

Analysis of Symbolic Violence Practices in Balinese Vernacular Architecture: A case study in Bali, Indonesia

Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra^a, I Putu Gede Suyoga^b, ^aUdayana University, Bali, Indonesia, ^bSekolah Tinggi Desain Bali, Indonesia, Email: acwin@unud.ac.id, gsuyoga@std-bali.ac.id

This study debates the vernacular architecture of Bali in the Middle Bali era, which was strongly influenced by social stratification discourse. The discourse of social stratification is a form of symbolic power in traditional societies. Through discourse, the power practices of the dominant group control the dominated, and such dominance is symbolic. Symbolic power will have an impact on symbolic violence in cultural practices, including the field of vernacular architecture. This study is a qualitative research with an interpretive descriptive method. The data collection is completed from literature, interviews, and field observations. The theory used is Pierre Bourdieu's Symbolic Violence Theory. The results of the study show that the practice of symbolic violence through discourse on social stratification has greatly influenced the formation or appearance of residential architecture during the last six centuries. This symbolic violence takes refuge behind tradition, the social, and politics. The forms of symbolic violence run through the mechanism of doxa, but also receive resistance symbolically through heterodoxa.

Keywords: *Balinese, Vernacular, Architecture, Symbolic, Violence.*

Introduction

Symbolic violence is a term known in Pierre Bourdieu's thought, referring to the use of power over symbols for violence. Violence, in this context, is understood not in the sense of radical physical violence, for example being beaten, open war, or the like, but more persuasive. Symbolic violence is subtle, and is not even felt as 'violence', because it has become the habitus of a society.

Symbolic violence has entered almost all aspects of life, including the realm of architecture. The Balinese vernacular architecture is also full of symbolic violence. This can be seen from the basis of its formation, based on the social status or caste of its owner (Dwijendra, 2003, 2019, 2020; Fashri 2014). The *Triwangsa* group — *Brahmana*, *Ksatrya*, and *Wesia* — as traditional Balinese nobles, occupy dwellings named *griya*, *puri*, and *jero*. The three types of dwellings are built to the highest standards. This is in contrast to the right to use residential (*umah*) standards for *prabali*, and other *jaba* (ordinary peoples), who are only entitled to the smallest standard (Dwijendra, 2008, 2009, 2019).

The standard provisions for measurements are based on traditional social status, and then manifest into various types of buildings that may only be used by certain groups (Wiryasa, 2017; Nurjani, 2019; Sueca, 2007). Each group of citizens has the right to use different types of buildings. This indicates that the practice of symbolic violence in the realm of BVA has been in effect since the Middle Bali era, namely since the stipulation of the provisions in the manuscript *Asta Kosala Kosali* guide of Bali vernacular architecture, as *Dalem*, the highest king of Bali in that era.

The relation of language and power as the relationship of symbolic power that forms this reality is referred to by Bourdieu (1995: 66), and Broadbent (1973), as symbolic power. It is this symbolic power that ultimately demands the establishment of legitimacy to be recognised, believed, adhered to, and regarded as truth. There is a form of agreement with the viewpoint of the dominant group that is subtly invested. Such a situation is termed by Bourdieu (1994: 129), and Hooykaas (1980), as *doxa*. *Doxa* is the dominant viewpoint of the ruler who expresses himself and applies himself as a universal point of view. Symbolic domination opens opportunities for the creation of symbolic violence.

Violence is defined by Lardellier (in Haryatmoko, 2010, 2017) as the principle of action based on the power to force others without consent. In violence, there is an element of domination to other parties in various forms which can be verbal, physical, visual, or psychological. The real expression of violence can be manipulation, slander, untrue preaching, cornering words, insults, or condescending and threatening harsh words.

The most difficult to overcome violence is symbolic violence, which operates through discourse. It is called 'symbolic' because the impact commonly seen in physical violence is not apparent. There are no injuries, no traumatic consequences, no anxiety, no fear, and the victim does not feel the violence or dominated. Symbolic violence runs because of the recognition, willingness, and voluntary involvement of the dominated parties (Bourdieu, 1991, Budihardjo, 2013). Symbolic violence, according to Bourdieu, is the imposition of a system of symbolism and meaning (e.g. culture) on groups over the class, and in such a way that it is experienced as something legitimate (Jenkins 2004: 157; Dwijendra, 2003). The

impact of symbolic violence is subtle, and takes place through ignorance, recognition, or the feelings of the victim (Haryatmoko, 2010: 128; Krier, 2001).

The extent to which the practice of symbolic violence is hidden in the practice of BVA, becomes something important and interesting to study (Amanati, 2008; Ardika, 2015). Based on the statement, the focus of this study is to examine the form of symbolic violence in the practice of vernacular architecture in Bali.

Research Method

This study is a qualitative research with an interpretive descriptive method. The data collection was completed from literature, interviews, and field observations. The data was analysed using Pierre Bourdieu's Symbolic Violence Theory.

Results and Discussion

Traditional Stratification of Balinese Society

The stratification or traditional social status of "caste" is a reference in determining the standard size of the layout and building of Balinese Vernacular Architecture (BVA). The concept of colour chess, which was later degraded as caste chess, emphasised the difference in the right to use standard sizes in design. Thus, the standard of the measure becomes a symbol that can be read as a social status or symbolic capital. Furthermore, differences in social status will distinguish the perspective and behaviour of traditional Balinese society, also known as symbolic power.

Standard sizes underlie the formation of architectural physics. In semiotics, the physical form of architectural works in the form of space and buildings is a marker. Epistemic markers of 'form' contain 'meaning' markers (Sueca, 1999, Surahmat, 2016). The interaction of meaning through symbolism is one of the struggles in traditional Balinese society. Efforts to truly control symbolic capital are in the framework of symbolic power. Furthermore, symbolic power will trigger the practice of symbolic violence in the cultural practices of Balinese people.

Symbolic Forms of Violence in Balinese Vernacular Architecture

In the context of BVA, the standard size listed in the Balinese architectural manuscript, *Asta Kosala Kosali*, is understood as a benchmark for the dimensions of architectural elements, such as pole size, pole height, yard area dimensions, and type of building shape, and are

always associated with the ‘rights’ of a person, due to the social status or caste he carries (Wood, 1993; Wikstrom, 1995).

Traditional Balinese social stratification consists of *Brahmana*, *Ksatrya*, and *Wesia*, as three groups of traditional Balinese nobility. These three groups of citizens are called quarters, residing in the ‘innards’ region or inside. Meanwhile, the *jaba wangsa* for the community groups that occupy the area in ‘*jaba*’ or outside the occupancy of the three groups of citizens. The name *jaba wangsa* is carried by ordinary people, namely the pre-emperor, and groups of citizens who are lowered or even turned off the nobility of their nationality, as well as those who hid their nationality for survival in the era of the inter-kingdom war (Rusbiantoro, 2001; Simon, 2004; Stephany, 2009).

The ownership of social status by itself already contains symbolic power, then with symbolic power the dominant group has the potential to commit symbolic violence (Shils, 1971; Rabinow, 2002; Ritzer, 2014). The domestication of symbolic violence or ‘habituation’ of symbolic violence is not realized because it is very subtle, and it has even become a daily habitus of the people (Proshansky, 1983; Prijotomo, 1992; Ritzer, 2014). The domestication of symbolic violence on BVA has been established for more than six centuries, namely since the victory of the expansion of the Majapahit kingdom over the kingdom of Ancient Bali (1343 AD).

The practice of symbolic violence in BVA takes the form of position discrimination and the castration of rights (Goris, 1984; Gelebet, 1986; Geriya, 2007). These forms of symbolic violence arise through the mechanism of symbolic violence in the form of *doxa*. *Doxa* is the ruler's point of view, and it can be a myth or be considered the truth. *Doxa*, which appears in the practice of BVA, is a view that shows that the standard size for the quarter is one of the symbolic powers of the quarters over the *jaba wangsa*.

The symbolic violence in BVA's work emerged in the form of the discriminatory treatment of position and rights because of unconscious caste. Meanings are produced symbolically in language (Covarrubias, 1974; Patton, 1980; Barker, 2005; Pakilaran, 2006). Consider the language of statements in the *Asta Kosala Kosali* manuscript, “this is the size for *brahmana*, *ksatrya*, *wesya*, *prabali* (*jaba wangsa*)”. Thus, the meaning of differences or castes which is produced symbolically in the Balinese tradition, opens the opportunity for the creation of symbolic violence through class domination (Foucault, 1971; Piliang, 2004).

The strong influence of caste discourse as traditional social stratification in the Balinese Mid era or Majapahit's era was clearly architecturally evident from the different types of entrances and differences in the use of spatial and structural dimensions (Krier, 2001; Kagami, 2003; KDanesi, 2011). The type (design and naming) of the entrance for each

citizen is different. Namely, the entrance for *brahmins* is called *bintang aring*; the 'main king' is called the *kori agung* (the roof is overlapping); for the *wesya* group and also the subordinate king, the residential door is called the *kori* (without overlapping roofs); and the house entrance of *jaba* groups is called *angkul-angkul*.

The difference in the use of building materials and ornaments at the door of their home is also a sign of symbolic violence (Derek, 1991; Astra, 2010; Bakhtiar, 2014). *Brahmins* are entitled to use red brick materials, palm fiber roofs or combinations of sandstone with red bricks. The *Ksatrya* also use red brick material and a combination of sandstone or can also use only one type of material, such as red brick or sandstone, as well as the right to use the residential door material for the *Wesya*. The roof cover of the *kori* may use fibers or reeds or have a brick structure. However, for the people of the *jaba*, they may only use raw clay material and raw printed bricks for the body of the dwelling door, with a *alang-alang* roof.

The ornamental usage rights are also the same. Only the dominant quarterly people can use a complete and carved ornament, while the *jaba wangsa* group has no right to decorate their dwellings with decorative forms. Thus, the shape of the *jaba wangsa* residential building is simply plain and without ornaments. Bourdieu states that the dominant system finds expression in various cultural practices (Kusbiantoro, 2011; Lubis, 2014; Bourdieu, 2016; Adhika, 2020), in this context, on BVA.

The symbolic violence in the size of BVA revealed it is centred on tradition and politics or the kingdom. On the other hand, it should be recognised that symbolic violence has implications for the preservation of the BVA style, or it can be referred to as the retention of the BVA identity (Poerwadarminata, 1989; Wood, 1993; Wikstrom, 1995).

Bourdieu (in Fashri, 2014: 198) shows that language and discourse are practices of power used by dominant groups to control the dominated. Conversely, for marginalised groups that are dominated, language and discourse are used to question, resist, and delegitimise the symbolic power created by the dominant group.

The symbolic violence revealed in the BVA also experienced resistance, which was also symbolic, namely in the form of *heterodoxa*. *Heterodoxa* is a way of thinking that is contrary to *doxa* and is even against *doxa*. The collapse of the royal era by the modernisation of the colonial era in the nineteenth century and post-independence, undermined the system of royal political policy. This opens the opportunity for *heterodoxa* in BVA (Swellengrebel, 1984; McCullagh, 2004; Sueca, 1999). The rise of modern development that does not refer to the standard provisions of BVA size by Balinese ethnic groups (both *tri wangsa* and *jaba wangsa* groups), are forms of *heterodoxa*. The practice of *heterodoxa* is increasingly prevalent



because modern Balinese people are more compromised with practical discourse, efficiency, and current trends in architecture, such as the minimalist style (Suambara, 2014; Putra, 2015).

Conclusion

Finally, from the explanation above, some conclusions can be drawn, as follows. (1) The practice of BVA shows symbolic violence that is very strong in relation to the discourse of Balinese ethnic caste and is a reflection of the identity of Balinese architecture in the Middle Bali era; (2) Symbolic violence, in the practice of BVA, is in the form of *doxa*, through mechanisms of tradition and politics or the kingdom; and (3) Symbolic violence also receives symbolic resistance, namely through *heterodoxa*. Reading the phenomenon of symbolic violence in the practice of BVA can provide awareness that many of the practices of symbolic violence were finally gaining resistance in the times of development by new architectural styles and new political policies.

REFERENCES

- Adhika, I Made and Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin. (2020). Selfie Photos Area and Its Implication to Water Availability and Social Culture in Wanagiri Village, Bali Indonesia. In: *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, Vol. 24, No. 4, DOI: 10.37200/IJPR/V24I4/PR201652.
- Amanati, R. (2008). Transformation of Meanings in Visual Display of Theme Park Architecture. *Journal of Science and Technology* 7 (2), September 2008: 45-53.
- Ardika, I Wayan, I Gde Parimartha, dan A.A. Bagus Wirawan. (2015). *Sejarah Bali dari Prasejarah Hingga Modern*. Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
- Astra Wesnawa, I Gede. (2010). Implementation of Tri Hita Karana Concept in Rural Settlement Environment (Case of Badung Regency of Bali Province). *Journal of Sustainable Lands*, Vol. 10 No. August 2, 2010: 295-301.
- Bakhtiar, et al. (2014). Type of Theory on Archipelago Architecture by Josef Prijotomo. *Journal of NALARs*, ISSN 1858 1137, Vol. 11 No. August 2, 2014: 32-47.
- Barker, Chris. (2005). *Cultural Studies Teori dan Praktik*. Yogyakarta. PT. Bentang Pusaka.
- Barker, Chris.. (2014). *Kamus Kajian Budaya*. Yogyakarta. PT. Kanisius.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1991). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Broadbent, Geoffry. (1973). *Design in Architecture*. London: John Wiley and Sons.
- Budihardjo, Rachmat. (2013). *Bali Architecture Concept Application on Castle Building*. *Journal of Media Matrasain*, Vol. 12 No. January 1, 2013: 17-42.
- Budiharjo, E. (1986). *Architecture conservation in Bali*. Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press.
- Covarrubias, M. (1974). *Island of Bali*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Danesi, Marcel. 2011. *Pesan, Tanda, dan Makna*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Derek & Japha, V (1991). 'Identity through detail: an architecture and cultural aspiration in Montagu, South Africa, 1850-1915', TDSR, vol. II, pp. 17-33.



- Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin (2019) 'Transformation of Traditional Housing in Bungaya Village, Karangasem Bali, Indonesia', *International Journal of Current Advanced Research*, 08(01), pp.16793-16798. DOI:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.24327/ijcar.2019.16798.3118>
- Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin and I Putu Gede Suyoga (2018). 'How A Power Relationship Affects the Practice of Traditional Architecture in Bali, Indonesia', *International Journal of Current Advanced Research*, 07(6), pp. 13350-13354. DOI:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.24327/ijcar.2018.13354.2377>
- Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin and Sueca, Ngakan Putu. (2019). The Determinant Factor of Home Transformation in Bali, Indonesia, In: *The Journal of Social Sciences Research*, Vol. 5, No. 12, pp 1855-1860.
- Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin. (2019), Morphology of House Pattern in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem Bali, Indonesia. In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol.2, No.1, 173-181.
- Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin. (2020). Identity Struggle Perspective in Car-Shaped Shrine in Paluang Temple, Nusa Penida Bali, Indonesia, In: *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, Vol. 24, No. 4, DOI: 10.37200/IJPR/V24I4/PR201653.
- Dwijendra, NKA (2003). Bali Traditional Housing and Settlements. *Journal of Settlement Natak*, Vol. 1 No. February 1, 2003: 8 - 24.
- Dwijendra, NKA (2008) *Arsitektur Rumah Tradisional Bali, Berdasarkan Asta Kosal Kosali*, Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
- Dwijendra, NKA (2009) *Arsitektur Kebudayaan Bali Kuno*, Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
- Fashri, Fauzi. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Menyingkap Kuasa Simbol*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Foucault, Michel. 1971. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." Esai ini pertama kali muncul di *Hommage a Jean Hyppolite*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Gelebet, I Nyoman. et al. (1986). *Traditional Balinese Architecture*. Denpasar: Ministry of Education and Culture Project Inventory and Documentation of Regional Culture.
- Geriya, IW. (2007). 'The concept and strategy of revitalizing local wisdom in the environment of Bali', in AAGR Dalem, IW Wardi, IW Suarna & IWS Adnyana (eds), Local wisdom in environmental management, Udayana University Publishers, Denpasar, pp. 52-60.



- Goris, R. (1948). *Sejarah Bali Kuno* (Singaraja: tanpa penerbit, Oktober-November 1948), p.16.
- Haryatmoko, (2010). *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian, Pemikiran Kritis Post-Strukturalis*. Yogyakarta: PT. Kanisius.
- Haryatmoko. (2017). *Critical Discourse Analysis (Analisis Wacana Kritis) Landasan Teori, Metodologi dan Penerapan*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- Hooykaas, C. (1980). *Drawings Of Balinese Sorcery. Institute Of Religious Iconography State University Groningen*. Leiden EJ Brill: Tuta Sb Aegide Pallas. EJB.
- Jenkins, Richard. (2004). *Membaca Pikiran Pierre Bourdieu*. Yogyakarta, Kreasi Wacana.
- Kagami, H (1988). *Balinese traditional architecture in process*, Inuyama: the Little World Museum of Man.
- Krier, R. (2001). *Architectural Composition. Translation Edition*. Jakarta: Erland Indonesia.
- Kusbiantoro, Krismanto, et al. (2011). *"The Role of Natah as a Balinese Spatial Order of Occupation, Case Study: Batuan Village Gianyar, Bali "*. Research Report. Bandung: Maranatha Christian University.
- Lubis, Akhyar Yusuf. (2014a). *Postmodernisme: Teori dan Metode*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Lubis, Akhyar Yusuf. (2004b). *Setelah Kebenaran dan Kepastian Dihancurkan Masih Adakah Tempat Berpijak Bagi Ilmuwan*. Bogor: Akademia.
- Lubis, Akhyar Yusuf. (2014c). *Teori dan Metodologi Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Budaya Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- McCullagh, C Behan. (2004). *The Logic Of History: Putting Postmodernism in Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Ngakan Made Anom Wiryasa & Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra (2017). Institutional Structure Models in Implementation of Spatial Planning. *Journal of Sustainable Development; Vol. 10, No. 4; 2017 ISSN 1913-9063 E-ISSN 1913-9071*. Published by Canadian Center of Science and Education.
- Ni Made Emmi Nutrisia Dewi, Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra (2018). 'Transformation of Bale Daja Architecture in Housing of Sading Village, Badung, Bali, Indonesia', *International Journal of Current Advanced Research*, 07(6), pp. 13221-13225. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.24327/ijcar.2018.13225.2347>

- Nordholt, HS (1986). *Bali: colonial conceptions and political change 1700-1940 from shifting hierarchies to 'fixed' order*, Rotterdam: Erasmus.
- Nurjani, Ni Putu Suda, Paturusi, Syamsul Alam, Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin, and Putra, I Dewa Gede Agung Diasana. (2019), Morphology of Backpacker Dormitory Inside Traditional Balinese House, Canggu Village, Bali, Indonesia. In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol.2, No.3, 514-521.
- Pakilaran A.U. (2006). "*Transformation of Shape and Spatial in Store House in Chinatown Area of Makassar (1970-2005)*". Thesis. Bandung: ITB.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. (1980). *Qualitative Evaluation Method*. Sage Publications
- Picard, M. (1996). *Bali: cultural tourism and touristic culture*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
- Piliang, Yasraf Amir. (2004). *Dunia Yang Dilipat: Tamasya Melampaui Batas-Batas Kebudayaan*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Poerwadarminta, WJS (1989). *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Prijotomo, Josef. (1992). *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Proshansky, HM et al. (1983). 'Place identity: physical world socialization of the self', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 3, pp. 57-83.
- Putra, IDGADP. (2015). '*The impact of tourism on the transformation of the tradisional Balinese house*, unpublished PHD thesis, Melbourne: Deakin University Australia.
- Rabinow, Paul. 2002. *Pengetahuan dan Metode Karya-Karya Penting Michel Foucault* (Trj. Arief) Yogyakarta: Adipura.
- Ritzer, George. (2014). *Teori Sosiologi Moderen*. (Terj. Tribowo B.S). Jakarta: Kencana.
- Runa, I Wayan. (2008). "*Sejarah Arsitektur Tradisional Bali*" dalam Pustaka Arsitektur Bali. Denpasar: Ikatan Arsitek Indonesia Daerah Bali.
- Rusbiantoro, Dadang. (2001). *Bahasa Dekonstruksi ala Foucault dan Derrida*. Yogyakarta: PT Tiara Wacana Yogya.
- Shils, E (1971). 'Tradition', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 13, no. 2, Special Issue on Tradition and Modernity, pp. 122-159.



- Simon, Roger. (2004). *Gagasan-Gagasan Politik Gramsci*. Terjem. Kamdani dan Imam Baehaqi. Yogyakarta: Insist bekerjasama dengan Pustaka Pelajar.
- Stephany, Shandra. (2009). 'Transformation of the Order of Space and Shape on Tongkonan Interior in Tana Toraja South Sulawesi', *Interior Dimension*, Vol. 7, No. 1. thing: 28-39.
- Suambara. I Wayan, et al. (2014). *Regional Development Work Plan (RPKD) Badung District Year 2015*. Badung: Bappeda Litbang Badung regency.
- Sueca, N.P. (2007). "Continuity and Physical Changes of Traditional House Architecture in Desa Kesat Kesiman Denpasar Bali". Research Report. Denpasar: Udayana University.
- Sueca, N.P. et al. (1999). "Transformation of Traditional Public Space on Growth Center, Environmental Case Study Along Jalan Supratman Denpasar". Research Report. Denpasar: Udayana University.
- Surahmat, Fathur Rokhman. (2016). *Politik Bahasa Pengusaha*. Jakarta: PT. Kompas Media Nusantara.
- Suyoga, I Putu Gede. (2014). *Arsitektur Bade Transformasi Konsep Menuju Bentuk*. Gianyar: Yayasan Kryasta Guna.
- Swellengrebel, JL (1984). Introduction, in JL Swellengrebel (ed), *Bali: studies in life, thought, and ritual*, Foris Publication Holland, Netherlands, pp. 1-76.
- Wikstrom, T (1995) 'The home and housing modernization', in DN Benjamin, *The home: words, interpretations, meaning and environment*. Avebury: Aldershot.
- Wood RE (1993) 'Tourism, culture and the sociology of development', in K Hitchcock & Parnwell (eds), *Tourism in South-East Asia*, Routledge, London, pp. 48-70.