



RESEARCH ARTICLE

CONTRA HEGEMONI OF SUBAK MERGAYA'S FARMERS  
TO DENPASAR CITY MODERNIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Resilience of local wisdom subak in the middle of development in Denpasar City is currently under pressure of modernization, especially on the spatial development. Land Consolidation (L/C) program of Denpasar City Government has eroded part of Subak Mergaya agricultural land. This scientific work discusses the hegemony of Subak Mergaya farmers against the program L / C Pemerintahan Denpasar. This scientific work is the result of qualitative research with data collection techniques through observation, documentation study and in-depth interviews with 9 informants, namely farmers and administrators Subak Margaya, and observers Subak organization. Data analysis was done descriptively qualitative-interpretive by applying Management Theory of Henry Fayol, Antonio Gramsci Hegemony Theory and Social Practice Theory (Bourdieu). The result of the research shows that Subak Margaya farmers do counter hegemony by maintaining local wisdom in the arena of agricultural land management, maintaining idealism and polite dialogue to Denpasar Government Party, and still implementing local wisdom based on Tri Hita Karana as cultural capital, *Nyakap* as work form in economic capital, as well as leadership *Pekaseh* implement the concept of *menyame braye* as social capital and efforts to maintain Subak Mergaya as symbolic capital, ancestral heritage. The research findings show that social capital combined by *menyame braye* concept can avoid violence that leads to conflict.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the hallmarks of Balinese culture in the field of irrigating rice fields is known as subak. Subak as a traditional organization in the area of Bali is based on Customary Law, and is autonomous to organize its organization, within a group of overlapping areas originating from the same water source with clear boundaries. The opinion of Sutawan et al (1999) in empirical research suggests that subak is a wetland farming organization that obtains irrigation water from a common source, has one or more Bedugul temples (to worship Dewi Sri as a manifestation of God as the Goddess of Fertility), and has freedom in arranging his own household and in contact with outsiders.

Subak is understood as an organization focusing more on agricultural land, especially paddy fields, and subak is part of the unique Balinese Hindu culture. Subak uniqueness among others related to various local wisdom and subak ritual which until now submitted and obedient to the teachings of Hinduism, ranging from preparation to harvest rice. Subak existence can not be separated from water management activities for rice

farming so it is very appropriate if subak is identified with rice cultivation or rice culture. Subak has become a traditional agrarian socio-religious irrigation institution (Sutawan, 2005: 1).

Subak land continues to decrease with the increasing conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural land. Data from Bali Provincial BPS (2013) noted that during the period of 2002-2012, the conversion of rice field land in Bali reached 4,151 hectares, which means that the rate of conversion of irrigated rice fields reached 415.10 hectares per year (Sriartha, 2015: 329). Bali residents still consume rice as basic necessities, while rice production has decreased in 2015 compared to the Year 2014 of 9,979 Ton (Bali Provincial Central Bureau of Statistics downloaded on 25 Pebruari 2016).

Denpasar as the capital of Bali province also experienced the same thing considering the rapid population growth rate of Denpasar City, which is 6,759 inhabitants per Km<sup>2</sup>, with the icon of Denpasar City as Student City and become economic and business center so immigration of population can not be dammed. The rapid rate of population growth in the city of

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Denpasar certainly faces a dilemma because on the one hand the needs of rice fields become the main thing to meet the basic needs of the community ie the consumption of rice and on the other side would require space, both for residential and business places such as the construction of boarding houses, villas, shops that can reduce existing agricultural land. Denpasar has 39 subak fields and continues to shrink in line with the modernization of Denpasar City. Among the subak that continues to experience shrinkage of agricultural land is Subak Mergaya in West Denpasar District. During the last three decades the existence of paddy fields in Subak Margaya shrank by more than 50%, ie from 183 hectares in 1976 to 90 hectares in 2012 (Bali Provincial Cultural Office, 2013). Rice fields function in the city of Denpasar from time to time further narrow the existing agricultural land. The description of the conversion of land to non-agricultural land in Subak Margaya is shown in Figure 1.

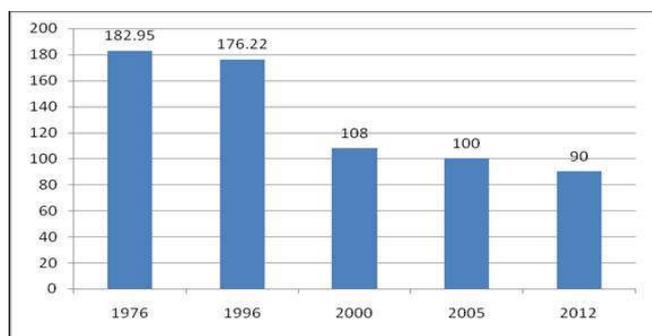


Figure 1 Process of Subak Margaya Subdivision of Agriculture Period 1976 – 2012

(Source of Cultural Office of Bali Province)

Land conversion to non-agricultural land in Subak Mergaya area, including for business location and settlement. As shown in Figure 1, more than 50% of the Subak Mergaya rice field has been lost (from 282.95 hectares in 1976 to 90 hectares in 2012). Although rice production is relatively limited, paddy fields in Subak Margaya area can harvest rice yields three times a year, with an average rice production of 6.5 tons / hectare (Sukarma, 2014: 85). The dilemma of the modernization of development in Denpasar City has reduced the agricultural land for the fulfillment of the demand for the provision of supporting facilities of development including boosting access to transportation in the area of West Denpasar so that the economic movement more easily, quickly and smoothly.

Development improvement program implemented by Denpasar City Planning Agency by socializing Land Consolidation or L / C program to Kakama Subak Mergaya from 2008 until today. The length of time for completion of L / C is actually inseparable from the attitude of Sub-Mergaya krama who refuse to apply L / C in the subak area. Understanding krama here is their subak members and also the owner of agricultural land. This form of resistance when referring to the Gramsci view can be called with Counter Hegemony as a form of resistance over the Denpasar City Government program. This paper discusses the topic: (1) why do the Subak Mergaya Craft Contra Hegemony against the Land Consolidation Program of Denpasar City Government? (2) How is the Contrast of Hegemony done by the Subak Mergaya Dance towards the

Land Consolidation Program of Denpasar City, (3) How the impact is done Counter Hegemony to Land Cosolidation program from Denpasar City Government for Subak Mergaya krama?.

## ARCHITECTURE REVIEW

In accordance with the topic discussed, there are several research results related to the existence of subak that threatened modernization, conservation efforts and strengthening subak organization. Suyastiri (2012) wrote an article entitled "Empowerment Subak Through" Green Tourism "Supporting the Sustainability of Agriculture Development in Bali". It was concluded that the threat from the current globalization would destroy the agricultural sector. The destruction of the agricultural sector will lead to the destruction of the subak system which is one of the cultural heritage resources of Balinese society in the form of social institutions. The destruction of the subak system is caused by the increasing number of rice fields lost due to switching functions for non-agricultural use. Without the subak rice fields it is impossible to exist, and without subak preservation of Balinese culture will be threatened.

Because of threatened modernization, Subak needs to be revitalized. Sunaryasa (2002) writes publication entitled "Revitalization Efforts of Subak's Role in the Preservation of Environmental Functions". This study states that the weakening of values due to modernization is important to be strengthened because subak values are still relevant to their function in protecting the environment. The sacredness of paddy fields, arranging the planting season and the importance of Subak Hall and Balai Webang to strengthen communication among subak members Revitalization efforts can be done by entering subak in awig-awig custom village.

Local policy, ie *awig-awig* can be used as a support in saving and strengthening Subak organization. In this connection, Budiasa (2010) in his article entitled "The Raft of Subak for Sustainable Agriculture in Bali Province" states that Subak as a cultural resource has naturally received the attention of the parties given its role in realizing the sustainability of agriculture, food security, as well as one the founder of Balinese fame. Agricultural sustainability is realized if the agricultural system is developed holistically through an economically profitable farming system approach, using the same technology, environmentally friendly, and acceptable to the community.

As local genius (local wisdom) in Bali actually subak worth preserved. In connection with Subak conservation efforts, Sutawan (2005) wrote a book entitled Subak Facing the challenge of Globalization. It is stated that the effort to preserve subak as a cultural heritage has many challenges and obstacles. The challenges are: (a) Lack of interest of the younger generation to enter agriculture. In this case, the development of the tourism sector which gives a lot of hope in the form of dollars, causing the younger generation no longer interested in the dirty and muddy agricultural sector with non-permanent income; (b) shrinking of paddy fields due to land conversion. The sustainability or resilience of the subak will be threatened because of the rapid conversion of irrigated rice fields to other uses outside agriculture; (c) the limited availability of water relative to its use. The growing population and the development

of tourism in Bali demanded the fulfillment of the need for water that continues to increase both in terms of quality and quantity.

Some publications related to subak organization above become a valuable reference for the preparation of this scientific work. This scientific work is the result of qualitative research whose data obtained from the observation, documentation study and in-depth interviews with 9 informants, the farmers and management Subak Mergaya, and observers Subak organization. Data analysis was done descriptively qualitative-interpretive by applying Management Theory of Henry Fayol, The Hegemony Theory of Antonio Gramsci and The Social Practical Theory of Pierre Bourdieu. The results of this study are expected to be part of the publication of the existence of Subak irrigation organizations as part of cultural capital as well as socio-economic capital that empowers farmers in Bali.

### ***Upaya Rescue Subak Margaya Denpasar***

Rescue Subak Mergaya in accordance with the results of interviews with subak administrators caused by several things, namely.

### ***Pura Ulun Suwi as Center of Orientation Bhakti***

Bhakti has an understanding of sincere sincere dedication of the work to God / Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa as God Almighty. If it enters into a sense of bhakti then this sense can be eroded bias if modernization of development swallow rice fields to be used for housing, offices and shops. The location of Subak Mergaya is located in West Denpasar as an area that has access to Kuta and its surrounding areas which is a tourist area. The concern of this subak manners is mainly to the disappearance of Dewi Sri's shrine which is Shakti Dewa Vishnu as the God of Prosperity, and also the God of Life in Tri Murti Concept in Hinduism. In the subak life the position of Lord Vishnu and Dewi Sri is very important because the water as a symbol of Lord Vishnu is closely related to the need of water subak in growing the planted rice. The opinion of Sukarma (2015: 94) strengthens the position of water in the life of the Balinese that all offerings to Lord Shiva as the purpose of life are not perfect without water. Krama Subak Mergaya maintains a human relationship with God / Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa through a ritual offering with water as perempurnanya. The position of Pura Ulun Suwi as the center of orientation of Kakama krama Subak Mergaya becomes very important because Ulun Suwi temple located in every subak in Bali in general and Subak Mergaya in particular is a form of worship which is loaded with local wisdom of Bali. If you borrow Bordieu's opinion, the sense of bhakti krama Subak Mergaya can strengthen the Symbolic Capital because it also represents the Subak Mergaya organization as a socio-religious society.

### ***Tri Hita Karana as a form of local wisdom krama Subak***

Truly the concept of Tri Hita Karana is believed by krama subak as the cause of harmony of human life. Harmonious human relationship with Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa / God, or called Parhyangan. Cultural Capital Practice takes place in the context of mutual worship in Pura Ulun Suwi by krama Subak Mergaya, under the direction of Pekaseh, currently held by I Wayan Ariantha. Furthermore, in the concept of Tri Hita

Karana, there are human efforts to keep the relationship with fellow creatures to be harmonious relationship, this is known by the name Pawongan, the concept of social Capital in the opinion of Bourdieu play in this realm. Pekaseh's leadership capability also plays in subak so as to build a sense of togetherness to discuss subak issues with related agencies, arrange assistance for the smoothness of agriculture. Pekaseh's steps have actually applied the Management Theory called organizing. Tri Hita Karana third form is to maintain a relationship with the natural surroundings or called Palemahan. The realization is done by Pekaseh with subak krama to clean the river flow, drain the water to the place needed by deliberation, keep the communication between krama subak and also subak organization in the area next to each other. In the study of management science according to Follet's explanation (in Sule and Saefulla 2005.5) mentioned management as an art of getting things done together through others.

In this connection Ariantha, as pekaseh Subak Margaya states: "We still maintain the existence of paddy fields and Subak here, supporting the effort to realize food self-sufficiency. We also maintain the tradition, and carry out the Tri Hita Karana principle, which is to carry out the agricultural ceremony (parhyangan), to keep the harmony of cooperation between subak farmers (pawongan), and to maintain the existence of rice fields (palemahan) Subak Mergaya (Interview, 30 November 2017).

*Pawongan* element is a harmonious relationship between subak members and other subak members. In Relationship between the peasants is practiced the principle of "menyemabraya", namely relations and cooperation on the basis of brotherhood, equality, mutual help and mutual benefit (Sadiartha, 2016). In addition, in an effort to manage irrigation water in the subak margaya, pekaseh or subak leadership, it also applies general principles of modern management. According to the management theory of Henry Fayol (in Safroni, 2012), Pekaseh performs management functions including planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating, controlling so that Subak Mergaya's organizational goals in empowering local farmers can be achieved (Sadiartha, 2016). Implementation of management functions practiced by Pekaseh is reflected in the service to members (krama) subak, meetings (pauman) krama, mutual assistance system, and handling disputes related to subak life.

### ***Nyakap; Form of Local Wisdom, strengthening Social Capital and Economic Capital***

Understanding Nyakap or with other designations in the social interaction of subak community called Nandu. It is a bond of cooperation between the owner of the rice field and the worker or called in Balinese language is a penyakap. The landlord is assigned to carry out his duties on land belonging to the land that entrusts his land for planting with rice to harvest and the result is divided according to the agreement determined by both parties. This form of cooperation is really a local wisdom amidst modernization that puts the cost of labor with cash payments. Nyakap other than a form of cooperation is actually based on mutual trust between the owners of rice fields with penyakap. If modernization of development erodes the area of rice fields then this local wisdom is increasingly extinct swallowed up the progress of the times.

### **Counter Hegemony Subak Mergaya**

Land Consolidation (L / C) as a spatial planning program in Denpasar City so that in accordance with the planned development, has been socialized by the Department of Spatial Planning Denpasar on Monday, May 17, 2015 in the meeting room Sewaka Dharma Building Jalan Majapahit No.1 Lumintang, Denpasar. Socialization aims to provide an understanding to the people in the Denpasar area so that the rice fields affected by L / C can receive government programs. The presentation of the socialization also explains that the area of rice fields submitted for L / C program will be cut by 27 percent, and the purpose of L / C can also facilitate the development of strategic areas of the city to continue the western ring road program. Referring to the situation of socialization conducted by the Department of Spatial City of Denpasar in line with the concept of Hegemoni Gramsci as a form of relationship based on the principle of consent. Hegemony is not the violence of the dominant party against the minority, but the effort to build a power based on the attitude of the minority's consent.

The minority in this case is Krama Subak Mergaya, and it turns out that based on field observations, interviews with several rice field owners and penyakap are still difficult to accept the Hegemony done by the Spatial Planning Department of Denpasar so they make resistance in ideological argument through several meetings with the Government Denpasar City. In the Hegemony Theory is known as the Hegemony Cons. Objection of krama especially from result interpretation result of interview can be grouped in some thing. First. There is a cut of 27 percent of the area of rice fields submitted to join the L / C program. Second. L / C program can erode the area of rice fields and various local wisdom is certain to be extinct as the progress of modernization. Third. Their rejection of the plan of LC (land consolidation) Denpasar City Government as it is considered risky reducing the area of Subak Mergaya. Fourth. The refusal was also made by some farmers who owned rice fields to not sell their land.

In the perspective of the Social Practice Theory (Bourdieu), if a farmer releases his wetland (land) for sale, they sell his cultural capital to gain pragmatic economic rewards that lead to the annihilation of the traditions of the local farmers. On the other hand, farmers 'counter-hegemony attitude in maintaining their rice fields is an effort to save cultural capital, as well as preservation of the existence of subak organizations and the sustainability of local farmers' traditions and culture as the power of social capital.

#### **Impact of Hegemony on Land Consolidation Program Pemerintah Denpasar City For Kramat Subak Mergaya.**

Balinese celebrity is supported by four main pillars, namely Hinduism, Pakraman Village/Indigenous Village, Art and Culture (Subak). While subak as an inheritance since ancient times in the field of irrigation fields became a vehicle for farmers to realize their sense of bhakti before Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa / God Almighty. Defense becomes idealism for Subak Mergaya krama after rejecting L / C program of Denpasar City Government. The long process that has not yet found a real solution makes the Subak Mergaya krama keep doing the activities of the ritual and perform the ritual in

accordance with the tradition that is often done before. The results of interviews and field observations also show a cheerful face and stay terjalinnnya communication coaching conducted by the Department of Agriculture of Denpasar City to the farmers and penyakap periodically related to the use of seeds, technical use of fertilizer, pest management techniques and various things in order to increase knowledge of farmers and a snapper in the field of paddy fields.

Interestingly Counters Hegemony krama Subak Mergaya has grown some important things for them like the following things. First. The beliefs that exist in the subak system, between farmers and farmers to subak managers and inter-administrators can be categorized as having high confidence. This high trust is a very important basic capital in conducting collective activities related to agriculture, irrigation, social culture and agribusiness.

Secondly, the power of social norms (awig-awig Subak, perarem) is high. Subak social norms are very binding guidelines for farmers and Subak administrators in every activity of the community. The main function of these norms is as a controller of various forms of social interaction among farmers with subak managers. In the subak system, the norms it possesses the value value that has developed since the first based on the teachings of Hindu Bali, namely Tri Hita Karana (THK). THK philosophy emphasizes that in the process of living towards a prosperous life, man is emphasized to maintain harmony or harmony between man and his creator, namely God Almighty (parhyangan), man with nature / environment (palemahan), and man with his neighbor (pawongan) as a unified whole (Mantra, 1996).

Third, social network as an element of social capital is reflected by the level of intensity of interaction between member farmers and subak managers and outsiders have a high average value. Interaction among subak members has occurred since the first and developed for various activities based on mutual trust and norms owned by Subak (Sedana, 2013).

Thus it appears that the Hegemonic Contra has given an opportunity to subrama krama to preserve the noble values of local wisdom and also appears Denpasar City Government to seek the best solution so that sacrifice to the seminal farm is possible.

### **Conclusions and Suggestions**

#### **CONCLUSION**

As a traditional irrigation irrigation organization, the area of Subak Mergaya rice field that is reduced by modernization of Denpasar City needs to be saved. Aside from being an ancestral heritage, subak is considered part of the (agrarian) rice culture, an essential element in supporting agricultural sustainability. Resilience of local wisdom in the midst of the activity of krama Subak Mergaya become heritage that should be maintained. Hegemony as an effort to get approval krama Subak Mergaya have received rejection or Hegemoni cons. Efforts to get the best solution continue to be done. The real impact of Counter Hegemony remains a real opportunity for subak krama to carry out religious rituals, harmony in the concept of Tri Hita Karana runs as usual, opportunities farmers and penyakap in the field of economic capital continues, as well as social interaction

*menyame braye* and exemplary Pekaseh with leadership providing protection for krama is a good example.

### Suggestions

Various problems in implementing a policy of the government actually requires a sense of mutual understanding. The ruler as the dominant party although Hegemoni is subtly in fact is very wise because Hegemony requires mutual agreement of both parties. Conversely, the minority does not act harshly in rejection, the form of Counter Hegemony done through dialogue. The attitude of both parties actually reflects the local wisdom of Bali that is the attitude *menyame braye* that prioritize the bonds of brotherhood to solve the problem. Thus the model of branding branding as a form of fraternity should be imitated by various parties in the dialogue of a good policy that the government, private, organizations and various components of other communities to obtain solutions on the basis of togetherness.

### Research Findings

Along with the progress of the times and the development of globalization the tendency of violence is more done in solving problems that lead to conflict. Social capital in accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's Social Practice theories has provided the view that success besides being caused by economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital is also caused by the strong social capital in interacting with society. Social capital combined with local wisdom called Bali *menyame braye* has proven to be a medium of peace in solving social conflicts.

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