



Research Paper

Laying Foucault's Theory of Power-Knowledge Relation in Taman Sukasada Karangasem Bali Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: This study explores the historical transformation of Sukasada Garden in Bali, from a royal garden during the Dutch colonial era to its present status as a cultural heritage site and tourist attraction. It examines how power dynamics and knowledge relationships played a role in shaping this transformation within the context of cultural studies. By drawing on the theories of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, the study analyzes the intricate interplay between power, knowledge, and discourse in the decision-making processes that led to Sukasada Garden's evolution. Using qualitative methods and a postmodern approach, the study unveils the hidden ideologies and power structures that influenced the transition of the garden. The research identifies key discourses that facilitated this transformation, with a focus on the individuals and institutions involved in shaping the garden's destiny. By adopting a poststructuralist perspective, the study emphasizes that power is not vested solely in individuals but rather embedded within the broader social system. The history of Taman Ujung Sukasada reflects its journey from royal legacy to cultural heritage, marked by periods of neglect and restoration efforts following natural disasters. These efforts were guided by principles of cultural heritage preservation, resulting in official recognition as a cultural heritage area. Furthermore, Sukasada Garden was strategically positioned as a tourist attraction, aligning with Indonesian and Balinese tourism strategies that balance heritage conservation with economics development.

KEYWORDS: Taman Sukadana, Power Knowledge Relation

Received 16 August, 2023; Revised 31 August, 2023; Accepted 03 September, 2023 © The author(s) 2023. Published with open access at www.questjournals.org

I. INTRODUCTION

This study starts from the idea that the garden as part of the landscape can display a lot of hidden knowledge that is inherent in itself in addition to the physical appearance and beauty that can be enjoyed from a garden. Despite discussing about design ideas, styles, and approaches that have been popular while studying gardens as heritage, the discussion will see how power-knowledge work in a history of a royal garden in Bali. Since there are not many studies that discuss Balinese tradisional gardens in cultural studies paradigm.

The Sukasada Garden is located at Karangasem Regency of Bali. It is one of five surviving gardens from the era of the Karangasem kingdom. The Sukasada garden was built during the Dutch colonial era around the first decade of the twentieth century. At that time the kingdom of Karangasem was under Dutch rule and the king only served as a *stedehouder*, a representative of the Dutch government in Karangasem [1][2].

Nowadays, Sukasada garden is positioned one of Bali's cultural heritages. It is a historical monument, a place where the younger generation can learn about the past, especially regarding the meeting between modern and traditional architecture. The garden had been reconstructed to the previous condition after been in ruins for some time due to natural disasters that happened in Bali between 1960-1970 [3]. The garden had been abandoned for years after being severely affected by mount eruption and at least a couple of major earthquakes. Then it had been reconstructed starting around 1990's. The reconstruction finally finished by 2004 and since that it becomes one of tourism object in eastern part of Bali.

As a tourist attraction, this monument is tied to the discourse of people who have the power to speak in the name of Bali tourism, which in common language is referred to as domination, which means the control of

the stronger party over the weaker party. If placed within the scientific framework of cultural studies, it contains efforts to discipline the body, which is part of Michel Foucault's theory of power-knowledge relations.

Referring to Sardar and van Loon statement, especially those who state that cultural studies must be able to show the main problem, namely cultural practices and their relation to power; as well as understand culture in all its complexities and analyzing the social and political contexts in which it exists [4]. This study aims to find how the power-knowledge relation works within discontinuities that happened in order to make Taman Sukasada a tourist attraction. However, this study has no intention to find the origin or the ultimate cause on how a supposedly protected heritage building was turned into an tourism object. Foucault's archeology method is not meant to find the primary cause. Instead he suggest to "excavate" like a archeologist whom patiently reveal layer by layer in order to find the hidden object underneath that will give different perspective. The excavation shall be done diligently in order to find the cracks, fractures, fragments within.

II. METHOD

This study applies qualitative methods to collect and analyze data with a cultural studies approach. The consequence of this approach is that a qualitatively critical postmodern approach is the choice. The cultural studies approach makes use of existing concepts in theory to critically analyze events, conditions, and the reality of the collected data. Neuman said that the concepts contained in a new theory are meaningful when they can be found in relation to one another. The relationship will explain whether these concepts strengthen or weaken each other. A good theory will contain relationships between concepts that reinforce each other so as to form a proposition or causality [5].

In relation to this study, as mentioned above, the concepts contained in Foucault and Bourdieu's theory can be used as a guide in conducting research [6][7]. For example, in Foucault's theory of power relations of knowledge, the concepts contained in it are discourse, knowledge, power, truth, and body discipline. If we look for their relations with one another in the study, it will be clear that the discourse of making Taman Ujung Sukasada a tourist attraction contains knowledge. The knowledge it contains can be found in episteme, experience, reasoning that forms the knowledge of people who have the power to speak in making Taman Ujung Sukasada a tourist attraction. This knowledge is used as power in its sense as a practice, technique, and maneuver to discipline individuals and other social groups so that they are obedient and useful to the truth hidden in the discourse. The hidden truth in this discourse is that tourism is something essential, which is very important to be developed by every country to increase foreign exchange by only capitalizing on the potential of natural and human resources as well as material and non-object objects. Ujung Sukasada Park is an object that is also supported by objects of human and natural resources. Departing from this understanding, the data sought in this study will be traced one by one from the concepts mentioned above.

Foucault uses two research methods that he introduced, namely the method of archeology of knowledge and genealogy of power. The method of knowledge archeology that he means is a way of working like an archaeologist who digs up layer by layer archives of practices that will later be able to explain existing discourses [8][9]. Four principles of the archeology of knowledge in analyzing, first, the archeology of knowledge seeks to explain discourses in the form of practices that comply with certain rules. Second, archeology does not attempt to seek continuity, smooth transitions connecting discourses, but to explain discourse in its particularity and show that a number of operating rules cannot reduce one another. Third, the archeology of knowledge seeks to explain the forms of rules for discourse practices that occur through individual actions which sometimes completely rule and dominate them to the point of being hard to avoid. Fourth, the archeology of knowledge does not try to return human thoughts, hopes, goals, experiences, and desires at the time the discourse was initiated because it does not intend to return to its origins; rather, it is a form of systematic description of an object-discourse

Thus, in this study archeological knowledge is mainly used to see the internal sides of the decision to make Taman Ujung Sukasada a tourist attraction. On the other hand, simultaneously the power genealogy method is used to trace the effects of power mechanisms to make Taman Ujung Sukasada an external tourist attraction. This means looking at the power relations of knowledge as described in the previous section so that the domination contained in the decision is clearly read. Hidden ideologies include capitalism and liberalism which are implemented in a coy or pseudo manner.

The search for discourses that make Taman Ujung Sukasada a tourist object is obtained from people who own and are given the power to speak. However, because this study decides to use a postmodern approach, especially referring to Michel Foucault's poststructuralist theory, this power will not be sought in the individuals themselves but rather the power that has merged in the social system. So the people who have power are no longer the heads of offices, regents, governors, director general of tourism, ministers and presidents, but strategies, practices and maneuvers related to the development of Taman Ujung Sukasada as a tourist attraction. This practice can be seen when various parties compromise in making Taman Ujung Sukasada a tourist attraction. On the one hand, Puri Agung Karangasem, which in Bourdieu's language has symbolic resources but

is weak in terms of economic resources, while on the other hand, there are agencies that have greater economic resources.

The compromise between various parties that occurs due to unequal ownership of resources shows that Foucault's theory cannot stand alone but must complement each other with the concepts contained in Bourdieu's theory. The generative structural theory put forward by Bourdieu, although in terms of its naming, is included in structural theory, it is actually not significantly different from Foucault's theory because they are in the group of practical theories [10].

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Royal Garden of Karangasem - the modern traditional garden of Bali

The Sukasada royal garden that people know nowadays was built in 1909 by the Karangasem king Anak Agung Agung Anglurah Karangasem. He was the last king of Karangasem kingdom. The garden was built on a site near Ujung beach where there was already a small pond named Dirah. The king built three more ponds along with some other structures on the approximately 8 hectares site. Beside the ponds, there are some other buildings. Two of the buildings were built surrounded by water, therefore this garden also known as Water Palace of Karangasem. The first building is a small house with rooms for the king, name as *Bale Gili*. The second one is *Bale Wantilan*, practically a large floating open pavilion at the center of a pond where the king received his guests, had a banquet, and entertained them. There are four other open pavilions built on the higher ground, which are *Bale Kapal*, *Bale Lunjuk*, *Bale Bundar*, and *Bale Warak*, each has its own function. The *Bale Kapal* was an entrance gate to the garden. The *Bale Lunjuk* basically function like an observation tower where the King can point out and explained every parts of the garden to his guests. The *Bale Bundar* serve as open pavilion where the King can relax and enjoy the surrounding landscape and occasionally also used for meeting. Then there is *Bale Warak* that was used as a platform for Balinese ceremony named *mahligya*[11].

Those garden structures show a hybrid architectural design styles. There are traditional Balinese and European architecture along with some Chinese ornaments and patterns on those buildings. The hybridisation of the garden also applies in building techniques [12]. The garden structures combined modern building technique by using concrete along with Balinese traditional wooden structure.

The traditional and modern architecture styles can be seen in all of the structures and ornaments in the Sukasada garden. Roofing style, pillars, ornaments on wall, bridges, and planter boxes show that modernity has influence in the garden. Raharja believes that the adaptation and the use of ornaments serves as evidence of the Karangasem King's cultural diplomatic strategy. Meanwhile, Girindrawardani

TSU after the independence of Indonesia

During the reign of Indonesia, Bali became one of the provinces of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, thereby eliminating the system of government of the existing kingdoms. Even though the royal government system has ended, the social structure of society still recognizes and recognizes stratification. This is reflected in the dualism of the government system at the village level in Bali which recognizes official villages and traditional villages [13].

The presence of two government systems in Bali is a legacy of the governance model that took place in Bali during the late Dutch colonial period. During the reign of King I Gusti Gde Djelantik and King I Gusti Bagus Djelantik, Karangasem each served as *stedehouder*, namely representatives of the Dutch government. At the beginning of 1906, only the kingdoms of Karangasem and Gianyar whose kings were appointed by the Dutch as *stedehouder*. Meanwhile, Badung, Tabanan, Klungkung, and Bangli are under self-government autonomy from their respective local authorities. While Buleleng and Jembrana are under the direct administration of a Dutch resident [14]. Although there were a number of bureaucratic models applied by the Dutch in Bali, in essence the colonial government still interfered in the governance of Bali.

The duality of the government system in Karangasem marks the presence of traditional and modern structures in the life of the local community. The obedience of the Karangasem people to the king shows that the subjective structure of the individuals is still in the objective structure of the royal system. The people still recognize the presence of the king and the stratification of Balinese society which recognizes traditional groupings into four groups, namely Brahmins, Ksatria, Weisya, and Sudra. While at the same time the position of the king, the nobility and the educated class as an elite group which the Dutch placed in the objective structure of the modern government system which slowly formed a new individual subjective structure and composition in society. There was a disposition of individuals as well as groups of educated elites in the realm of struggle for the colonial bureaucratic system in Bali, especially after 1908.

TSU surviving major natural disaster

A number of disasters that occurred in Bali between the 1960s and 1970s also had an impact on Taman Ujung Sukasada. In 1963 Mount Agung experienced a violent eruption. The record of the eruption of Mount Agung and the impact of the damage it caused to Karangasem is clearly illustrated in the book *Birthmark: a memoir of a Balinese prince* [15]. The eruption of Mount Agung at that time took a lot of casualties, damage and loss of property, and environmental damage due to hot clouds and lava. The following years became a period of recovery for the people of Karangasem affected by the disaster. The government's attention at that time was aimed at repairing and building damaged facilities and restoring the lives of the refugees.

After a period of chaos due to a volcanic eruption, in 1970 there was an attempt to repair the damaged park. An Australian citizen of Dutch origin named De Neeve who was allowed to live in Ujung to work on the restoration of Sukasada. However, before the restoration could be carried out, Bali again experienced an earthquake that occurred in Seririt, Buleleng Regency in 1976 with a magnitude of 6.2 on the Richer scale. The Seririt earthquake is very well known and remains in the memory of the Balinese people in general because of the enormous impact of the disaster on humans and infrastructure. Even though the epicenter was far away on the western tip of the island of Bali, its effects were felt as far away as Karangasem. Three years later, namely 1979, Bali was again hit by another major earthquake with a strength of around 6 on the Richer scale and this time it occurred in the Karangasem area [16]. The impact of the disasters that occurred sequentially have hampered efforts to improve Sukasada Ujung Park for quite a long time. A 10 hectare park with a damaged and long neglected physical condition makes it difficult to restore it. Besides, at that time the priority of infrastructure development was to prioritize matters related to the primary needs of the community.

Physical recovery efforts through a new revitalization program were carried out again in 1995 based on the results of a feasibility study that began in 1994 by the Bali Archaeological Heritage Conservation Center, NTB, NTT [17]. At that time, what was revitalized was the bridge building that connected to Bale Gili on the north and south sides as well as two canopy buildings. Then in 2001 the revitalization program was resumed in a more comprehensive manner with funding assistance from the World Bank . The process of restoring Sukasada Ujung Park was clearly explained by Rumawan Salain in his article entitled *An Experience: Conservation of Sukasada Park – Ujung Karangasem as the Largest and Grandest Water Park in Bali*. Rumawan Salain uses the term conservation as a framework in the process of restoring Taman Sukasada which refers to the meaning of conservation by J.H. Stubb. It specifically mentions the use of the Dobby model of conservation for buildings. The conservation process is carried out under the legal umbrella of Law Number 11 of 2010 concerning Cultural Heritage [18].

The reconstruction was carried out based on assessment done by the Bali-NTB-NTT Historical and Archaeological Heritage Sanctuary that gave recommendation to conserve Taman Sukasada as a cultural heritage. It also comply with the rules as mandated in Law No. 5 of 1992 concerning Cultural Conservation Objects that the garden by style, age, definition and other technical requirements had met a status of heritage conservation (currently this law has been replaced with Law No. 11 of 2010).

The combination of natural disasters and the span of time the ruins of buildings have destroyed Taman Ujung Sukasada. The ruins of the building will be physically restored through a reconstruction process to resemble its original condition using construction technology. This conservation effort marks a moment of fracture in the history of the utilization authority of Taman Ujung Sukasada. The King of Karangasem as the owner who initially can determine the use and who is allowed to visit the park, then since the reconstruction began to decrease his power in utilization. The historical break occurred when the government entered through the Bali-NTB-NTT Historical and Archaeological Heritage Sanctuary (later renamed the Archaeological Heritage Preservation Center and changed its name again to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Agency) and then continued when the World Bank entered with a revitalization and conservation program. .

TSU as cultural heritage

The reconstruction of Sukasada Ujung Park was carried out with the consideration that the water park was suitable as a cultural heritage according to the assessment of the Bali-NTB-NTT Historical and Archaeological Heritage Reserve (Kusumajaya, 2004b). It is deemed necessary to preserve the park because by definition and technically the age requirements for the object have complied with the rules as mandated in Law No. 5 of 1992 (UU RI No.5 Tahun 1992, 1992) concerning Cultural Heritage Objects (currently this law has been replaced by Law No. 11 of 2010 (UU No.11/2010, 2010)). In the future, the status of Taman Ujung Sukasada as a cultural heritage was strengthened by the Decree of the Karangasem Regent Number 302/HK/2018 stipulating it as a cultural heritage site. Based on the decree, Sukasada Park was then registered in the national cultural heritage registration system with registration number CB.1497 (Keputusan Bupati Karangasem No.302 Tahun 2018, 2018). In 2020 the Karangasem Regency Regional Regulation No. 17 (*Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Karangasem Nomor 17 Tahun 2020 tentang Perubahan Atas Peraturan Daerah Nomor 17 Tahun 2012 tentang Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kabupaten Karangasem Tahun 2012-2032*, 2020)

was issued concerning Amendments to Regional Regulation No. 17/2012 concerning the Karangasem Regency Spatial Plan for 2012-2032 which stipulates Sukasada Ujung Park and the surrounding area as a Cultural Heritage Area.

A number of regulations issued by the government such as laws, regional regulations, and district heads' decrees are ways and techniques used by the government to be involved in determining the fate of a cultural object. There was an exchange of symbolic capital owned by the Karangasem kingdom into cultural capital through a mechanism provided by the government until Taman Ujung Sukasada received the title of cultural heritage.

TSU as tourist attraction/object

It is not o However, in fact the Taman Sukasada has been appointed as a tourist attraction in accordance with the Decree of the Governor of Bali Number 5 of 1984 concerning Tourism Objects. Its inauguration as a tourist attraction was carried out by the Governor of Bali in 2004. The revitalization inscription was signed by the Governor of Bali, Dewa Made Berata, which marked the completion of the water park reconstruction project (Fajar Bali, 2012; Nantra, 2017).

The Government of Karangasem Regency in 2017 issued a Regent Regulation (Perbup), namely Perbup. No.52/2017 concerning Management of Tourist Attractions and Regional Regulations. No.38/2017 concerning Management of Ujung Sukasada Park. Karangasem Regent Regulation No.52/2017 (currently updated with Perbup. No.2/2019) mandates the utilization of tourist attractions as a driving force for the community's economy in Karangasem. In line with this, Perbup. No. 38/2017 confirms the position of Taman Sukasada Ujung as a shared asset between Puri Agung Karangasem and the Government of Karangasem Regency. Management as a tourism and cultural object intended for the welfare of the community.

The Governor of Bali in 2015 passed Regional Regulation No. 10/2015 concerning the Master Plan for Regional Tourism Development in the Province of Bali for 2015-2029. The regional regulation was issued using the legal umbrella of Law No. 9 of 2009 concerning Tourism. Previously, the Karangasem government had positioned Sukasada Park as a tourist attraction through the establishment of the Spatial and Regional Layout Plan (RTRW) for Karangasem Regency. The legality of the RTRW which classifies Taman Ujung Sukasada as a Tourist Attraction in the category of cultural tourism is ratified in the District Regulation. Karangasem No.17/2012 (Perda Kab.Karangasem No.17 Th.2012, 2012). It was stated that the Park area and its surroundings became a strategic area for cultural heritage tourism and science. The regional regulation still accommodates the Regional Regulation of Kab. Karangasem No.7 of 2003 which in more detail becomes the legal basis for the Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR) for the Ujung Tourism Area.

The Provincial Government of Bali in 1991 issued Regional Regulation No. 3/1991 concerning Cultural Tourism. The regulation was issued one year after the central government issued Law no. 9/1990 concerning Tourism. The law states that historical heritage as well as art and culture are assets that can be managed to improve people's welfare and regional and state revenue sources.

Several years before the enactment of Tourism Law No.9/1990, the provincial government of Bali had Governor Decree No. 5/1984 concerning Tourism Objects. The governor's decision continues the central government's policy of establishing Bali as a tourism center for central Indonesia. Taman Ujung Sukasada in Kεpgub No.5/1984 is designated as a tourist object with ownership status still in Puri Karangasem (Kεpgub Dati I Bali No.5 Tahun 1984, 1984). In the 1980s the condition of Sukasada Park which was still unfit for tourism was reported in a document in the form of Governor's Decree No.46/1981 concerning Regional Development Plans for the East Bali Development Area (Kεpgub Dati I Bali No.46 Tahun 1981, 1981).

The government in Bali since the New Order era has had the Regional Regulation of the Province of Bali concerning Tourists No.64/1969 which was ratified by the DPRGR (Gotong Royong Regional People's Representative Council). The content of these regulations in essence is to regulate the behavior of tourists when traveling in Bali. Respect for local customs is emphasized along with sanctions that apply if there are violations (Perda Propinsi Bali No.64/PD/DPRGR/1969, 1969).

Since the development of tourism in Karangasem, Sukasada Ujung Park has positioned itself as a tourist destination. In line with the development of Bali as a tourist destination, each district is competing to offer its own resources as tourist attractions that can contribute to the regional economy. An interview with one of the managers of Taman Ujung Sukasada, I Made Mindia Diana, said that tourism promotion is important to do to increase tourist visits to Karangasem. He said the eruption of Mount Agung provided an advantage in terms of the attention Karangasem received from the outside community. This is a kind of "free promotion" which then needs to be balanced with tourism promotion by the manager in the hope of increasing Karangasem tourism, including for Taman Sukasada Ujung (Diana, 2022) (interview with I Made Mindia Diana, 10 June 2022).

The first decade of the 21st century in Indonesia emerged a discourse on the development and development of cities with a cultural perspective. One of the cultural-based development movements proclaimed

by the Minister of Culture and Tourism, was then held by Jero Wacik. The minister of culture and tourism inaugurated the Indonesian Heritage Cities Network (JKPI) in a ceremony held at the official residence of the mayor of Solo, Joko Widodo. The inauguration of JKPI in October 2008 also appointed the then mayor of Solo as JKPI coordinator, which initially consisted of a number of cities in Indonesia, namely Banda Aceh, Pangkal Pinang, Sawahlunto, Bengkulu, North Jakarta, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Solo, Salatiga, Denpasar, Baubau, Ternate, and Ambon (*Detiknews*, 2008; Agus, 2008; Indonesia Heritage Cities, 2009).

At that time, Jero Wacik said that one of the solutions for city development is to respect cultural heritage within the framework of the nation's history. He further stated that modern days business development such as mall shall not undermine the existence of heritage buildings. Whilst keeping heritage buildings and ignoring city development for creating jobs and people welfare also not correct. Therefore is the government job to make sure a city development goes along with heritage buildings conservation (Agus, 2008). In order to pursue the program, the Ministry for Public Works and Human Settlements launch a program to finance the development of heritage cities. There is a hidden knowledge behind the program that had been used by them who have been empowered to speak for Karangasem to manage to get that funding.

Meanwhile the Indonesia government sees an opportunity to use Bali as income one of the country generated. Therefore the discourse of tourisi in Bali has been nurtured by the central government. They also acknowledge that tourism is one of economic aspect that has resilience towards global economy crisis while other Indonesia's income generating sectors are quite prone the the global crisis at that time.

IV. CONCLUSION

The history of Taman Ujung Sukasada (TSU) in Bali reflects its transformation from a royal garden to a cultural heritage site and a tourist attraction. The garden was initially built in 1909 by the last king of the Karangasem kingdom, Anak Agung Anglurah Karangasem. It featured a blend of architectural styles, including Balinese, European, and Chinese influences, showcasing the king's cultural diplomacy and modern building techniques of the time. After Indonesia's independence, Bali became a province, and the royal government system ended. However, the social structure continued to recognize stratification, and the dualism of government systems persisted, reflecting the historical Dutch colonial influence.

TSU faced challenges due to natural disasters in the 1960s and 1970s, such as volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, which hampered its restoration. Nevertheless, efforts to restore the park began in the 1970s and continued in the 1990s and early 2000s. These efforts were based on conservation principles and were carried out under various legal frameworks, highlighting the importance of cultural heritage preservation.

Over time, TSU gained recognition as a cultural heritage site through government decrees, regulations, and local initiatives. It was officially designated as a cultural heritage area and registered in the national cultural heritage system. Additionally, TSU was promoted as a tourist attraction, contributing to the regional economy of Karangasem. The development of TSU as a cultural heritage and tourist attraction aligns with broader Indonesian and Balinese tourism strategies. These efforts aim to balance heritage preservation with economic development, recognizing tourism as a resilient economic sector. The government's involvement and policies played a crucial role in shaping TSU's transformation and ensuring its preservation for future generations. Overall, the journey of Taman Ujung Sukasada reflects the dynamic interplay between history, culture, governance, and economic development in Bali, showcasing the importance of heritage conservation and tourism promotion in the region's development.

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