

Balinese peasants' resistance in two short stories *tahun baru di sawah bapak* and *pura subak* (an analysis of ecocriticism)

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Abstract - Tourism is the most beneficial sector in Bali, Indonesia. Either domestic or foreign tourists visit Bali to enjoy its beauty and unique culture. Tourism in Bali is based on society, nature and culture. One of the interesting tourist's attractions comes from Bali's amazing nature. To accommodate nature-based tourism, many hotels, villas, and resort are built. It requires broad area, and sometimes land conversion from agricultural sector into tourism sector happened. The phenomenon of agricultural land conversion is reflected in two stories *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* and *Pura Subak*. The analysis is about the main characters who are peasants. They do resistance and fight against land conversion. Both stories are analyzed using theory of ecocriticism. The research method uses qualitative research. The result of analysis is that conversion is not suitable with Balinese value, *Tri Hita Karana*. The analysis ends up with similarities and differences of two stories. Those conclude that land conversion which happened in holy areas may trigger problems. Nevertheless, it has been happening since long time ago and still going on.

Keywords: peasant; land conversion; tourism; resistance

1. Introduction

Talking about tourism in Indonesia, what comes to most people's minds is usually the island of Bali. Bali is still the most-wanted destination in the tourism sector, both for domestic and foreign tourists. Every corner on the island of Bali seems to be magnificent. Many schools, campuses or other institutions in Indonesia choose Bali as the destination of their annual study tour. According to Dipayana and Sunarta (2015), the development of Bali tourism is based on three elements, these are society, nature and culture. These three elements collaborate to form the most desirable tourist destination. The combination of these three elements needs to be maintained for the continuity of Bali tourism. Therefore, Bali is famous as a tourist destination that includes everything as its appeal.

Although most Indonesian tourists visit Kuta, Sanur, Bedugul, Uluwatu, Tanah Lot and Denpasar, the attractiveness of Bali's tourism does not only come from these places. All regencies in Bali have their own tourism attractions. The western tip of the island of Bali, that is Jembrana regency, has tourist destinations such as Medewi Beach which is famous as a surfing spot. Apart from that, there is also the Palasari Dam and Menjangan Island which are favourite destinations for foreign tourists. The coastal and mountainous areas in Bali are always enchanting. The southern Bali area has charming beaches. The central Bali region has terraced rice field tours in Jatiluwih (Tabanan) and Tegallalang (Gianyar), cultural tourism in Ubud, and lakes such as Beratan Lake, Tamblingan Lake, Buyan Lake, and Batur Lake. The northern Bali area, that is Buleleng regency, has mountainous and coastal destinations. East Bali is the same way. It has been proven that all corners of the island of Bali have charms. The number of tourist destinations that come from various elements such as the sea, mountains and culture is a perfect synergy of elements of society, culture and nature.

The rapid development of tourism is surely accompanied by the increasing need for land for the tourism sector. The land requirement is mainly for accommodation. Since the early 1970's, strengthening the culture-based tourism sector has become a top priority for foreign tourists. The provincial government of Bali fully supports this mission¹. Investors and business owners see the opportunity to build hotels in Bali that will bring benefits. Locations such as on the edge of coastal cliffs, valleys in the highlands, or in the middle of rice fields are considered potential for building hotels, resorts or villas because tourists, especially foreign tourists and domestic tourists with heavy funds, like lodging with a feel close to nature. They do not hesitate to spend millions per night at a hotel, resort or villa for a stay experience that is different from where they come from. It is this similar potential that makes investors compete to establish an accommodation business. If investors are competing to set up a business, the land owners in Bali (in this case the Balinese) must give up their land for sale. If they are not willing, then there is an element of coercion from Balinese fellows to release the land.

Pringle (2004) in his book *A Short History of Bali: Indonesia's Hindu Realm* says that in the early 1990s, the tourist boom in Bali reached its peak. This was reinforced by the strongest rulers at the time who invested and allowed massive investment in the tourism sector. The splendor that came from the intervention of the rulers of the capital was said to have succeeded because of the 'silence' of the Balinese. This success had to be paid by disrupting the social and environmental order due to reduced groundwater supplies and the contamination of places considered sacred by the Balinese people². Land conversion is certainly inevitable as a side effect of development. Land conversion that often occurs is

¹ During the early 1970s this doctrine of cultural tourism was embraced not only by the foreign tourism industry but also by the Balinese provincial government. Balinese commentators, journalists and academics – the urban intelligentsia – were much more ambivalent. They acknowledged the need for the revenues, but likened mass tourism to a tidal wave, an infectious disease, a kind of rape which would subvert their treasured values (Picard, 1996: 121).

² The second trend was toward high-end, capital-intensive investment sponsored by alliances between wealthy, politically prominent Balinese, other Indonesian capitalists, military and ex-military entrepreneurs, and the Udayana regional military command based in Denpasar. In 1995, journalist and scholar George Junus Aditjondro (1995) published a monograph entitled 'Bali, Jakarta's Colony', which highlighted the prominence of President Soeharto's family in numerous Bali tourist investments, from hotels to white-water rafting. Aditjondro, an Indonesian scholar resident in Australia, emphasised that Bali's tourist boom resulted from decisions in which the people of Bali had no say. He also cited social and environmental costs, from water shortages to the profanation of sacred sites.

agricultural land. This change is considered to have a negative effect due to a change in the function of a land either partially or completely from its original function. This effect is said to be negative because Bali, where the majority of the people are Hindus, is known to have the concept of *Trihita Karana* (Angelia et al, 2022). This concept focuses on a way of life that prioritizes harmony between *Hyang Widhi* (God Almighty), humans and the environment.

The concept of an essential life, described that humans are the cause and executor of virtue and *Hyang Widhi* as the cause and revealer of virtue. This is *Tri Hita Karana* as the lifeblood of the *subak* organization (Pendit, 1984). From the quote, it is explained that the *Tri Hita Karana* concept is embodied in the *subak* organizational system. The *subak* system aims to ensure equitable distribution of water, increase rice production and improve the welfare of its members. This is proof that since thousands years ago the people in Bali were an agrarian society. The agricultural sector is a manifestation of the harmony concept of *Tri Hita Karana*. Unfortunately, the agricultural sector is shaken by tourism

This statement is supported by research conducted by Wiguna (Wicaksana and Putra, 2018) which states that the area of agricultural land in Bali has always decreased to reach an average of 1,000 ha per year, due to the conversion of agricultural land to non-agriculture, mainly due to development of the tourism sector. The conversion of agricultural land over the last five years has reached 5,000 hectares, or an average of 1,000 hectares every year in line with the increase in the number of tourist visits to Bali which has increased by around 1.5% each year. Through these facts, it is clear that the development of tourism in Bali has an impact on agricultural land which is a very important part of the *subak* system. Of course the development of tourism in Bali also has an impact on the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*.

The impact of tourism development in Bali appears in a number of literary works, including two short stories which are the material objects of this study. The two short stories used are *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* written by Komang Agus Sedana in 1993 and *Pura Subak* written by I Dewa Nyoman Sarjana in 2022. The short story *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* tells about the struggle of a farmer who gave up his rice field to be sold to a contractor of Regional Entrepreneurs Representative. Initially he and his colleagues whose land was also being sold did not know that large hotels and golf courses would be built on these lands. What the farmer objected to was that the hotel and golf course would be built too close to the big temple by the beach. The farmers then carried out petitions and demonstrations. However, the results were nil because what they were fighting against were investors protected by the government. The end of the story of this short story is the death of the farmer who is called Bapak by the main character in the short story. Bapak deliberately committed suicide by hanging himself from the first stake placed in his former rice field. The next short story is *Pura Subak*. *Pura Subak* tells the story of the struggle of a *kelian subak* (leader of *subak*) named Bapa Darma to defend his agricultural land and the *subak* temple owned by the village so that they are not displaced by the construction of a villa. The *subak* temple was about to be relocated, but Bapak Darma as the leader and the *Subak* members rejected the plan.

The resistance that appears in the two short stories proves that the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* is disturbed. The concept puts forward the balance of nature. If it is disturbed, it means that the surrounding natural conditions will not be fine. The years the short stories publishing are 1993 and 2022, it means that tourism development has continued for a long time until now. The issues regarding land conversion and farmer resistance in the two short stories are in accordance with eco-critical studies. The problem that will be studied by this research is how the form of resistance carried out by farmers in *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* and *Pura Subak*. The following section is a discussion of the similarities and differences in the forms of resistance from both short stories. The formulation of the problem will be analyzed using the theory of ecocriticism.

The basic definition of ecocriticism was put forward in an anthology entitled *The Ecocriticism Reader* in 1996. Ecocriticism or ecocriticism is a study that combines literature and the environment (Nayar, 2010: 330; Nayar, 2009).

Ecocriticism is a critical mode that looks at the representation of nature and landscape in cultural texts, paying particular attention to attitudes towards 'nature' and the rhetoric employed when speaking

about it. "It aligns itself with ecological activism and social theory" as it is stated more, "with the assumption that the rhetoric of cultural texts reflects and informs material practices towards the environment, while seeking to upgrade an awareness about it and linking itself (and literary texts) with other ecological sciences and approaches" (2010).

From the quotation above, it can be concluded that eco-criticism is the representation of nature in texts. "It aligns itself with ecological activism and social theory" as pointed out, "with the assumption that the rhetoric of cultural texts reflects and informs material practices towards the environment, while seeking to raise awareness about it and relate itself (and texts) to it. literature) with other ecological sciences and approaches".

According to Glotfelty (1996), ecocriticism tries to learn, explore, and analyze the nature-based texts for adding the quality in literature and culture studies. Ecocriticism builds environmental awareness through literary works (1996). Furthermore, ecocriticism may form human attitude towards nonhuman forms of life and natural phenomena. Literature is considered potential medium of change and increased ecological sensibility (Zapf in Gersdof dan Mayer, 2006). In addition, teaching and studying literature without reference to the natural condition of the world and ecological principles will be likely incompatible (Love, 2003).

A literary text which is nature-oriented has at least one of four criteria as follows: a) History of human involves with history of nature. b) Human interest is not the only one legal interest, c) Human responsibility toward nature is the part of text's ethical orientation, d) Environment is a process, and it is not a constant gift (Buell in Putra, 2017).

There are some works analyzing literary works using theory of ecocriticism. These writings become previous studies used in this study to find limitation and signification between other similar topic-used studies and this analysis. One of them is an article by I Nyoman Darma Putra, et.al entitled *The Features of Bali between its Beauty and Destruction in 1960—2014 Poetry*. It analyzed 48 poems by some Balinese poets. The analysis used discourse analysis and ecocriticism by Glotfelty and Garrard. The result of analysis is that the nature destructions in Bali inspired the writers to create poems about condition of Bali environment. The next research is by A.A. Kade Sri Yudari entitled *Ekokritik Dalam Gaguritan Kabresihan Karya Ida Pedanda Sidemen Griya Taman Sanur: Perspektif Sastra Ekologi*. It analyzes a poem that is *Gaguritan Kabresihan*. Analyzed by theory of ecocriticism, the research finding is that the poem contains effort of nature conservation in Bali. It invites the readers to save the environment because Balinese culture is based on *Tri Hita Karana* value (Angelia et al, 2022). The third research is Yudari (2020) analysed the literature from eco-environment. There is no research analyzed the two short stories used here and one literature work discussed above.

2. Method

This study uses qualitative research methods with descriptive analysis. Qualitative research is research that consists of case studies, personal experiences, stories about life, interviews, history, cultural texts or all visible texts especially those that explain life and the problems of everyday life (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 12). The data used in this study are primary data and secondary data. The primary data here is two material objects, these are *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* (1993) and *Pura Subak* (2022). The short story *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* was published in an anthology of short stories entitled *Bali: So Many Faces*. The second short story is *Pura Subak* written by Sarjana (2022). It was published in TATKALA.CO which is an online media paying attention to art, culture and humanity matters. It publishes features, and literary works. Secondary data is collected information that helps the analysis process. The information is in the form of reference books, journals, theses, or other sources of information that assist analysis. Meanwhile, the formal object is the theory of ecocriticism. The work steps taken are to repeatedly observe the two short stories, sentence by sentence. The sentences are selected based on the research problems.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Agricultural Land in Bali: Gold Site for Investors

As a major tourist destination in Indonesia, the need for land to accommodate tourism needs in Bali is inevitable. Conversion of land originally from agricultural land and then used as a means of accommodation and entertainment is very common in Bali. This massive change has taken place since the tourism boom in Bali in the 1970's until now. The short story *Tahun Baru Sawah Bapak* was inspired by an incident occurred around the time the short story was written. *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* was written in 1993 by a young writer, Komang Agus Sedana. The event that was popular at that time was the development of the Bali Nirwana Resort resort and golf course which is located adjacent to Tanah Lot, Tabanan regency. The mega project by PT Bakrie Nirwana Resort with an area of 120 hectares consists of: a five-star hotel with 400 rooms, 450 bungalows, 100 condominiums, 184 residential units including 140 rental houses, all of which have Balinese architecture, and an 18-hole golf course (Santoso and Saskarayasa, 2002). This project reaped controversy from many parties, especially a number of elements of society in Bali. Apart from eroding agricultural land, this development is also considered too close to places of worship. The granting of permits to investors in this case actually contradicted the regulations that existed at that time. According to the Decree of the Governor of Bali number 15 of 1988 dated January 13, 1988, the construction of tourist facilities may be carried out a maximum of 2.5 km from the nearest temple which is classified as *Dang Kahyangan* Temple. Meanwhile, the location of Bali Nirwana Resort is a maximum of 1 km from the Tanah Lot temple. Apart from contradicting the Governor's Decree, this project also violates the 1989 Regional Regulation concerning the Bali General Spatial Plan (RUTR). This regional regulation refers to the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*. The *Tri Hita Karana* principle outlines spatial planning based on Hindu teachings which requires the harmony of the three main elements, these are *Parahyangan* (God Almighty), *Pawongan* (humans), and *Palemahan* (the natural surroundings) (Santoso and Saskarayasa, 2002; Angela et al, 2022).

Protests against the construction of the Bali Nirwana Resort at that time came from a number of elements, including the *Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia* (PHDI) or Indonesian Hindu Dharma Society. PHDI deserves to protest because the construction of tourist facilities contains elements of the commercialization of religion. However, the project continues, especially since the strong Hindu nuance is considered a potential tourist attraction in Bali. (Cork, 1996: 92). It can be said that the land conversion in *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* also has an influence on the existence of subak in that area. This happened because agricultural land and subak have an inseparable relationship. *Subak* regulates the water distribution system to the people's agricultural lands through an organizational system based on deliberation. The short story *Pura Subak* tells of the controversy over land conversion in a village. Not only agricultural land, the *subak* temple is also threatened with demolition.

The existence of *subak* in Balinese culture has been a strong foundation of life in society since centuries ago. *Subak* is an embodiment of the life balance formula stated in the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* which provides an order for social and environmental life which is divided in such a way as to give rise to a harmonious life that is harmonious, compatible and balanced. Sutjipta (2017) in a paper presented at Paruman Sulinggih Denpasar City at Taman Kemuda Sari Monang-Maning Temple, West Denpasar on June 21st 2017 explained that in the *Tri Hita Karana* concept, *subak* is divided into the *Parahyangan*, *Palemahan* and *Pawongan* areas. (1) *Parahyangan* is a sacred area, namely *Subak* Temple as a place for farmers to get closer to *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*. All activities always ask for guidance and permission from *Hyang Widhi*. (2) *Palemahan* is a rice field area which is a place for farmers' production activities. For farmers in Bali, rice fields are a gift from God which is passed down from their ancestors so that rice fields have religious values and are places to live and play Betari Sri. In the past buying and selling inherited rice fields was abstinence. (3) *Pawongan*, is the place where farmers carry out the socialization process. Each of these areas has its own procedures for regulating the rights and obligations of its members, thus giving the farming community a complete dimension of life (Sucipta, 2017). The agrarian community in Bali believes that in farming, the elements of *sekala* (real) and *niskala* (unreal) must be fulfilled in every farming process from planting to harvesting. Nevertheless, the existence of farming land especially rice field decreases day by day. It affects the existence of subak, as the subak organization requires members who have rice field. The rice fields have been converted into villas owned by foreigners or rich people from capital city (Andayani, 2021).

The richness of Balinese culture which influences every aspect of society, especially those who are Hindu Dharma has the potential for tourism. This culture has high selling power. According to Philip McKean in Howe, the Balinese are culturally rich, but economically poor. While tourists are economically rich, but culturally poor. Therefore, the cultural wealth that exists in Bali has great value for foreigners. The hope is that their culture (Balinese people) is not commoditized and commercialized frontally. Apart from that, hopefully the Balinese people will still hold on to the values that exist in their culture and be able to distinguish between being cultured for spiritual and commercial interests³. The fact that happened after the boom in the tourism era, commercialization is increasingly inevitable. *Awig-awig* or customary law in *subak* actually regulates the sale of land that is included in the *subak* organization in a village or *banjar*. Not just any land can be released, because the philosophy of natural balance must be maintained. However, if the local government gives permits to investors, as happened in the Bali Nirwana Resort project, then all the *awig-awig*, regional regulations up to the Governor's Decree are meaningless because they are dealing with capitalists from the capital city.

3.2 The resistance forms in the two stories

a) The short story *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak*: The short story begins with the condition that the rice fields of the character mentioned here have been sold. His rice field was sold and the proceeds were deposited, then he switched professions to become a souvenir shop keeper. At first, my father gave up on selling his land because he said it was for the sake of development. However, after knowing that a hotel and a golf course were to be built on the land, he was disappointed.

Tetapi itu dulu. Bapak tidak tahu apa yang akan dibangun di atas bekas sawahnya dan sawah teman-temannya. Sebuah hotel 250 kamar dan lapangan golf. Masyarakat Bali banyak yang menentang pembangunan itu. Koran jadi penuh dengan surat pembaca. Bapak juga ikut-ikutan kecewa. Ia menyesal. Ia tidak menyangka kalau bakal dibangun hotel demikian besar dan lapangan golfnnya begitu luas. Bukan masalah kalau tanahnya diambil buat pembangunan. Tetapi hotel itu dibangun lantaran ada pura besar di pinggir pantai yang terlihat begitu elok. Apalagi bila matahari sedang terbenam. Karena itulah bapak jadi kecewa. Sebagai umat, ia seperti ingin mengeluarkan semua emosinya. Namun siapa yang mau meneruskan suara seorang petani. Kalau suara orang-orang elit di surat pembaca saja tidak bisa mengubahnya (Sedana dalam Cork, 1996: 84).

Formerly, Bapak did not know what would be built on his rice-field and his friend's. A hotel with 250 rooms and golf course. Many if Balinese people rejected the project. The newspaper is full of reader's opinion. Bapak got disappointed. He regretted due to selling his rice field. It is not the problem of the building types, but it is a problem about its location. It is too close to a sacred temple regardless its beauty. Bapak got disappointed and wanted to speak up. But, who will mediate the peasant aspiration, meanwhile the elites sending protest in newspaper are ignored (Sedana in Cork, 1996).

The initial form of resistance in this short story was when Bapak felt disappointed with the construction of a hotel and a golf course on the land of his former rice fields and other fields. As a farmer who adheres to the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, changing the function of agricultural land is contrary to the teachings of his religion. What's more, the hotel construction was too close to the big temple. The temple in question is Tanah Lot Temple which is classified as the Dang Kahyangan Temple which is highly purified by Hindus. Besides Bapak, the resistance also comes from schoolmates of Bapak's son and Bapak's fellows.

³This view of tourism was energetically advanced by the anthropologist Philip McKean (1973), who argued that while Balinese are culturally rich but economically poor, tourists are economically rich but culturally poor, and therefore a fruitful exchange can occur in which Balinese cultural values are exchanged for western economic values. Moreover, in this exchange the Balinese continue to do what they have always done – perform for their gods and ancestors, only now they do it for the tourists too. Since there is no significant change in their cultural productions there should be no contamination, and everyone should benefit. This argument suggests that Balinese are capable of distinguishing between performances for themselves and their gods and those staged specifically for tourists, that they know the boundary between what they can sell to tourists and what they must safeguard from commercial exploitation, and so avoid the problems of the commodification of culture (Howe, 2005: 135).

Di sekolah emosi itu juga terlihat. Agus, seorang teman sekelasku, sibuk mengumpulkan tanda tangan untuk menentang pembangunan itu. Entah kepada siapa akan ia serahkan tanda tangan sebanyak itu. Namun begitu aku juga ikut menandatangani. Tanpa tahu bakal kemana dan sejauh apa kekuatan setumpuk tanda tangan (Sedana dalam Cork, 1996).

I see emotions at school. Agus, my classmate, collects signatures for resisting the project. But, I don't know to whom he submitted the signatures. I give my signature too, although I don't know how strong those signatures in fighting for the project (Sedana in Cork, 1996).

Bapak and his colleagues demonstrated their disagreement toward the hotel project.

Menjelang siang barulah aku tahu apa yang terjadi. Seratus orang warga termasuk bapak, telah berdemonstrasi di depan gedung "Wakil Rakyat", memasang seruan yang menentang pembangunan hotel dan mencaci wakil-wakil mereka yang dianggapnya telah tidur (Sedana dalam Cork, 1996).

In the afternoon, I realized what happened. A hundred of people including Bapak has demonstrated in front of Parlaiment. They confronted and insulted their representatives whom they think as playing deaf and blind (Sedana in Cork, 1996).

At that time there was indeed a lot of resistance, including in the form of demonstrations. Similar to what is described in the short story, the resistance was carried out on the basis of the belief that the conversion of such a large area of land was not in accordance with the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* which is the foundation of the life of Hindus in Bali. Instead of wanting to maintain the balance of nature, there is destruction in the form of eviction of agricultural land. Even though agriculture is very closely related to *Tri Hita Karana*, because all processions in agriculture are regulated and the procedures are full of Hindu religious teachings.

All the protests that were carried out turned out to be fruitless, in fact a number of demonstrators were jailed for several months. That is, the struggle against the construction of hotels and golf courses failed. In fact, the project is still ongoing. The failed struggle led to surrender, but surrender was carried out in an extreme way.

Sampai di sawah bapak, hari sudah sedikit terang walau matahari belum muncul. Tidak ada siapa-siapa di sawah bapak. Hanya tiang pertama yang kelihatan berdiri perkasa. Tetapi alangkah terkejutnya aku melihat ada tubuh manusia yang tergantung di tiang pancang. Dan semakin kudekati, tahulah aku itu adalah tubuh bapak. Ya, bapak telah bunuh diri dengan menggantungkan lehernya di tiang pancang pertama. Mungkin bapak melakukan ini sebagai tanda protesnya. Walaupun aku tahu orang bunuh diri sering disebut orang putus asa, tapi aku tetap menganggap bapak sebagai orang yang mati terhormat. Tubuh bapak telah tergantung kaku. Dalam pikiranku tidak pernah terlintas menurulkannya. Tubuh kaku itu semakin basah terkena gerimis. Secara kebetulan aku melihat secarik kertas basah dalam genggamannya kaku jari tangannya (Sedana via Cork, 1996: 86).

Arriving at my father's rice field, it was already a little light even though the sun had not yet appeared. There is no one in my father's field. Only the first pillar that looks standing mighty. But what a surprise I saw there was a human body hanging from a stake. And the closer I got, I knew it was your father's body. Yes, father had committed suicide by hanging his neck from the first stake. Maybe you did this as a sign of protest. Even though I know that people who commit suicide are often called hopeless people, I still think of you as a person who died with honor. Father's body was hanging stiff. In my mind never crossed lower it. The stiff body was getting wet from the drizzle. By chance I saw a piece of wet paper in the grip of his fingers stiff (Sedana in Cork, 1996: 86).

At least even though the struggle against the construction of the hotel and golf course failed, the character of the father sacrificed his body and soul on the basis of final resistance from you as the representative of the people whose land was evicted as a result of losing to the authorities.

b) The short story *Pura Subak*

The main character in this short story is Bapak Darma, who is the leader of Subak Yeh Telu. As a leader, Bapak Darma had to deal directly with a land broker named I Wayan Degag who tried hard to get the farmers to sell their land and move the location of the Subak Temple.

"Biar Bapa tahu, jangankan Pura Subak, rasanya tanah carik, tanah sawah, semua di subak ini kalau dijual akan dibayar oleh investor. Kok Bapa repot. Bapa duduk manis sudah dapat persenan. Uang warna merah akan

bertumpuk-tumpuk di semua saku baju dan celana Bapa!” (<https://tatkala.co/2022/12/18/pura-subak-cerpen-dn-sarjana/>)

For your information, I think all land here including the subak temple will be sold and paid by investor. Bapa just sits down peacefully, and you will get much money.

The short *Pura Subak* was released in December 2022, when compared to *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak*, one can draw a similarity that the problem of conversion of agricultural land in Bali has always existed from the past until now.

“Wayan Degag. Bapa mengerti. Apa yang Wayan sampaikan tadi benar. Namanya pengusaha pasti uangnya banyak,” kata Bapa Darma.

“Terus, kenapa Bapa tidak setuju? Apa Pura itu milik Bapa? Bapa sibuk jadi kelian subak mengajak krama subak membersihkan plastik berserakan di parit. Terus apa yang Bapa dapat?” Wayan Degag memotong pembicaraan tanpa memikirkan perasaan orang tua yang diajak bicara. Kelihatan krama subak sangat kesal. Satu persatu berdiri, terus meninggalkan paruman. Wayan Degag bengong. Dikiranya orang-orang tua merasa takut kepada orang seperti Wayan Degag, ternyata tidak. (<https://tatkala.co/2022/12/18/pura-subak-cerpen-dn-sarjana/>)

“Wayan Degag, I understand, you said something true. A businessman has much money.” said Bapa Darma

“So why do you disagree? Is the temple yours? You are busy asking people to clean the ditch and clear it from plastic waste. What did you get?” Wayan Degag interrupted the conversation and ignored the old people he talked to. The members of subak seem to be annoyed, so they leave the forum. Wayan Degag is surprised. He thinks that the seniors will be afraid of him, but they are not.

Selling agricultural land for *subak* members is actually not an easy thing to do. Therefore, the *krama subak* (members of Subak) did not pay attention to I Wayan Degag's arrogant attitude. Their form of resistance is to leave the meeting forum. So did Bapa Darma, although his method was more subtle, he left the forum as well.

“Yan, sudah lihat. Krama sudah pulang. Mau bicara apa lagi?” Bapa Darma menyentil, dan meninggalkan Wayan Degag. Wayan Degag bengong sendirian. Tatapan matanya kosong. Ia kesal. Bayangan uang ratusan juta yang sudah di depan mata ternyata tidak mudah didapat. (<https://tatkala.co/2022/12/18/pura-subak-cerpen-dn-sarjana/>)

Do you see? The forum has finished. What will you talk again?” Bapa Darma flicked and left Wayan Degag alone. Wayan Degag is so annoyed. Hundred million money are actually hard to earn.

Selling land and moving the location of the *Subak* temple, is not an easy matter. Protecting agricultural land is the same as maintaining the balance of nature based on the teachings of *Tri Hita Karana*. Moving the *subak* temple is seen as inappropriate anymore because the *subak* temple is a place of worship to worship the goddess of fertility, namely Dewi Sri. In addition, various ceremonial rituals that accompany the planting process are carried out at the *Subak* temple. There is a connection between defending the land, subak temple and the concept of natural balance.

Bapa Darma's form of resistance can be considered a failure. The rice fields are indeed not for sale, along with a number of other fields belonging to other *subak* residents. However, there are several more that are being sold, thus closing the access road to the *Subak* temple. In the midst of his despair, Bapa Darma actually remained firm in his position but in a calmer way, that is by praying.

Bapa Darma merasa sedih. Yang paling berat dia pikirkan adalah dari mana kini dia dan kawan-kawan masuk untuk melaksanakan upacara di Pura Subak. Jalan ke Pura Subak tertutup pagar. “Tuh Hyang Widhi. Hyang Dewi Sri. Kuatkan hambamu untuk menjaga tempat sucimu!” Bapa Darma bicara sendiri. (<https://tatkala.co/2022/12/18/pura-subak-cerpen-dn-sarjana/>)

Bapa Darma feels sad. He thinks about where he and his colleagues can do ceremony in Subak temple. The access to Subak temple has been closed. “Oh God, Hyang Widhi, Hyang Dewi Sri, strengthen me to save Your sacred places!” Bapa Darma speaks alone.

Both of the short stories have the same idea that is resistance. However, they use different ways of resisting. Along with their similarities, the differences are going to be presented in the next analysis.

(1). The similarities of the resistance in *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* and *Pura Subak*.

Land conversion happens in those two stories. It triggers the problem boosting in both stories. Both farmlands are converted into tourist attraction. The victims of land conversion are peasants. The resistance is based on religious matters. The land conversion which covers holy places is something sensitive in Bali because peasantry and Hinduism are connected each other.

(2). The differences of the resistance in the short story *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* and *Pura Subak*. In *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak*, the main character does the resistance in an extreme way, that is committing suicide to show how serious his resistance is. In *Pura Subak*, the main character successfully keeps his farmland unsold. The short story *Tahun Baru di Sawah Bapak* was published in 1993 but *Pura Subak* was published in 2022.

4. Conclusion

Tourism and Bali are interconnected as Bali is one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world. Tourism needs adequate facilities to support it, and to serve the tourists who visit well. Therefore, tourism requires well-planned area and broad, too. However, the expansions of the tourism facilities sacrifice the areas which actually are not for tourism sectors. Mostly the agriculture sectors are distracted, as reflected in the two short stories analyzed. The distraction triggers the main characters to resist and fight against land conversion. The two farmers fight since peasantry and Hinduism are interconnected, furthermore, the lands which are going to be converted into tourism sectors are considered as holy places. If the land is converted, the connection between God, human, and nature will be imbalanced. The conversion is not suitable with Balinese value, *Tri Hita Karana*. The analysis ends up with similarities and differences of two stories. Those conclude that land conversion that happened in holy areas may trigger social problems. Nevertheless, it has been happening since long time ago and still going on. The time of stories publishing indicates that land conversion for tourism has been going on till nowadays. Furthermore, the victims are mostly peasants.

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