between the WHC and the National Government regarding the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province or a flaw in the nomination process.

The Cultural Landscape of Bali Province was inscribed to the World Heritage List under criteria (iii), (v), and (vi). Initially, the Indonesian Government also proposed the landscape to be inscribed under the criterion (ii), but it was refused by ICOMOS. The table below explains the criteria under which *subak* landscape was inscribed, and therefore the Outstanding Universal Values of the property. According to the nomination dossier, the Bali Cultural Landscape is an implementation of the *Tri Hita Karana* Philosophy, which is regarded as

a traditional concept that formed the Balinese landscape. *Tri Hita Karana* (three causes of goodness) is a principle that encourages a harmonious relationship between individuals and the realms of the spirit (*parahyangan*), individuals and the human world (*pawongan*), as well as individuals and nature (*palemahan*).

Table 6-1. Justifications of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Bali Cultural Landscape (Summarised from World Heritage Committee, 2012)

Criteria	Justifications
(iii) Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared.	• The ancient philosophical concept of Tri Hita Karana has shaped the landscape of Bali since the 12th century. • The *subaks* and water temples of Bali reflect the Balinese philosophical principle Tri Hita Karana (three causes of goodness) which promotes a harmonious relationship between the individual, the realms of the spirit, the human world and nature. • The institution of *subak* and water temples give spiritual meaning to the governance of the rice terraces.
(v) Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.	• Balinese water temple networks represent an exceptional response to the challenge of supporting a dense population on a rugged volcanic island in a monsoonal area of Bali. • The water temple networks traditionally copes with various farming problems by enabling *subaks* to adjust irrigation schedules.
(vi) Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.	• Balinese water temples are unique institutions which have drawn inspiration from several ancient religious traditions including *Saivasiddhanta* and *Samkhyā Hinduism*, *Vajrayana Buddhism* and Austronesian cosmology. • The ceremonies associated with the temples and their role in the practical management of water crystalise the ideas of Tri Hita Karana philosophy.

The Indonesian Government argued that the *subak* landscape demonstrates an interchange of ideas and values between two different cultures. By underlining the importance of *tirtha* in Bali, the nomination dossier highlighted the link between the Javanese and Balinese culture and proposed this significance be acknowledged under the criterion (ii). Unfortunately, ICOMOS and the WHC decided that this value was not demonstrated by the presence of attributes in the *subak* landscape, therefore considered unjustified. This thesis, however, contests this decision. Similar to the Balinese society, the Javanese culture also values holy water and rituals, which could be seen in many recent activities. Moreover, many scholars acknowledged that the Balinese culture was indeed rooted in the old Javanese culture (Forge, 1980; Robson, 1981; Fox, 2003). Although this cultural interchange is evident, it was arguably left unrecognised as a value of the Bali Cultural Landscape due to the lack of physical attributes.

The WHC considers the Bali Cultural Landscape as an outstanding example of a traditional land use. Through the SOUV and the decision report, the WHC recognised how the sophisticated *subak* system deals with water scarcity and pests. As this system has enabled farming communities to survive for hundreds of years, albeit located in a monsoonal area with close proximity to volcanic mountains, the *subak* system and water temple network were inscribed under the criterion (iii). The criterion (iii) highlighted the ability of the *subak* system to survive environmental challenges and unstable climate. However, Chapter 7 and 9 will discuss how this ability has been threatened by inappropriate management strategies.

The nomination dossier proposed the *subak* landscape to be recognised under the criterion (vi) due to its connection with several ancient traditions (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). The dossier argued that the water temple rites have traditional purposes of maintaining a harmonious relationship between humans and nature, in addition to religious ceremonies, spiritual performances, and offerings, which are all crucial for maintaining a strong relationship between humans and the spiritual realms. Here, the nomination dossier clearly highlighted the significance of *subak's* intangible aspect, which unfortunately has not been acknowledged in the SOUV. The SOUV, in contrast, only recognised the significance of water temples and ceremonies, diminished the long list of intangible components that are crucial for the *subak* system and relevant for the criterion (vi).

Considering that the SOUV is used as a baseline for future conservation and management strategies, the distinction between heritage significance acknowledged by the nomination dossier and the SOUV could arguably bring significant implications for the Bali Cultural Landscape. Although the Indonesian Government attempted to acknowledge intangible aspects of *subak* in the nomination dossier, the World Heritage Committee did not make sufficient effort in acknowledging these aspects in the SOUV. Without physical attributes, it is clear that a value cannot be justified and recognised as an Outstanding Universal Value. For instance, criteria (iii), (v), and (vi) are justified by the congregation of water temples and the *subak* landscape whereas the presence of *tirtha* and religious rituals in both Javanese and Balinese culture could not justify the criterion (ii) as it lacks tangible evidence.

Authenticity is also interpreted differently in the nomination dossier and the SOUV. The nomination dossier mentioned that the authenticity of Bali Cultural Landscape should be determined by the continuity of traditions instead of material aspects of culture. It also discussed that authenticity of the site should always be validated as long as there is a well-documented information and farmers consider the site as an authentic manifestation of their belief.

Amongst five individual sites that are chosen as part of the Bali Cultural Landscape, Subak Pakerisan Watershed was chosen by the Indonesian Government for the interconnection between temples, rice fields, villages, and the local community as well as its ability to demonstrate a continuous living tradition. The nomination dossier argued that archaeological inscriptions found around the Pakerisan river showed that Subak Pakerisan Watershed is the origin of the *subak* system. The presence of those archaeological inscriptions is enough for the Indonesian Government to justify the authenticity of Subak Pakerisan Watershed (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). Although this judgement illustrated the Government's accurate understanding of the definition of authenticity as *'factors qualifying values'* instead of *'the condition of originality'*, authenticity is nevertheless still determined by the presence of material aspects. Immaterial aspects of *subak* such as the organisation, traditional village rules, and interrelationship between all elements have not been used to confirm the authenticity of the heritage site and values.

However, the WHC has a contrasting perception towards the authenticity of Bali Cultural Landscape. It is noted that:

> *"The authenticity of the terraced landscapes, forests, water management structures, temples and shrines in terms of the way they convey Outstanding Universal Value and reflect the subak system is clear.*
>
> *The overall interaction between people and the landscape is however highly vulnerable and, if the sites are still to reflect the harmonious relationship with the spiritual world and the ancient philosophical concept of Tri Hita Karana, it will be essential for the management system to offer positive support.*
>
> *The village buildings have to a degree lost some of their authenticity in terms of materials and construction, although they are still functionally linked to the landscape."* (World Heritage Committee, 2012: p.175)

As seen, the WHC's version of authenticity did not incorporate the interpretation written in the nomination dossier. Thus, although Lawless and Silva (2017) considered the nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape as amongst a few documents that fully integrate the Nara Document for determining authenticity, this thesis argued that this integration was still not reflected in the SOUV and therefore is not reflected in the management of the site. In other words, the statement of authenticity adopted in the SOUV still demonstrates the use of physical criteria to assess the authenticity of the World Heritage Site.

In the SOUV, the relationship between Bali Cultural Landscape and the local community is considered 'highly vulnerable'. The SOUV also argued that change in the material and construction of village buildings would affect the site's authenticity. Interestingly, these issues were not raised as a problem in the nomination dossier.

In relation to integrity, the nomination dossier asserted that the Bali Cultural Landscape is *'still vibrant and resilient'*. The Government argued that the Bali Cultural Landscape has prohibited destructive development pressures, maintained unpolluted spring water sources, and protected the rice field

terraces and archaeological remains. In contrast, the SOUV declared that the terraced landscape is vulnerable to social and economic change, including change in farming practices, tourism pressures, and development of tourism infrastructures.

In that light, this thesis argues that the contrasting interpretation written in the nomination dossier and the SOUV may also bring serious implications on the future management of the Bali Cultural Landscape. First, the SOUV disregarded the fact that intangible aspects have been a major part of the *subak* system. Although the Indonesian Government has explicitly asked intangible components of *subak* to be listed as the attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape, it is only water temples, monasteries, villages, rice terraces that were acknowledged as the site's attributes. The only intangible aspect acknowledged in the SOUV is the *subak* system itself. Secondly, the gap between the nomination dossier and the SOUV has forced the Indonesian Government to change their interpretation of the Bali Cultural Landscape and their management strategy in order to align with the SOUV. Consequently, the Indonesian Government and site managers felt the need to '*educate*' the local community regarding the significance and the appropriate conservation strategy of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

6.3 Values of *subak* from the local community perspective

Many scholars argued that the process of determining Outstanding Universal Values often involved more experts than the local community of heritage sites (e.g. Deacon & Smeets, 2013; James & Winter, 2017; Cocks *et al.*, 2018). Macrae (2017) also added that 'awkward' engagement is often present in the

management of World Heritage Sites as there is a gap between local community and the WHC in interpreting heritage values. Through fieldwork data collection, this thesis identified more values that were not acknowledged as part of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Although OUV transcends national boundaries and is considered important for World Heritage Site management,[23] an understanding of 'local' values is crucial to protect local community and local culture. After all, it is the objective of the World Heritage Convention to ensure the well-being of the local community of World Heritage Sites.

My fieldwork data collection began with an investigation of the importance of *subak* for the local community.[24] As discussed in section 5.3.3, the word *subak* means several things for the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed, which is why it is vital to avoid limiting the meaning into merely 'the landscape'. Since the local community has various interpretations regarding the meaning of *subak*, they also assign different values to it. The figure below illustrates more than 40 discussions related to *subak* values that have been grouped into similar topics using NVivo software.

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[23] UNESCO defines OUV as *".... cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole."* (UNESCO, 2019a: par.49)
[24] Using the exact question '*Apa pentingnya subak untuk anda?*' or if translated into English '*What is the importance of subak for you?*'

Figure 6-1. Different values assigned to *subak* by the local community

Name	Files	References⌄
▼ ◉ VALUES OF SUBAK	10	49
▶ ◉ Tourism potentials	4	11
▶ ◉ Economic value	6	10
▶ ◉ Religious value	3	8
▶ ◉ The people or the organisation	5	7
▶ ◉ Tri Hita Karana	3	5
▶ ◉ Symbolic value	2	2
▶ ◉ A piece of land	1	1
▶ ◉ Farming system (awig-awig)	1	1
◉ NO Outstanding Universal Value	1	1
▶ ◉ NOT Tri HIta Karana	1	1
◉ Sentimental value	1	1
◉ Taksu	1	1

As seen, some values were discussed more by the respondents than other values. This data is useful for understanding how *subak* values are understood by the local community and expert group. *Tri Hita Karana* was recognised as a value more by respondents and farmers who work with site managers and those involved in the World Heritage Site nomination process. This value, however, is less popular amongst farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Many farmers did not mention *Tri Hita Karana* when they were asked about the importance of *subak* as many of them considered *subak* as tourism and economic assets. Moreover, some farmers also denied *subak* as the manifestation of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. They argued that *Tri Hita Karana* was not specifically linked to rice fields and *subak* as it can be seen in many aspects within the Balinese society, including in the village and temple system (R25, R8). Another farmer even mentioned that *Tri Hita Karana* is less evident in *subak* because it is now more difficult to maintain a sustainable farming activity (R4).

The Balinese and international scholars have contributed to several debates related to *Tri Hita Karana* and its significance for Balinese society. Roth & Sedana (2015) demonstrated that the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* is neither 'traditional' nor distinctive to farming activities. Quite the contrary, *Tri Hita Karana* was invented in 1964 to dictate and control the behaviour of the Balinese society so they could adjust to their physical and non-physical surrounding (Pitana, 2010). *Subak's* reference to *Tri Hita Karana* was first established in the late 1990s by Balinese authors, more than twenty years after the concept was adopted as a Balinese philosophy (Sutawan, 2008; Roth and Sedana, 2015). Hence, Pedersen and Dharmiasih (2015) and Roth & Sedana (2015) argued that *Tri Hita Karana* is an invented tradition that is highly connected to political movements in Bali. Nevertheless, the ability of the Balinese society to adopt and assimilate new cultures and concepts has ensured the successful integration of *Tri Hita Karana* into the Balinese culture (see also section 7.4).

Several discussions about the symbolic value of *subak* were raised by farmers. Some of them believe that as an inheritance, rice field connects its owner to their ancestors, which is why the abandonment of rice fields would be considered the abandonment of the ancestors (R39, R25, R22, R19, R39, R10). This belief has prevented many farmers from selling their rice fields. A respondent added that farmers' nostalgic feeling regarding rice fields was also one of the reasons for preserving it.

> *"I see that people go to rice field every day while still having to work in other places. Why don't they focus on the other then? I think the rice field is only… it is only (related to) a sentimental feeling. 'Wow this rice field is a heritage from my ancestor…' that is it. It will forever be like that. I am like that too. I will inherit my father's rice field and will need to maintain it… I am confident I will not sell it. I will find relatives to whom I can pay to work in the rice field. And it will be repeated in*

> *the future. Rice field will never become a source of income, but it also will not be sold to other people." (R21)*

Rice fields are also considered sacred. The local community demonstrated that religious rituals are needed to maintain the sanctity of the rice field, which is also necessary to ensure a successful harvest and a blessed rice crop. Inappropriate behaviours and words are prohibited around rice fields, otherwise, massive cleansing and purifying ceremonies would need to be performed to restore its sacred condition.

Subak and religious activities cannot be separated. The significance of subak for religious activities in Bali is also acknowledged by all respondents. A respondent explained that rice is used in many offerings and religious ceremonies. As *'pengempon pura',*[25] owning rice fields help the local community to fulfil their duty to the society and temple, including for *'ngayah'* (R39).[26] The rice, snails, eels, and brans of Subak Pulagan, which is part of Subak Pakerisan Watershed, are also sought by people across the island as it is considered the most sacred and powerful component of many religious rituals.

A respondent stated that the *subak* system is a combination of farming and religious rituals that cannot be separated (R29). *Awig-awig* is a crucial aspect of *subak* since it regulates both farming and religious activities (R22). Another

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[25] *Pengempon pura* (the caretaker of temples) is a group of people who are responsible for the maintenance as well as the sustainability of a temple, including carrying religious activities. See details in section 5.3.2.

[26] *Ngayah* has different connotations in different parts of Bali. It is similar to volunteering work. In some places, it means to help out, usually in the context of religious or community activities. In other places, it means to devote oneself to a particular cause in order to receive God's blessings, also including religious and community activities. See also section 5.3.2.

respondent argued that the religious value of *subak* is the most important value that can protect *subak* from destruction (R20). This is because many *subak* temples are still standing regardless of the disappearance of their surrounding rice fields. This respondent believed that *subak* would never be disappeared as long as the Balinese could sustain their religious belief and practices.

In addition to symbolic and religious values, the *subak* organisation itself is regarded as one of the most valuable aspects of the system (R19, R20, R22). As *subak* was established to manage the use of water, the presence of an organisation to coordinate such work was crucial (R22). The *subak* organisation also plays a crucial role in maintaining inherited skills and knowledge that are used to sustain farming activities. This is why a decline of the relationship between *subak* members is considered one of the most dangerous threats for the whole system (R19). Quoting from a respondent:

> *"The organisation system is what makes subak different. That is its soul, its spirit… When farmers still have collective awareness, subak can be protected, I believe subak can be sustainable. But, when the communality becomes individuality, subak will be vulnerable… The ability to have collective awareness is inherited from the past. An inheritance. This is something valuable, a possession that has been passed down from generation to generation." (R20)*

Another value of *subak,* and arguably the most important for the local community, is the economic value. The agricultural sector has a pivotal role in Tampaksiring village as it is still the main livelihood of the local community. Although many farmers do not depend solely on rice crops anymore, few families still receive their primary income from the agricultural sector. Respondents mentioned that the *subak* landscape is also an asset that can be used to gain additional income from tourism activities (R33, R4, R5, R3). It is not unusual for rice field owners to be paid by hotels and restaurants to provide

an 'authentic Balinese scenery' for visitors (R3, R33). It is also common for farmers to convert rice fields and use it to build tourism supporting facilities, including restaurants, cafes, and homestays (R2, R19, R41). Thus, it is not surprising when several respondents argued that the value of *subak* landscape is currently determined predominantly by its economic value (R4, R5).

This thesis discovered that values of rice fields and *subak* would depend on the social class, economic condition, and the individual roles of the local community within the society. For instance, farmers who have bigger rice fields often have more intentions to sell some parts of their rice fields than those with smaller rice fields. Other farmers who have better economic condition consider the symbolic value to be more important than the economic value of *subak* compared to those in poorer economic conditions. It is confirmed by a respondent that:

> *"…so, the answer to your question regarding how important rice fields for farmers: it is different because people are different. There are those people whose main occupation is farmer, but there are those who work as a farmer only because they have responsibilities (to their ancestors). People who only received their financial income from the rice fields will feel different than people who consider farming as a side job." (R19)*

As shown in Table 6-2, the OUV of the Bali Cultural Landscape and the value of subak from the local community's perspective are different. For the local community, *subak* was most importantly established to enable farmers to receive enough water for rice production. Therefore, the *subak* organisation is vital to coordinate farmers, the traditional farming system is crucial to optimise rice production, and the religious rituals are needed to ensure continuous blessings and protection for rice crops. In addition to that, *subak* is considered

to have economic value as rice fields are the source of income for many farmers and families.

Table 6-2. Comparison between the OUV of the Bali Cultural Landscape and values of *subak* from the local community's perspective.

The OUV of Bali Cultural Landscape	The values of *subak*
Tri Hita Karana Religious value The farming system	The subak organisation The farming system Social value (*krama* subak)[27] Religious value Symbolic value Economic value

By understanding the local community's interpretation of *subak* values, it becomes possible to also understand the dilemmas faced by the local community regarding *subak* protection (R16, R26, R41). Although rice fields symbolise the relationship between rice field owners and their ancestors, selling or leasing rice fields would drastically improve the economic condition of local farmers who currently live with less than £150 per month.[28] Currently, the price of rice crops cannot cover the high rice production cost. As additional jobs are not always accessible, several farmers have considered selling, renting, or converting their rice fields to obtain more income.

However, as a World Heritage Site, the rice fields of Subak Pakerisan Watershed are currently banned from being converted to other functions, which concern many farmers and members of the local community. Several

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[27] Members of *subak* organisation.
[28] According to farmers, in one harvest season, they only receive a total of £139 or Rp 2,500,000. This is only enough to cover basic necessities but not enough to access proper education and healthcare for the whole family.

respondents admitted that this action would indeed protect rice field terraces from disappearing (R22, R26). However, it would also create an obstacle to many families that want to achieve a better economic condition and access modernisation and development (R16, R26).

The nomination dossier has indeed recognised some *subak* values. However, it failed to understand that all *subak* values and components need to be equally protected in order to sustain a working *subak*. It is evident that both the management plan and the SOC reports do not consider the protection of the *subak* organisation and the relationship between farmers of paramount importance. Arguably, this situation can be linked to the content of the SOUV. The SOUV's tendency to recognise tangible attributes of the landscape and to focus on the protection of tangible aspects of *subak* has affected the conservation and management approach. Consequently, the management of intangible components of *subak*, other than the *subak* system itself, were considered less important for the sustainability of the World Heritage Site.

6.4 Authenticity from the local community perspective

Lawless & Silva (2017) found that the majority of the nomination dossiers of 31 World Heritage Sites had used the outdated criteria of authenticity even after the adoption of the Nara Document. The nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape is mentioned to be an exception as it incorporated the local community's understanding and perspective. According to Lawless & Silva (2017: p.155), the nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape *'clearly articulates how authenticity is based on values and perceptions of its local cultural community…'* and that *'the relationship between temples, people, and*

their agricultural landscape is established as the primary contours that define

cultural heritage of the subak landscape and not any specific material

dimensions of the place and its physical structures'. However, as discussed

before, this thesis discovered that this approach to authenticity was only used

in the nomination dossier but not incorporated into the management plan or in

the SOUV.

The nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape mentioned that

authenticity should be judged and considered within its cultural context. It is

stated that:

> *"However, it is important to note that it is the usual custom for the Balinese to continuously refurbish, modify and embellish their traditional architecture, including religious sanctuaries…. For the Balinese, it is not the material aspects of culture which determine the authenticity of their cultural heritage, but the ongoing traditions. Much of Balinese material culture is comprised of degradable materials such as wood and soft volcanic tuff. Therefore, it is common practice for the Balinese to renew and replace the material aspects of their temples and other structures as the materials become worn and climatological circumstances warrant."* (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011: p. III-20)

This statement clearly indicated that authenticity should be determined from

the continuity of Balinese traditions and emphasised that material aspects,

including traditional architecture and structures, are objects to constant

modification and embellishment in Bali. As the nomination dossier seems to

advocate the elimination of material originality as the criteria of authenticity, it

can be postulated that the dossier sees authenticity as *'the condition of*

originality' rather than *'qualifying factors concerning values'*. The nomination

dossier also presented several archaeological inscriptions as a source that can

verify the value of *subak*. However, the management plan demanded the

protection of material aspects to be a mechanism of protecting authenticity.

The discrepancy between the nomination dossier and management plan

shows that the Indonesian Government itself is inconsistent with their interpretation of authenticity.

Discussions about authenticity rarely appeared during my conversation with farmers and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. The local community often talked about authenticity when they were asked. Similar to the discussion on *Tri Hita Karana*, the discussion about authenticity were usually short and uncomfortable. Many farmers in Subak Pakerisan Watershed admitted that they were not involved in the nomination process, thus only received insufficient and unclear information regarding values and authenticity of the World Heritage Site after the inscription (R12, R22). From the fieldwork findings, this thesis discovered that the local community and the expert groups, who are also the managers of the Bali Cultural Landscape, interpret authenticity differently.[29]

The closest translation of authenticity that can be understood in Indonesian language is '*asli*' or '*otentik*'. However, this word is equivalent to *'original'* in English, which differs from authenticity in the World Heritage Site context. The Balinese itself has a different meaning of '*asli*' in their language: it refers to *'the origin'* if translated into English or *'asal'* in Indonesian language. Therefore, inquiring about the authenticity of *subak* using its closest translation of Indonesian language *'asli'* is problematic as it may have different meanings for the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed.

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[29] As discussed in section 5.4.2, the site managers of Bali Cultural Landscape are the Governing Assembly and/or the Coordination Forum, the different levels of governments, academics, and related NGOs.

The local community might interpret my question about authenticity as a question about 'originality' or the 'origin' of *subak*. The first interpretation would baffle the local community as everything in Bali has continually changed (see further 7.4.2). The second interpretation also confuses the local community as knowing the origin of *subak* was not considered necessary as it has been part of the Balinese culture long before they were born. Hence, by its denotation, authenticity does not exist in the Balinese culture.

Figure 6-2 illustrates my attempt to understand the local community's interpretation of authenticity. My initial question concerning the authenticity of an object or activity was usually answered by a 'yes' by the local community. I then made further inquiries to investigate and compare how several activities and objects were different in the past. Through such questions, the local community was able to identify the distinction between activities in the past and the present. This study discovered that although changes have been made towards many objects and activities, the local community still regards those objects and activities as authentic or original. For instance, regardless of rapid modernisation in farming activities, the local community would still regard the whole farming process as authentic (see also section 7.3.2). Likewise, regardless of the change of prayer time and content of offerings, the local community considers religious rituals and traditional practices authentic. This observation confirmed Vickers's (2012) argument that the Balinese society needs to change in order to protect their 'unchanged' cultural essence. These phenomena also indicate that there is no such thing as authentic or original in the Balinese culture. Therefore, it proves that by its concept, authenticity also does not exist in the Balinese culture.

This finding, most importantly, highlights the absence of an equivalent Balinese term for authenticity and demonstrates that the local community does not know what to expect from authenticity or originality. As the Balinese regularly modifies their laws, systems, and traditions, they are not at all accustomed to static conditions (Hobart, 2016; Vickers, 2012; Picard, 1990). In fact, the Balinese has a traditional philosophy that opposes the concept of authenticity: *desakalapatra*.[30] The philosophy signifies the need for the Balinese society to adjust their actions to different times, places, and circumstances.

Figure 6-2. Example of a fieldwork conversation regarding authenticity

Q: Are ceremonies still authentic?
A: Yes, they are still authentic

Q: Have the ceremonies or the way you pray changed?
A: No, there has been no change

Q: Have you always prayed in the morning?
A: No, we used to pray in the evening. Now, as we need to work with tourist, we pray in the morning

Q: Did you also put *snacks* in the offering in the past?
A: No, we used to put *traditional Balinese food* in the offerings because it was easier to be made

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[30] *Desa*: place, *kala*: time, *patra*: context/condition. Therefore, all actions should be modified appropriately according to the place, time, and circumstances. Similarly, meanings of events and objects are also unique to specific time, place, and situation (Paramadhyaksa *et al.*, 2016; Herbst, 1997).

Unlike farmers and the local community, respondents who are involved in the management board of the Bali Cultural Landscape are more familiar with the term authenticity. One of them, quoted below, argued that the authenticity of Bali Cultural Landscape is directly linked to the condition of the *subak* system. He argued that as long as the *subak* system works, the Bali Cultural Landscape will also stay authentic.

> *"Yes, the criteria (of OUV) determine the authenticity (of the site). Authenticity could be physical and could be a set of thoughts, the way the system works. If the system (of subak) does not work, it decreases the authenticity. If the system disappears, the authenticity (of the site) will change." (R1)*

Another respondent mentioned that authenticity of the *subak* landscape should be seen from the implementation of *Tri Hita Karana* (R2). He believed that as long as *subak* members live in harmony with Gods through rituals, live harmoniously with other members, and protect their environment, *subak* can be considered authentic. This respondent interpreted authenticity as the uniqueness of a place, in which without it, Outstanding Universal Values do not exist. As *Tri Hita Karana* distinguishes the *subak* landscape from other rice fields terraces outside of Bali, he argued that authenticity would stay intact as long as *Tri Hita Karana* is sustained. This argument, however, neglected the fact that *Tri Hita Karana* was not only present in farming activities but also in other aspects of the Balinese society, including in house compounds, customary villages, and the temple system. Should *Tri Hita Karana* disappears from rice fields, the philosophy would still be implemented in other places and activities.

Another respondent mentioned that authenticity is related to the appreciation of Outstanding Universal Values (R6). He argued that authenticity would be

disturbed when the local community changes the way they implement *Tri Hita Karana* in the agricultural context. He also asserted that the alteration of material aspects and farming methods would inevitably affect the level of authenticity in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that maintaining traditional farming methods is a challenge. The local community is also facing a dilemma between maintaining authenticity and improving farming efficiency.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that unlike the local community, site managers have more experience and knowledge regarding the notion of authenticity. However, it must be noted that each site manager understood authenticity differently and has different ideas about the criteria of its assessment. Their statements illustrated that authenticity was not understood as 'factors qualifying values' but rather 'the condition of originality'. Nevertheless, it is evident from their arguments that intangible aspects of *subak* are considered vital for assessing the authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

It is clear that site managers and the local community do not have the same level of understanding of authenticity. It is also undeniable that amongst the site managers themselves, authenticity was understood and interpreted differently. As there is no standard interpretation of authenticity between stakeholders of the Bali Cultural Landscape, coordinating management and conservation actions at the national and local level is therefore problematic.

6.5 Evaluating the discrepancy between the local community and the World Heritage Committee in interpreting *subak* values and authenticity

6.5.1 Values and attributes of *subak*

It is now evident that Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) does not entirely reflect the local community's interpretation of heritage values. This thesis, therefore, disagrees with heritage scholars who stated that heritage management issues are triggered by the local community's lack of awareness (Ghanem & Saad, 2015; Iliopoulou-Georgudaki *et al.*, 2017; Abascal, Fluker & Jiang, 2015; Zhang, *et al.*, 2014). Instead, this thesis argues that different versions of heritage values existed and hindered effective communication and collaboration between local community, site managers, and the WHC.

As explained in the previous chapter, the word *subak* has four different meanings for the local community: the irrigation system, the organisation, the farmers, and the rice fields. Unlike the WHC and the Indonesian Government who determine heritage values from the criteria of OUV, the local community determines heritage values from components that constitute a working *subak*. Depending on their roles in the customary village and *subak* organisation, farmers and the local community also have different perceptions regarding which *subak* components are considered the most valuable. Nevertheless, they consider *subak* as an integrated system which needs all components to be equally maintained.

There are also different interpretations regarding attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Determining the correct attributes, which are the physical

elements, tangible or intangible aspects, or processes that convey the Outstanding Universal Values of a site (Marco, 2013), is essential for developing appropriate management strategies for World Heritage Sites. Attributes would inform objects that should be protected in order to retain the Outstanding Universal Value and the World Heritage status. Figure 6-3 below illustrates different attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape as explained by the WHC and the local community. As seen, since the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape recognised more values from the site, they also acknowledged more attributes. More importantly, the local community acknowledged many intangible attributes because they consider intangible elements as the core component of *subak*. They have also been concerned about the lack of strategy for preventing the degradation of sacredness and *taksu* of the rice fields.[31]

Figure 6-3. Different *subak* attributes from the World Heritage Committee and the local community perspective

World Heritage Committee

Local Community

terraces landscape
subak system
irrigation weirs & tunnels
water temples
water sources
shrines
villages
forests

organisation
people
rituals
social relationship
sanctity
taksu

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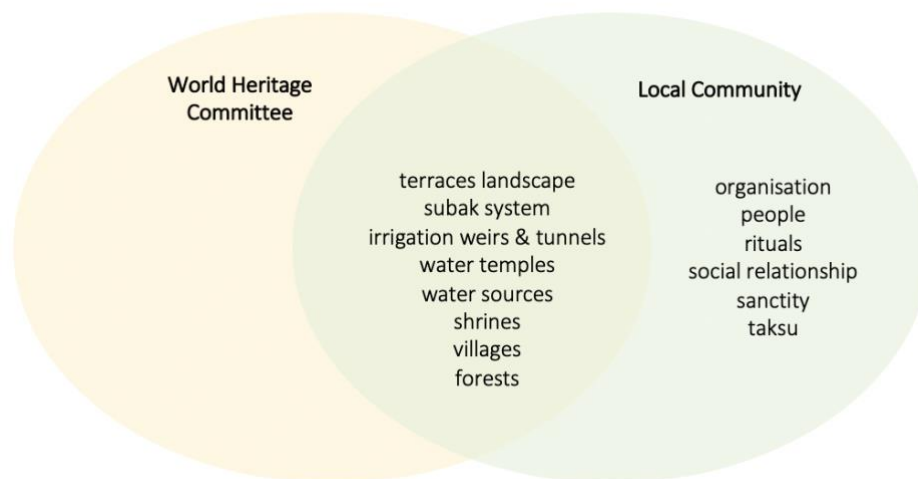
[31] *Taksu* is an indigenous Balinese concept which refers to the strong spiritual energy present within an object or a person (Davies, 2007).

The local community considers the protection of cultural beliefs and social relationships foremost important. Without those, rice fields would have less cultural significance and therefore would be much degraded in size since the agricultural sector could not provide sufficient income for the local community. Without its cultural essence, rice fields are merely a land plot that are more beneficial to be converted into tourism facilities or other functions. Thus, in addition to an economic issue, land conversion should also be seen as an issue concerning the degradation of symbolic and cultural values. When farmers' attachment to their cultural beliefs are weakened, rice fields would no longer be considered sacred or a symbol of relationship between farmers and their ancestors. By focusing site's management only on the protection of *subak* landscape, water temple networks, and other tangible attributes, site managers will not address the root problem of land conversion. On the contrary, they have developed inappropriate conservation strategies and indicated their inadequacy in understanding the Balinese culture and society.

The inability of the WHC to prioritise the protection of *subak* organisation is linked to their limitation in understanding the importance of social relationship and the role of community in the Balinese social system. As discussed in section 5.3.2, most social and religious activities are organised and conducted communally, in which people are obliged to participate. Any decision concerning villages, temples, ceremonies, and other Balinese institutions are made by its members and strengthened by customary laws. Hence, the deterioration of the *subak* organisation may be linked to the decline of the Balinese social system.

6.5.2 Authenticity

Authenticity has been discussed, debated, and redefined since its first global use in cultural heritage preservation in 1964. Since its adoption in 1978, authenticity has been known as a complicated notion despite being one of the main selection criteria for World Heritage Site. In line with studies conducted by Labadi (2007) and Lawless and Silva (2017), this thesis demonstrated that authenticity is often misunderstood by many stakeholders and that the criteria of authenticity written in the Nara Document were not used as it was intended.

This thesis discovered that the WHC did not fully adopt the version of authenticity that is written in the nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Consequently, the importance of intangible aspects as criteria of the authenticity of Bali Cultural Landscape was left unrecognised. A considerable gap between the WHC and the Indonesian Government in interpreting authenticity is evident. It will raise a more complicated problem when it comes to choosing which version should be used to develop management actions. As the WHC is the most authoritative stakeholder within the World Heritage Convention system, and because the SOUV is developed as a reference for future conservation of World Heritage Sites, it is plausible that the version of authenticity written in the nomination dossier would be disregarded.

This situation implies that the authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape has drifted even further away from the local context and the local community's perspective. Although the nomination dossier argued that authenticity should be considered from the continuity of traditions, the absence of this statement

in the SOUV disarticulated crucial information regarding the importance of intangible aspects for sustaining the Bali Cultural Landscape. However, as discussed, the concept of authenticity was not understood by the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape. Thus, it can be argued that neither the version of authenticity in the nomination dossier nor the SOUV is actually judged within the local context.

The Nara Document stated that an understanding of authenticity plays a crucial role in the nomination, conservation, and management of World Heritage Sites (see further section 3.4.2). However, it is unclear who has the authority to decide authenticity and for whom it should benefit. Since authenticity is '*factors qualifying values'*, those who are able to determine authenticity of heritage sites has an authority to judge the genuineness of the sites' values. Arguably, as caretakers of the site who have contributed to assigning, sustaining, and changing heritage values, local community should be the one who makes this judgement. However, they unlikely needs to verify heritage values and their beliefs when heritage sites are changed or modified since they are often involved in allowing this change. Thus, this thesis postulates that the local community of heritage sites would benefit the least from the assessment and protection of authenticity.

In contrast, authenticity could benefit heritage experts as it becomes a way to legitimise their expertise (Smith, 2006). It also benefits the WHC because it helps to limit the number of World Heritage Sites and disperses the AHD into wider audience (see also section 4.4 and 9.3). The notion of authenticity will maintain the WHC's authority in decision making and could also maintain the standard of conservation and heritage knowledge around the world.

Being used as a tool to validate the credibility of heritage sites, the concept of authenticity arguably only works in static heritage monuments. The appropriateness of authenticity for living heritage sites is questioned because this concept cannot accommodate a swift and continuous change. In the case of changing heritage sites and values, authenticity becomes problematic since evidence that could demonstrate the credibility of new values may be difficult to find, especially when it needs to be tangible. In changing heritage sites, local community might be the only *'source of information'* [32] that can validate new values of heritage sites. However, this alone could not be used as a proof of authenticity in the World Heritage Site context.

Interestingly, *Tri Hita Karana* is precisely proof that authenticity is not needed by the local community and for the protection of the Bali Cultural Landscape. As discussed, *Tri Hita Karana* is a relatively new philosophy that was created in 1964. Although *subak* and *Tri Hita Karana* was claimed to be connected for a thousand years, *Tri Hita Karana* was only linked to *subak* in the 1990s as a part of political movements (Sutawan, 2008; Roth and Sedana, 2015). Regardless of its new establishment, *Tri Hita Karana* is considered a traditional Balinese concept, including by those who live around Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Although the exclusive link between *Tri Hita Karana* and *subak* is denied by several farmers, the philosophy was accepted as a traditional concept and has been integrated into the villages, temples, *subak*, and other

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[32] As stated in the Nara Document of Authenticity point 9: *"Our ability to understand these values, depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful".*

social and cultural systems. This demonstrated that although a new value, *Tri Hita Karana* has already become a genuine concept for the Balinese society.

6.6   Concluding remarks

The gaps between the interpretation of the WHC, Indonesian Government, and the local community in interpreting values and authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape are evident. These gaps exist as they have a different understanding of the concept of *subak*, the Balinese culture, and the heritage site itself. The WHC and the Indonesian Government, for instance, interpret values of the Bali Cultural Landscape through the OUV. The local community, on the contrary, understands the values of the site from four components of *subak:* the rice fields, the irrigation system, the organisation, and the farmers, that are crucial for sustaining agricultural activities. Stakeholders also have different perceptions towards the importance of intangible value for *subak* protection. Whilst the local community considered intangible values and attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape of paramount importance, the WHC did not see the protection of intangible attributes as a priority.

A discrepancy is also observed in the way the local community, site managers, and the WHC perceive authenticity. The local community is unfamiliar with authenticity because there is no equivalent concept in the Balinese culture. They also did not understand originality as their traditional concept of *'desakalapatra'* indicated that anything is authentic and original at a certain time, place, and circumstance. This philosophy has shaped their adaptive character and strengthened their abilities to sustain the Balinese culture in different situations. Site managers of the Bali Cultural Landscape, however,

did not acknowledge that the notion of authenticity conflicts with this adaptive character of the Balinese society (see also Chapter 7).

Seen from the nomination dossier, it is evident that site managers recognised the significance of intangible aspects for determining authenticity and sustaining the Bali Cultural Landscape. Unfortunately, the SOUV left out many information and the official version of authenticity has drifted further away from its local context. The SOUV disregarded not only the significance of intangible aspect of *subak,* but also information that material aspects should not be used to judge the authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

This chapter argues that this discrepancy has a massive implication on conservation and management of the Bali Cultural Landscape as it hinders effective communication and collaboration amongst stakeholders. Effective dialogue is needed to agree on the values, authenticity, and attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape to navigate this issue. However, it would take more than merely a consultation between the local community and the WHC to conduct effective dialogues and achieve an agreement as this discrepancy is a product of different understanding, knowledge, and interpretation. In other words, there is an epistemological gap between stakeholders that hinders their effort in understanding each other.

This chapter also argues that the assessment and protection of authenticity are not beneficial for local community. Authenticity might be needed in the World Heritage Site selection context since it could limit the number of inscribed sites and set a uniformity in the way potential World Heritage Sites will be managed. It does not merit the local community who rarely need to

validate their own belief, but it is important for heritage experts as an instrument to validate their knowledge and expertise. Furthermore, in the Bali Cultural Landscape, the notion of authenticity could become a major obstacle for sustaining the local community's skill to adapt to the change of environment and socio-economic condition.

In the next chapter, this thesis will discuss how and why socio-cultural change happens in Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Unlike the WHC who regarded socio-cultural change as a threat to the OUV, the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape considered socio-cultural change as an action that could sustain their culture amidst unstable social, economic, political, and environmental situation. This understanding would be essential to make sense of different approaches between site managers and the local community in managing the *subak* system.

CHAPTER 7

The significance of socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed why values and authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape are perceived differently by the local community, site managers, and the World Heritage Committee (WHC). It also demonstrated that the local community and the WHC, particularly, have different perceptions towards the significance of intangible attributes in the sustainability of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

In this chapter, the discussion about discrepancy amongst stakeholders of the Bali Cultural Landscape will be continued. This chapter discusses further socio-cultural change and stakeholders' perceptions towards those changes. The local community's attitude towards socio-cultural change indicated that it is valued in other ways than merely a threat to the *subak* system. In that light, this chapter aims to explain the value of socio-cultural change and its role in sustaining the Bali Cultural Landscape and the Balinese culture in general.

This chapter begins by exploring how socio-cultural change is understood within the UNESCO World Heritage Convention framework. This section investigates the standardised list of threats developed by the WHC and examines whether their sentiment regarding the list was shared by local

communities of World Heritage Site cultural landscapes. Next section moves forward by discussing how socio-cultural change is perceived by the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape and how it is linked to the sustainability of both agricultural practices and the World Heritage Site. Finally, the last section analyses the significance of socio-cultural change and the discrepancy between the WHC and the local community in perceiving this significance.

7.2 Socio-cultural change as a threat to World Heritage Sites

7.2.1 The World Heritage Convention's perspective

In 2008, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee adopted 14 factors that are considered as threats to the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of World Heritage Sites. This standard list of threats (see table below) was integrated into the World Heritage Convention framework as the WHC argued that *'the treatment of threats requires certain homogeneity'*, and that a consistent approach for World Heritage properties is necessary (World Heritage Centre, 2019. par 3).

Figure 7-1. The primary factors affecting World Heritage Properties
(adopted from Veillon and World Heritage Centre, 2014)

Buildings and Development:	Climate change and severe weather events:
• Housing	• Storms
• Commercial development	• Flooding
• Industrial areas	• Drought
• Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure	• Desertification
	• Changes to oceanic waters
• Interpretative and visitation facilities	• Temperature change
	• Other climate change impacts
Transportation Infrastructure:	Sudden ecological or geological events :
• Ground transport infrastructure	• Volcanic eruption
• Air transport infrastructure	• Earthquake

• Marine transport infrastructure • Effects arising from use of transportation infrastructure • Underground transport infrastructure	• Tsunami/tidal wave • Avalanche landslide • Erosion and siltation/deposition • Fire (wildfires)
Utilities or Service Infrastructure: • Water infrastructure • Renewable energy facilities • Non-renewable energy facilities • Localised utilities • Major linear utilities	Invasive/alien species or hyperabundant species: • Translocated species • Invasive/alien terrestrial species • Invasive / alien freshwater species • Invasive/alien marine species • Hyper-abundant species • Modified genetic materia
Pollution: • Pollution of marine waters • Ground water pollution • Surface water pollution • Air pollution • Solid waste • Input of excess energy	Management and institutional factors: • Legal framework • Low impact research/monitoring activities • Governance • High impact research/monitoring activities • Management activities • Management activities • Financial resources • Human resources
Biological resource use/modification: • Fishing/collecting aquatic resources • Aquaculture • Land conversion • Livestock farming/grazing of domesticated animals • Crop production • Commercial wild plant collection • Subsistence wild plant collection • Commercial hunting • Subsistence hunting • Forestry /wood production	Social/cultural uses of heritage: • Ritual/spiritual/religious and associative uses • Society's valuing of heritage • Indigenous hunting, gathering and collecting • Changes in traditional ways of life and knowledge system • Identity, social cohesion, changes in local population and community • Impacts of tourism/visitor/recreation
Local conditions affecting physical fabric: • Wind • Relative humidity • Temperature • Radiation/light • Dust • Water, Rain • Pests & microogranisms	Other human activities: • Illegal activities • Deliberate destruction of heritage • Military training • War • Terrorism • Civil unrest

Physical resource extraction: • Mining • Quarrying • Oil and gas • Water extraction	Other factor(s) • Other factor(s)

Veillon and World Heritage Centre (2014) asserted that issues concerning the management, socio-cultural uses of heritage, and human activities remain the most common problems faced by many World Heritage Sites. Tourism and development, which affect World Heritage Sites in the Asia-Pacific region more than in the Europe and North America region, are still considered by many site managers as a threat. Most World Heritage Sites also have problems with their management strategy, including an inappropriate strategic plan that hindered site managers from implementing adequate protection measures (Veillon and World Heritage Centre, 2014).

Many State of Conservation (SOC) reports indicated that change of local population, traditional system, and local perception towards heritage values are dangerous to the OUV of World Heritage Sites (Veillon and World Heritage Centre, 2014). Out-migration and in-migration were also discussed as a primary trigger of population change which could affect the integrity of World Heritage Sites. Although spiritual and religious uses of World Heritage properties are common, many SOC reports indicated that those activities could also endanger the OUV of World Heritage Sites.

The World Heritage Committee argued that raising local awareness towards heritage significance is a solution to mitigate threats and improve local

engagement in World Heritage Site management (Veillon and World Heritage Centre, 2014). However, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, there is a discrepancy between the WHC and the local community in interpreting the significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This situation shows that such problems are not related to the local community's lack of awareness but the presence of multiple interpretations regarding values and meanings of heritage sites. Arguably, the local community of World Heritage Sites is unaware of the official version of heritage values since they have their own version of values and meanings.

Although this 'standard list of factors' enabled the WHC to develop a consistent approach for examining World Heritage conservation strategies, this thesis argues that the list had simplified somewhat a complex issue by neglecting cultural context and different character of World Heritage Sites. With the use of this standardised list, there is a higher possibility for indigenous knowledge to be disregarded, particularly the one that does not correspond to the Authorised Heritage Discourse (see further in section 4.4.2). Subsequently, subtle resistance behaviour and a sign of inappropriate management strategy could easily be overlooked.

7.2.2 Socio-cultural change in World Heritage Site cultural landscapes

Although change is part of cultural landscape, it is still considered a threat in many heritage management practices (Antrop, 2005). Brandt *et al.* (1999) and Antrop (2005) argued that landscape change is triggered by accessibility, globalisation, and urbanisation as much as by economic, political, technological, natural, and cultural factors. However, May (2016) pointed out

that these factors can trigger either destruction or preservation of cultural landscape, which is why change is not necessarily negative.

Aplin (2007) also asserted that change in heritage sites, particularly in cultural landscape, is natural. He argued that any expectation towards an unchanged cultural landscape or its relationship with the local community is preposterous. Aplin (2007) also noted that it is unacceptable to force local communities to maintain their economically problematic traditional ways of life when they prefer to take advantage of modern development. Arguably, the local community of heritage sites should have a choice to either maintain or neglect their traditional lifestyle, particularly if the primary purpose of conservation was merely to enable World Heritage Sites to be enjoyed by the global community (Aplin, 2007).

The World Heritage Committee could use cultural ecology to understand the relationship between local communities and their environment. As nature and culture cannot be separated, particularly in the context of cultural landscape (Ingold, 2000), change of environment could potentially be a driver of change in social and cultural activities. Ingold emphasised that landscape is a socio-natural entity that is produced by humans as well as provides humans with resources they need to survive. Scholars also pointed out that cultural landscape is a place where human-nature dialogue takes place and thus carries information about any cultural perception regarding that landscape (Lapka and Sokolickova, 2012). Although environment does not determine the progression of culture, ways of life, or actions taken by local community (Ingold, 2000), understanding the relationship between nature and culture in cultural landscape could help scholars comprehend different perceptions

towards change. Ingold (2000), moreover, highlighted that local community is an active and creative agent that produces and becomes a product of their own evolution.

In his study, Jimura (2011) demonstrated that change in World Heritage Sites should be investigated within the local context. As local community interprets and reads the significance of heritage sites within their own cultural context, change will arguably be interpreted differently from one community to another (Cosgrove, 1989; Lowenthal, 1997; Muir, 1999; Jimura, 2011). Moreover, as explained by Milan (2017) and Ashworth and Howard (1999), cultural landscape is not an extensive concept around the world, which is why the World Heritage Convention approach cannot be assumed as the most appropriate to address issues at the local level.

Regardless of those studies, change in World Heritage cultural landscape has been considered part of management challenges. Livelihood change, for instance, is seen as an issue for some World Heritage cultural landscapes. Hendricks *et al.* (2009) and Berzborn (2007) discussed how pastoralism is no longer the primary source of income in the Richtersveld landscape. Since the mining industry offers higher payment to the local community, younger people choose to leave pastoralism and livestock, consequently threatening the sustainability of this traditional livelihood. Uwasu *et al.* (2018) also discovered that traditional livelihoods of the local community in Kannogawa mountain village have slowly been neglected as it no longer provides sufficient income for the community.

Conflicts caused by a discrepancy between local practices and the WHC conservation approaches, particularly in responding to change, have also been a challenge in cultural landscape management. Boonzaier (1996) discovered that local farmers of the Richtersveld landscape are blamed for causing environmental degradation with their traditional farming practices. In theory, the World Heritage Convention encouraged site managers and heritage experts to acknowledge the connection between local community and cultural landscapes. However, in many practices, the WHC disregarded such relationships, including by neglecting local community's knowledge and perception (Boonzaier, 1996).

Although Sullivan (2004: p. 49-51) argued that the World Heritage Convention is an adaptive framework, the above studies showed that management issues appeared due to inflexible conservation approaches. It becomes more apparent that the Convention may actually be harmful to some local custodianship as local skills and knowledge are marginalised by the implementation of the universal standards and approaches. At this rate, the World Heritage Convention could undoubtedly endanger the relationship between cultural landscape and local community.

Several communities of World Heritage Site cultural landscapes have already perceived the World Heritage Status as a burden and restriction. In Hallstatt, Austria, site managers have forced the local community to limit the use of their monuments (Kurz *et al.,* 2014). In Sagarmatha and Nanda Devi National Park, tourism activities were banned from the site and caused substantial economic loss for the local economy (Mehta and Kellert, 1998). In addition, the local community of Nanda Devi National Park is only allowed to use traditional

cultivation and marketing techniques, which becomes a burden for farmers who want to improve their farming techniques to gain more income (Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001). Similarly, land conversion is prohibited and currently affects the economic condition of the local community in the Bali Cultural Landscape.

7.3 Socio-cultural change from local community perspective

Similar to their perception towards the significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape, the local community's perception of socio-cultural change differs from those of the WHC and site managers. When talking about change, the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed acknowledged the presence of social, cultural, economic, and environmental change. They recognised the difference between the present and the past, particularly in relation to religious and cultural practices, approaches, and environmental conditions. Nevertheless, the local community does not seem to be concerned about the negative implication of change on *subak* or their daily lives. In contrast with the WHC, the local community also considered socio-cultural change necessary for their survival. Below are some examples.

7.3.1 Change of the main livelihood

As the World Heritage status could increase tourism growth, there is a concern that tourism-related jobs will replace traditional livelihoods and become unsustainable sources of income (Negussie, 2010; Jimura, 2011). However, tourism growth has been seen Tampaksiring since the 1970s, so there is no clear evidence that the World Heritage Status has significantly affected tourism activities in this village. Being the host of one of the most prominent tourism

destinations in Bali, the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed has been using tourism to improve their financial conditions for many years.

The WHC and several respondents expressed their concerns about increasing tourism-related jobs and the decline of agricultural-related jobs around Subak Pakerisan Watershed (R4, R5, R6, R19). The lack of young people's interest in the farming sector was particularly noted as an issue. Farmers are also accused of having less time and focus on the agricultural sector since many are now also working in other places. However, farmers denied this situation as a problem for the sustainability of rice production and the *subak* system since tourism-related jobs have long existed in the village without disturbing farming activities (R18, R22, R36). Unfortunately, such perception was left unacknowledged in both the SOUV and SOC reports, creating a presumption that tourism has just started recently as an implication of the World Heritage Status.

Craftsmanship, for instance, has become the livelihood of the local community of Tampaksiring since the 1970s. Since then, the local community has worked as both craftsmen and farmers. As the craftsmanship skill of Tampaksiring residents is widely known to visitors, and because it has been inherited throughout different generations, this job could also be considered the traditional and the main livelihood of the local community. Although craftmanship business had only started not more than 50 years ago, the skill itself has been part of the Balinese culture since the 1930s and influenced the architecture, traditions, and life on the island.

Tourism-related jobs are more appealing to the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed because it generates more money than the farming sector. Farming is also considered a low-status job, which makes it even less appealing to young people. Thus, the unwillingness of the young generation to work in the agricultural sector is arguably affected by the low income and social status of farmers. As the revenue of the agricultural sector is no longer sufficient to make a living, more people have been looking for other jobs within the service industry, including in shops, hotels, and restaurants outside of the village. Therefore, it is common to meet residents who have multiple sources of income, for instance, farmers who also work as constructors, carpenters, or cleaners. As stated by a respondent:

> *"Here, farmers normally have more than one job. Farming is a side job because farmers only need to work a couple of hours in the rice fields. If they do not have other jobs, they obviously could not send their children off to school." (R18)*

Tourism in Tampaksiring has enabled farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed to sustain rice production and religious rituals without jeopardising their social and economic condition. By enabling access to additional income, the tourism industry helps farmers sustain their values and traditional practices while providing a better life, healthcare, and education for their families. Farmers could also have more access to better farming equipment and innovative farming techniques as they are less dependent on rice crops. This thesis discovered that farmers who have better financial conditions also have higher engagement in the management of the World Heritage Site compared to farmers who are struggling financially.

Thus, it can be argued that tourism-related jobs did not disrupt the traditional livelihood of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. The

evidence demonstrated that farming and tourism activities are both traditional livelihoods of the local community and have existed side by side to ensure the continuity of traditional Balinese practices. The integration of craftsmanship into the Balinese culture and as the primary livelihood of the local community demonstrated the adaptivity of the Balinese society.

Several respondents mentioned that people with higher education tend to have lower interests in the agricultural sector or are requested by their families to work outside of the farming sector (R6, R19, R21). A respondent stated that:

> *"I was scolded by my parents... (They said) 'What do you actually work on? You went to a university, but you still go to the rice fields and hang out with farmers. Are you thinking to become one?' (I replied) 'What is wrong with it?' (They answered) 'Of course, it is wrong! You cannot make a living with that; it would have been a waste to send you to schools and the university.' (R41)*

Similarly, another respondent admitted that he was expected to work outside of the farming sector for a better financial condition, despite his family's ownership of a rice field.

> *"…so, of course, my father wants to make sure that I receive a good education. I drove further away from the farming sector. Slowly, we all will be like that." (R21)*

In Subak Pakerisan Watershed, many rice field owners do not cultivate the rice fields themselves. In this case, hiring a *penyekap* (paid worker) is a solution to maintain the continuity of rice production. Although *penyekap* would do most physical works, rice field owners are still required to join *subak* organisation and conduct all rituals, which will enable them to maintain their relationship with other farmers and rice field owners. Thus, many farmers admitted their preference to hire a *penyekap* than let their children work in the rice field (R18, R22, R36). This way, they could have a better economic condition without having to discontinue rice production.

Some new professions that appeared in Subak Pakerisan Watershed are not related to tourism but the World Heritage Site conservation programme. Among others are spokespersons and representatives that were established to connect the local community with governments, experts, and related organisations. For instance, *Pekaseh*, who is the leader of *subak* organisation, now has additional duties, including representing *subak* members in the Coordination Forum and mediating farmers and site managers. *Pekaseh* receives an additional incentive for this new role, but negative implications have also emerged. This includes the decline of farmers' confidence in *Pekaseh* as he has multiple interests, tensions between smaller groups of farmers, and envious behaviours from farmers who wish to have similar role.

Thus, although the SOC reports asserted that livelihood change is a problem in the Bali Cultural Landscape, this thesis revealed that many livelihood changes have happened since more than 30 years ago to sustain traditional practices and the Balinese culture. Arguably, the high number of people who work in the tourism industry does not demonstrate the local community's abandonment of the agricultural sector. On the contrary, it demonstrates their effort to balance social and economic conditions with costly agricultural and religious practices. Moreover, *subak* protection would only be a priority to farmers who are no longer concerned about their financial condition. Without tourism jobs, the rate of land conversion and land abandonment would be much higher than today as farmers have no choice but to prioritise their primary needs before the protection of rice fields and its values.

Government supports are needed to improve farmers' financial condition. Without their supports, the value of rice crops would drastically decrease and

affect the economic value of rice fields. Financial supports are essential, not to prevent farmers or the local community from finding other jobs but to sustain the economic value of rice fields so that their original function remains worthy of protection. It is crucial to understand that the livelihood change itself is not a problem. This change merely represents the degradation of the economic value of rice fields that was not recognised by the management plan. Thus, addressing livelihood change is an inaccurate strategy. Instead, the management plan should address the degradation of the economic value of rice fields in order to reach the root of this problem.

7.3.2 Change of infrastructure and traditional farming approach

Subak is a farming approach that integrates rice plantation knowledge with the Balinese culture and belief. For centuries, this farming system has been perfected through trials and errors to create a rice production process that adheres to the Balinese environment and traditional values. Its written traditional rules or *awig-awig* contains a section that appreciates the modification of farming approaches. Farmers argued that their traditional ways of farming and performing rituals are authentic. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, authentic would not necessarily mean unmodified for the Balinese. Many adjustments related to farming tools, approaches, and infrastructure can be observed in Subak Pakerisan Watershed, demonstrating the implementation of *'desakalapatra'* in which any action is considered authentic for a particular time, place, and circumstance.

One of the most noticeable changes in Subak Pakerisan Watershed is related to infrastructure development. This change is particularly crucial because it

modifies the way farmers work in the rice fields. Several farmers asserted that the development of new roads, for instance, has improved their access to rice fields which contributed to reducing labour works and working hours (R7, R18). This condition is particularly helpful to allow old farmers to work several more years in the agricultural sector, which is currently necessary to avoid farmers shortages. Moreover, several studies suggested that easier access to rural areas could reduce people's tendency of closing down rural activities (Kimhi and Bollman, 1999; Goets and Debertin, 2001; Pietola, Vare and Lansink, 2002; Bhandari, 2013). In line with those studies, farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed asserted that new road development has successfully reduced land conversion and land abandonment rates by enabling farmers to access rice fields easily and work more comfortably.

The development of road infrastructure has also changed people's relationship with the *subak* landscape. As it is now safer and quicker to access rice fields, more young and female family members are involved in farming activities. The participation of family members and the local community who do not own rice fields in farming rituals and ceremonies is also increased. Moreover, new road development also enabled various occupations, including tour guides, homestay providers, and small business owners, to gain economic benefits from the landscape. As religious ceremonies often attract many visitors, new road development has enabled many activities without destroying rice fields and rice paddies. The local community believes that the involvement of young people in agricultural activities would also depend on the accessibility of rice fields.

Change of the material of irrigation canals is also evident in Subak Pakerisan Watershed. As the traditional irrigation canals, which were built from soils, banana stalks, and woods, are no longer effective to distribute water due to leakages, farmers of some *subaks* have replaced them with concrete canals. According to some farmers, this modification has improved the water supply in some areas. Nevertheless, a respondent expressed his concern about the dilemma of using traditional and modern materials in *subak's* irrigation system:

> *"…the original (irrigation canals) used renewable materials, such as banana stem, wood, bamboo, coconut trees, but now they are using concrete. When we try to see which one is more aligned with the concept of Tri Hita Karana, of course, the traditional material is. But it did not help farmers because that kind of irrigation canals was broken all the time." (R6)*

Similarly, modern farming tools are replacing traditional farming tools that are no longer efficient. Most farmers currently use a machine plough called a tractor to replace the traditional ploughing system. Because of this change, the ploughing phase that usually takes several days or weeks could now be done in several hours. Farmers admit that the use of the traditional ploughing system gives a better result and cost less than the use of a tractor. However, they prefer to use a tractor to reduce physical labour and enables them to spend more time outside of agricultural works.

Many farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed are currently inspired to try new and innovative farming techniques. Farmers know that the use of innovative approaches such as *tumpangsari* and *minapadi* could increase their income. In addition to improving rice crops, these innovative approaches attract the interest of young farmers the most. However, due to the costs, only farmers who have better financial conditions are usually willing to try these methods. Some respondents also involved visitors as volunteers in their rice fields, which

is their way to integrate tourism into farming activities (R4). This creative approach could arguably help young Balinese to engage with both sectors, although it could also affect the sacredness of rice fields and the symbolic value of *subak*.

Farming rituals are also changing. The core activities of the rituals themselves remain, but the way the ceremonies are held, the person who performs the ceremony, and the medium of some rituals are adjusted to farmers' conditions. For instance, the oldest woman in a family usually performed *mebyukukung* ritual, but this is not always the case in the present. Foods that are used as offerings have also been adjusted to the economic condition of each family. Components with a symbolic function remain, but other components would be changed depending on the person who prepared the offerings.

Change of traditional practices can also be seen in the customary villages. Components of religious ceremonies, the way ceremonies are conducted, and the role of each community member have changed through time. As discussed in the previous chapter, many respondents recognised many modifications in current social and religious practices without considering them a real change (R18, R19, R23, R25). Although several studies suggested that an inability to recognise change is caused by a lack of awareness (Mayr, 2004; Munjeri, 2004), this thesis argues that this has been caused by different perceptions and understandings towards change and its significance. From the above discussion, it can be concluded that change is understood differently by the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape and has distinctive roles in the Balinese culture. Quoting a respondent:

"Balinese are always adapting; otherwise, they will collapse. For example, materials that are used to make a penjor (bamboo ornaments) have changed; but the natural resources would be gone if they did not do it. And indeed, the Balinese need to be adaptable and innovative in order to be sustainable. The Balinese will still maintain and preserve their values although they change their material aspects.. We will not lose our values by being adaptable and innovative." (R33)

7.3.3 Change of local population and social condition

As discussed in section 5.4.3, Tampaksiring has hosted tourism activities since as early as the 1920s. Two main destinations of the village, Tirta Empul temple and Gunung Kawi temple, are a crucial part of Subak Pakerisan Watershed and have a significant role in managing *subak's* water supply. Tampaksiring is located at the centre of Bali. Thus, its accessibility and proximity to other popular tourism destinations provide an excellent opportunity for the local community to participate in the tourism industry without leaving their village.

According to the WHC, migration can significantly affect World Heritage properties. Since some of the local community of Tampaksiring have an occupation outside of the village, out-migration is inevitable. However, the Balinese already has a unique social and religious system that enables people who work outside of the village to maintain a strong attachment with the village and society. As discussed in section 5.3, the Balinese is born as members of a customary village and temples of *kahyangan tiga.* They have responsibilities to maintain the temples, villages, and relationships with the community physically and spiritually. Thus, since people are tied to their customary village and are permanently responsible for the maintenance of their temples, out-

migration may be improbable (R21, R23).[33] Likewise, outsiders cannot join a village and temple system except through marriage, which is why in-migration is also unlikely.

As a result of this system, the local community of Tampaksiring has different understanding and expectation towards migration. People who move out of the village are still expected to come home during religious celebrations, temple renovations, and important ceremonies. The local community understands that their disconnection from the village, temple, and society could result in the removal of support to their whole family as well as a banishment. Therefore, migration is unlikely considered to be permanent in Tampaksiring. This social and religious system is also behind the absence of rural hollowing in many Balinese villages.

Although migration is not considered an issue for the continuity of traditional practices, the visit of both tourists and visitors has brought inevitable change to the traditional way of life. New knowledge, behaviours, and values are introduced to the residents of Tampaksiring. Due to the adaptive character of the society, some of new values have been assimilated into the Balinese culture and tradition. A respondent argued that temporary residents, including long-stay tourists and researchers, could also impose different values and change local practices. As it is quoted:

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[33] The membership of a customary village is compulsory for all Balinese. It only ends when a female member marries a male member of another customary village (thereby, the customary village of her husband becomes hers) or when a person dies. See also section 5.3.2.

As tourism and migration have brought different professions to the local community of Tampaksiring, the value of education has also increased, especially amongst the young generation. Respondents stated that many young people in the village have a higher education level than previous generations (R4, R5, R19, R21). Most children have been sent to vocational high school and university to increase their chance of securing a higher paying job. Unlike 20 years ago, a higher-level education system, such as college and university, is now a necessity for most families in Tampaksiring.

Continuous movements of the local community, the need for higher education level, and the presence of various occupations are some changes associated with the current condition of Tampaksiring. Although those changes do not directly affect the Bali Cultural Landscape, they have created new challenges in social relationships that have never been encountered by the local community before. As more people now have professional jobs, religious and cultural activities are often seen as obstacles to career development (R19, R21). As village and temple ceremonies usually take days to be completed, those who work outside the village must sacrifice their job to carry out their social and religious duties. Likewise, modern careers are also seen as an obstacle to a strong social relationship. Quoting a respondent:

"I cannot work in a company because I have many activities…. If I discontinued my participation in the village, gotong royong (mutual cooperation) in this village would be lost. I will not know my surroundings anymore. So, what do we choose then? Choose a career in a village and maintain mutual cooperation and tradition? I failed in the professional world; we cannot do both simultaneously. Now people choose their work, of course, because of their stomachs. In the past, why do you think people could maintain their customs, culture, traditions? Because they have fewer material demands." *(R19)*

As explained, modern professions could weaken social relationships as people dedicate less time to participate in social and religious activities. A respondent argued that this might also deteriorate the relationship between the local community and their environment, particularly as people have less time to connect with nature (R19).

7.4 The value of socio-cultural change

To this point, the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape has demonstrated their positive perceptions towards socio-cultural change. Although socio-cultural change is recorded as a threat in some World Heritage Sites, the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed considers change = necessary since it ensures the continuity of their traditional practices. The existence of the traditional philosophy of *'desakalapatra'* also indicates that change in the Balinese society and traditional practices are not only allowed but encouraged. This finding implies that socio-cultural change possesses a distinctive value for the Balinese culture and society that has been overlooked by heritage experts during the World Heritage Site inscription of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

7.4.1 Enabler of sustainable development

Several scholars argued that both positive and negative impacts are seen from an interaction between heritage sites and development (Fröhlich *et al.*, 2002; Holtorf, 2015), as well as between traditional culture and livelihoods and modernisation (Wilson *et al.*, 2018; Hisano, Akitsu & McGreevy, 2018). Paddock and Schofield (2017) and Brown (2013) added that modernisation might have negative impacts on the authenticity of heritage sites. Thus, it is

not surprising that the World Heritage Convention is concerned about the negative implication of development on World Heritage Sites and their management (World Heritage Centre, 2004; Boccardi and Logan, 2008; Mitchell *et al.,* 2009). Moreover, developments and modernisation are listed as factors affecting the OUV of World Heritage Sites.

Since the inscription, development has been perceived as a primary threat to the sustainability of the Bali Cultural Landscape. In addition to the development of infrastructure and tourism facilities, land conversion is another unresolved issue. For site managers, land conversion could degrade the integrity of the Bali Cultural Landscape. For many Balinese families, land conversion is the quickest and easiest way to escape financial problems and participate in the tourism industry. The local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed acknowledged the attractiveness of land conversion and recognised several signs of land conversion happening in the area (R1, R7, R18, R19, R20, R22, R40). However, they insisted that land conversion should be allowed due to their ownership status.

It is to be remembered that unlike site managers and the WHC who value the visual integrity of the landscape, farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed do not assign aesthetic value to the rice fields. Therefore, development and land conversion are considered a normal part of the evolving Balinese environment. A respondent argued that rice fields have been valued economically and need to be understood as a source of income that is used to ensure the continuity of religious practices.

> *"In the past, why did people say that rice fields must not be sold? Because if they sell it, they were left with nothing else… As there were no other job in the past,*

when people sold their rice fields, they could not do anything else. As long as they have rice fields, they can eat and give offerings…. offerings do not have to be rice… If you have money, you could give anything as offerings. If you do not have money, as long as you have rice fields, you are good. That is the reason parents left their children some rice fields, to be a source of income; because it was difficult to find a job in the past." (R25)

In this light, although land conversion threatens the integrity of the Bali Cultural Landscape and might also endanger the sustainability of rice fields, it must be noted that land conversion has otherwise enabled the local community to continue their religious and cultural practices. The problem of land conversion itself cannot be disregarded. However, it is also important to understand that this problem represents the local community's attempt to improve their wellbeing, access sustainable development, and continue their traditional practices. From the local community's perspective, land conversion is part of their adaptive approach to responding to the decline of their economic situation.

Such a situation is aligned with Mölkänen's argument (2019), which highlighted that the global view is often not oblivious to the local people's knowledge of the environment. Mölkänen asserted that landscape formation is indeed related to different ways of seeing and meaning-making processes, thus different perceptions and attitudes are inevitable. Furthermore, Ingold (2000) also added that landscape is temporary and connected to dwelling activities. This is why the dynamic of the Bali Cultural Landscape is strongly connected to the dynamic of its local community.

Development also comes in the form of education and technology. Although education is considered the most effective way to raise the local community's awareness concerning the conservation of World Heritage Sites (World

Heritage Centre, 2004), a respondent argued that education had influenced many people to leave the farming sector (R21). Through education, access to modernisation and better economic conditions becomes widely available. Since farmers' income is relatively low, many parents hope that by having a higher education level, their children could work outside of the farming sector.

In addition to causing the degradation of heritage values, the World Heritage Convention argued that development and modernisation might also hinder the conservation of World Heritage Sites (Boccardi and Logan, 2008). However, In the Bali Cultural Landscape, development has provided the local community with access to higher education and new occupations that were not available before. The growth of tourism-related jobs has also contributed to strengthening social relationships and preventing rural hollowing.

The SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape mentioned that change in the traditional way of life is a threat to the sustainability of *subak*. However, it is evident that the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed preferred modern approaches over some traditional ways of life (R3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R12, R19, R22, R23). In addition to improving the economic condition, the modernisation of farming tools, rituals, and infrastructure reduced the time and costs needed in many traditional practices. Arguably, as long as a strong connection between the Balinese society and their religion is maintained, modernisation would not replace traditional ways of life but would be assimilated into the Balinese culture (Picard, 1996).

This thesis acknowledged that certain changes are allowed in World Heritage Sites as long as they contribute to the protection of Outstanding Universal

Values. As argued by several scholars, determining the permissible change is a matter of defining the 'Limit of Acceptable Change' within heritage sites (McCool and Lime, 2001; Farrell and Marion, 2002; Cimnaghi and Mussini, 2015; Pérez and Martínez, 2018). However, as discussed in section 3.5.2, the Limit of Acceptable Change is a flawed concept since different stakeholders need to agree on the definition of the ideal situation of heritage sites. Since stakeholders have different perceptions towards the significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape and socio-cultural change, agreeing on the ideal condition of the landscape might be an issue.

7.4.2 A traditional and inherited skill

Although the need for enabling change in cultural landscapes is acknowledged by many studies (e.g. Mitchell *et al.*, 2009; World Heritage Centre, 2002), the Operational Guidelines, SOC reports, and other World Heritage official documents did not fully recognise the role of socio-cultural change for the sustainability of World Heritage Sites. The continuous appearance of socio-cultural change in many SOC reports as an element that threatens the OUV of World Heritage Sites indicated that its significance has been overlooked and improperly weighed in World Heritage Sites management.

By looking at the nomination dossier and SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape, it is evident that socio-cultural change is still regarded as a threat for the site's management. This is a contrasting perception compared to the local community who sees change as a normal exercise. Theoretically, the WHC acknowledged change as the main characteristic of an evolving cultural landscape. However, their inflexible approach to change in traditional ways of

life and cultural practices indicates their lack of understanding of the role and meaning of change in the Balinese culture. The WHC and the National Government neglected the fact that change has been part of the Balinese society for centuries. Quoting Vickers below (2012: p.186), change has never been a problem as it is part of the Balinese's traditional culture.

> *"The idea, adhered to by both westerners and Balinese, that the island's culture was traditional, and hence unchanged, masked the changes taking place in Balinese society…. The changes of twentieth century, the introduction of a bureaucratic administration and western education, simply accelerate the process of change…. everything about the changes in Balinese society, even the most revolutionary actions of the Left, have been traditional, in the sense that they are in line with precedents handed down from the past."*

Change in the Bali Cultural Landscape is crucial to allow the cultural landscape to evolve. More importantly, change enables the Balinese society to sustain their culture, identity, and ideology as they allow their surroundings to be aligned with their cultural principles. The ability of the Balinese society to enable change without compromising their culture has helped them balance the demand of modern life and religious responsibilities. As quoted from Vickers (2012: p.299):

> *"To maintain this 'unchanged' cultural essence, people are constantly renovating temples in grander and grander materials and style, holding bigger and bigger ceremonies, converting their rice fields into plots of land on which to build, and making 'traditional dress' the uniform for hotel employees... major alterations of style, material and aesthetics are usually not seen as real 'change' by Balinese…"*

Due to their unique cultural system, the Balinese also has a unique way of understanding and perceiving many things. Vickers (2012), for instance, discovered that although the Balinese society seems like a chaotic culture, it actually has a sophisticated system that regulates every detailed aspect of the society. Vickers discovered that introducing a new system into the Balinese society may otherwise interfere with their orderliness. As it is quoted:

"Old people still use the phrase 'the time when the world was stable' or 'degas guminé enteg', to speak of pre-colonial Bali. Dutch colonial order represented disorder to Balinese society, and the Balinese needed to evolve different strategies to cope with that disorder." (Vickers, 2012: p.187)

A similar problem happened when the green revolution was introduced to the Balinese farming society in the 1970s. As an international campaign, the green revolution aimed to improve the productivity of rice fields using western-based science and technology (Bardini, 1994). However, instead of increasing crop production, the adoption of the green revolution in the Balinese agricultural system destroyed the *subak* system and brought contradictory results. Along with crops failure, the green revolution has increased insect resistance to pesticides, destroyed the ecosystem of rice fields, decreased rice yields, and poisoned many Balinese farmers (Kremer, 1989).

In line with Vickers, Picard (1990) also acknowledged the resilience of the Balinese culture and the ability of the Balinese society to assimilate foreign culture while maintaining their identity. The Balinese society has been known for their ability to adjust to tourism explosion and turn any rapidly changing condition to their advantage (McKean, 1973, 1989; Picard, 1990, 2008; Lietaer and De Meulenaere, 2003). This includes using the tourism industry to preserve their traditions and social structure. McKean (1989) further argued that socioeconomic change in Bali is actually aligned with the conservation of traditional culture. A quotation from Forge's study in 1977 (cited in Picard, 1990) sufficiently asserted the above argument:

"The Balinese seem to be coping with the tourist invasion as well as they have coped with others, that is they are taking what they want, but they are not allowing themselves to be any the less Balinese. This appears to have been the story throughout Bali's history, outside cultures have come, perhaps as conquerors, perhaps only as visitors and traders, but Balinese society and culture have remained distinctive, accepting outward forms, but moulding them to its own different purposes."

That being said, it is now clear that both socio-cultural change and the Balinese's ability to adapt to change are indeed traditional aspects of the Balinese culture. Socio-cultural change needs to be considered a value because its disappearance would affect the Balinese identity, ideology, and resilience. Socio-cultural change is also incorporated into social and cultural systems in Bali, which can be seen from the way the traditional rules, organisational structures, and social conventions were designed to enable change and modification. Given this condition, the World Heritage Convention approach, which advocates to limiting change in heritage sites, could be considered an *'alien'* approach by the Balinese society and even a disturbance to their traditional system and knowledge.

7.4.3 Maintaining the balance of human-nature relationship

As discussed, the lack of local community's awareness regarding heritage values, the importance of World Heritage Status, and the benefit of conservation could threaten the sustainability of World Heritage Sites (UNESCO, 2001, 2018; World Heritage Centre, 2004). The SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape also indicated that the lack of local community's awareness towards socio-cultural change has increased *subak's* vulnerability to destruction and value degradation. However, as argued in the previous section, instead of lack of awareness, stakeholders' discrepancy in interpreting heritage values might be the underlying and overlooked issue that triggers many World Heritage Site management problems.

As the role of socio-cultural change in the Balinese culture and society is clear, the effectiveness of the local community's knowledge in managing the *subak*

system and protecting the value of socio-cultural change becomes more apparent. Several respondents of the fieldwork study confirmed that socio-cultural change could protect both Balinese families and the Balinese culture (e.g., R1, R5, R6, R21, R22, R23 R25). They acknowledged the positive and negative impacts of socio-cultural change, but they made conscious decisions to prioritise change in order to balance traditional practices and escalating demands of economy, environment, and social activities. Quoted from a respondent:

> *"It is indeed a dilemma; we need to choose between the two: if they want to be authentic farmers, they will not be a successful person; if they want to be a success, they cannot be authentic. If we insisted that farmers stay traditional, they would not be thriving. Don't they need to buy things for their children? To send them to school?" (R19)*

In Subak Pakerisan Watershed, the most visible socio-cultural change is related to religious rituals and ceremonies. For instance, prayer times and methods have been modified to allow the local community to work in tourism and other sectors without neglecting their religious duties and responsibilities. The medium of prayers and contents of the offerings have also been modified to enable the local community to adjust their rituals according to their financial ability. The role of this adaptive feature goes way beyond protecting tradition and religious practices. Such adaptivity allows the Balinese to maintain their social fabric and their relationship with nature.

As observed from the fieldwork study and highlighted by several scholars, the Balinese society has a strong relationship not only with each other but also with nature (e.g. McKean, 1989; Eiseman Jr, 1990). The Balinese orientation, for instance, is centred at the sacred Mount Agung that is regarded as the dwelling place of Hindu Gods. The four cardinal points are associated with

different characters of God and used as a guide to decide the direction and position of villages, house compounds, temples, and even kitchens. It is the goal of Balinese society to balance various aspects of life and be in harmony with the environment and spiritual forces. This is also the underlying concept behind the principle of '*Rwa Bhineda'*, a Balinese belief where opposing elements must be maintained in harmony and in equilibrium.[34] Socio-cultural change has provided the Balinese with the means to achieve this goal.

This is aligned with many scholars who asserted that nature and culture are not separated (Ingold, 2000; Lounela *et al.*, 2019). Lounela *et al.* (2019) argued that the dualism of culture and nature becomes a problem because it leads to a flawed argument that humans are detached from the characteristic of landscape. They pointed out that landscape entailed power dynamics and thus strongly linked to human perceptions, social relationships, and even politics. Similarly, Ingold (2000) also underlined that change in cultural landscape happens due to humans' entanglement with the environment, which emphasised the connection between nature and culture.

Landscapes are shaped through iterative practices as well as socio-economic and political processes (Plaan, 2019). Scholars argued that change of environmental condition might be a disturbance for a landscape, but the transformation of a landscape could open up new possibilities, assemblages,

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[34] *Rwa Bhineda* is the Balinese Hindu principle which believes that positive and negative (or rather opposing) elements must exist in harmony and equilibrium. In contrast with Judeo-Christian tradition, opposites elements such as heaven and hell, constructive and destructive, high and low, as well as sacred and profane, are not presented as choices but as coexistence; Balinese is devoted to maintaining the balance between these opposing elements (Eiseman Jr, 1990).

futures, and relations for both the landscape and the society (Lounela, 2019; Lounela *et al.*, 2019; Tsing, 2019). However, Lounela (2019) also added that drastic landscape change could be so challenging that people might avoid them. Many societies are therefore developing strategies to materialise their imagination of the future of landscapes.

Since there are massive uses of natural resources for religious and cultural purposes, the Balinese attitude towards the continuous use of natural resources is vital. The adaptivity of the Balinese society, for instance in modifying the components of religious offerings, has a significant role in controlling and limiting the exploitation of natural resources. It demonstrates how cultural and natural aspects in Bali are intertwined and cannot be managed separately. To this day, religious rituals and ceremonies are not considered a threat to Bali's natural resources. This situation shows that the Balinese's adaptive skill has indeed prevented the exploitation of natural resources without disrupting cultural and religious practices.

Such adaptivity could also be seen in agricultural practices in Bali. Modifications of farming tools and approaches have enabled farmers to protect the economic value of rice fields without the need to convert rice fields into other functions. Additional occupations taken by farmers have also provided them with more income, which is crucial to prevent the degradation of the symbolic value of rice fields. Most importantly, the adjustment of the Balinese farming calendar has become a way to minimise the negative impact of climate change on rice production practices.

Thus, the WHC's argument that socio-cultural change could increase the vulnerability of the Bali Cultural Landscape is inaccurate. Socio-cultural change has been a traditional part of the Balinese society and a powerful mechanism to ensure the continuity of cultural practices while regulating the use of the environment and natural resources. The absence of change, in contrast, destabilise the Balinese culture and environment by disrupting their adaptive and resilient system.

7.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter explored various interpretations regarding socio-cultural change. The evidence shows that although the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed is heterogeneous in terms of occupation, level of education, and level of involvement in the World Heritage Site management, they considered socio-cultural change as part of their culture. They also viewed change as a vital component of the *subak* system that enables rice production practices to be more efficient and resilient. The expert group, on the other hand, acknowledged both the positive and negative implications of socio-cultural change and highlighted the dilemma between the protection of *subak* and the improvement of farmers' economic condition.

Socio-cultural change has allowed the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed to access sustainable development without disregarding their identity. It provided the local community with the opportunities to access economic and educational advancement without disconnecting from their culture and society. Although development and modernisation have indeed brought some challenges to social relationships, history has demonstrated that

if protected, the Balinese's adaptivity would help the local community to assimilate foreign culture without destroying their cultural essence. Change is also a crucial mechanism to achieve a balanced condition. In Bali, it has a crucial role to control the use of natural resources for religious practices, help the farming sector to cope with climate uncertainty, and enable the local community to prioritise their traditional values and principles. In short, change and adaptivity have been significant attributes of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed.

As observed, there is a significant difference between the way the World Heritage Convention perceives socio-cultural change and how it is valued by the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape. By considering socio-cultural change as a plausible threat to the sustainability of World Heritage Sites, the Convention has contributed to the marginalisation of local knowledge and values. It diminished the possibility for understanding the significance of socio-cultural change within its cultural context and at the same time instigated the implementation of the AHD in World Heritage Sites.

Evidently, certain interpretations of change will affect management plans and what is considered an appropriate and effective approach to protect World Heritage Sites. In the Bali Cultural Landscape, it can be seen that stakeholders' understanding of *subak* values and the Balinese culture is aligned with their perception towards socio-cultural change, which also affects their way of managing the cultural landscape. Thus, it can be argued that the understanding of heritage values, the perception towards socio-cultural change, and the perception regarding an ideal management approach are strongly interconnected. In addition, problems related to site management may

indicate problems related to the interpretation and understanding of heritage values and culture.

To follow up this discussion, the following chapter analyses the current management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape and the SOC reports. The discussion is used to examine the discrepancy between stakeholders and investigate the effectiveness of the management plan and its implementation.

CHAPTER 8

The universal approach and local practices

8.1 Introduction

The last chapter revealed that socio-cultural changes are interpreted differently by the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed, site managers, and the World Heritage Committee. Different understandings of *subak*, heritage attributes, and heritage values have led to different interpretations of the significance of socio-cultural change for the World Heritage Site.

As discussed, the lack of good governance and community participation are amongst contributing factors to unsuccessful heritage management (Taylor, 2004; Landorf, 2009). Several studies showed the presence of ineffective management strategies in many World Heritage Sites where local communities only have little involvement in site management, are forced to move away, or denied from their rights to utilise the property (Chirikure *et al.*, 2010; Jones and Shaw, 2012; Logan, 2012; Buergin, 2015). In view of chapter 6 and 7 discussions, this thesis argues that these management issues are not only shaped by stakeholders' different interests, but also their different interpretation of heritage sites and its meanings.

Recognising different perceptions of stakeholders towards heritage significance and socio-cultural change, this chapter aims to further examine

the gaps between the management plans, management implementations, and the State of Conservation (SOC) reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This discussion should provide a comprehensive understanding as to why a discrepancy in stakeholders' interpretation links to ineffective management and conservation of World Heritage Sites.

The first section of this chapter explores expectations of the local community towards the World Heritage Status of the Bali Cultural Landscape. The local community's involvement in the World Heritage Site nomination process and their perception about the Bali Cultural Landscape management will also be discussed. The second part of the chapter evaluates the effectiveness of key strategies of the Bali Cultural Landscape management plan. This section also analyses the SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape and explores its coherence with the actual condition of the *subak* landscape. Finally, in the last section, all the above information will be utilised to investigate how the discrepancy in stakeholders' interpretation has prevented effective collaboration in the site's management.

8.2   The World Heritage status and the local community's expectation: six years after the inscription

It is worthy of noting that the Bali Cultural Landscape was not the first site in Bali that was nominated as a World Heritage Site. Years before that, Besakih temple became the first Balinese heritage site to be put on the Tentative List. Its nomination was contested for over a decade and eventually cancelled in 2001 at the government's request (Putra and Hitchcock, 2007). In contrast with

Besakih temple, the nomination of Bali Cultural Landscape was a huge success and did not seem to receive many contestations.

It is crucial to understand that the decision for cancelling the nomination of Besakih temple was taken following prolonged conflicts and tensions between the government and the Balinese society. The Balinese's fears of compromising the religious sanctity of the temple and losing control over its management are the primary reasons behind the contestation (Putra & Hitchcock, 2007). The Balinese also objected to the nomination as they do not want Besakih temple to be treated as a monument where ritual activities are restricted and banned.

Although the Bali Cultural Landscape was successfully inscribed as a World Heritage Site, the same issue related to the use of *subak* landscape and the control over its management are also present, however unnoticed. From the fieldwork observation, it was found that the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape lacks an understanding of the nomination process and the consequences of the World Heritage Status. Many of them currently regret this international recognition as it brought restrictions and limitations over their use of rice fields.

8.2.1 The local community's understanding of the World Heritage Status

Many farmers and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed do not understand the reason behind the inscription of the *subak* landscape into the World Heritage List (e.g., R7, R8, R10, R11, R12, R14, R15 R19, R22). As they were not involved in the nomination process, they have not received adequate information regarding the consequences and benefits of the World

Heritage Status. Although the nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape indicated that community consultation was extensively done, farmers and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed were only informed about the outcome of the process afterwards.

Because of that, there are various assumptions regarding the reasons for the inscription. Many assumed that Subak Pakerisan Watershed was chosen because it is the oldest *subak* system in Bali, has unique water sources, and is located close to important temples in Bali. Some others assumed that it is due to archaeological sites that were found near the Pakerisan river. Some respondents believed that the reason for the inscription is also political, mainly because Subak Pakerisan Watershed is located close to tourist attractions, has the most pristine condition, and has undergone the least development amongst other *subaks* (R14, R15, R41).

The inability of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed to comprehend the reasons behind the inclusion of their rice fields to the World Heritage Site is arguably linked to their interpretation regarding the values of the Bali Cultural Landscape, which is different to what is written in the nomination dossier. In this case, the local community certainly does not consider that *Tri Hita Karana* exclusively exists in the *subak* landscape or Subak Pakerisan Watershed. In line with Logan (2012, p.238), it demonstrated how universal values often do not coincide with local values.

As discussed, the lack of local community's understanding regarding the significance of World Heritage Status is not unusual. In the Bali Cultural Landscape, this is also an implication of the local community's disengagement

in the nomination and management of the site and their disinterest in the World Heritage Status. Currently, more farmers object to the World Heritage Site conservation as there is no information regarding the consequences of the status (R14, R15, R21, R22). A respondent witnessed that many farmers also asked to be removed from the World Heritage Site boundaries due to its complicated regulations and unclarity (R6). Putra and Hitchcock (2007) asserted that this lack of clarity has also triggered the Balinese to refuse the previous World Heritage nomination of Besakih temple. A respondent stated that:

> *'Farmers simply do not want to risk their assets for something unfamiliar and unclear.' (R14)*

Farmers are left with inadequate information regarding the implication of the World Heritage Status on farming practices and their control over rice fields. Thus, they did not expect that the status would bring different rules and restrictions to Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Moreover, there are many misleading discussions amongst farmers and the local community regarding the objective of the inscription. Several respondents believed that the improvement of farmers welfare is amongst the aim of the World Heritage programme (R2, R22). Many farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed assumed that the recognition could be used to bring more financial subsidies and supports to both farmers and the agricultural sector.

Thus, although farmers acknowledged Subak Pakerisan Watershed as an internationally recognised and 'unique' site that acquired the World Heritage Status, they have limited understanding regarding how and why Subak Pakerisan Watershed was selected among other *subaks.* They also received

inadequate information regarding the consequences of the inscription, in addition to their limited understanding of Outstanding Universal Values and attributes that need to be protected as per the official document. As it can be seen, although the inscription of the Bali Cultural Landscape was a success, issues related to management control and use of the site after the inscription are similar to those of Besakih temple.

8.2.2 Expectations and disappointments towards the World Heritage Status

With their limited understanding on the meaning of the World Heritage Site programme, farmers expected to see multiple benefits of the World Heritage status, particularly for their well-being and the agricultural sector. Many farmers expected more technical and financial supports to rice productions processes, including the removal of land tax, subsidies to buy fertiliser, and the improvement of irrigation weirs (e.g., R7, R10, R22, R36). The local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed also assumed that UNESCO shares the responsibilities with the Indonesian governments in assisting the *subak* community. Although farmers acknowledged the current supports provided by the Government, they did not consider them as part of the World Heritage Status benefit because those supports are also given to other *subak* outside of the World Heritage Site boundaries.

Many scholars argued that the World Heritage status is not an automatic honour and not always welcomed by the local community (Putra and Hitchcock, 2007; Yan, 2015). In the Bali Cultural Landscape, the status did not bring significant advantages to the local community, and thus, has continuously received less support and many objections. Many respondents,

both from the local community and the expert groups, demanded the National Government to give more attention to the *subak* system, agricultural process, and the welfare of the local community (R2, R4, R5, R6, R7, R22, R34). They anticipated economic development, livelihood protection, and *subak* preservation to happen simultaneously (R1, R2, R6).

As the World Heritage Status brought some restrictions that affect how rice fields can be used, the local community expects some compensations for their willingness to support the conservation project. According to several respondents, the World Heritage status has facilitated farmers' access to agricultural supports, but the restrictions that come alongside it created even more problems for farmers and their families. Some farmers expressed their regrets in supporting the nomination as they currently feel restrained by the World Heritage Status (R14, R15, R22). Many respondents have already started to reconsider the status and wanted to withdraw their support to the programme (R2, R6, R22, R41).

The local community indicated that the difficulties in creating a business and using rice fields are the consequences of the World Heritage Status, which affect the well-being and financial condition of many families (R12, R22). Farmers had hoped that the World Heritage Status would strengthen social relationships amongst the community. However, on the contrary, the World Heritage Status increased the frequency and complexity of conflicts between farmers, particularly concerning financial subsidies and ideal management approaches.

The benefit of the World Heritage Status to customary villages around Subak Pakerisan Watershed is also unclear. Visitor growth has indeed been seen around Subak Pakerisan Watershed. However, as the area around Subak Pakerisan Watershed has been a well-known tourism destination for over a century, there is no actual proof that the World Heritage Status has increased the visitor number. This might also be the outcome of the new visa regulation initiated by the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism to grant free entry to visitors from over 150 countries (Ministry of Tourism, 2018). Nevertheless, more than half of the retribution profit goes to the regional government and only a small portion is divided between *subaks*, customary villages, and administrative villages. The local community also witnessed no increase in visitor spending and consequently their monthly earnings.

The fieldwork observation revealed very little interaction between the local community and visitors of Gunung Kawi temple, an area within Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Many visitors are accompanied by hotel guides, which lowers the chance of the local guide to work. The local community mentioned that the development of internet applications, including ride hailing services, hotel booking websites, and online maps, as well as the advancement of hotel services, has also contributed to distance visitors from the local community even more, as their chances to provide services to visitors are significantly reduced.

Figure 8-1. The advancement of technology and services disengaged visitors from the local community of Gunung Kawi temple.
(Source: D. Rahman, April 2018)

Consequently, it becomes more difficult for the local community to make earnings from tourism activities. Although Gunung Kawi temple receives more than a thousand visitors a day, many residents around the temple barely live above the poverty line. The local community acknowledged that the small portion of temple retribution helped customary villages to maintain the continuity of religious ceremonies, but there is no significant benefit for individuals (R21, R23, R27, R28, R32, R28).

Farmers' expectations and disappointments concerning the benefit of the World Heritage Status are another indication of their disengagement during

the nomination process. Arguably, such issues could have been prevented through inclusive consultations and collaboration between site managers the local community. This problem also demonstrated an inconsistency between the nomination dossier and the actual practice at the local level as the dossier claimed to have conducted extensive community consultation. The prolonged misperceptions and disappointments of the local community towards benefits of the World Heritage Status also implied that disengagement of the local community is still an issue for the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

The nomination dossier stated that "*for the Balinese, the subaks are much more than irrigation associations: more fundamentally, they help to preserve and sustain the balanced harmony of humans with the landscape and the Gods.*" (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011: V-1). Quite the contrary, this thesis discovered that the *subak* system could not sustain the relationship between humans, the landscape, and the Balinese Gods. It is the other way around; maintaining the harmonious relationship between those components is a prerequisite for sustaining the *subak* system. This relationship, moreover, is not only needed in the *subak* system, but also in the family, customary villages, and the temples ecosystem. This is because the Balinese are devoted to creating a balance of their universe as part of their culture and belief (Eiseman Jr, 1990).

Given the above discussion, this thesis postulates that the disparity between information written in the official documents of the Bali Cultural Landscape and the local community's perception would considerably influence the way site managers understand and manage the *subak* system. This problem signifies

the need to examine the gaps between management plans and practices in the Bali Cultural Landscape to prevent further issues.

8.3 Evaluating the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape

Like other World Heritage Sites, the Bali Cultural Landscape developed a management strategy prior to its inscription to the World Heritage List. The following section evaluates the coherence and effectiveness of the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape against the Balinese philosophies, the local community's interpretation of the *subak* system, and the value of socio-cultural change.

This section will first evaluate three key components of the site's management plan: The Governing Assembly, the Adaptive Management Framework, and the Strategic Priorities. Afterwards, it evaluates the local community's perception regarding the implementation of the management plan.

8.3.1 The effectiveness of key instruments of the management plan

8.3.1.1 The Governing Assembly

As discussed in chapter 5, The Governing Assembly was developed as one of key components of the Bali Cultural Landscape management plan. The Governing Assembly, or *Dewan Pengelola Warisan Budaya Bali,* was created under the Governor's regulation No. 32 of 2010 and defined as a democratic committee consisting of representatives from all 17 *subaks* in the whole clusters, representatives of all villages, and representatives of the relevant government offices (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). This committee was designed to connect government and

non-government stakeholders who are involved in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape at national, provincial, and local levels. Its primary roles are to coordinate stakeholders, implement the management plan, and conduct monitoring and evaluation activities in the World Heritage Site.

The ineffectiveness of the Governing Assembly in managing the *subak* landscape was pointed out by several respondents. They observed that the Governing Assembly did not perform its tasks and did not demonstrate its ability in managing and mediating issues regarding the site (R2, R6). The majority of the local community and subak members are even unfamiliar with the Governing Assembly and its roles in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Salamanca *et al*, (2015) argued that the Governing Assembly has a negative connotation for local farmers. The Indonesian word for it – *Badan Pengelola* – connotates a formal entity that is exclusive only to high-rank people.

Salamanca *et al.* (2015) also explained that in the end, the Governing Assembly was replaced by the Coordination Forum in 2014. However, this is a questionable statement as the Governing Assembly was still discussed in the 2015 SOC report (see section 8.4.1). In this SOC report, the WHC criticised the work of the Governing Assembly, to which the Indonesian Government responded by stating that a provincial decree has been established to enhance its operation. Although the Coordination Forum has similar tasks as the Governing Assembly, there is currently no conclusive evidence of whether the Governing Assembly is completely deactivated.

As explained in the nomination dossier, the Governing Assembly was adopted from the democratic assembly of the Bunaken National Park in North Sulawesi. The nomination dossier stated that the Bunaken assembly possesses several useful features that can be implemented in the Bali Cultural Landscape. However, the ineffectiveness and the presence of negative connotation of the Governing Assembly in the Bali Cultural Landscape indicated that the adoption of this governance model might not be suitable for the Balinese context. This thesis discovered that there are two fundamental issues of this governance model.

Firstly, the adoption of the Governing Assembly neglected contrasting characteristics of two different societies. The Balinese and Bunaken societies have different cultural, religious, and social systems. The Balinese society, unlike the Bunaken society, maintains the traditional practices and customary laws that are in accordance with the Balinese Hindu religion. The daily life of the Balinese society comprises of religious ceremonies and rituals, which often demand them to deprioritise other aspects of life. This is different to the life of the Bunaken society whose religion is mostly Christian. Arguably, the adoption of the Governing Assembly also disregarded the significance of the traditional Balinese system and the social structure of the Balinese society. It oversighted the fact that the Balinese society has its own democratic system that firmly anchors to the traditional Balinese culture and religion.

Secondly, there are substantial differences between the character of Bunaken National Park and the Bali Cultural Landscape. Unlike Bunaken National Park, the Bali Cultural landscape is not a natural site. Water temples, village temples, and palaces are within the boundaries of the World Heritage Site, which also

makes the site culturally significant. Therefore, the management of *subak* landscape is not only the management of natural resources, but also the management of cultural objects. Like many other systems in the Balinese culture, the *subak* system works by integrating natural and cultural aspects. Meanwhile, the democratic assembly of Bunaken was created to deal with predominantly natural resources, which give this governance model a limitation for dealing with the management of cultural properties.

As the Bunaken democratic assembly focuses on the protection of natural resources, this thesis argues that the adoption of this governance model for the Bali Cultural Landscape shifts the focus of *subak* protection to physical and material attributes, which could compromise the continuity of *subak's* intangible aspects. In addition, the Governing Assembly had forgotten to engage key figures of the Balinese society, including the palaces *(puri),* the high priests *(pemangku),* and heads of customary villages (*klian)*. They are excluded from the assembly because the representatives of *subak* and administrative villages are already invited as part of the committee (Salamanca *et al.*, 2015). This exclusion illustrated the Governing Assembly's inability to incorporating the Balinese cultural system.

The management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape mentioned that *'The Governing Assembly will facilitate ongoing communication among the subaks, local communities, and government agencies and other stakeholders'* (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011:V-9). However, this was only a theory, because in practice, communications between *subak* and the local communities happen at the village level. As explained in chapter 5, *subak* and the customary villages are two separate

entities that have different boundaries, members, structures, and rules. Their members, however, might intersect. Members of a *subak* are always members of a customary village. Every *subak* and customary village has members meeting (*paruman*) to discuss issues and communicate matters within and between those institutions.

The Governing Assembly also did not facilitate communications between the local community and stakeholders who sit at the decision-making level. Some respondents complained that the establishment of this committee was useless (R2, R6, R22). There is no clarity regarding who is in charge of the Governing Assembly and how they are planning to manage the site. Several stakeholders have repeatedly demanded the Government to enact the Governing Assembly properly, but their request has not been fruitful.

One of the respondents witnessed that the Governing Assembly model was chosen abruptly and without careful consideration (R1). He articulated that the lack of involvement from managers of the Bali Cultural Landscape, including national, provincial, and regional governments, as well as related organisations, are behind this flaw. In this light, this thesis argues that a replacement committee that could oversee the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape is urgently needed. The creation of this committee should consider unique characteristics of the Balinese culture and society to ensure optimum participation from the local community and supports from the Balinese key figures. In addition, the governance model should also recognise the relationship between cultural and natural aspects as the core of both the *subak* system and the Balinese culture.

8.3.1.2 The adaptive management framework

The management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape adopts an adaptive management model to deal with complex management challenges within the World Heritage Site boundaries. Although the adaptive management itself has been a well-developed model for managing natural resources for over 40 years (Holling, 1978), the implementation of adaptive management in the Bali Cultural Landscape has triggered considerable concerns regarding its effectiveness.

The Governing Assembly itself was created as a committee which is responsible for ensuring effective implementation of the adaptive management model. As seen in Figure 8-2, the adaptive management framework of the Bali Cultural Landscape comprises a continuing cycle of planning and design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and assessment.

Figure 8-2. The adaptive management framework of the Bali Cultural Landscape.
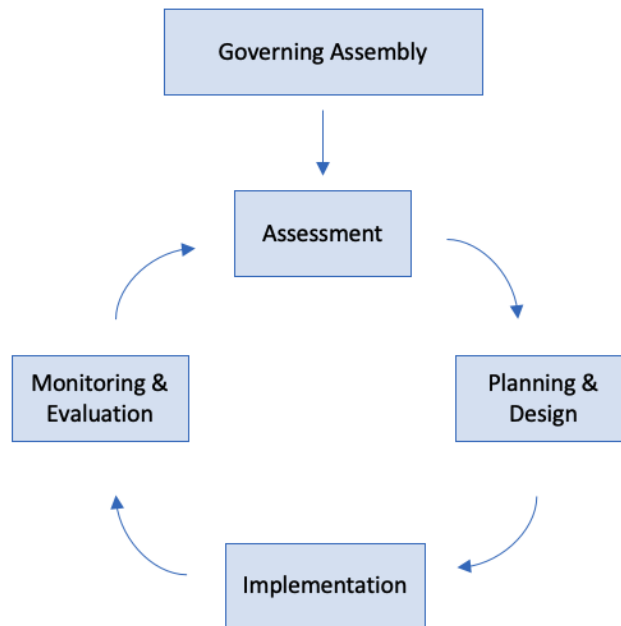
At the planning and design stage, an extensive consultation process and comprehensive data collections are done to create an appropriate management plan (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). The Strategic Priorities have been developed as part of the implementation stage in which stakeholders and the local community are encouraged to participate. The monitoring and evaluation, as well as the assessment stages, aim to evaluate the effectiveness of the management plan by inviting stakeholders in participatory planning activities. Afterwards, feedbacks from these stages are used to re-planning the management strategies and influence policy makers (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011, p. V-10).

However, as some farmers mentioned, only several *subaks* and villages representatives have been involved in any stage of this adaptive management framework. Usually, *Pekasehs* were asked to represent *subak* members.

Similarly, *Bendesa* and *Perbekel* were also asked to represent members of customary and official administrative villages.[35] Other members of *subak* and customary villages rarely have direct participation in the development or evaluation of the adaptive management framework.

A respondent who has been involved in the monitoring and evaluation stage witnessed the inappropriateness of methods and documents used for conducting assessments and monitoring and evaluation activities (R41). There was no evidence of a robust methodology and system for exercising both activities. In addition, there is also no rigorous strategy on how the results of those stages could be incorporated into the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Thus, it can be seen that monitoring and evaluation activities are conducted as a formality rather than as an actual tool to evaluate the management plan.

As an adaptive management system, the management plan of Bali Cultural Landscape should be able to respond to uncertain situations by incorporating outputs of the monitoring and evaluation stage. This stage is crucial for an adaptive management framework as it could improve management strategies by developing a better system that suits different situations (National Research Council, 2004). An adaptive management framework differs from trial and error as it involves the identification of management alternatives, management consequences, and recognition of key uncertainties (National Research Council, 2004). This framework also requires a *'careful design and testing'*

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[35] *Bendesa adat* or *Klian adat* is the head of customary villages and *Perbekel* is the head of official administrative villages.

alongside a continual learning and evaluation process (Walters and Green, 1997; Williams, 2010). As the management plan of the Bali Cultural landscape lacks these components, it cannot be regarded as an adaptive management framework.

8.3.1.3 The Strategic Priorities

The Indonesian Government promised that five strategic priorities would have been implemented within a year of the inscription as the initial phase of the Bali Cultural Landscape management (see Figure 8-3 below). The Strategic Priorities are defined in the nomination dossier as both key implementation strategies and the expected outcomes of the management plan. Each priority has its objectives and proposed actions that are developed to facilitate site managers to accomplish the aim of the management plan.

Figure 8-3. The Strategic Priorities of the Bali Cultural Landscape
(taken from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)

1. **Livelihood protection and enhancement** for *subak* institutions and their members
2. **Conservation and promotion of ecosystem services** to ensure sustainable use of natural resources
3. **Conservation of the material culture** to preserve and enhance the authenticity of sites and structures
4. **Appropriate tourism development** within the site in order to achieve a balance between public and visitor education, generation of tourism-based revenue, and conservation.
5. **Infrastructure and facility development** that are consistent with preservation and enhancement of the cultural landscape.

This thesis found that some objectives and proposed actions that were developed under the Strategic Priorities are paradoxical with the actual condition of the *subak* landscape and the perception of the local community. The table below illustrates the corresponding objectives and actions from Strategic Priority-1. Based on fieldwork observations and data collected from the local community, only a few strategic actions have been implemented and beneficial for the local community. Others have been implemented but did not provide significant benefits for the local community, and many of them have not been enforced.

Table 8-1. Strategic Priority-1: Livelihood protection and enhancement for *subak* institutions (adopted from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)

No	Objectives	Detailed actions	Status
1	Support farming as a prosperous livelihood activity	Provide subsidies for land tax relief to *subak*	**
2	Support access to basic education and health services	Provide an educational incentive for children of all *subak* members	***
		Establish a fund to support non-formal education and vocational training	*
		Distribute a health subsidy card to provide free basic Category One medical services	*
3	Build capacity and social capital of traditional management institutions and participating communities	Increase government funding allocation to participating *subaks*	**
		Increase annual government allocation to traditional village administrative units (desa pekraman)	***
		Hold workshops and training on relevant topics to build the capacity of the local population	*
4	Conserve and enhance the intangible attributes of Bali Cultural Landscape	Assess the resilience of Balinese customs and practices that maintain social systems and *subak* institutions	*
		Establish community-based educational programmes to increase awareness and improve knowledge of traditional values and practices	*
		Provide advising services to farmers and community members to manage the costs of ceremonial activities	*
		Carry out cultural exchange programmes or Balinese cultural exhibitions	**
*** implemented and beneficial for the local community ** implemented without significant benefits for the local community * not implemented			

As seen, the agricultural land tax relief was not perceived as a beneficial policy for farmers. As most farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed only have small rice fields, the presence of land tax relief has not made significant differences to farmers' financial condition (R2, R6, R34). With the use of modern farming tools and the decline of human resources, farmers can no longer cope with the soaring cost of the whole agricultural production. This is why farmers and their

families have attempted to find additional works outside of the agricultural sector.

Farmers and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed denied that they had been exclusively provided free access to education and health services. Although the Indonesian Government provided national-wide incentives to help its citizens to access basic health and education at low costs, the high cost of advance education and health services have been one of the primary drivers of land selling and conversion within the area. Similarly, the local community also denied the existence of capacity-building activities related to agricultural practices and tourism activities.

With regard to the last objective, this thesis argued that conserving intangible attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape is a challenge, particularly because the intangible attributes of this site are not defined in either the management plan or the nomination dossier. Which intangible attributes should be protected? What are the parameters of its protection? Those are crucial questions that are left unanswered in the written documents published by both the Indonesian Government and the WHC, which would make the objective and associated actions of the Strategic Priorities meaningless. One of the strategic actions also insinuated that the improvement of local awareness regarding the Balinese traditional values is necessary, which presumed that the local community is unknowledgeable of their own culture and practices.

The Strategic Priority-2 aims to improve the quality of ecosystem and natural resources. This thesis observed that due to the fear of crop failure, farmers felt insecure about changing their farming practices into a more organic and

sustainable approach. Some respondents in Subak Pakerisan Watershed regretted the absence of support to farmers who have already started to implement organic farming (R7, R12). As organic farming is prone to failure due to climate uncertainty, most farmers are reluctant to shift into organic farming even though the crop price is much higher.

The Strategic Priority-3 addresses the conservation of material culture and the authenticity of the site. As section 6.4 and 6.5 discussed, the notion of authenticity contradicts the Balinese's need for socio-cultural change. The nomination dossier stated that:

> *"For the Balinese, it is not the material aspects of culture which determine the authenticity of their cultural heritage, but the ongoing traditions." (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011: III-20)*

Thus, having Strategic Priority-3 that aims to preserve and enhance the authenticity of the site through protecting material culture is contradictory to both the nomination dossier and the traditional Balinese principles. It demonstrated inconsistency in defining authenticity between those who composed the nomination dossier and management plan as well as a flawed process in the development of management actions. Arguably, this inconsistency would cause management disorientation and miscoordination between different levels of stakeholders and governments.

The table below illustrates the objectives and detailed actions of the Strategic Priority-3. As shown, only one action has been implemented and considered beneficial by the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. The majority of proposed actions were unimplemented due to the ineffectiveness of the

Governing Assembly, resources issues, and the lack of collaboration between the National, Provincial, and Regional Governments.

Table 8-2. Strategic Priority-3: Conservation of material culture to preserve and enhance the authenticity of sites
(adopted from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011)

No	Objectives	Detailed actions	Status
1	Ensure properties are used appropriately to minimise damage to historic materials	Research the impact of current public use on the properties	*
		Establish guidelines for using highly significant buildings, materials, and landscapes	*
2	Retain the existing historical/ original materials so that each site and its constituents meet the test of authenticity in materials	Carry out an inventory of the cultural landscape to establish a baseline for cultural and material conservation	**
		Conduct research on local knowledge and traditional techniques in conserving cultural materials	*
		Develop and enforce measures to conserve and maintain the forested areas surrounding the sites	***
3	Restore the original cultural landscape in each site in order to regain its authenticity and integrity	Rehabilitate and restore the altered cultural landscapes	*
		Restore damaged parts of properties and replace them with new fabricated materials that suit the conservation policy	*
		Enhance awareness among the local population regarding the benefits of maintaining their original cultural landscape	**
		Provide incentives to local communities for restoring and mantaining traditional architecture	*
*** implemented and beneficial for the local community			
** implemented without significant benefits for the local community			
* not implemented			

Strategic Priority-4 and Strategic Priority-5 aim to improve sustainable tourism and infrastructure development in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Among their objectives are developing a sustainable tourism development plan and engaging the local community in the development of tourism activities. Several respondents argued that although the sustainable tourism plan has been

developed, it has not been implemented in Subak Pakerisan Watershed (R1, R6, R4, R5). Currently, there is also no substantial evidence that demonstrates the local community's involvement in the development of both tourism plans and their implementation. The local community continuously struggles with their businesses and the decline of visitor spending in the area. There is also no coordination between tourism actors and the local authority, which led to an unbalanced competition between the local community and big enterprises.

As many strategic actions are currently unimplemented, it is evident that the aims of the Strategic Priorities had not been achieved during the first year of the Bali Cultural Landscape's management. The analysis of interview data also indicated that efforts of implementing the Strategic Priorities have stopped due to changing regulations, plans, and government priorities. The local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed denied any significant improvement regarding the management approach and dismissed their hopes for future improvements. It is also evident from the SOC reports that the unsuccessful implementation of Strategic Priorities was not evaluated by the WHC. It shows that the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape was not used as baseline data for evaluating management and conservation actions. In section 8.4 below, this thesis explains how SOC reports and the Government's correspondences with the WHC have shaped and influenced the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape instead.

As many strategic actions are considered inadequate or inappropriate by the local community, it is clear that the Strategic Priorities were not determined through inclusive community consultation. Through this observation, it is also evident that the monitoring and evaluation stage is not in place. Arguably, there

would be more appropriate and acceptable strategic actions should the adaptive management framework was in operation.

8.3.2 Criticisms towards the management plan

Issues in the management of Subak Pakerisan Watershed range from its unsuitable strategic plan to its inadequate implementations. Some respondents who are part of the expert group revealed that an ineffective management plan is the main problem currently faced by the Bali Cultural Landscape (R2, R20). The site also does not have a comprehensive strategy for dealing with urgent issues, such as waste problems, overcapacity, and the lack of stakeholders' coordination (R1, R2, R4, R5, R6, R20). Some respondents argued that the establishment of the Coordination Forum in 2015 only tries to disguise the inadequate management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Although the Coordination Forum has held several annual meetings, this new committee is yet to provide sensible solutions to prolonged management issues in the *subak* landscape.

In its routine meetings, the Coordination Forum usually involves representatives of subak organisations and customary villages. However, as representatives, *Pekaseh*, *Bendesa adat,* and *Perbekel* might not necessarily understand the problems faced by individual farmers as well as challenges faced by smaller groups of the community. Chirikure *et al.* (2010) argued that representatives do not always represent the interests of community members and might have other agendas. Besides, conflicts and tensions among farmers cannot be ignored. Criticisms concerning *Pekasehs'* lack of leadership, support, and interest indicated the limited ability of these representatives to

communicate with the community and convey the local community's voices. Furthermore, the Coordination Forum also did not have a mechanism to involve all members of the local community inclusively.

Unsurprisingly, farmers' non-involvement in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape was one of the main discussions raised by the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Since before the nomination process, farmers have not been included in the decision-making processes and the local community only received information after decisions were made. As the representatives of *subak* and villages, *Pekaseh* and *Bendesa adat* are more involved than other residents. However, they do not represent the knowledge and standpoint of other residents. In addition, as a group with less power and authority compared to site managers and other government officials, *subak* and *village* representatives do not have as many privileges to make active contributions in the decision-making processes.

Many complaints were raised regarding the negligence of the management plan regarding farmers and the local community's well-being and economic sustainability. Many respondents underlined that this negligence has triggered the local community to seek alternative ways to improve their conditions (R4, R5, R6, R8, R19, R41). Alongside agricultural challenges and unaffordable cost of rice production, the current management plan failed to assure the local community of the government's attempts to work together in delivering sustainable development. This condition implies that the preservation of the Bali Cultural Landscape would be done at all costs, including the local community's welfare. As a society that already experienced a number of ineffective government schemes, it can be understood that the local

community of the Bali Cultural Landscape is sceptical with the current government's plan concerning their welfare.

Many scepticisms were observed as the local community refused to acknowledge the genuine interests of governments and site managers regarding their welfare. Many farmers see governments and site managers' actions as merely political gestures. This was triggered by the behaviour of government officials and site managers who often conduct visitations only when there are international guests or during political campaigns. Farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed stated that they have tried to express their feelings and concerns about the management of the site, but they were not heard (R7, R18, R19, R36, R41). Farmers assumed that they were seen as a less knowledgeable group and an inferior stakeholder, which is why their methods and judgements are often ignored. Lansing (2006) mentioned that such ignorance towards the traditional knowledge of Balinese farmers has been evident since 1971.

The local community also criticised inconsistencies between the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape and its implementation (R18, R19, R23). Farmers are disappointed with the improper approach developed by site managers in handling water scarcity and water privatisation around Subak Pakerisan Watershed. The local community also witnessed the poor condition of the *subak* landscape as waste problems are not appropriately managed. They are also frustrated about the delay of financial subsidies, the absence of government's assistance in both farming and tourism activities, as well as the government's incapability to protect the price of local rice.

Respondents acknowledged that both inadequate and inappropriate management strategies lead to the destruction of the *subak* system (R2, R3, R20, R41). Thus, this thesis argues that the protection of the *subak* landscape is not equivalent to the protection of the *subak* system. The sustainability of the *subak* system requires the sustainability of farmers and farming as a profession, as well as other components that constitute the *subak* system. Therefore, the management plan needs to focus not only on the preservation of the *subak* landscape but also on protecting the local community and farming as a livelihood.

Unfortunately, although the current management plan shows an attempt to protect farming as the main livelihood of the local community, its detailed action plans and implementations are not always in line with the local community's objective to improve their well-being and economic condition. For instance, rice fields were not always bequeathed to become perpetual rice producers. Often, owners were given the land as it can be converted into anything else when farming is no longer beneficial. Thus, the government's strategy in prohibiting land conversion to maintain the number of farmers is amiss. As some farmers chose to violate the rules, this strategy rather resulted in many land abandonments and conflicts among farmers.

Having explained that, it is evident that improving the management plan and its implementations are necessary for farmers and the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. However, many people believe that this will be unlikely. It is a common presumption among the local community that the governments' concerns over the Bali Cultural Landscape management are related to tourism revenues and political branding (R2, R4, R5, R6, R22). The

local community also realised that their inability to convert rice fields indicated the loss of control over the management of Subak Pakerisan Watershed.

8.4 The accuracy of the State of Conservation reports

The State of Conservation (SOC) report is an essential part of the World Heritage Site monitoring and evaluation system as it primarily serves as a communication tool between State Parties and the World Heritage Committee (WHC). SOC report contains information related to World Heritage Site management that are taken by State Parties. Firstly, a SOC report that contains actions, threats, and challenges of a World Heritage Site is submitted by a State Party to be discussed during the World Heritage Committee session. Based on that report, the WHC and the advisory bodies then provide evaluations and recommendations for improving the World Heritage Site management. Afterwards, the State Party would implement the recommendations and report their actions on the next SOC report. To date, there are three SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Figure 8-4 illustrates the submission timeline of SOC reports submitted by the Indonesian Government (mark with *), and evaluations provided by the WHC and advisory bodies.[36]

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[36] In the World Heritage Committee session, SOC reports could mean both the documents that are prepared by the State Parties and the evaluations that are jointly developed by the advisory bodies, the World Heritage Centre, and the World Heritage Committee.

Figure 8-4. SOC reports of the Bali Cultural Landscape

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┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│     The 2014 WHC evaluation      │
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                 ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│      2015 Reactive Monitoring    │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│         2015 SOC report*         │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│     The 2015 WHC evaluation      │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│         2016 SOC report*         │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│     The 2017 WHC evaluation      │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│         2019 SOC report*         │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
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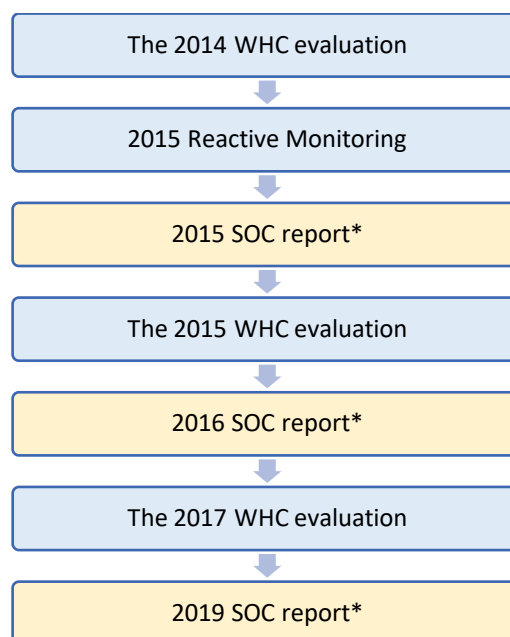
This section explores the content of SOC reports as a way to investigate the accuracy of information provided by the Indonesian Government and the appropriateness of the WHC's recommendations compared to actual conditions at the local level. As the outcome of SOC reports strongly affected the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape, this evaluation is needed so that inappropriate management approach and the relationship between the WHC and the Indonesian Government can be uncovered.

8.4.1 Reactive Monitoring and the 2015 SOC Report

Article 4 of the 1972 World Heritage Convention highlighted that State Parties must ensure the World Heritage Site's protection, conservation, and presentation. The Reactive Monitoring process is among many management measures that aim to prevent the deletion of World Heritage Sites from the list. In paragraph 169 of the Operational Guidelines, reactive monitoring is defined as *'the reporting by the World Heritage Centre, other sectors of UNESCO and*

the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee on the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties that are under threat' (UNESCO, 2019a).

The Reactive Monitoring process usually starts by examining a World Heritage property's condition. The WHC and advisory bodies will review the condition of the property using information collected from multiple sources. The WHC then sends advisory bodies to undertake fieldwork missions to review the condition, conservation, and management of the property. Following a mission, advisory bodies compose a report that will be examined by the WHC, in which management recommendations are then developed for the corresponding State Party and World Heritage Site. Afterwards, the State Party is expected to implement those recommendations and develop an SOC report to communicate their actions to the WHC.

Thus, as a follow up to the 2014 WHC evaluation, the WHC sent an advisory mission on 12-16 January 2015 to investigate the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape as part of a Reactive Monitoring process. During the three-days mission, the advisory mission visited all five serial sites that constitute the Bali Cultural Landscape. They were accompanied by governments, academics, and UNESCO local office and at the end produced a report that contains evaluations and recommendations for the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

However, it is worth noting that the advisory mission spent less than five hours to engage with both the local community of Subak Caturangga Batukaru and Subak Pakerisan Watershed. As those *subaks* have more than 20,000 ha

areas and more than 500 members, it can be argued that such a short interaction could not sufficiently capture necessary information that can be used to evaluate the management plan and the local community's perspectives. In its report, the advisory mission indicated their little understanding of the Balinese religious system, conflicts within farmers and the community, and the local community's reluctance to engage with conservation practices. Despite its unthorough investigation, the advisory mission argued that change in the traditional Balinese society had degraded the local community's interest in agricultural activities.

Two groups of farmers in Subak Pakerisan Watershed described the advisory mission as *'short'* and *'contains no interaction with farmers'*. Farmers did not know the aim of the visit, mainly because they did not have a proper dialogue with governments and related stakeholders about the management of the landscape. A respondent declared the visitation as confusing and fruitless:

> *"Pekasehs were told to gather subak members to welcome UNESCO team who are visiting the landscape. It was a meeting; UNESCO came here so that they can have a dialogue with subak. (There are) questions and answers, whatever they called it. We are told (to gather) at 3 pm, so subak waited in Kulub. But they came at 5.30 pm, very late, and the dialogue was (conducted) in a rush. The questions were being limited, and they already decided the focus (of dialogue)."* (R22)

This information illustrated that the local community's engagement was seen merely as a formality or a complementary activity by the advisory mission rather than the main agenda. It is also evident that the local community's interpretation related to *subak* values, meanings, and issues were improperly investigated. The lack of sufficient dialogue with the local community also demonstrated that the local community's knowledge was not appreciated. It is evident that their perspective towards the management of the landscape was

only regarded as additional information to data provided by site managers. MacRae (2017) highlighted that the advisory mission and its report accurately illustrate how top-down institutional approaches often misunderstand a local context.

The table below illustrates the content of the 2015 SOC report that was submitted by the Indonesian Government. This SOC report was created as a response to the 2014 WHC evaluation and a follow up to the Reactive Monitoring process.

Table 8-3. The summary of the 2014 WHC evaluation and the 2015 SOC report
(adopted from Ministry of Education and Culture, 2015)

No	2014 WHC evaluation	2015 SOC report
1	The vulnerabilities of the cultural landscape and the need to support the traditional practices of the subak communities through their engagement in the management system have not been addressed.	Subak communities and customary villages are being involved in the Coordination Forum and Pekaseh forum. Their engagements within subak were regulated by provincial regulations and financially supported by the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture.
2	The governance structures and management plan have not been fully implemented. Incentives and subsidies to support rural livelihoods and subak, as well as land use regulations to prohibit inappropriate development have so far not been appropriately delivered.	The Coordination Forum will enable farmers to express their concerns related to the management. The adaptive co-management system, which consists of academics, governments, NGO, and local communities, meet regularly to manage the site. A workshop has been conducted to give a better understanding of the common goal of *subak's* preservation.
3	The Governing Assembly should be operationalised as soon as possible and include representatives of the subak communities.	The provincial government has issued a decree to help implementing the effective operation of the Governing Assembly.
4	The Governing Assembly must implement the management plan so that the Strategic Priorities can be delivered.	The management plan has been translated into Indonesian language and distributed to relevant stakeholders. Instruments of monitoring and evaluating have been created to review its implementations.

5	Various protection and management measures that have been approved by the Committee in the SOUV should be immediately put into practice.	The national government attempts to develop Bali Cultural Landscape into a National Strategic Area. The OUV has been incorporated into the school curriculum in Bali.

This SOC report shows that the Indonesian Government considered the establishment of the Coordination Forum, new government decrees, and new monitoring and evaluating instruments as a strategy to address management problems in the Bali Cultural Landscape. However, the implementation and effectiveness of this new strategy were not discussed in the SOC report. Thus, it was unclear whether this strategy actually works to solve several issues that were raised by the WHC.

In this SOC report, the Indonesian Government also failed to explain that not all *subak* members are directly engaged with the Coordination Forum and the *Pekaseh* Forum; only *Pekasehs* are to be present as *subak* representatives in both forums. These two forums are unable to solve issues related to the local community's involvement because *Pekasehs* and other representatives do not always understand and represent farmers' interests and concerns. Moreover, the *Pekaseh* Forum was only created for *Pekasehs* in Subak Caturangga Batukaru. It does not exist in other areas within the Bali Cultural Landscape. Currently, there is no engagement instrument that could comprehensively accommodate the local community's concerns in all areas within the Bali Cultural Landscape boundaries.

As discussed in the previous section, respondents expressed their concerns about the performance of the Governing Assembly and implementation of the

adaptive management framework (e.g., R2, R6, R41). Some respondents also questioned whether there was any real contribution made by the Coordination Forum to the management of *subak* landscape and the effectiveness of monitoring and evaluation instruments (R6, R22, R41). Arguably, this SOC report only described conceptual actions that were taken at the national and regency level without providing further information regarding its application at the local community level. Hence, the ability of the 2015 SOC report to accurately communicate management measures and challenges in the Bali Cultural Landscape is impugned.

8.4.2 2016 SOC Report

In the World Heritage Committee session held in 2015, the WHC criticised the lack of tangible implementations of the Bali Cultural Landscape management. As discussed above, the 2015 SOC report has inadequately discussed the implementation of the management plan at the local level. Although some local practices were finally discussed in the 2016 SOC report, new policies and regulations are still used to convince the WHC of the successful management plan taken by the Indonesian Government. For instance, instead of using monitoring and evaluation activities to judge the effectiveness of the Coordination Forum, a new presidential decree was created to oversee the future performance of the Coordination Forum.

The table below summarises the 2015 WHC evaluation and the response of the Indonesian Government submitted through the 2016 SOC report.

Table 8-4. The summary of the 2015 WHC evaluation and the 2016 SOC report
(adopted from Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016)

No	2015 WHC evaluation	2016 SOC report
1	The pressure of land conversion remains significant and affects the ability of the authorities to sustain the OUV. Full engagement of the *subak* communities has not been implemented.	*Subak* community is actively engaged in the Coordination Forum. Action plans have been established and teachers were trained to disseminate *subak* lessons. The next plan is to engage students and scouts in cultural mapping. A pilot project for this activity has been done.
2	The effectiveness of the Coordination Forum to engage *subak* community has not been evaluated.	Pekaseh, Head of Customary Villages, and Priests of temples have actively voiced their opinions, inputs, and information related to *subaks'* wishes in the Coordination Forum, which has conducted regular meetings with the Regency, Provincial and National government. *Subak* community has been involved in every on-site visit.
3	Giving tax incentives, providing supports to traditional *subaks*, and reducing land conversion should be a continuing priority.	Supporting *subak* and reducing land conversion are the current management priority and controlled by the Provincial government's law. An annual incentive of IDR 30,000,000 (£1500) is given to farmers to maintain land ownership and farming activities. Tax reduction has been an ongoing programme.
4	No comprehensive tourism strategy is in place.	Workshops about Sustainable Tourism Strategy for Bali Cultural Landscape have been conducted and guidebooks about *subak* and tri Hita Karana have been published to enhance heritage narratives.
5	The protection of water catchment area for the survival of the *subak* system is mandatory.	Every Regency has a programme to overcome water management issues in the area. A study of spatial planning policy that aims to prepare a presidential decree concerning National Strategic Area is ongoing.
6	The Government should prioritise the implementation of the advisory mission's recommendations (Improving engagement between the Governments and the Coordination Forum as well as coordinations to manage land conversion and development; Continuing incentives to support the livelihoods of *subak* communities; Developing means to safeguard the	Coordination Forum, Spatial Planning, and Sustainable Tourism Strategy are the priority of the current management plan. Meetings have taken place to strengthen the Coordination Forum and to establish a regulation concerning strategic planning and Action Plans.

	water catchment area, Action Plans, strategic planning, impact assessments, and detailed tourism planning).	

As seen in table 8-4, the Coordination Forum is regarded as the main strategy to engage the local community. Unfortunately, this SOC report also failed to inform the WHC that only *subak* and village representatives can directly participate in the Coordination Forum. As discussed, the rest of the local community does not have a direct involvement mechanism in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape nor direct participation in on-site visits. As the relationship between *subak*, villages representatives, and the local community is not always amicable, the absence of an inclusive engagement instrument disarticulated local concerns and obscured many problems.

Among other issues, the WHC requested the Indonesian Government to address land conversion problems, maintain incentives to support *subak* communities, and monitor the engagement with the local community. Although land tax reduction has been established as a strategy to reduce land conversion, as discussed in the previous section, it was ineffective for helping farmers deal with financial-related problems (R7, R12, R22, R34). Despite what was written in the SOC report, the annual incentive is not given to individual farmers. As the incentive is only provided to *subak* organisations, it is only helpful to maintain day-to-day operations of the organisation but does not provide any support for individual farmers to maintain their rice fields or livelihood.

Although the SOC report indicated that national laws and regulations had been created to minimise land conversions, the problem of land conversion in Subak Pakerisan Watershed prevails. This particular strategy cannot effectively decrease land conversion problems because the government does not have control over the use of individual properties. Instead, this new regulation created an awkward relationship between site managers and the local community because the implementation of such regulation could violate land sovereignty (Borras and Franco, 2012). *Pekasehs* are also reluctant to help implement this regulation as it triggers tensions between them and other *subak* members.

A respondent acknowledged that an information book regarding the *subak* landscape and its values was composed during a joint-stakeholders workshop (R41). However, there was no effort to distribute this guidebook, and consequently, it is not available for wider audiences. Likewise, the output of the sustainable tourism workshop was not disseminated to either local guides, the local community, or tourism organisations. Thus, although a comprehensive tourism strategy and a guidebook were created, they are not easily accessible to the local community or the public.

Many management strategies are developed and implemented based on the WHC's evaluations and recommendations. The characteristic of the SOC report mechanism, in which the WHC requests and urges State Parties to implement particular actions and report back to them on the next SOC report, turn the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape into a product of negotiation between the WHC and the government. The Indonesian Government is constantly under pressure to respond to the WHC evaluations

in order to protect the site from being deleted from the World Heritage List. This way of communication easily disregards the local community's perspectives, concerns, and expectations, as the government focuses on accomplishing the WHC recommendations instead of evaluating the appropriateness of the management strategy.

8.4.3 2019 SOC Report

The 2017 WHC evaluation raised four discussions concerning the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape: the implementation of previous WHC recommendations, the effectiveness of the Coordination Forum, the designation of the Bali Cultural Landscape as a National Strategic Area, and the use of Heritage Impact Assessments. The 2019 SOC report was submitted by the Indonesian Government to show that those concerns have already been addressed. However, my fieldwork observation indicated another discrepancy between the SOC report and the actual condition on the site.

Table 8-5. The summary of the 2017 WHC evaluation and the 2019 SOC report
(adopted from Ministry of Education and Culture, 2019)

No	2017 WHC evaluation	2019 SOC report
1	The Indonesian Government is requested to implement the recommendation of the 2015 advisory mission and previous WHC evaluations. It includes enabling income and financial incentives (land & building tax relief, grants, and other assistances) to all farmers and *subaks* within the property.	'Income Increase Programme' and 'incentives programme' have been prioritised and will continue to be implemented. An official regulation has been adopted to ensure its implementation. Pekaseh received incentives, and *subak* receives assistance for ceremonies and infrastructure development.
2	The Indonesian Government is requested to monitor the Coordination Forum, including the participation rates of local farmers and provincial & regional governments, any emerging issues, and its effectiveness.	The Coordination Forum is evaluated and strengthened by The Coordination Team, a national-level committee that involves 25 ministries and agencies in the protection of Indonesian Cultural and Natural Heritage.

3	Necessary steps must be taken to ensure the designation of Bali Cultural Landscape as a National Strategic Area with adequate mechanisms to enhance natural resource management within the property.	Bali Cultural Landscape is going to be designated as National Strategic Area in the near time.
4	The Indonesian Government must ensure that Environmental Impact Assessments and Heritage Impact Assessments are carried out before making irreversible decisions.	The Government of Indonesia uses official laws and regulations to regulate activities related to the development of the natural and cultural environment. This has provided sufficient actions to guarantee the protection of the OUV.

The Government argued that incentives and financial supports are amongst the ongoing programmes that could sustain the livelihood of the local community. However, the 'Income Increase Programme' has not been felt by farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. It is also unclear how this programme works as there is no remuneration or cash incentives for individual farmers in Subak Pakerisan Watershed. Currently, *Pekasehs* are the only ones who received financial supports, although in an insignificant amount.

In previous SOC reports, financial incentives were discussed as the primary management strategy to address problems related to land conversion and livelihood sustainability. Farmers and the local community indeed considered this as the desired action that could help them cope with various agricultural challenges. However, the amount of the incentive is currently inappropriate. Farmers argued that Rp30,000,000 (£1500) per year for the maintenance of the organisation and Rp300,000 (£15) per year on average for land tax incentives are insufficient. Again, it can be seen that the idea of financial incentive was evidently designed and implemented without community consultation or using data from the monitoring and evaluation activities. It also

suggested that the Coordination Forum has been unable to accommodate farmers' concerns, unlike what was claimed in the SOC reports.

In its evaluation, the WHC finally raised a concern about the effectiveness of the Coordination Forum as the Indonesian Government never discussed its performance in previous SOC reports. Unfortunately, no discussion was made regarding the level of involvement of both the local community and governments in the Coordination Forum as well as the role of the Coordination Forum in ensuring the protection of the Bali Cultural Landscape. In this year's SOC report, the Indonesian Government only reported the assessment procedures for evaluating the Coordination Forum without actually provided the result of those assessments.

The WHC urged the use of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for analysing development plans around the Bali Cultural Landscape. As a response, the Indonesian Government argued that several national laws and regulations are already present and will be able to replace EIA and HIA for assessing irreversible developments within the property. However, the effectiveness of those laws and regulations to replace EIA or HIA can strongly be debated. Those regulations are not specifically developed to assess impacts of irreversible development in built environment and heritage sites, but rather developed only to inform stakeholders regarding the process that should be done prior to each development. The current condition of the Bali Cultural Landscape shows that those national laws and regulations have yet prevented the negative impacts of several irreversible developments within the *subak* landscape.

In addition, as previously discussed, rice fields are lawfully owned by individual members of *subak* organisations. Therefore, governments do not have control over the use of rice fields and any development around the Bali Cultural Landscape. The jurisdiction of water temples also belongs to *Puri* and customary villages, which is why the government's authority is limited. Figure 8-5 below shows an example of a building development in Subak Pakerisan Watershed despite the existing government's laws and regulations.

Figure 8-5. A development within Subak Pakerisan Watershed
(Source: D. Rahman, May 2018)

Through fieldwork interviews and observations, it was evident that the local community considers the protection of intangible aspects of the Bali Cultural Landscape important. However, it can be seen from all SOC reports and WHC evaluations that the protection of intangible attributes is rarely discussed. The lack of adequate and concrete measures in the management plan to sustain intangible attributes of *subak*, farmers' relationship, and the Balinese social system does not seem to be the focus of this monitoring and evaluation activity.

The absence of such discussions indicated how the WHC and the Indonesian Government have discounted problems that are not directly related to physical attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscapes. As argued in Chapter 6, the discrepancy between stakeholders in interpreting *subak* attributes leads to different conservation priorities. Thus, as the WHC acknowledged more physical attributes in the SOUV, the monitoring and evaluation activity has also accommodated more discussions on the protection of physical attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Although problems related to intangible attributes are heavily discussed by the local community, such issues did not become the priority of the WHC.

8.5 Concluding remarks: Making sense the gaps between universal approach and local practices

For six years, the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape has very little understanding of the World Heritage status and its implication on the management and control over their rice fields. Having almost no involvement in the nomination process, the majority of farmers thought that gaining the World Heritage Status would improve their well-being and generate significant financial support for the agricultural sector. Gradually, farmers understood that some activities are being restricted as part of site managers' effort to perpetuate the Bali Cultural Landscape. With their unfulfilled expectations and the presence of more complex and inconvenient regulations that control the use of their inheritance, more farmers are feeling trapped to be part of the World Heritage Site.

The management plan could not successfully tackle issues that appeared within Subak Pakerisan Watershed, including issues concerning financial instabilities, water scarcity, waste management, and the high cost of rice production. The disappearance of the Governing Assembly also indicated the absence of a responsible management body that could ensure effective implementations of the management plan in the Bali Cultural Landscape. This thesis argues that continuous change in provincial and regional government officials contributed to the disappearance of this committee. Similarly, the Coordination Forum is yet a reliable committee to oversee the implementation of the site's management plan. Its ability to enforce the management strategy and involve the *subak* community is questionable.

There is substantial proof that the Indonesian Governments and site managers have not thoroughly understood the adaptive management framework since the management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape lacks a continual learning and evaluation process. As some scholars also argued, the separation of nature and culture brought problems to many heritage management practices (Leitão, 2017; Harrison, 2015; Byrne *et al.,* 2013). The current management framework presented some problems to the Bali Cultural Landscape as it neglects the role of the Balinese cultural system and practices in managing agricultural landscapes. In addition, the management plan has never been revised and evaluated since 2012, which contradict the characteristic of an adaptive management framework.

The Strategic Priorities that have been developed as key implementation strategies are not fully compatible with the Balinese culture. For instance, the suggestion of protecting material aspects of the Bali Cultural Landscape to

enhance the authenticity of the site contradicts the fact that the Balinese culture does not regard material originality as of paramount important. This finding demonstrated that the Strategic Priorities were developed without a comprehensive assessment of the cultural context or consultation with the local community as it was claimed in the management plan.

This thesis postulates that such ineffective management plan was primarily caused by inadequate understanding of the Balinese culture and exacerbated by the local community's disengagement. The management strategy is flawed as it neglected the unique characteristic of both *subak* and the Balinese society. The National Government has also failed to record the local community's expectations and concerns regarding the management plan.

By analysing SOC reports, this thesis discovered inconsistencies between the government's statements, the actual condition of the Bali Cultural Landscape, and inaccuracies in all three SOC reports. Arguably, the interaction between the Indonesian Government and the WHC through this monitoring and evaluation exercise has turned the Bali Cultural Landscape management into a closed system that disregards community perceptions and concerns. It is evident that several management actions were only implemented in the interest of 'ticking the box' of the WHC's evaluations.

This chapter demonstrated that the WHC, the Indonesian Government, and the local community have different perceptions regarding the ideal management approach for the Bali Cultural Landscape. The local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape raised more discussions on intangible aspects of *subak* while the WHC and the Indonesian Government raised more

discussions on physical attributes of *subak*. While the local community aims to maintain the integrity of *subak* as a system, the National Government and the WHC aim to protect the Outstanding Universal Values. This is why stakeholders' interpretation regarding meanings and values of the Bali Cultural Landscape does not only affect their conservation priorities but also influence stakeholders' collaboration.

In conclusion, the discrepancy in understanding the Bali Cultural Landscape and interpreting its values and attributes were the main reasons behind the discrepancy in determining the conservation priority and ideal management approach for the Bali Cultural Landscape. Arguably, different versions of the site's significance written in the nomination dossier and SOUV also contributed to the inaccuracy of SOC reports. It shows how the WHC and the Indonesian Government hold different views regarding the Bali Cultural Landscape, the Balinese society, and the Balinese culture. As the WHC is the most authoritative stakeholder in the World Heritage Convention framework, the monitoring and evaluation system has accommodated the WHC's version of meanings, significance, and ideal management approach.

The next chapter employs the theory of discourse to understand the implications of stakeholders' discrepancy in World Heritage Site management and the role of the World Heritage Convention in sustaining heritage sites and local culture. The chapter will also use the theory of cultural ecology to understand the significance of socio-cultural change for sustaining the *subak* system and the Bali Cultural Landscape.

CHAPTER 9

Discourse and the significance of socio-cultural change in World Heritage Site

9.1 Introduction

In chapter 6, this thesis demonstrated that the World Heritage Committee (WHC), the Indonesian Government, and the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape have different interpretations of *subak* values, authenticity, and attributes. Chapter 7 concluded that stakeholders also have different understandings of the significance and meanings of socio-cultural change. Chapter 8 also found that different conservation priorities emerged due to the discrepancy in interpreting heritage significance and socio-cultural change. It caused multiple management approaches and created a gap between the management plan, its implementation, and evaluation activities that all are done at different levels. In that light, this thesis argued that stakeholder conflicts and ineffective management plans were not merely caused by a lack of good governance, stakeholder collaboration, or community awareness and participation (see for instance, Landorf, 2009; Taylor, 2004; Fletcher *et al.*, 2007; Iliopoulou-Georgudaki *et al.*, 2017). Instead, it is rooted in different conceptualisations and interpretations of heritage and socio-cultural change.

Therefore, this chapter will employ the previously designed theoretical framework to analyse how socio-cultural change is valued and perceived by different stakeholders of World Heritage Sites. The first section will outline the

significance of socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape and Balinese culture. Here, the cultural ecology theory helps understand how socio-cultural change is vital for the sustainability of traditional knowledge, culture, and community. Then, the interrelationships between heritage significance, socio-cultural change, and the management of World Heritage Sites will be analysed in the second section. The discourse theory is employed to make sense of different understandings and interpretations towards socio-cultural change and why it is perceived as what it is today. In the last section, the chapter discusses several ways of navigating the negative impacts of Authorised Heritage Discourse to optimise the benefits of the World Heritage Convention.

9.2 Values of socio-cultural change

9.2.1 Positioning change within the *subak* values

Fairness is the fundamental principle of the *subak* system and its water distribution network (Norken *et al.,* 2016). For farmers of Subak Pakerisan Watershed, the *subak* system plays a crucial role in securing sufficient water and ensuring that any issues and conflicts do not hinder the success of the rice production process. Within the *subak* system, *awig-awig* or the traditional rules manage not only technical aspects concerning the irrigation system, rice field maintenance, and rice productions, but also religious, social, and cultural aspects of *subak*.

Awig-awig, which was established through years of trials and errors, has a particular section called *perarem* that aims to describe modifications and changes that are taken place in *subak*. Before being adopted, new ideas will

be brought into a member meeting (*paruman*) and discussed for their appropriateness and implications. Those ideas will only be adopted when *subak* members reach an agreement. This exercise alone is an illustration of the democratic character of Balinese society. It also demonstrates a control mechanism, which has sophisticatedly been used by the Balinese to manage the *subak* system and change for more than a thousand years (Lansing, 2006).

Subak organisation, therefore, is also an essential decision-making system. The organisation, which is led by *Pekaseh* and consists of an administrative committee *(Prajuru),* organises *paruman* regularly to discuss various issues related to *subak* and farmers' collective interests. Through *subak* organisation and *paruman*, farmers are involved directly in the management of the *subak* system. They have equal rights and responsibilities in the management of *subak* and equal voices in decision-making processes. This is why the existence of *subak* organisation is central for the protection of the democratic system and social relationship of farmers.

Based on the observation, the local community considers the farming system to have religious and symbolic values. Rice fields are considered sacred as it represents a connection between rice fields owners and their ancestors. As water that flows into the rice fields is considered a blessing, rice becomes the essential component of Balinese offerings, religious rituals, and temple ceremonies (see figure 9-1). Rice fields are also valued for their economic contribution as they provide a livelihood for many people, offers an opportunity to create small businesses, and can be sold in case of emergency. Rice itself is a staple food for the Balinese; it can also be presented as a gift and a contribution in *ngayah* and other social activities.

Figure 9-1. Various forms of rice are used as part of the offerings.
(Source: D. Rahman, May 2018)

From the *subak* system and the *subak* organisation, this thesis observed that socio-cultural change plays a significant role in the sustainability of the whole *subak* ecosystem. This is particularly evident in the case of *awig-awig.* These traditional rules need to be relevant to social and environmental conditions for the *subak* system to work effectively. *Awig-awig* needs to be updated and flexible in order to enable *subak* members to cope with evolutionary farming issues (Watra, 2019). From the cultural ecology standpoint, *awig-awig* is the adaptive instrument of *subak* that prevents the disappearance of rice production practices that could be triggered by environmental change. Unfortunately, this change of traditional ways and knowledge is considered by the World Heritage Convention as a threat to the OUV of World Heritage Sites (Veillon and World Heritage Centre, 2014).

In the nomination dossier, the Indonesian Government acknowledged that change is expected in many Balinese practices. Although site managers recognised the adaptive feature of *awig-awig*, the dossier itself did not discuss the ability of *awig-awig* to incorporate change in the *subak* system. The nomination document failed to acknowledge *awig-awig* as an adaptive system that is constantly transformed in order to protect the continuity of the *subak* system and rice production. The dossier also did not recognise adaptivity as the main character of the Balinese society and part of their preservation strategies. Instead, it emphasised the need for farmers to return to the native Balinese farming approach. This finding illustrated either an incomprehensive understanding of the local culture or the disarticulation of particular knowledge that contradicts the World Heritage Convention standards.

Through the fieldwork observation, this thesis discovered that many farmers have positive attitudes towards the change of *subak's* physical components. For instance, the recently built modern irrigation canals and roads have increased the participation of female members in the activities that have been dominated by the male members of the Balinese society. Modern farming tools such as tractors and harvesting machines replaced traditional farming tools and reduced physical labour. This modernisation, consequently, has also allowed elderly farmers to work on rice fields. New equipment, farming methods, techniques, and rice varieties have also successfully attracted the young generation to the agricultural sector.

Nevertheless, the increasing number of farmers and young people who leave the agricultural sector is an issue for the Bali Cultural Landscape management. The nomination dossier and SOC reports indicated that livelihood change

poses a danger to the sustainability of *subak* landscape. Tourism is also seen as a trigger of the change of livelihood. However, this thesis discovered that instead of tourism, financial issues should be considered as the primary driver of livelihood change. As the economic value of rice fields declined, farming is no longer a viable source of income. By considering tourism as a threat to the sustainability of *subak*, both the Indonesian Government and the WHC disregarded the fact that tourism has been part of the local community for almost a century.

As discussed, the local community of Tampaksiring has been working alongside the tourism industry since the 1920s. In his study, Picard (1996) explained that Tirta Empul and Gunung Kawi temples were among the first tourism destinations in Bali. The involvement of the villagers in a hundred years old tourism activities implied that tourism was not necessarily a trigger of the current social and cultural change. It is therefore inaccurate to assume that the local community is not aware of the impacts of tourism activities (R4, R5) or that tourism-related jobs have endangered the sustainability of the *subak* system. It should be noted that almost all families in Tampaksiring village had small carving industries before the 2002 Bali Bombings happened, which demonstrated how the agricultural sector has been sustained alongside the tourism sector.[37]

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[37] As most families in Tampaksiring had their own carving business, the village gained recognition as the centre of ivory carvers during the 1940-1990s. Ivory carving had been the major source of the local community's income until the 2002 Bali Bombings affected both the number of visitors and demands.

In contrast to the local community, respondents who work in the management board of the Bali Cultural Landscape are reluctant to recognise the positive impacts of tourism. They perceive the current growth of tourism as a risk that decreases the number of farmers and triggers changes in the traditional structure of Balinese society. However, Chapter 7 highlighted that tourism is among many additional sources of income to most farmers that helps to sustain traditional Balinese practices and prevents rural hollowing. Given that condition, this thesis postulates that it is the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) that shaped the global understanding regarding how experts' intervention is needed to prevent tourism from becoming a threat to heritage sites. The local community of Tampaksiring itself demonstrated that their traditional system is capable of balancing cultural and religious practices with tourism and social, cultural and environmental changes.

Section 6.3 discussed that the local community and the WHC have different interpretations regarding the significance of *subak*. The local community interprets the value from the four components that constitute a working *subak* system. On the contrary, the WHC interprets the value from the Outstanding Universal Value of the site. Following Foucault's theory of discourse (1977), I would argue that these different interpretations appeared as the result of different ways of constituting knowledge regarding *subak*. Likewise, the discrepancy between the local community and the WHC in perceiving socio-cultural change is also a result of different ways of knowing and constituting the value of socio-cultural change concerning the *subak* system. Those discrepancies then prompted various conservation and management approaches in Bali Cultural Landscape.

This thesis recognises that different approaches to socio-cultural change may also be a reflection of different social and cultural systems surrounding heritage management practices. There are more fluid and dynamic socio-cultural systems which lead to more flexible and adaptive management approaches, such as the Balinese culture. There are also more rigid and institutionalised systems that require the adoption of specific rules and priorities, which lead to more inflexible and stringent approaches, such as the World Heritage Convention. However, what if the approach that belongs to the rigid system is applied to a dynamic culture? Seeing from a cultural ecology perspective, I argue that different perceptions towards socio-cultural change also exist as there are different needs and characteristics of cultural groups. Assuming that socio-cultural change has the same significance to different cultural groups is imprudent. Therefore, the standardisation created by the WHC towards socio-cultural change could actually bring an adverse result.

I further argue that demanding the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape to perceive socio-cultural change in the same way as the WHC could jeopardise the traditional Balinese culture. As discussed, the local community and the WHC have substantial differences in perceiving the importance of socio-cultural change. While the WHC advocates the limitation of change in heritage sites, change is a crucial component of the Balinese culture and has no limit. Currently, there is no legitimate proof that the WHC's approach towards socio-cultural change has offered positive implications on the sustainability of the Balinese culture and the management of the *subak* system. On the contrary, it is evident that the World Heritage Convention

interfered with the adaptive ability of the Balinese society and disrupt their resilience and traditional ways to cope with challenging situations.

By understanding the ability of *awig-awig* to ensure the effectiveness of the *subak* system in different situations and the role of *paruman* in selecting and controlling outside influences, this thesis argued that socio-cultural change should be seen as a 'means' or 'tool' that is part of the Balinese culture rather than an uncontrolled situation that should be limited. Some scholars recognised that socio-cultural change has indeed delivered positive and negative implications to World Heritage Sites (see also section 3.5 and 7.4). However, many studies have employed the AHD and neglected the fact that socio-cultural change is needed by many cultures to achieve a balanced situation and sustain their ways of life.

9.2.2 To what extent do we need authenticity?

The analysis of the interview data in Chapter 6 informed that only respondents who are involved in the management body of the Bali Cultural Landscape understand authenticity. Those respondents, however, interpreted and assigned different meanings to this notion. This information highlighted that there is an inconsistency in how authenticity is understood and interpreted even within the same management level. In contrast with those respondents, the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed is not familiar with the use of the term authenticity. As there is no equivalent Balinese term for

authenticity, the local community does not understand what to expect by 'having' authenticity or 'being' authentic.[38]

As authenticity is a foreign word for the Balinese, the translation determines the use of this notion within the World Heritage Site management context. Authenticity is translated to *'otentik'* in the Indonesian language, which has closer meaning to the word originality. It can be seen in the nomination dossier of the Bali Cultural Landscape that authenticity has been interpreted by the Governments and World Heritage Site managers as the condition of being original. Therefore, the need of protecting the original material of temples and *subak* landscape were raised in the management plan. However, as it was discussed, authenticity contradicts the Balinese's perception of material modification and change in general.

From the fieldwork observation, this thesis discovered that even 'originality' is understood and interpreted differently by the local community. The distinction between original and non-original objects are unclear in the Balinese culture. For instance, different respondents have different opinions regarding the original elements of offerings. Some people argued that an original offering comprises of traditional Balinese bowl, flowers, fruits, and holy water. Others insisted that an offering would still be considered original without all of those

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[38] Readers need to remember that authenticity in Oxford dictionary which means *"the quality of being true or what somebody claims it is."* is not identical to authenticity in the World Heritage Convention context, which means *"qualifying factors concerning values"* (see section 3.3.4). Thus, the authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape, for instance, does not solely concern about the heritage site's condition, but rather about making sure that the value of the site is genuine or not fabricated. However, heritage scholars and even writers of World Heritage Site nomination dossiers often overlooked this issue and misinterpret the authenticity of World Heritage Site, which subsequently contributed to the global understanding of this notion.

traditional components. Each Balinese also has a different interpretation regarding the most appropriate time to pray and the best way to pray, which indicate their differences in perceiving originality.

I argue that the incapability of the local community to understand authenticity or to define originality is linked to the role of change in the Balinese culture and tradition. Through the fieldwork findings, this thesis confirms Vickers (2012) who stated that even the most radical changes in Bali have been traditional. The local community acknowledged many changes in the *subak* system and religious rituals, yet still consider the system original. It can also be seen, for instance, from their attitudes towards the use of modern farming tools, alteration of the components of rituals, and the substantial modification of *subak* territory (see section 7.3). This evidence demonstrated that change is an inseparable component of the Balinese culture.

I have also showed that the Balinese philosophy *'desakalapatra'* signifies the importance of change. Through this philosophy, the Balinese are encouraged to appropriately adjust their actions and behaviours to different time, place, and circumstances. Seen from the perspective of cultural ecology, this principle demonstrated the adaptive character of the Balinese culture and the presence of a mechanism to adapt to environmental change. Through *'desakalapatra',* it can be understood that originality is time, place, and circumstance dependant. In other words, things are always original in a specific time, a specific place, and a specific circumstance. Given this condition, it is undeniable that the notion of authenticity cannot be implemented without destroying the Balinese principle of *'desakalapatra'.*

As discussed in section 6.2, there is a gap between the Indonesian Government and the WHC's versions of authenticity. Although many inconsistencies are present in the management plan, the Indonesian Government acknowledged that material aspects should not be used to assess the authenticity of the Bali Cultural landscape. On the other hand, the WHC and the advisory bodies consider mostly material aspects for assessing the site's authenticity. Here, it can be seen that there is no agreed definition of authenticity among stakeholders at the decision-making level. As the local community, governments, and the WHC have different ways of constituting authenticity, different management approaches appeared as a result of those interpretations.

By examining the World Heritage Convention framework, this thesis further found that there are also different practices regarding how authenticity is understood and assessed in the World Heritage Site nomination process. In theory, the Nara Document is used as a guideline for determining authenticity. However, studies have shown that many World Heritage Sites still use material aspects that are related to the physicality of the site, particularly design, artisanship, and setting, as the criteria of authenticity despite the Nara document's guidance to use non-material aspects, intangible, and spiritual processes (Labadi, 2007; Lawless and Silva, 2017). As the WHC still tends to use material aspects to assess the authenticity of nominated sites, it is unsurprising that State parties have also preferred to use these criteria to increase their inscription prospects. Subsequently, this action also influenced the global use and understanding of the criteria of authenticity.

That being said, it is impossible for stakeholders to protect or preserve authenticity without having the same understanding of the notion. Which definition of authenticity should they use? Which attributes of authenticity should they protect? Foucault (1977) asserted that the dominant group would both create and control discourse. Therefore, this thesis strongly argues that as an authorising institution of the AHD, the WHC inevitably decides the accepted interpretation of authenticity. This particular interpretation became a discursive practice which will be normalised and circulated in all World Heritage Sites.

Theoretically, it is possible for World Heritage Site stakeholders to have the same perception of authenticity. In this case, stakeholders would have to possess the same power, knowledge, and presupposition in order to have the same way of constituting the meaning and value of authenticity. Through the absence of discourse and knowledge gaps, there would be no discursive practices and conflicts related to stakeholder perceptions. However, different cultural groups often have different presuppositions (Polyzou, 2015). Thus, it is more plausible for stakeholders from different cultures, authority, and knowledge to have conflict and disparity in perceiving authenticity.

Globally, the interpretation of the WHC regarding authenticity has been used to guide the development of management strategies, reactive monitoring processes, and conservation approaches. As discussed, in the Bali Cultural Landscape, the adoption of this particular interpretation of authenticity disarticulated the interpretation of the National Government as well as local knowledge related to 'desakalapatra'. The implementation of authenticity could be seen as discursive practices, where the WHC imposed their reality into

being as the dominant group. As Foucault (1977) argued, discursive practices demonstrate both the importance of power for the creation of social reality and the role of discourse in maintaining power. Through discursive practices, the WHC's interpretation of authenticity is appropriated to the wider groups. At the same time, the WHC's position as the dominant group within the World Heritage Site framework is asserted.

As discursive practices force other stakeholders to accept the World Heritage Convention approach and standards as the rightful knowledge, questions regarding the possibility of mediating different knowledge of many stakeholders arose within heritage practices. Foucault (1971) argued that while discourse privileges some knowledge, it also excludes other knowledge at the same time. Thus, it is theoretically impossible to remove discourse and power relations from the use of knowledge, including when the dominant group appropriated the knowledge of the less dominant groups.

It is, therefore, challenging to have meaningful dialogues between two stakeholders of World Heritage Sites. Dialogue prerequisites equality between the participants (Yankelovich, 1999), whereas the distinction of power between stakeholders of World Heritage Sites, including in the Bali Cultural Landscape, is evident. Arguably, stakeholders' dialogue would only be possible when the WHC is willing to incorporate other knowledge and approach as part of local empowerment, even when they do not meet the Convention standard. By doing this, however, it is possible that the knowledge of other groups will be privileged while the Convention approach and standards are marginalised.

In the Bali Cultural Landscape, the evidence towards the negligence of the local version of authenticity can be observed in the management plan. Despite the fact that the Balinese has been known to reconstruct their temples and material cultures, the originality of material components of the Bali Cultural Landscape is to be preserved as part of the Strategic Priorities (see section 8.3.1). Although the nomination dossier discussed that the spirit of material cultures is far more important than physical aspects, the government and site managers have yet to incorporate this understanding into the management plan. Again, it shows another inconsistency between information written in the nomination dossier and strategies that were developed for the management plan. This issue became more alarming as the WHC disregarded the importance of non-material aspects of the Bali Cultural Landscape in the SOUV.

Having said all the above, this thesis postulates that the notion of authenticity is part of the AHD. Regardless of the insignificance of authenticity for the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape, it can be seen that the protection of authenticity is still mandatory for maintaining the World Heritage status. Using the AHD, the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape is forced to incorporate authenticity into their conservation approach, even though it is not aligned with their traditional values. This situation reflects scholars' criticisms regarding the implementation of a 'universal' concept like authenticity and its implication on the local knowledge and values. So, what happens when authenticity is forced into a culture where socio-cultural change has been part of its identity?

Cultural Ecology informed us that social and cultural change is strongly affected by the change of environment. As socio-cultural change plays an important role in maintaining a balanced relationship between society and their environment, its forbiddance will inevitably endanger their relationship. Rappaport (1984), Harris (1992), and Piddocke (1965) asserted that every culture has certain features that function as an adaptive system. The sustainability of these features is therefore vital to ensure the protection of the natural environment upon which many indigenous communities are dependent. In the Bali Cultural Landscape, *'desakalapatra',* which illustrates the ability of the Balinese to change according to different time, place, and situation, reflects the existence of this mechanism. This principle has enabled the Balinese to become a progressive and dynamic society, who are capable of preserving their traditions despite drastic environment, economic, and political changes.

Therefore, the implementation of authenticity in the Bali Cultural Landscape might trigger the Balinese to disregard their identity and character as an adaptive culture. It is to be remembered that the notion of authenticity contradicts the fact that heritage and values change (Holtorf, 2015; Alobiedat, 2018). This notion also ignores the fact that different values are attributed to heritage sites in a different time frame (De La Torre, 2013). As authenticity in the World Heritage context is related to the truthfulness of heritage values, the dynamic characteristic of the Balinese culture itself has become an issue. To date, the successful use of authenticity for judging the genuineness of rapidly changed values is still limited.

In that light, authenticity should not be used as a parameter of a successful World Heritage Site management. Arguably, it is unlikely for the local community of heritage sites to feel the need to verify the truthfulness of heritage values since they have already contributed to assigning, sustaining, and changing those values. Since authenticity is a process of authenticating and justifying values (Stovel, 2008), experts and the WHC will have more interests because it is related to the legitimation of their knowledge and authority. From the standpoint of discourse theory, the implementation of authenticity is also a form of discursive practices as it keeps the experts' knowledge relevant and maintains the universality of the World Heritage Site conservation approach.

I acknowledge the fact that authenticity helps to control the length of the World Heritage list by creating a certain standard. However, it is evident that the use of authenticity as a selection and management criterion could jeopardise local values and traditional knowledge that have contrasting views. Thus, this thesis argues that authenticity is an unnecessary concept for sustaining cultural heritage sites and indigenous communities. The use of authenticity as a selection tool for the World Heritage List might be justified, but as heritage values are mutable and relative, its use as an indicator of successful heritage preservation cannot be rationalised. In addition, since it is also a challenge to have the same interpretation and assessment method for authenticity, the use of this notion as selection criteria for the World Heritage List remains complicated.

9.2.3 The role of socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape

As discussed, this thesis discovered that *subak* values have changed over time alongside social, environmental, economic, and political changes in Bali. *Subak* was initially linked to an irrigation system, but it is now linked to many other values, including economic value, aesthetic value, religious value, and symbolic value. *Tri Hita Karana* was also assigned recently as the Outstanding Universal Value of the *subak* landscape.

This thesis's observation suggests that *subak* values are not only changed but enhanced. As more values are assigned to the *subak* system and landscape, the significance of Bali Cultural Landscape and its relationship with the local community becomes more complex. Picard (1996) asserted that the Balinese society has the ability to modify their culture by selecting necessary practices and knowledge to be adopted. Without this ability, many changes that happen in the society, including the adoption of *Tri Hita Karana* as part of Balinese philosophies in 1964, would have caused conflicts and destructive implications on the society. This observation confirmed that Balinese traditions are indeed chosen and reinterpreted in the present rather than being fixed and inherited from the past (Hymes, 1975; Handler & Linnekin, 1984).

Evidently, many changes in Bali Cultural Landscape are vital for the local community and the Balinese culture. For instance, livelihood shifts are necessary to protect the ability of the local community to sustain religious and social activities. With the current level of government supports, the involvement of the local community in tourism-related jobs improved their financial situations and enabled them to continue their participation in religious

and social activities. The growth of tourism-related jobs around Tampaksiring village also protects social relationships because they are able to work while maintaining their involvement in the temple and village settings. The modification of traditional farming tools and strategies has also helped farmers sustain agricultural practices under the pressure of climate and environmental change.

Therefore, it is worthy of noting that socio-cultural change in Subak Pakerisan Watershed has shaped the way of life of the local community, which then contributed to their abilities in maintaining a balanced relationship between cultural and environmental aspects of their society. As discussed, many changes are not considered destructive practices by the local community who has instruments to control those changes. In the context of Bali Cultural Landscape, for instance, it is the *paruman* and *awig-awig*. However, although evidence demonstrated the ability of the Balinese culture and traditional practices to adapt to extreme growth and decline of tourism in the 1970s and 2000s, the ability of Bali Cultural Landscape itself to survive the exponential explosion of the tourism industry needs to be further examined. It is particularly important since tourism and agricultural practices may compete for the same natural resources.

Socio-cultural change is part of the Balinese culture because it enables the society to adjust to different circumstances while protecting religious and cultural activities. The ability to change is particularly necessary for implementing the Balinese concept of balance or *'Rwa Bhineda',* which is the

foundation of Bali Hinduism.[39] Moreover, the unbalanced relationship between the Balinese society and the environment would damage the ideology and identity that strongly links to natural and spiritual worlds. Although the importance of land conversion in sustaining the Balinese social system is evident, this thesis also acknowledges the threat of land conversion for the continuity of rice production practices. Thus, significant government interventions are needed to find alternative solutions that could protect rice fields while enabling local families to improve their financial condition.

Although the Bali Cultural Landscape has undergone several alterations since its inscription as a World Heritage Site, many modifications had taken place even before the landscape gained its status. The current *subak* system is a product of a systematic change of *awig-awig* and farming practices for centuries. For instance, concrete irrigation canals were built as farmers attempted to reduce leakages and loss of water due to climate change and deforestation. The adjustment of farming rituals and plantation schedule is also a result of unstable weather and climate. Modern farming tools, which were introduced by the Government during the Green Revolution, now become the preferable tools to most farmers as it reduces labour works.

The above arguments underlined that the local community's perception of socio-cultural change in Bali Cultural Landscape has been particularly shaped by their knowledge and their experience. As socio-cultural change has been part of traditional Balinese culture, it is not surprising that the local community

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[39] See footnote 34 (section 7.4.3)

viewed change as normal and even necessary. The Balinese society never constructed an idea that change is unwelcomed; all forms of change have been expected. Consequently, this thesis argued that there is no such thing as the lack of awareness concerning the negative impacts of socio-cultural change from the local community's perspective. The local community of World Heritage Sites and the WHC merely have different conceptualisations about the value of socio-cultural change as well as priorities.

9.3 The rationale of stakeholder conflicts

9.3.1 Discourse and stakeholder perceptions

Chapter 6, 7, and 8 discussed that a discrepancy in perceiving heritage sites, socio-cultural change, and management approaches exists as stakeholders have different knowledge and ways of knowing. As argued in section 4.3, interpretation is wider than merely a way of communicating the meaning of heritage sites through panels, displays, or writings. It is fundamentally a process to make sense of meanings and human realities. Thus, interpretation is related to how individuals construct or choose the meaning of heritage sites, which then influence what they consider an ideal management approach. Likewise, it is also linked to how individuals construct the significance of socio-cultural change and what they consider an appropriate behaviour to respond to that change.

As discussed in section 4.3, interpretation cannot be separated from the way humans acquire knowledge about the world (Uzzell, 1998). It also cannot be disconnected from discourse and language because both are needed to avoid misunderstanding in the construction and dissemination of knowledge

(Heidegger, 1962; Gadamer, 1989). As discourse is a crucial part of interpretation and knowledge construction (see section 4.3 and 4.4), it becomes clear that many issues concerning stakeholders' discrepancy in Bali Cultural Landscape are related to the issue of discourse.

Chapter 7 discussed that the local community and the WHC have different perceptions toward the value of socio-cultural change, which cannot be separated from their knowledge and experience regarding the role of socio-cultural change in the *subak* system and the Balinese culture. The local community and the WHC construct different knowledge and reality regarding socio-cultural change. In the local community's understanding, socio-cultural change is a traditional way that helps to protect the continuity of the *subak* system amidst uncertain environmental conditions. On the contrary, heavily influenced by the European cultures, the WHC is concerned about irreversible damages that socio-cultural change might bring to World Heritage Sites.

This thesis discovered that the management plan of Bali Cultural Landscape also attempted to limit socio-cultural change to avoid irreversible damages to the site (see 7.4 and 7.5). As the local community's perception of change is not integrated into the management plan, it is evident that the local community is indeed not the most powerful stakeholder in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Although socio-cultural change is proved to be invaluable for the local community and the Balinese culture, the WHC's knowledge is still considered more 'appropriate' and 'truthful' in this context. The Balinese is subsequently persuaded to believe that as an established international framework, the World Heritage Convention possesses the most effective approach for managing the Bali Cultural Landscape.

The discourse in the Bali Cultural Landscape has changed since the site acquired the World Heritage status in 2012. While many stakeholders involve in the management of the site, different interpretations about heritage values and management from those who have more authority and power than the local community are present. The discrepancy between those interpretations then caused conflicts between stakeholders and created problems in site management. This condition explained why it is difficult to find win-win solutions that could mediate the interests of international, national, and local stakeholders. After all, this is not only an issue of different interests but also different knowledge and social realities.

Through his argument about discursive practices, Foucault (1977) indicated that discourse only legitimises the knowledge of the most powerful group and oppresses the others. This thesis sees the problem of discourse as similar to the problem of communication. In theory, two communicators who use different languages could establish a new language to communicate with each other, but they do not always do that in practice. Similarly, when there are multiple different knowledge about heritage sites, constructing the same understanding and perception of the sites could be challenging. The most dominant knowledge would be prioritised. This is why stakeholders who have different knowledge and construct different realities about heritage sites possess substantial gaps which prevent them from comprehending each other.

It is to be remembered that discourse is created and preserved by those who have power (Pitsoe and Letseka, 2013). As the powerful group controls the dissemination of knowledge, the weaker groups are forced to think and do in the same way as the powerful group. In the Bali Cultural Landscape, the local

community who has the least power and authority is subjugated. On the other hand, as the most authoritative stakeholders, the WHC preserves its knowledge and power by creating a condition where their conservation standards are considered ideal. The authority of the WHC is evident, for instance, in its ability to order State Parties to conduct particular actions concerning World Heritage Site management.

In heritage studies, Smith (2006) explained that the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) is the dominant discourse for understanding or making sense of heritage. However, as discussed in section 4.4, it is important to remember that discourse is always the dominant way. Foucault (1972) underlined that discourse concerns about what can be said and thought as well as who can speak, when, and with what authority (Pitsoe and Letseka, 2013). Discourse is therefore not the knowledge or debate itself, but rather the condition where a particular knowledge can exist.[40] Thus, from Foucault's perspective, the AHD is not merely heritage knowledge that is dominant. On the contrary, the domination is what makes the AHD *the heritage knowledge*.

The proof that the AHD is currently considered as the 'most truthful' heritage knowledge can be seen in several aspects in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Although temple reconstruction was considered a common conservation practice in Balinese traditional culture (Picard, 1996;

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[40] It is important to note that the term discourse in the English language is distinctively different from discourse in Foucault's sense. See further section 4.4 for a detailed explanation of Foucault's discourse. In short, while an English dictionary defines discourse as "written or spoken communication or debate", Foucault referred discourse as the condition that makes it possible to say and understand something. To borrow Mark Hobart's term, discourse in Foucault's sense is "what can be said, thought, who can say it, when, and with what authority" (personal communication, 16 October 2019).

Vickers, 2012), such practice is currently not encouraged by the WHC as it does not align with the concept of authenticity. Consequently, site managers act in accordance with the WHC's approach to protect the material aspect of Balinese temples and traditional buildings. Outside of the World Heritage Site boundaries, many Balinese scholars also believe that the modification of physical components of Balinese temples degrades the authenticity and cultural values (Pranajaya, 2019; Noorwatha, 2020; Prabawa *et al.*, 2019).

Section 4.4 discussed that the World Heritage Convention, along with the Venice Charter and the Burra Charter, represent the authorising institutions of heritage. These institutions perpetuate certain values and impose certain understandings about heritage by authorising certain ideologies and making it a universal narrative (Smith, 2006). Such institutions created dominant heritage interpretations and consequently marginalised other interpretations. Thus, the World Heritage Convention produced certain rules, knowledge, and truths about heritage by authorising certain narratives. Through discursive practices, which is manifested in SOC reports and evaluations, those narratives have become the baseline that determines the appropriate management approach for World Heritage Sites. Consequently, acknowledging those narratives means strengthening the WHC's position as the authorising institution of heritage. This is how power links to the production of heritage knowledge and social reality (Foucault, 1977).

As the World Heritage Convention is an institution of the AHD, it can be argued that the inscription, monitoring, and evaluation process of World Heritage Sites could also be seen as forms of discursive practices. The nomination process of World Heritage Sites, for instance, requires heritage sites to meet certain

standards, criteria, and management approach. The monitoring and evaluation process, similarly, insinuates that certain actions need to be implemented by State Parties. Through the World Heritage Site inscription, the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape has been required to adapt their knowledge to the World Heritage Convention standards.

9.3.2 The domination of the AHD in the Bali Cultural Landscape

As the most authoritative stakeholder within the World Heritage Convention framework, the World Heritage Committee (WHC), who is responsible for implementing the Convention, has the authority to make decisions regarding site inclusion, examine SOC reports, allocate financial assistance, and demand State Parties to conduct certain actions concerning World Heritage Sites. Due to their authority, the WHC's interpretation regarding the Cultural Landscape of Bali Province is perceived as the most appropriate. The WHC approach in the management of *subak* landscape then becomes the acceptable standard, whereas the local community approach is considered less admissible. As Foucault (1977) remarked, this situation is linked to how discourse privileges certain knowledge. Before the inscription, the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape had their own ways of constituting *subak* values and the ideal conservation approach. However, after the inscription, the local community's knowledge is subjugated as the WHC becomes the dominant stakeholder.

From a Foucauldian perspective (1977), it is understood that the WHC interpretation and approaches are transmitted to the local community through discursive practices that could take any form in which the dominant reality

comes into being, including in the protection of OUV and authenticity, the use of certain management approach, and the effort to increase local awareness on the negative impacts of socio-cultural change. Discursive practices force the local community to accept ideas that are not common for them. The presence of discursive practices is indicated, amongst all, by the presence of local disengagement, conflicts, and struggles in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Discursive practices are violent as they contribute to the destruction of local knowledge and values. However, in heritage management, this is often perceived as an improvement because it brings international or standardised knowledge that are considered more superior.

This thesis recognises that the construction of Balinese culture and beliefs was also done through discursive practices. The shared ideas and beliefs were disseminated involuntarily to the Balinese society through anarchy and massacre since 1597 (Vickers, 2012). These discursive practices allowed the society to obtain a particular way of constituting knowledge and reality. Since power is needed by the social body to function, it can be both repressive and productive (Foucault, 1980). Nevertheless, scholars must understand that the presence of different knowledge in the Balinese culture will inevitably affect Balinese knowledge, belief, and ideology.

As described by several scholars, UNESCO successfully helped many nations to protect heritage sites through the World Heritage Site programme (Pedersen, 2002; Amareswar Galla, 2012; Jimura, 2016). The nomination process also enabled State Parties to understand more about heritage sites and their local communities, as well as enabled them to develop more thorough and systematic management strategies (Hambrey Consulting, 2007;

Rebanks, 2013). In the Bali Cultural Landscape context, the Indonesian Government also learned the importance of the *subak* system, not only for the Balinese but for the whole nation. The inscription also increased the government's attention to *subak* and farmers. A respondent mentioned that:

> *"Since the nomination, there have been more attention from the central government. Some money is allocated to support subak preservation… there are many helps, especially for the irrigation… the access (to the government's support) that was closed by the bureaucracy is now open since a direct line with the ministry is established." (R6)*

However, the fact that the World Heritage Site programme has instigated different discourses in the Bali Cultural Landscape should not be ignored. As seen from Foucault's perspective (1977), the dissemination of the World Heritage Convention's approach may stop the dissemination of traditional Balinese knowledge, particularly as both knowledge are not congruent. As the dominant group, the WHC controls the dissemination of certain approaches related to the conservation and management practices in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Outside of the World Heritage Convention system, many Balinese scholars and professionals have joined the WHC in encouraging the protection of material elements of traditional building, overlooking the history and the importance of reconstruction for the environment, social system, and local identity. Arguably, this is an indication that the AHD has interfered with the Balinese knowledge.

The current management plan of the Bali Cultural Landscape was developed to optimise the protection of *subak's* tangible attributes. Thus, very limited strategies to protect intangible heritage were present. For instance, no particular action was developed to protect the *taksu* of rice fields or maintain farmers' relationship. Site managers are aware of the negative impacts of

socio-cultural change on the physical attributes of *subak*, but they are unaware of the positive impacts of socio-cultural change on the intangible attributes of *subak*. On the other hand, negative implications of tourism are acknowledged, but the mutual relationship between tourism and the Balinese traditional culture was left unrecognised. This thesis argues that these are also part of the AHD. It shows the local community that the Balinese approach of prioritising intangible attributes, enabling socio-cultural change, and maintaining tourism dependency is unacceptable according to the World Heritage Site management standard.

The presence of land conversion, land selling, farmers' unwillingness to practice organic farming, and tensions between farmers and *Pekasehs,* demonstrated the local community's unwillingness to cooperate. Although the reluctance of the local community to collaborate with site managers and the WHC presented a prominent challenge for the World Heritage Site, at the same time, this demonstrated the local community's attempt to sustain their own approach and knowledge.

As discussed previously, the incompatibility between local and international knowledge raised some questions regarding the possibility of conducting dialogues between two stakeholders and finding win-win solutions that could preserve both the cultural landscape and the Balinese culture. As noted by several scholars, the mediation of two different social realities is comparable to the mediation of identities and ideologies of contrasting political powers (McCormack, 2008; Hayward, 2011). In theory, having dialogues between two conflicting powers is plausible. In practice, however, such dialogue is often a utopia. In the World Heritage Convention framework, the success of

conducting a meaningful dialogue is significantly hindered by the lack of human resource, political will, and trusts, in addition to knowledge gaps.

Therefore, this thesis argues that the ability of the local community to adapt to the World Heritage Convention approach will depend on their attachment to the Balinese culture and values. Arguably, the local community is currently unwilling to implement the World Heritage Convention approach due to their strong attachment to the Balinese system. The decline of the relationship between the local community and the Balinese culture is a prerequisite for the local community to be able to incorporate the AHD. Thus, it implies that the World Heritage Convention is indeed the driving force of change in the Balinese culture.

Although the presence of the AHD will likely improve the protection of rice field terraces, it is unlikely to sustain the ability of the local community to adapt to the environmental change or sustain the Balinese culture. As indicated by Karlberg (2005), the subjugation of the local community's knowledge results in the loss of power and ability to continue their practices. It will also affect ideology, traditional system, and the continuity of adaptive skills that allow the local community to adapt to environmental change and assimilate foreign cultures. In other words, this will endanger the sustainability of the *subak* system and the Balinese culture.

One of many implications of discursive practices can be seen in the social aspect of *subak*. After the inscription, *Pekasehs* are given a new identity in addition to their current identity as the head of *subak* organisation. As representatives of farmers, *Pekasehs* are expected to represent the interests

of *subak* members in the Coordination Forum and Governing Assembly. This new role, however, also requires them to be the spokespersons who convey site managers' interests to *subak* members. This role puts *Pekasehs* in an awkward position because they now have to mediate both sides whose approach and interests are different.

This new representative role triggered tensions between farmers and *Pekasehs* since *Pekasehs* are often blamed for siding with the site managers rather than *subak* members. *Pekasehs* are aware of this problem. Therefore, to avoid awkwardness, *Pekasehs* of Subak Pakerisan Watershed choose to ignore any activities related to land conversion and refrain from restricting their members to modify the use of rice fields. Quoting one of them:

> *"So, if you (farmers) want to build something, I will not forbid it. The most important point is that every time we meet, we could smile to each other and there is no bad relationship between us." (R22)*

This issue raised a critical discussion on the effectiveness of *subak* representation in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape, and how this new role affects social relationship between farmers. Some evidence showed the presence of conflicts between *Pekasehs* and other farmers as well as the deterioration of *subak's* social system. As a person who interacts with both the local community and site managers, *Pekaseh* is exposed to two different knowledge and social realities.

Contrary to Descartes who believed that a person is an independent and rational being who is unaffected by the external environment (Ferraiolo, 1996), Foucault (1972) argued that a person is a subject who is influenced and constituted by discourse. In Foucault's argument, one's actions are

continuously reconfigured based on one's ability to identify himself within a discursive formation and cultural practices. This argument is strengthened by Butler (1990) and Stinson (2008) who demonstrated that identity, such as gender, is merely a social construction. Scott (1991) also added that the emergence of a new identity is, in fact, a discursive event, in which knowledge and discourse play a significant role. Therefore, in such situation, *Pekasehs* may not be able to mediate the discrepancy of knowledge between the local community and site managers or shape the knowledge of the dominant group. In contrast, as a subaltern whose position is in between the dominant and the weaker group, *Pekasehs'* knowledge and identity are also affected by discourse and the dominant group.

There is substantial evidence that *Pekasehs'* perception of the Bali Cultural Landscape have been shifted towards the AHD. For instance, unlike most farmers, *Pekasehs* acknowledge *Tri Hita Karana* as the Outstanding Universal Value of the site and recognise the importance of authenticity for *subak*. Arguably, *Pekasehs'* knowledge was shaped as they interacted with the AHD through their involvement in the management forums and meetings (Foucault, 1978). Consequently, *Pekasehs* and *subak* members now interpret the *subak* system and value Bali Cultural Landscape differently, which increase the disagreements and tensions between them.

Another impact of discursive practices can be seen in the implementation of authenticity. As discussed in chapter 7.4, socio-cultural change and the adaptive ability of the Balinese are important features of the Balinese culture. The local community used their communal meeting to decide and control change within the *subak* system. This includes, but not limited to, the alteration

of rice plantation schedule, temple renovation, additional ceremonies, emergency actions, as well as infrastructure development. When there was an obligation to protect the authenticity of the Bali Cultural Landscape, the role of communal meeting as a decision-making instrument is slowly declined. The circumstances in which the local community could exercise their democratic and adaptation skills are disappearing.

The continuity of the rice production system and religious rituals in Bali indicated that the adaptive approach works admirably in dealing with various environmental, social, and political conditions that happen on the island. As Picard stated (1996: p.11):

> *"Finally, the Balinese seem to have shown a particular genius in the course of their history for assimilating outside influences in a selective way, adopting only those that suit them, and integrating them harmoniously into their own cultural fabric. The result today appears as an original combination of objects and images, customs and beliefs that, despite their diverse provenance, have become acknowledged as 'typically Balinese'."*

Thus, it can be argued that the AHD affected the Balinese traditional culture and the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape in many ways. Undeniably, the World Heritage status itself has triggered several changes in the Bali Cultural Landscape. As the AHD affected the very fundamental aspects of the Balinese society, including ideology, identity, and belief, the World Heritage Convention arguably brought more impacts to heritage sites and culture compared to socio-cultural change. However, as indicated by Picard (1996), there might be a possibility for the AHD to be assimilated into the Balinese culture without destroying its traditional values, assuming that the adaptive ability of the Balinese is still intact. The 'how' and 'in what condition', nevertheless, need to be further investigated.

9.3.3 Marginalisation and disarticulation of the local community

Although the standardisation of heritage interpretation and management might benefit heritage conservation by enabling the share of best practices and knowledge, I argue that this tends to disarticulate local community voices. By refusing to integrate local the community approach in the management of World Heritage Site, the WHC prevents the dissemination of the local community's knowledge. It also insinuates that local knowledge is less favourable and inadequate compared to universal conservation practices. The standardised World Heritage Convention approach has also neglected the role of land conversion as a way of solving internal conflicts within a Balinese family. It also overlooked the role of land conversion to tackle the problem of overcrowding house compounds and to enable easier access to family shrine and temples of *kahyangan tiga* (see section 5.3.2). These are among many perceptions that were not discussed both in the nomination dossier and the management plan.

Ashworth *et al.,* (2007) asserted that dissonance in heritage perceptions results in tensions and conflicts between stakeholders. They also added that conflict could be understood as a reaction of the marginalised group against the oppression of the dominant group. In the Bali Cultural Landscape, conflicts and disagreements regarding the management strategies are mostly obscured from governments and site managers. Protests and complaints are rarely expressed to the management boards and left unsolved among *subak* members. *'Koh ngomong?'* is a familiar expression between farmers, which could be understood as *'what is the point of talking?'*. Farmers do not trust the site managers nor the governments; their trust in *Pekasehs* has also

weakened due to *Pekasehs'* involvement with the 'elite people' who are part of the management boards.

Arguably, *'Koh ngomong?'* reflects the presence of issues related to local articulation and involvement. These issues were not discussed in the SOC reports, but the evidence from fieldwork data collection shows that farmers do not feel entitled to be involved in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape because of their 'social status'. It is evident that the 'social status' here is linked to the possession of power and authority in the World Heritage Convention Framework. The local community is also aware of the discordance between the AHD and their knowledge. Quoting one of the respondents:

> *"Subak (members) have given the government many stories and advice on the problems (concerning the agricultural practice), but there is still no improvement. The government does not want to learn from farmers, perhaps they think it is inappropriate... Besides, farmers are only low-class people." (R7)*

In addition, as discussed in section 8.2, the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed have already been disappointed with their unfulfilled expectations regarding the benefit of the World Heritage Status. The increase of land-use restrictions in Subak Pakerisan Watershed made farmers regretted their supports to the World Heritage Site inscription. This disappointment has inevitably become one of the reasons that escalate farmers' ignorance towards the management of the World Heritage Site.

This thesis has argued that the discrepancy in perceiving the significance of the Bali Cultural Landscape leads to contrasting approaches and priorities in the management of *subak* (see in Chapter 8). From the local community's misunderstanding and confusion, it becomes clear that the AHD and the World Heritage Convention approach are aliens for the local community.

Subsequently, the disarticulation of local knowledge triggered ignorance which then led to their disengagement from World Heritage Site management.

For instance, the unawareness of the local community toward the OUV of the Bali Cultural Landscape is actually caused by the existence of their own version of *subak* values. As the local community has different priorities regarding *subak* values that must be preserved, they do not see the need to participate in the protection of the OUV. As the local community has distinctive concepts about the site and the *subak* system that are not documented by the WHC and the site managers, they have different ideas on how to manage the site. Moreover, contrary to the WHC's perspective, the local community also values socio-cultural change as a means to manage the site.

Many Balinese traditional practices are newly reinvented (Vickers, 2012). However, this reinvention is always in accordance with their values and often done to protect those values in the first place. It can be argued that the presence of the AHD deteriorates the ability of the local community to reinvent traditional practices and preserve their identity as an adaptive culture. As pointed out by Lukes (1974), power domination is exercised through preventing the local community from identifying their interests or shaping their beliefs. Gramsci (1971) identified this condition as cultural hegemony. By introducing new knowledge to the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape, the AHD suppressed local knowledge by silencing and disapproving the local community's actions. Besides domination, power can also be understood as a capacity to do something (Karlberg, 2005). In this case, the AHD removes the capacity of the local community to continue their practices.

Evidently, both the local community and the World Heritage Convention approaches offer substantial benefits and disbenefits for the Bali Cultural Landscape and the Balinese culture. The Convention approach, where the preservation of material aspects is prioritised, offers the protection of the physical fabrics of rice field terraces and water temples. This approach, however, potentially eradicates the spirituality, religiousness, and sanctity of the landscape as the protection focuses on the physicality of the site. The local community's approach, on the other hand, ensures the continuity of traditional Balinese values and philosophies that emphasise the presence of divine powers and spirits in Balinese land, regardless of the changing materials and forms. Notwithstanding, the weakness of this approach lies in insufficient actions for sustaining material aspects of culture.

Therefore, this thesis argued that management issues, particularly concerning local engagement in conservation practices, persist alongside different perceptions of the local community and other stakeholders. As prolonged tensions and conflicts are often indications of dissonant heritage, Ashworth & Van der Aa (2002) argued that such a situation could only be resolved by prioritising one practice or interpretation over another. Currently, the AHD and the Convention approach becomes the priority in the management of Bali Cultural Landscape, which further insinuates the marginalisation of the Balinese approach and knowledge.

Some scholars proposed education as a way to increase local involvement in heritage site management (Jaafar *et al.*, 2015; Ghanem & Saad, 2015). However, Foucault (1972) debated that education is also an instrument of discourse. Education cannot be separated from discursive practices as it uses

particular languages to disseminate certain knowledge. In the light of Foucault's argument, heritage education might be used by the World Heritage Convention as a way to control the dissemination of the AHD, appropriate a certain management strategy, and assert their position as the dominant stakeholder.

In the Bali Cultural Landscape, the evidence of the local community's marginalisation can be seen from their limited engagement in site management. The lack of efforts of the Advisory Mission to include the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape during the Reactive Monitoring visit in 2015, for instance, demonstrated how the local community's perception was not valued. As a respondent mentioned, farmers' knowledge was unappreciated (see further section 8.4). Instead of asking farmers how to sustain the subak system, the advisory mission wanted farmers to ask question regarding how to manage sites appropriately. Such a situation, arguably, is also a reflection of the reluctance in incorporating local knowledge into the World Heritage Convention standards.

By investigating the content of the Advisory Mission report, this thesis found that the local community perception regarding *subak* values and the management plan were not recorded. Again, it shows the disarticulation of local voices, knowledge, and perspective. It also illustrates the domination of the AHD in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Furthermore, the absence of instruments that could facilitate direct communication and participation of individuals of the Bali Cultural Landscape in the management board also amplifies the negligence of the site managers towards the disarticulation of local community voices.

9.4 Navigating the Authorised Heritage Discourse

To this point, I have demonstrated how the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) interferes with the Balinese approach and the local community's perception about the significance of *subak* and socio-cultural change. The AHD, which was introduced to the local community by the World Heritage Convention programme, disarticulated local interpretation and marginalised their traditional approaches. The way the local community encourages socio-cultural change, prioritise the protection of intangible components of *subak*, or disregard authenticity completely, is seen as an inappropriate approach according to the Convention standards. The AHD also influenced many Balinese scholars and architects to assign more value to material and physical aspects of heritage, despite the long history of the Balinese culture to continuously reinvent their cultural heritage.

The previous section demonstrated how the AHD might bring negative implications to the local community of heritage sites, for instance, by altering local values and beliefs, disrupting social relationship, and disregarding traditional approach. Nevertheless, the role of the World Heritage Convention framework to create shared responsibilities in protecting heritage sites is evident, which is why finding efficient ways to navigate the negative implications of the World Heritage Convention is paramount. As discussed above, intentionally or not, the World Heritage Site programme disperses the AHD which could diminish the traditional knowledge and values of indigenous community. Thus, suppressing the widespread of the AHD may be the key to prevent the disappearance of indigenous knowledge and communities.

Chapter 6 illustrated that the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape has a different version of *subak* values due to their interpretation of *subak*. For the local community, the term *subak* does not specifically refer to the landscape. It also means the farming system, the organisation, and the farmers. They also consider the *subak* system as a holistic system in which the core and supportive components, both intangible and tangible, must be sustained to create a functional system.

Likewise, the notion of authenticity is also meaningless for the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape. Since the Balinese culture is adaptive, assessing the genuineness of *subak* values that change rapidly is challenging. It is evident that farmers, the organisation, the irrigation system, and the farming approach change over time. Although they are authentic in a specific time, place, and circumstances, this condition still cannot be easily justified under the World Heritage Convention framework. Trying to associate authenticity with rice fields is also challenging. The farming tools, farming schedules, rice varieties, and landscape infrastructures have all been modified, which consequently transformed both ecological and visual conditions of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

The gaps between how the local community and other stakeholders understand *subak* values, authenticity, and socio-cultural change shows that a discrepancy related to the construction of knowledge exists. Moreover, as discourse prioritises the knowledge of the dominant group, in this case the WHC, it makes other groups seem unknowledgeable. The fact is, however, the WHC also lacks knowledge regarding the local community's approach and

values. Arguably, this problem is present due to an epistemological difference between stakeholders of World Heritage Sites.

As briefly discussed in section 2.5.2, many members of the local community were initially reluctant to participate in research activities and express their views. Some people felt incompetent to be respondents while others were hesitant to speak out. This is, I argued in the section above, partly due to their experience with previous research and projects conducted in the area. It was also because they feel afraid of causing conflicts or problems in their society. The local community is fully aware that they are the least significant stakeholder in regard to the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape, now that the site becomes of interest to the high-level governments and experts. The local community also realised that their opinions could trigger conflicts between them. Hence, they were being careful not to express their feelings openly.

However, their hesitancy was disappearing in the second month of my field work as the local community realised that I am not part of government officials nor experts. Gradually, people also saw that I mostly listen instead of actively talking to my respondents. As I started to obtain more contrasting views from the local community, it is evident that addressing the AHD is a fundamental requirement to engage the local community in the management of the landscape and sustain the *subak* system.

In that light, I suggest two possibilities to navigate the dissemination of the AHD in the World Heritage Convention framework. Firstly, the AHD could be avoided by incorporating the local community's knowledge into the World

Heritage Site management. As the AHD is dispersed through discursive practices and power, it could also be suppressed through the decline of power from the dominant group or the increase of power of the marginalised group. Allowing the local community to have control over the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape, for instance, is a way to diminish the domination of the AHD and could be a way to potentially allow meaningful dialogues between experts and the local community. This thesis strongly argues that local knowledge would not really be valued and acknowledged unless it is integrated into the management plan.

Through Foucault's criticisms about discourse, it is understood that although different stakeholders have several ways of interpreting *subak*, there is only one interpretation that would be recognised as the *truth*. The dominant group creates a regimé of truth which will be reinforced and retained through various mechanisms. In the case of the World Heritage Convention, this is reinforced through management practices, education, as well as monitoring and evaluation activities. Having said that, Foucault (cited in Rabinow, 1984) asserted that the *truth* was not only produced and retained through power; the *truth* itself also induced and extended the particular system of power.

For instance, by protecting authenticity, site managers acknowledged the importance of the notion of authenticity and, at the same time, maintained the domination of the WHC and the marginalisation of the local community's knowledge. In this condition, conducting dialogue or negotiation amongst World Heritage Site stakeholders would be implausible as the local community's knowledge was undermined. Here, the local community's access to power is prohibited as their version of *truth* is rejected. Therefore,

empowering and encouraging the local community to create their version of *truth* and define what is acceptable for the Bali Cultural Landscape would be necessary to avoid the AHD.

Secondly, changing the use of language in both written documents and management practices would potentially decrease the domination of the WHC over other stakeholders of World Heritage Sites. Currently, there are specific languages and terms in the nomination dossier, management plan, and SOC reports that show the power relations within the World Heritage Convention framework. Fairclough (1992) explained that change of language contributes to social and cultural changes within a community because language is a vital element of discourse and holds a significant role in determining social practices. In this light, the use of particular language in World Heritage Site documents could either retain or diminish the AHD and the domination of the WHC.

For example, the WHC's dominance is seen from the use of words 'urges', 'requires', 'asks', 'regrets', and 'commands' in SOC reports. These words significantly influenced management activities that are taken by State Parties. Through these languages, the AHD is dispersed and retained in the Bali Cultural Landscape. Thus, changing such languages could affect management practices and subsequently affect the condition of the cultural landscape and local behaviours. With a similar premise, it is argued that socio-cultural change was not only triggered by the dynamic of the Bali Cultural Landscape or by the adaptive character of the Balinese culture. This is also heavily affected by the language used in the management system.

An example can also be seen in the use of the term 'authenticity'. Authenticity is not understood by the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed because they do not have cultural practices that exhibit this term. Introducing authenticity in the management of *subak* and the Bali Cultural Landscape affects how the local community maintains their temples and perceives their traditional conservation approach. Although this is less evident in Subak Pakerisan Watershed, Balinese scholars have already indicated that the traditional Balinese conservation approach needs to be 'upgraded' and 'advanced' to be able to sustain heritage sites, including through adopting western conservation standards. In the long term, such a situation arguably will not only change the Balinese concept of conservation but also interfere with their vernacular skills and their identity and ideology.

The use of particular terms within the World Heritage Convention framework and in communication between the WHC and State Parties also affects the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The choice of terms in SOC reports, for instance, reflects the authority of the WHC over State Parties and demonstrates the power and jurisdiction of the WHC in the Convention. For instance, the 'monitoring and evaluation' activity implies that the WHC has the authority to decide the quality of State Parties' actions and make necessary changes. To date, there is no instrument within the Convention that enables State Parties to evaluate the WHC's decisions, demonstrating the absence of dialogue within the World Heritage Convention framework.

Reflecting on several management issues that appeared in Bali Cultural Landscape, I argue that the absence of a notion or language within a culture should be seen as an indication of the absence of particular concepts within

that culture. 'Landscape' and 'authenticity' are among many notions that cannot be translated into Balinese and Indonesian language because the society never constructed such ideas. As Fairclough (1992) remarked, the change of language affects both social identities and the social structure of a community. Confirming Fairclough's preposition, the introduction of a particular term to the Bali Cultural Landscape changes traditional Balinese practices, identity, and socio-cultural system as well as alters the traditional management approach. Among other evidence that can be observed are conflicts between farmers and *Pekasehs* and the change of traditional temple reconstruction approach. I argue that translation issues in World Heritage Site management should be treated as an indication of the presence of problems concerning discourse, epistemological difference, and disarticulation of local community voices.

9.5 Concluding remarks

Changes related to social and cultural activities have appeared in the Bali Cultural Landscape. In contrast with national and international stakeholders, these changes are considered valuable by the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed. As observed, change is a value on its own that holds a key role to maintain a balanced relationship between the local community and the Balinese environment. Without the ability to change, the Balinese culture has long gone amidst the presence of the Dutch colonial government, the Green Revolution, tourism explosion, and terrorism. The fact that traditional practices are still continuously exercised on the most visited destination in Indonesia demonstrates that the Balinese system was indeed designed to be

accustomed to change. *'Desakalapatra',* the Balinese principle that encourages its society to adapt to different circumstances, acts as an environmental protection system. It prevents the Balinese, whose religious practices depend heavily on environmental resources, from exploiting natural resources despite their non-stop ceremonies and rituals.

It is not uncommon amongst heritage scholars to postulate that the local community's denial towards impacts of socio-cultural changes is caused by their lack of awareness and knowledge about heritage conservation. However, as this study has demonstrated, local community often has different knowledge and understanding about socio-cultural change that is not acknowledged by experts or international organisations. Since their understanding of heritage differs from other stakeholders, their perception of socio-cultural change, and consequently, their interpretation of ideal heritage management also differs.

As Smith (2006) argued, the AHD marginalised other less dominant interpretations of heritage using the World Heritage Convention as one of its dissemination and authorisation instrument. Using Foucault's theory of discourse (1971), it is understood that the *truth* about the Bali Cultural Landscape was created by the WHC, which slowly disarticulated the local community's knowledge and interpretation regarding the heritage site and socio-cultural change. As the most dominant stakeholder, the WHC controlled the transmission of knowledge, which consequently decided the accepted management approach in Bali Cultural Landscape and at the same time asserted its position as the most authoritative stakeholder. It is clear that stakeholders' conflicts and miscoordination also indicate the presence of discourse and two conflicting ways of knowing.

Given this condition, more attention needs to be paid to the local community's behaviours in World Heritage Site management. As the less dominant stakeholders, their knowledge and perceptions are silenced by the WHC, which according to Ashworth *et al.,* (2007) triggered conflicts and dissonance in heritage sites. In the Bali Cultural Landscape, uncooperative attitudes and the disengagement of the local community have been intentional. The local community acknowledged the presence of two conflicting knowledge and powers over *subak* management, a situation that they have been avoiding previously by retracting the World Heritage nomination of Besakih temple. The expression of *'Koh ngomong?',* which can be translated into *'What is the point of talking?'* illustrated the local community's awareness of their marginalisation in the management of the Bali Cultural Landscape. This shows how the problem of discourse lies behind local disengagement and their reluctance to participate in heritage conservation.

The local community's reluctance to participate in World Heritage Site management also indicates their efforts in protecting their traditional knowledge. The behaviour of the local community towards the current management practices of the Bali Cultural Landscape demonstrates their attachment to the Balinese culture and ideology, which are at risk as some scholars and practitioners slowly incorporate the AHD into the current conservation practices. Hence, empowering the local community, for instance by incorporating their knowledge into the management plan and giving them control to determine the appropriate management for the Bali Cultural Landscape, is imperative to prevent the deterioration of the Balinese culture and ideology as well as their sense of identity.

Enabling the local community to access power is also crucial to sustain the Balinese adaptive skill. The *subak* system is an integral component of the Balinese culture, which similar to other systems in this culture, consists of cultural and natural components. Change within the *subak* system is therefore needed to maintain the equilibrium point between nature and culture, to sustain the rice production practices, and to prevent both the community and the system from endangering each other. Without this skill, the *subak* system would possibly disappear due to climate change and other external pressures. Moreover, as the agricultural sector is integrated in Balinese rituals and ceremonies, the disappearance of the agricultural community would inevitably affect Balinese religious and cultural practices.

In the following chapter, the conclusion and the overview of key findings will be presented as this thesis outlines the answers to the research questions. The final chapter reviews the implication of the research findings on heritage studies in general, especially in relation to discourse and socio-cultural change in the management of World Heritage Sites. A discussion about how the research findings can be disseminated and incorporated into heritage policy and the World Heritage Convention framework will also be presented alongside research limitations and further research possibilities.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conclusion of the thesis through an overview of its aim and key findings in response to three research questions. First and most importantly, the central argument of this thesis is that the role of socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites is often undermined. This argument is important since many management practices still view socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites as a threat that should be prevented. This thesis demonstrated that socio-cultural change is an inherited attribute to some cultures that balance cultural practices and environmental sustainability. It is a traditional component of many indigenous cultures and a remarkable instrument of resilience that allows indigenous communities to adapt to present and future challenges.

The way stakeholders conceptualise heritage knowledge and interpret heritage sites affect how they value social and cultural change. Therefore, the study of discourse holds a vital role in understanding different stakeholder interpretations of socio-cultural change. This thesis has demonstrated that stakeholders' interpretations of heritage sites and stakeholders' perceptions towards socio-cultural change are indeed interrelated. Thus, it is not surprising that stakeholders of World Heritage Sites, particularly site managers and the local community, often conceptualised different relationships between heritage

sites and socio-cultural change and have contrasting arguments regarding the best conservation approach for the site.

Secondly, I demonstrated that discourse and the discrepancy in stakeholders' interpretations of heritage sites are the roots of many World Heritage Site management issues. The presence of the AHD as the most dominant knowledge in World Heritage Sites has marginalised local knowledge, caused stakeholders' conflicts, and triggered local community's reluctance to participate in conservation practices. This thesis showed that the prolonged domination of the AHD in World Heritage Site management might suppress the local community's knowledge, which inevitably results in the degradation of local values, identity, and ideology.

Based on the findings concerning the implication of the AHD on the sustainability of the Bali Cultural Landscape, the last section of this chapter proposes a future research avenue upon further investigation of the AHD and the degradation of indigenous concepts. This chapter is then concluded with evaluations, critical reflections, and limitations of this study.

10.2 Understanding different perceptions towards socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites: Findings and implications

My initial research aim was invigorated by existing studies that demonstrated problems concerning contrasting attitudes and interests between local communities and managers of World Heritage Sites (Lyddon, 1997; Alobiedat, 2018). The need to protect World Heritage Sites for future generations cannot be disregarded, but changes in World Heritage Sites are often crucial for the local community (Antrop, 2006; Milan, 2017). In this light, I intended to

investigate further the significance of socio-cultural change necessary to acquire more understandings of issues concerning World Heritage Site management. The Bali Cultural Landscape is selected to be the case study due to the evolving character of the site and the local community.

Ethnography was employed as the data collection strategy to obtain a deeper understanding of the Balinese culture and the local community. A wide variety of data collection methods, namely interviews, informal conversations, discussions, observation, and desk reviews, were used to gain an optimum understanding of Balinese culture, traditions, and social system as well as to optimise the local community's engagement in this research project. The ethnography approach also provided a remarkable way to deal with language and translation issues in data collection. As it is not always possible to find an exact translation of English words, ethnography helped me examine whether the concept of certain words exists within the Balinese culture. In the end, the use of ethnography also offered invaluable insights regarding social impacts of the research activities and the accuracy of data and information that are given by the respondents (see details in section 2.5).

The fieldwork research began by examining how the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed interprets heritage values and authenticity as outlined in research question Q1 (see section 1.2). After reviewing the work of heritage scholars who recorded contrasting interpretations between local communities and managers of heritage sites (Deacon and Smeets, 2013; Dueholm and Smed, 2014; Clarke and Waterton, 2015), I also demonstrated the presence of different narratives between the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed, the managers, and the World Heritage Committee (WHC). It was

discovered that the most substantial value of *subak* for the local community is not the Outstanding Universal Value. The economic, religious, and social values reflected in the components of the *subak* system, namely the traditional farming system, the organisation, the farmers, and the rice fields, are considered more important.

I showed that multiple interpretations of *subak* values are strongly related to the way stakeholders conceptualise heritage and heritage sites. For site managers and the WHC, for instance, the *subak* landscape is a physical manifestation of *Tri Hita Karana*, a philosophy that promotes a harmonious relationship between humans, the realms of spirit, and the environment. For the local community, rice fields are not valued aesthetically in the same way cultural landscape are valued by many European cultures. *Tri Hita Karana* is indeed part of *subak*, but *subak* is not the only Balinese institution where this concept of balance is implemented.

The significance of intangible and tangible aspects of the Bali Cultural Landscape is also perceived differently by the local community and the WHC. While the WHC focused on the protection of tangible aspects such as the cultural landscape, the temples, and the irrigation weirs, the local community prioritised the protection of intangible aspects, which includes the social relationship between farmers, the farming and ritual systems, as well as the 'sacredness' of the rice fields. This discrepancy can be observed in the SOUV, the nomination dossier, and the fieldwork observation. This condition strongly demonstrated the presence of different management priorities and multiple perceptions regarding the ideal management approach for Bali Cultural Landscape.

Authenticity is particularly problematic for the Bali Cultural Landscape. As pointed out by several scholars (Labadi, 2007; Lawless and Silva, 2017), authenticity remains a problem in the management of many heritage sites. There is no equivalent term for authenticity in the Balinese or Indonesian language. The closest translation of authenticity in the Indonesian language will be '*the condition of originality*'. This translation created many problems because, firstly, authenticity in the World Heritage Convention links to *'the factors that confirm the genuineness of heritage values'* instead of the condition of originality. Secondly, change is a crucial part of traditional Balinese culture and has enabled the evolution and modifications of both heritage values and material culture. In relation to this, Fairclough (1992) asserted that a language-related issue is part of discourse issues and the trigger of discourse-related issues. Thus, I argued that a language gap should also be seen as a knowledge gap as the absence of a notion in a language likely indicates the absence of related concepts and practices within that culture.

Although site managers and the WHC are familiar with authenticity, this thesis revealed an inconsistency in how authenticity is interpreted and implemented in the World Heritage Convention framework. Authenticity is rarely correctly understood as a set of criteria in which heritage values could be confirmed as truthful (Stovel, 2008). State Parties and the WHC often define and judge authenticity differently, creating gaps between the nomination dossier and the SOUV. Nevertheless, since a judgement is needed to determine the truthfulness of heritage values, a certain group that is considered knowledgeable, in this case the WHC, becomes crucial.

Contrary to many arguments, I postulate that authenticity and its protection are irrelevant and unnecessary for the local community of heritage sites. Unlike the WHC and State Parties, a local community rarely needs to prove the genuineness of heritage values. Arguably, since local communities have been involved in the process of assigning, protecting, and even changing heritage values, they rarely need to validate the truthfulness of the site's significance.

In light of the above discussion, the answers to Q1 can be seen in the table below.

Table 10-1. Key findings related to Q1

Q1. How does the local community interpret values and the authenticity of the World Heritage Site?
- There are more values of Bali Cultural Landscape than the Outstanding Universal Values. *Subak* is not the only place where *Tri Hita Karana philosophy* is reflected.   - For the local community, the significance of Bali Cultural Landscape is linked to the organisation, the farming system, social value, religious value, symbolic value, and economic value.   - Many intangible attributes of the Bali Cultural Landscape are not acknowledged by the WHC.   - For the local community, intangible attributes are the core of *subak*, therefore should become the conservation priority.   - Originality and authenticity are unfamiliar concepts for the local community as change is part of traditional Balinese practices.

For the second research question, I argued in Chapter 7 that socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape was understood and valued differently between the WHC and the local community. This research finding confirmed Staiff and Bushell (2013) and Mehta and Kellert (1998) who argued that a discrepancy exists in the way heritage stakeholders perceive socio-cultural change. I acknowledged that the list of 14 factors affecting the OUV was developed to alert State Parties and site managers on possible negative

implications of socio-cultural change on the sustainability of World Heritage Sites. However, I also discovered that socio-cultural change is, in contrast, an adaptive mechanism that could protect the *subak* system and the Balinese culture from the threats of environmental change.

Socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape is used to maintain a balance between traditional Balinese practices and the local community's use of the environment and natural resources. In Bali, change has been proven as a value (Picard, 1996). It has been a traditional element of the Balinese culture and has contributed to maintaining the continuity of traditional practices and religious rituals that rely upon natural resources. The ability of Balinese society to adapt to different situations is an inheritance that has been transferred through the Balinese social systems, from the smallest system of families to the more complex system of customary villages and temples. This particular skill has helped the Balinese society to sustain their culture and identity during many drastic changes and eras, including the Dutch Colonial government, the New-Order government, tourism developments, terrorism attacks, and countless natural hazards.

Among the proofs that highlight the significance of change in Balinese culture is the traditional philosophy of *'desakalapatra'*, which indicates the importance of changing to different circumstances. The Balinese's way of perceiving heritage sites is aligned with their way of perceiving change. They demonstrated that physical aspects of heritage could be replaced as long as the *'soul'* that gives life to that heritage remains intact. Several scholars asserted that the way the Balinese built a grander temple, created a new dance, and held a bigger ceremony is indeed an inherited means to maintain

their cultural essence (Vickers, 2012; Picard, 1996; Robinson, 1995). This is why change in material aspects of the Bali Cultural Landscape rarely affects its value.

Through Foucault's theory of discourse, we understood that although socio-cultural change in the Balinese culture is linked to environmental changes, it does not mean that environmental issues are the only factors that determined the appearance of certain cultural characteristics within the Balinese society. The theory of discourse showed that environmental conditions or any other conditions only allow some possibilities for the Balinese to develop their knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

Furthermore, the theory of discourse emphasised that the discrepancy in perceiving the significance of socio-cultural change could also be understood as a problem of discourse. As observed, stakeholders constructed different meanings and values of socio-cultural change in the Bali Cultural Landscape because they have different knowledge and experiences regarding change. This premise also lies behind different conceptualisations regarding the ideal management approaches for the World Heritage Site.

Although the Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) has been discussed as a possible solution to manage change and find a balance between conservation and development in World Heritage Sites, I showed that the implementation of the LAC has several problems in which some of them circle back to the problem of interpretation and discourse. The LAC requires stakeholders to determine agreed ideal conditions and attributes that need to be protected, but as stakeholders have different perceptions towards heritage significance, this

will be an issue. Which version of heritage significance should be used? Who decides the version that should be used? In most cases, as the dominant stakeholder of the World Heritage Convention framework, the WHC's interpretation is used as a reference to develop a conservation strategy. This could become a problem because the local community of heritage sites may have contrasting ways of interpreting heritage values and determining heritage attributes, as is the case of the Bali Cultural Landscape.

Table 10-2 below summarises the findings related to the second research question.

Table 10-2. Key findings related to Q2

Q2. How is socio-cultural change interpreted by the local community of the World Heritage Site?
- There is a discrepancy in how the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape and the WHC perceive socio-cultural change. - The Balinese's way of perceiving change is aligned with their way of perceiving heritage significance. They demonstrated that physical aspects of heritage could be replaced as long the *'soul'* remains intact. - Change in material aspects of heritage rarely affects its values. - Socio-cultural change has maintained a balanced relationship between traditional Balinese practices and the use of natural resources. It is also a means to adapt to environmental change. - Change is a traditional Balinese value. - The ability to adapt to a changing situation is an inheritance that has a crucial role in sustaining Balinese culture and society.

Chapter 8 provided a detailed discussion on how discrepancy among stakeholders' interpretations shapes heritage management approaches. Different interpretations between the WHC, the Indonesian Government, and the local community of the Bali Cultural Landscape are reflected in the management plan and the SOC reports. While the WHC prioritises the conservation of tangible attributes, the local community prioritises the

protection of intangible attributes that are considered the core of the *subak* system. This discrepancy also shows the limit of the management plan and SOC reports in addressing less visible problems concerning intangible aspects of the Bali Cultural Landscape, such as the relationship amongst farmers and the sustainability of religious rituals. Although the local community does not deny the importance of protecting tangible aspects of *subak*, the traditional concept of *'desakalapatra'* and their priority for sustaining the intangible aspects makes them less eager to participate in the current management approach.

The data analysis indicated that most of the local community of Subak Pakerisan Watershed was not involved in the World Heritage Site inscription process. Their interpretations of *subak* were not recorded; they also received inadequate information regarding the benefits and implications of the World Heritage Status. Consequently, many farmers feel trapped in this situation and hope to be excluded from the World Heritage system. This particular finding confirms several scholars who asserted that the World Heritage nomination process often involves more experts and less local community (Deacon and Smeets, 2013; James and Winter, 2017; Cocks, *et al.*, 2018). It also confirms scholars who argued that some local communities have negative perceptions towards the World Heritage status (Maikhuri *et al.*, 2001; Bianchi, 2002; Okech, 2007; Suntikul and Jachna, 2013). This thesis demonstrated that the local community's involvement in World Heritage Site inscription might also shape their perceptions of the World Heritage Status.

Ashworth *et al.,* (2007) noted that conflicts and tensions between stakeholders emerge from the dissonance in interpreting heritage sites. In Bali Cultural

Landscape, this dissonance can be seen in the local community's disengagement in World Heritage Site management. The domination of the AHD has marginalised and disarticulated the local community's knowledge to the point where the local community refuses to follow the WHC conservation standards and expresses their objections to the current management approach.

This thesis confirms scholars' arguments that miscoordination is one of many factors behind ineffective World Heritage Site management (Strauß, 2011; Wafik *et al.,* 2011). However, this thesis discovered that miscoordination is strongly rooted in the problem of discourse and interpretation. As stakeholders perceive heritage significance and socio-cultural change differently, effective stakeholder communication becomes difficult due to multiple knowledge and realities. Stakeholders with different knowledge and understanding of heritage sites are unable to determine similar approaches and attitudes to respond to a situation. Thus, different ideas about ideal management strategies are inevitable.

As Ashworth *et al.,* (2007) and Ashworth and van der Aa (2002) argued, it is impossible to have two interpretations present in a heritage site without generating conflicts. They asserted that the presence of a dominant interpretation is inevitable and could resolve such difficulties. However, as the most dominant knowledge in Bali Cultural Landscape, the AHD imposed the *'truth'* about *subak* that conflicted with the local community's version. Due to the ability of the AHD to suppress other knowledge, its dissemination interferes with the local community's traditional knowledge and further affects Balinese identity and ideology. Although the local community's reluctance to participate

in conservation practices demonstrates their strong attachment to the traditional Balinese practices, the integration of AHD in some of the current conservation practices on the island indicated a weakened attachment between the local community and their traditional knowledge.

Extracted from the above discussion, key findings related to the third research question are presented in table 10-3 below.

Table 10-3. Key findings related to Q3

Q3. In what ways do the different stakeholders' perceptions affect heritage conservation and management?
- Stakeholders' interpretations of heritage significance and socio-cultural change shape their conservation approaches. - Different knowledge and interpretations, particularly concerning heritage significance and the ideal conservation approach, generate conflicts and miscoordination among stakeholders of World Heritage Sites. - The local community's disengagement in conservation practices is a form of resistance caused by contrasting interpretations and knowledge between the local community and the WHC. - The implementation of the World Heritage Convention's standards marginalised the local community of Bali Cultural Landscape and disarticulated their traditional knowledge. - The local community's reluctance to participate in WHC conservation practices indicates their strong attachment to traditional Balinese culture and values.

Having answered all three research questions, this thesis argued that socio-cultural change should not be generalised as a threat to World Heritage Sites. The list of *'14 factors affecting the OUV'* established by the WHC has hindered site managers' ability and opportunity to investigate undocumented traditional skills of indigenous and local communities. The use of a standardised list to identify problems indicates the presence of a standardised solution, which could be problematic to be implemented in different cultures and communities.

Using the Bali Cultural Landscape as a case study, this thesis proved this to be the case.

As illustrated, socio-cultural change in the World Heritage Site of Bali Cultural Landscape is linked to the local community's traditional ability to adapt to the change of environment. Through such understanding, I contend that the value and meaning of socio-cultural change to World Heritage Sites should be re-evaluated by the WHC and site managers, especially regarding its role in sustaining the site, the local culture, and the local community amidst changing circumstances and climate change. Moreover, this thesis strongly argues that the use of authenticity as the conservation criteria should be revisited. As discussed, authenticity is less important for the local community as they rarely need to prove the genuineness of heritage sites and values. In contrast, the notion of authenticity is useful for heritage experts to legitimate their knowledge about certain heritage sites and validate their roles in the heritage sector. By using the notion, we are perpetuating the marginalisation and disarticulation of local community's knowledge.

This thesis postulates that although the role of socio-cultural change in sustaining local culture and community is evident, the significance of socio-cultural change will continue to be perceived differently by multiple stakeholders. Since it is plausible for stakeholders to have different interpretations of heritage values, it is also plausible for those stakeholders to have different perceptions regarding how socio-cultural change might affect those values. It is to be noted, however, that as the knowledge of the dominant stakeholder determines the most appropriate management strategies, the knowledge of other stakeholders would be considered inappropriate or invalid.

Thus, it is evident that the presence of the AHD in the Bali Cultural Landscape has had negative implications on the local community and the Balinese culture. In addition to preventing the implementation of traditional management approach, the AHD alters the relationship between farmers and their leaders. As *Pekasehs* received a new role as *subak* representatives who are expected to mediate farmers and site managers, they developed new interests and knowledge. This role puts *Pekasehs* in an awkward position and changes their identities, which is also part of discursive practices (Scott, 1991).

In addition to discussing the impacts of the AHD on heritage management, this thesis also explained how the AHD affect indigenous culture and community. This thesis demonstrated that the AHD also reshapes the local community's identity, ideology, and beliefs by imposing certain knowledge and understandings through some forms of discursive practices, including through the implementation of the management plan, the WHC recommendations, the marginalisation of the local community's knowledge, and monitoring and evaluation activities.

Since the World Heritage Convention has been proven beneficial for safeguarding heritage sites, navigating the AHD becomes vital to optimise the benefit yet avoid the destructive impacts of the framework. This thesis, therefore, considers that the local community empowerment is substantial to prevent the degradation of the local community's knowledge and abilities. This could be achieved in several ways. Firstly, by incorporating the local community's knowledge into the World Heritage Site management. Arguably, allowing the local community to determine the suitable management approach for Bali Cultural Landscape is a way to weaken the AHD domination and

enable dialogues between the local community and heritage experts as both groups are given the same power and capacity to do so. Secondly, as language is a vital element of discourse and social practices (Fairclough, 1992), evaluating terms and notions used in the Convention's documents and official reports is necessary if the domination of the WHC is to be prevented. It is crucial that heritage experts and site managers do not impose heritage notions or standards that could marginalise local approach.

Thirdly, scaling up the government's financial support is of paramount importance to ensure the sustainability of the whole *subak* system. It is evident that land conversion and lack of interest in farming activities are triggered by, amongst all, insufficient income and the high production cost of the agricultural sector. By ensuring that farming activities are economically beneficial, the government enables reliable sources to finance daily activities and religious ceremonies in the community. This support allows rice field owners to prioritise the protection of cultural and symbolic values of subak as they had hoped instead of compromising those values in exchange for economic improvement.

To summarise, key findings related to the research aim are presented in table 10-4 below.

Table 10-4. Key findings related to the research aim

Aim. Investigating the interrelationship between socio-cultural change, OUV, and authenticity of World Heritage Site and its implication on the World Heritage management strategy.
- Socio-cultural change should not be perceived as a threat to World Heritage Sites as it may have invaluable roles for the sustainability of heritage sites, local cultures, and local communities. - Authenticity is needed by heritage experts to validate their expertise; it is, however, less important for the local community.

- The implementation of authenticity in the Bali Cultural Landscape prevents the dissemination of traditional Balinese skills, particularly of adaptation and assimilation.
- Although the role of socio-cultural change to sustain the Balinese culture and community is evident, the value of socio-cultural change will continue to be perceived differently by stakeholders due to their epistemological differences.
- The AHD could be navigated through incorporating local knowledge into the World Heritage Site management, evaluating the use of certain terms and notions in the World Heritage Convention framework, and scaling up financial supports.

10.3 Limitations and future research possibilities

Certain limitations need to be considered before the findings of this study can be applied to the wider case. First of all, as the local community's perception towards socio-cultural change and World Heritage Site management varies from one place to another, it is plausible for some local communities to have similar perceptions as their national governments and the World Heritage Convention. In this case, conflicting interpretations and knowledge are not present and stakeholders' conflicts may not be caused by discourse or power relation. However, it is paramount to conduct in-depth research to gain a comprehensive understanding of heritage sites and local culture before drawing such conclusions.

Secondly, there is a plausibility for a World Heritage Site to have other stakeholders as the dominant group rather than the WHC. Although unlikely, some sites might have different dominant groups and dominant knowledge that allow the site to adopt a conservation approach that does not follow the World Heritage Convention Guidelines. Dresden Elbe Valley was a prominent example where the opinion of the national government is stronger than the WHC, resulting in the adoption of the German version of an ideal management

approach but a deletion from the World Heritage List. In this light, a further study could be done to investigate the process behind this nonconformity as well as its implication on the World Heritage status and the sustainability of heritage sites.

Thirdly, there is a promising avenue to examine the relationship between the dissemination of the AHD and the disappearance of indigenous skills. This thesis has proved that the AHD interferes with local community's identity and ideology, resulting in the destruction of local values, concepts, and skills. Scholars also confirmed that community displacement, which has been widely recorded as amongst negative implications of the World Heritage Site inscription, affects local values and systems (Bwasiri, 2011; Su, Wall and Xu, 2015; Kania, 2019). As indigenous communities are widely known for their role to protect the earth's biodiversity and slow down the impacts of climate change (Menzies, 2006; Popova, 2014), the disappearance of sustainable practices that could mitigate the impacts of climate change might be linked to the disarticulation of indigenous knowledge. In other words, the AHD may indirectly affect the ability of indigenous community in mitigating and adapting to climate change.

Lastly, as this thesis employed a single cultural site as a case study, the applicability of the findings to be implemented in other World Heritage Sites, particularly natural World Heritage Sites, needs to be further investigated. Although the Bali Cultural Landscape consists of natural and cultural components, the site itself is inscribed under the cultural criteria, making the cultural aspects of the site recognised and appreciated. As natural World Heritage Sites have different criteria of OUV, the cultural values of the sites

and the relationship between cultural and natural values are often left unexplored. As many communities also live within the natural World Heritage Sites boundaries, an understanding of the significance of socio-cultural change in this type of World Heritage Sites will also be invaluable.

10.4 Final conclusion

To sum up, this thesis demonstrated that although socio-cultural change is a crucial component of many cultures, the role of socio-cultural change in World Heritage Sites is undermined as socio-cultural change is still seen as a threat to heritage sustainability. As stakeholders have different ways to conceptualise heritage knowledge and interpret heritage sites, it is not uncommon for them to have contrasting arguments regarding the best approach to deal with socio-cultural change. Besides, the local community's knowledge is not always acknowledged and incorporated into the management plan of World Heritage Sites because the AHD is present as the most dominant knowledge in the World Heritage Convention framework. Furthermore, this thesis suggested that socio-cultural change is a prominent mechanism used by many local communities to deal with the negative implications of environmental changes.

This thesis also provided an alternative approach to investigate World Heritage Site management issues by trying to understand these issues from the lens of discourse and heritage interpretation. This thesis demonstrated the importance of seeing heritage interpretation as beyond merely an activity of communicating heritage values. It had been and should be continuously regarded as the way heritage actors construct the meaning of heritage sites and values. The ethnography approach employed in this research also sheds

additional light on the extended benefits of participant observation and the importance of cultural and language awareness in undergoing heritage research.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

List of Questions for the Pilot Study

Goals	Questions
Collecting the World Heritage site managers' understandings of authenticity and OUV.	- How do you understand the concept of 'authenticity'? - How do you apply the word 'authenticity' in subak? - How do you understand the concept of 'Outstanding Universal Values?' - How do you apply the word 'OUV' in subak? - In your opinion, what makes Subak a World Heritage Site? - How and why is *subak* important for its local community? - What is the most important element of Subak that should be protected for future generation?
Collecting the World Heritage Site managers' perspective towards social change and its connection to authenticity and OUV .	- Can you see any changes in subak after the inscription? - Which change is beneficial and which change is not beneficial for subak? - Which change is the most threatening to subak?
Collecting the World Heritage site managers' expectation towards the World heritage status of *subak.*	- What did you expect when subak was inscribed on the World Heritage List? - What do you expect from the World Heritage Status for the future of subak? - How do you want to see Subak in the future?
Collecting the World Heritage site managers' perspectives of tourism impacts on authenticity and OUV and strategies to deal with it.	- How do you see tourism activities in WHS? - What is the benefit of tourism for subak? - Do you think tourism threaten the subak landscape? In what way? - What have been done to minimise negative impacts of tourism? - Does tourism affect or even change the local community's life? - Does those changes threaten subak values? If yes, in which case? If not, why do you think so?
Exploring the definition of authenticity and Outstanding Universal Value from the local community perspective.	- What subak means for you as a person? - What subak means for the community? - What do you think subak means for the world? - What is the most important element of subak that should be protected for future generation?

Collecting the local community's perspective towards social change and its connection to authenticity and OUV	- Has subak changed overtime? - How do you think this change affect the significance of the subak landscape?
Collecting the local community's expectation towards the World Heritage Status	- What did you expect when the subak landscape was inscribed on the World Heritage list? - What do you expect from the World Heritage Status? - How do you want to see subak in the future?
Collecting local communities' perspectives of tourism impacts on authenticity and OUV	- How do you see tourism activities in the area? - What is the benefit of tourism for subak? - Does tourism change the local community's life? - Does that change threaten subak values? If yes, in what way? If not, why do you think so?

Appendix B.

List of Questions for the 2nd Fieldwork

How the local community perceives socio-cultural change (migration, evolving economic opportunities, evolution of traditional practices)	
Understanding the local community's feelings about out and in-migration.	- What are main occupations in this area? - Has it changed overtime? - Are there people who migrate outside the village to seek other jobs? What jobs? - Are there people who migrate into the village to seek jobs? What jobs? - How do you feel about migration?
Exploring the local community's behaviour related to economic opportunities in the village.	- Do you have more than one occupation? What other jobs do you do at the moment? - Why do you think people seek other jobs? - Do you want to change occupation? - What do you want your children to be? - Is it beneficial for the village if people have more than one job? Or is it a disadvantage?
Understanding the local community's opinions about traditional practices overtime.	- What is the difference between rituals/ceremonies these days and in the past? - How do you feel about that difference? - Why do you think it is different? Is it a problem? - How about your children? Do they do things differently? How do you feel about that?
How the local community perceives socio-cultural change related to the subak landscape's, values, and authenticity	
Investigating how the local community feels about out and in-migration	- Does migration have any consequences to the subak landscape? - Will new people be able to understand the importance of the landscape? Or do they create any problem? - Is there ever any conflict between farmers in terms of landscape management? - Is there any conflict between farmers and non-farmers related to the landscape management?
Collecting information about new economic opportunities and how they affect farmers and Subak	- Are farmers interested in having new jobs? - Can subak members have two jobs? How do you manage your time? - How farmers want their children to work in the future? Do they want their children to be farmers? - What will they do with the rice field if children do not want to work as farmers? - Do you think other jobs may disturb the sustainability of the subak landscape?
Understanding what is the implication of change of	- Do you think change in rituals and ceremonies will affect subak's sustainability? - How do you think rituals should be done in the future? Could we reduce its frequency?

traditional practices on the *subak* landscape	- Are all rituals important to *subak*? In your opinion, is there anything that is not beneficial and should be removed? - Does social class affect *subak* management? How do you feel about this class system? - How do you think we should preserve *subak* rituals?
How the local community perceives subak's values and authenticity?	
Exploring the authenticity and Outstanding Universal Values of the *subak* landscape	- What *subak* means for you as a person? How *subak* landscape is different compared to other rice field? - What *subak* means for the community? Why *subak* in this area was chosen as a World Heritage Site? - What do you think *subak* means for the world? - Is the importance/value of subak for you/families/communities/the villages change overtime? Why do you think so? - What is the most important element of subak that should be protected for the future generation? - Is the subak landscape still authentic? Why do you think so? - When do you think Subak is not authentic anymore? - How and what do you do to protect the authenticity of subak?
Collecting the local community's perceptions towards *subak* values and WHS status	- Do you think protecting authenticity of *subak* is important? - How do you feel if *subak* values change in the future? How do you feel if the function of the *subak* landscape changes? - If your children need to sell rice fields due to economic condition, will you give permission and how will you feel? - Are you happy with new regulations to the *subak* after the World Heritage Site inscription? - Do you prefer to be in or out of the WHS list? Why is that? - What do you wish WHS managers understand about you/your life/ and subak?

Appendix C.

List of Potential Case Studies

Region	Country	Property Name & Inscription Date	Factors Affecting Properties (Taken from SOC reports)
Asia and Pacific	China	Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces (2013)	'ICOMOS considers that the main threats to the property are first the overall **vulnerability of the integrated farming and forestry system** in relation to how far they are capable of providing an **adequate living** for farmers that will allow them to remain on the land, secondly the potential adverse impact of tourism on the villages.'
		Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun (2000)	'As they become famous, the number of **tourists increasing rapidly** and tourism management capability is not in balance with this growth.' 'Due to change of living styles and improvements of living standards, traditional architecture are not satisfactory **for modern demands'**
	Indonesia	Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy (2012)	'ICOMOS considers that the main threats to the property are from **changes to the rice growing system** away from traditional rice and organic farming, and from **tourism pressures** upon farmers to sell land for villas and other tourism enterprises.'
	South Korea	Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong (2010)	'**Authenticity is vulnerable** in relation to the conservation of individual structures and this needs to be addressed' 'Any **increase in the flow of visitors,** especially in the case of Hahoe Village, will impact on the daily lives of village residents.'
	Vietnam	Trang An Landscape Complex (2014)	'The **development of facilities** for visitors appears to be moving forward rapidly.' 'ICOMOS considers **the management system for the property does not appear to be robust enough** to meet the challenges affecting it in terms of tourism development'
Africa	Ethiopia	Konso Cultural Landscape (2011)	'Wish to increase tourism but there is also a risk that this could lead to **museumification'**

			'The lack of water supplies and of adequate sewage disposal is a negative factor in terms of encouraging families to stay in the towns and villages.'
	Togo	Koutammakou, the Land of the Batammariba (2004)	'An increase in population is leading to increased pressure on land and other resources and there is no immediate way of countering this.' 'Some tourists are too curious, and there is reported friction between guides and hosts, for instance.'
Europe and North America	Canada	Old Town Lunenburg (1995)	'The town is undergoing irreversible change and is evolving in a form that cannot yet be fully defined.' 'Changes in traditional ways of life and knowledge system'
	Croatia	Stari Grad Plain (2008)	'ICOMOS recognises the major importance of the threats currently facing the property because of the desire of the rural population to modernise farming practices.' 'Illegal constructions and the need to control pressure on land resulting from the rapid development of tourism.'
	France	Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion (1999)	'Decreasing population in the long run could threaten its authenticity and tourism could alter social life of population'
		The Causses and the Cévennes, Mediterranean agro-pastoral Cultural Landscape (2011)	'World Heritage recognition might lead to a significant increase of visitors in some parts of the sites which are already overcrowded in summer.' 'ICOMOS considers that the main threat to the property is farming regression.'
		Champagne Hillsides, Houses and Cellars (2015)	'The use, modernisation and development needs of the large Champagne Houses may affect particularly the nominated components.'
		The Climats, terroirs of Burgundy (2015)	'ICOMOS considers that the main threats to the property are urban development, disappearance of the micro elements of the landscape mosaic, traffic and tourism pressures, energy infrastructure development, and quarrying activity.'
	Hungary	Old Village of Hollókő and its Surroundings (1987)	'Issue of authentic delineation and change, loss of traditional methods; inadequate tourism management; weakness in value awareness; loss of community identity'

	Italy	Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato (2014)	'ICOMOS considers that the main threats to the property are the d**evelopment of inappropriate modern winegrowing** or commercial buildings that are not in keeping with the values of the traditional buildings, **overhasty restorations** of vernacular properties.'
	Norway	Vegaøyan -- The Vega Archipelago (2004)	**The over-riding threat to the way of life of the islands**, decreasing population and fewer birdtenders, farmers, and fishermen
	Portugal	Landscape of the Pico Island Vineyard Culture (2004)	'The **appearance of new habits** resulting from improved socio-economical conditions, by importing inapplicable models, which reflect an **alteration in the structure and volumetric condition**, and in the materials used in traditional homes
	Spain	Cultural Landscape of the Serra de Tramuntana (2011)	'The main threats to the property are the consequences of the lack of maintenance and **abandonment of agricultural activities**, tourism related urban and infrastructure development as well as the **increasing tourism pressure** in the area.'
	Sweden	Agricultural Landscape of Southern Öland (2000)	'There is a **threat to the ancient wooden barn**s. They are not appropriate for use in **modern agriculture**.
	Switzerland	Lavaux, Vineyard Terraces (2007)	'ICOMOS considers that the main risks to the property are economic in terms of a **falling market price** of wine. Adding value to the wine produced on the basis not only of its quality but also of its provenance may help to counter this threat.'
Latin America and The Caribbean	Colombia	Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (2011)	'The nomination dossier acknowledges that the local population is largely **unaware of the value of the local architecture** and has therefore **introduced alien materials** and structures, development – or lack of it – in various forms is a key threat to the area. ICOMOS considers that the greatest negative impact of tourism so far is the way **it has distorted land and property values and led to changes in building**s.'

Appendix C.

Results of NVivo analysis

What makes *subak* landscape valuable?
• Implementation of Tri Hita Karana (THK) • Tourism assets • The economic value • People & the organisation • Farming system • Religious value (including fear) • Symbolic & sentimental feeling (including *taksu*)

Definition and perception of authenticity
• Khas, unique, specific to the place • Mindset • *Penghayatan* (OUV appreciation) • Niskala (immateriality) • The way a system works • Contradict Balinese principles • Inapplicable western perspective • Confusing • Ambiguous/unclear • Not exist

Impacts of change of the main livelihood
• People have more than one job • Less dependent on farming • Increase the needs for financial sustainability • People depend on tourism • Less understanding of traditional values • Weaker community bonds • Change of daily life and activities • Migration • Strengthen customary law

Impacts of change of the traditional system
- More help for farmers   - Subak becomes vulnerable   - Weaker relationship with nature   - Change people's characters   - Attract more young farmers   - Land conversion   - Commodification   - Rituals lost their meaning, altered, or forgotten   - Social status & prestige become important   - Social stratification, social interaction & social organisation are no longer important   - Money & time become more important   - Less money needed for sustaining tradition   - Less appreciation for culture

Impacts of migration
- Create different perspectives among community   - Young people leaving the village   - Change of people's way of thinking   - Change of Tri Hita Karana

The current condition of site management
- Tensions within the community   - No clear regulation & confusing rules   - Farming system has shifted   - Failed policies, governance & corruption   - Failed management plan   - No significant economic support   - Neglected environment   - Farmers & locals' voices are not heard   - Land selling & land conversion   - Many modernisations and developments

The ideal management for the subak landscape
- Adaptive & flexible   - Include financial help & economic improvement   - Community based management   - Improved management plan & policies   - Encourage modernisation & development   - Seen from physical & non-physical aspects   - Maintain relationship with nature   - Maintain relationship with Gods & religion   - Improve social relationship   - Put people welfare first   - Ensure continuity in subak landscape   - Involve the tourism industry

Appendix D.

1. Consent Form- Interview

UCL Institute for Sustainable Heritage

UCL

Copyright Assignment and Consent Form no: 2017-

The purpose of this document is threefold:

- Consent to a recorded interview
- Describe conditions agreed regarding the use of the recordings and transcripts resulting from these interviews
- Permanently transfer the interviewee's copyright to the recordings interviews and transcripts to the researcher

The interviewee agrees as follows:

1. To participate in recorded interview. I have been made aware of the procedure to be followed. I understand this participation is voluntary and I may withdraw from the process at any time.

2. I understand that at the time of their creation, recordings and transcripts have a copyright jointly owned by the interviewer (Diana Rahman) and the interviewee (myself).

3. I agree to permanently assign my portion of this copyright to the interviewer. I understand no payment is due to me for this assignment.

4. In assigning my portion of copyright, I understand that this research will:
   a. Create a transcript of the recordings which I will have an opportunity to edit and approve prior to being completed.
   b. Deposit the recording(s) and transcript(s) in a reputable archive.
   c. Securely preserve copies of this material (held under the same restrictions)
   d. Use the information I have provided for research related purposes, including papers, articles, and books publications. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me from any publications.

5. If there is anything about this interview that I would like the interviewer to consider, I will state it here (write N/A if not applicable):
   ……
   ……
   ……

Participant

Signed: Date:

                                                          Print Name:

Interviewer

Signed: Date:

                                                          Print Name: Diana Rahman

2. Consent Form- Photography & video

UCL Institute for Sustainable Heritage

Copyright Assignment and Consent Form no: 2017-

The purpose of this document is threefold:

- Consent to the use of photographs and video recordings
- Describe conditions agreed regarding the use of photographs and video recordings
- Permanently transfer the interviewee's copyright to the photographs and video recordings to the researcher

I hereby consent to the use of photographs and video recording of myself, taken by the researcher for research purposes. The researcher will hold the copyright and any other duplication made from this material will be prohibited without the expressed permission of the researcher.

	Yes, I give my consent	No, I do not give my consent
Images and video footage of me can be used for the researcher related activities and publications.		
Image and video footage of me can be made available to the public		

I understand that for the educational and research purposes, the researcher may use the photographs or video for publications, conferences, or other activities for the full period of copyright, including all renewals, revisions, extensions, and revivals or such period.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Appendix E.

Supplementary materials

1. NViVo file: Analysis of the fieldwork data

2. Microsoft Excel file: Case study selection

3. Interview transcriptions and fieldwork notes