Security Camera Network, Privacy Protection and Community Safety

Uneasy society in Indonesia: with special attention to the gated community and CCTV in Bali

Kosuke Hishiyama*

Institute for International Advanced Interdisciplinary Research, Tohoku University, Sendai, Miyagi, 980-8578 Japan

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Abstract

The object of this paper is to clarify the situation between the local community and the art of security and safety, especially regarding the gated community and CCTV in Bali, Indonesia. The current research about the gated community and safety shows various trends and describes the differences in the situations in the US, Europe, and Asia. Also in Bali, there is a special characteristic of the art of security and safety. This research focuses on both the universal and concrete perspectives to gain a better grasp of the situation. First, we will confirm the discussion about the gated community in US, Europe, and Indonesia. Second, compared to these examples, the character of the gated community and installation of CCTV in Bali will be clarified by four different examples: a relatively large gated community, which is similar to US, Europe, and Indonesian ones; two smaller gated communities but possessing unfixed, informal, and cross-border factors; and the trial to keep tourist sites safe by CCTV. Finally, this study confirms the importance that a variety of local activities can be generated through the accommodation of the arts, techniques, and technologies of security and safety.

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Keywords: Gated community; CCTV; security and safety; Southeast Asia: Bali

1. Introduction

In recent years, various problems with local security and safety in Indonesia have arisen. The security system, which was established by the federal government as part of its centralized policy, served an important role in society. Under this system, the police force was under the control of the army and had only limited power. However, as decentralization proceeded, the police became independent from the army and bore the responsibility for local security enforcement. The transition of power to the local police has not been smooth though.

For a few years after the abandonment of the centralized policy, various forms of neighbourhood security were organized in the communities to fill the void. Especially, in Bali, this tendency was noticeable because the security and safety of tourism have been major foci. Of course, there were various ways neighbourhoods set about solving their local security problems. One way was through the hiring of private security guards. Another approach was enlisting gangsters, which are called “Preman,” to enforce the territory. A third way was through grass-root

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +81-22-795-5749.
E-mail address: hishiyama@gmail.com.

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campaigns to organize community security. This tendency to rely on local security and safety forces was strengthened by the uneasy conditions caused by rapid political change: the two bombings in Bali, urbanization and individualization of the society. In other words, the instability and terrorism in the society raised awareness of local security and safety issues among the inhabitants of Bali.

2. Local Community tainted with Unease

Table 1 is a cross tabulation between “The Discussion Points of Regular and Irregular Neighbourhood (banjar) Meetings” and “The Problems of Neighbourhood Units”. This table is composed from research conducted from August 16 to 28, in 2003, in Bali. The research was carried out under the leadership of Professor Naoki Yoshihara of Tohoku University and with the cooperation of the Centre of Japan Studies in Udayana University. The sample size consisted of 402 neighbourhood districts (banjar) with a 10% random sampling rate. Of the 4,316 surveys distributed, there was a 93.7% collection rate.

Explaining the words, the village community is called “desa.” There is another co-living neighbourhood unit “banjar” under the desa. All over Indonesia, the existence of RT/RW is well known. It was installed by the Japanese army using the Japanese neighbourhood unit “Chonaikai” as a model. In the case of Bali, banjar has an older model than RT/RW. In the era of the Netherlands’ colonization, the institutionalization of the banjar was undertaken.

| The Discussion Points of Regular and Irregular Meeting (of banjar) | Weakening of Reciprocal Principle | Difficulty Dealing with Local Problems | Shortage of Funding for Activities | Shortage of Human Resources | Relation with Government | Shortage of the Actors | Generation Gap | Increase in Indifferenc | Opposition to Local Rule | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maintenance of Temple | N | 40 | 86 | 20 | 205 | 121 | 23 | 38 | 37 | 25 | 16 | 267 |
| Ritual of Temple | N | 39 | 87 | 20 | 220 | 124 | 25 | 43 | 37 | 27 | 18 | 278 |
| Ceremonial Occasion | N | 33 | 77 | 19 | 198 | 115 | 21 | 40 | 36 | 26 | 15 | 250 |
| Festival | N | 36 | 82 | 20 | 198 | 116 | 23 | 43 | 34 | 23 | 13 | 256 |
| Local Security Keeping Activity | N | 38 | 84 | 17 | 208 | 118 | 22 | 43 | 32 | 28 | 18 | 265 |
| Problem of Unity of Neighbourhood | N | 37 | 84 | 16 | 200 | 122 | 23 | 44 | 38 | 26 | 15 | 263 |
| Solving Troubles | N | 37 | 79 | 16 | 198 | 115 | 23 | 37 | 36 | 25 | 17 | 259 |
| Election of Officer | N | 31 | 68 | 12 | 172 | 98 | 22 | 37 | 27 | 19 | 11 | 216 |
| Cooperation with Other Organizations | N | 22 | 52 | 12 | 147 | 92 | 17 | 35 | 24 | 16 | 12 | 188 |
| Promotion of Traditional Culture | N | 20 | 50 | 11 | 137 | 81 | 10 | 25 | 20 | 14 | 11 | 170 |
| Sports Activities | N | 30 | 58 | 11 | 145 | 84 | 14 | 31 | 24 | 17 | 10 | 188 |
| Management of Assembly Hall | N | 33 | 75 | 17 | 210 | 118 | 21 | 40 | 30 | 22 | 16 | 235 |
| Cooperation with Government | N | 16 | 46 | 15 | 144 | 80 | 17 | 30 | 25 | 16 | 10 | 176 |
| Total | N | 53 | 104 | 26 | 246 | 142 | 27 | 48 | 47 | 33 | 20 | 322 |

On the table, considering that Bali is generally known as the island of gods and rituals, it is not difficult to image that the problems in the community have a relationship with the discussion about “rituals of temples” and “maintenance of temples” in the notes from “the Regular and Irregular Meeting.” Moreover, this table shows the high rate of the “local security keeping activity.” In other words, if the security rate is high, the recognition about various problems in the local community is also high. That is to say, such recognition is taken up for discussion through the problems of local security and safety.
A direct example of the heightened security is the increase of the traditional guards called “Pecalang” (in detail, see Hishiyama (2008)) with the goal of maintaining “Ajeg Bali” (the identity of Bali). Pecalang showed an extreme and violent aspect to local security. For example, the Pecalang checked residential registration cards. If there were illegal immigrants without cards, Pecalang drove them away from the district. Similarly, it was said that the Pecalang sometimes tried to burn down houses that belonged to illegal immigrants. All such activities did not have legal backing. The increase of such tendency was an extension of the residents. The demands by residents to know who their neighbours are became strengthened with the increase of immigrants. This tendency triggered the excessive activity of Pecalang. In the Kuta district, which had been bombed twice and was more directly affected by global tourism, there was a movement to enforce the traditions and customs of Bali. With this intense focus, the demand for local security accelerated. It was embodied by such activities as, on the one hand, organizing Pecalang by re-activating the traditional and customary relations and sanctions, and on the other, hiring private guards, making voluntary and modern vigilant groups and installing closed-circuit television (CCTV). As a further extension of these security measures, the gated community comprising a gate, dead-end road and tall surrounding walls was established.

3. The Researches about Gated Community

In this paper, the researcher will provide more detail about the character of the local security in Bali by using the case studies of three gated communities and a district with CCTV installed. This analysis will also show more universal features of the technology of security.

The research about the gated community has some variations among the US, Europe, and Asia. Blakely and Snyder (1997) deal with a US example. They paid attention to four factors: Sense of community, Exclusion, Privatization, and Stability. From these factors, they concluded that there were three types of gated community, which are referred to as Lifestyle, Prestige, and Security zone (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of Community</th>
<th>Lifestyle</th>
<th>Prestige</th>
<th>Security zone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclusion</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatization</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Secondary Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, Aalbers (2003) tries to compare gated communities between US and Netherlands. He derives different (ideal) types of gated community from the US with the system of an urban regime in Europe (see Table 3). In detail, his argument is based on the situation of homeownership in Netherlands, which includes less sense of reflecting social mobility, ethnic variety, a greater sense of historical sensibility towards space, less effect of the market, and higher effect of the welfare state.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of community</th>
<th>Elite</th>
<th>Recreational</th>
<th>Urban security zone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclusion</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>Primary/Tertiary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatization</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of the housing market</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Asia, Leisch (2002) describes the character of gated community in modern Southeast Asia by paying attention to socio-economic development and cultural diversity in Southeast Asia, especially, Jakarta, Indonesia. That is a mixture of societal needs, modern design ideas, and capitalist imperatives with the background; growth of middle class, cultural diversity, widened income gap, increase of crime with it, the needs for private guard for own property, emphasized prestige by (upper) middle class with want to be part of the “modern” world which
middle class associate with US, and the differentiation of Chinese population because of the accumulation of wealth and religion.

Considering this situation, the character of the gated community is expanded upon as follows. The facilities become worse because of lack of administration by the developer after the creation of an area. The developer hires a town manager but few residents participate in the planning process with the town manager. Even if the residents form self-governing groups, they only contribute by sending proposals about what is needed or not. Some districts use the Indonesian administrative structure based on neighbourhoods but the higher income groups do not. The residents place a very high priority on security. Moreover, they pay attention to the sentiment of the people outside of the gated community and work to calm their resentment and protect against incursion. For example, the developer allows cultivation in the district, which is still not developed. In addition, some residents give food or other charitable donations to people who border the gated community. However, Leisch (2002) says, in Jakarta, the way of living of (upper) middle-class families is conspicuous compared with the ordinal living standard and they are continually exposed to the risk of jealousy and attack from the people.

Now, such types of gated community are called “The Jakarta Model.” If The Jakarta Model truly contains the fore-mentioned factors, sense of community is low because of ethnic variety, and exclusion is high. However, sometimes attention to the outside is needed. Privatization of public facility is low. Stability is also low because of ethnic variety. The effect of the housing market is high because protection such as that under a welfare state is not expected in Indonesia.

Considering these types of gated community, the following section will clarify the characteristics of the gated community in Bali.

4. Three Types of the Gated Community

We will see three types of the gated community; relatively luxurious “Terrace Ayung,” security-oriented “PTG” (not real name), and another types of security-oriented “PAG” (not real name). The research about Terrace Ayung was carried out using such methods as interviewing the staff of the developer, and owner of the house in December 2008, June 2009. The information about PTG and PAG was obtained through advertisements in papers, and interviews with the staff of the developer, the leader of PAG, “Mr. B” (not his real name), and a guard for PAG in December 2008 and June 2009.

4.1. Recreational/Security-zone/Jakarta Model Community

Firstly, Terrace Ayung is a specific luxury gated community situated near the Gato Suburoto street in the north suburb of Denpasar city. The street is an important one that is connected to the Ngurah Rai bypass from the international airport and is crowded with a lot of cars and bicycles. When one takes the turnoff from the street, goes through the gate which is monitored by some guards, and crosses the bridge over Ayung river, the person can see the high status residential area comprising about 230 houses on a rise.

The construction of Terrace Ayung was started in 1998 with 100 houses built for sale. Soon afterwards, a riot in Jakarta and the two bombings of Kuta in 2002 and 2005 boosted the demand by businessmen for safe and comfortable environments to live in. Therefore, the expansion of the scale of Terrace Ayung has been expected.

It costs 3 million rupiah per square meter of land in this community and most of the houses built for sale have two floors. Each of these houses built for sale costs somewhere between 400 million and over 1 billion rupiah. Compared with the provincial minimum wage (upah minimum propinsi (UMP)) of Denpasar in 2009, 952 thousand rupiah per month (Bali Post 2008), the cost regarding Terrace Ayung is expensive. UMP is decided by each provincial government every year for the first year minimum salary of employee.

Ethnicity of the inhabitants is diverse. They comprise such nationalities as English, Japanese, Korean, Netherlands, Swiss, Chinese Indonesian from Jakarta and a few Balinese businessmen. The house of the governor of Bali is also in this gated community. In addition, some of these people keep houses as real estate investments for resale, and others try to rent houses.

Terrace Ayung is situated in a part of banjar dinas (administrative neighborhood unit) “Tambau Tengah.” However, the residents have no duty for the activity of that district. Only in the case of a request for the activity of mutual aid, “Gotong-Royong,” by that district, do they then pay a donation. Thus, this situation means that the
residents inside of Terrace Ayung and outside have no chance to talk. The developer always intermediates between them. Regarding other events, Terrace Ayung has its own facilities divided from neighboring district and using them is limited to the people inside of the gated community. Thus, the residents inside of Terrace Ayung do not need to worry about the demands from outside and the existence of the developer. For example, the Hindu religious festival each year is also held by shared investment only from the people inside the gated community. Non-Hindu residents pay a donation instead of participating. That donation is for the cost of tributes to the gods and for the salary of the monk. In addition, the residents inside the gated community have the duty of paying for the guards at the gate and on patrol. Also in this case, the developer intermediates for them. A member of the developer’s staff collects the money for such things as the cost of the salaries, labor management, and equipment.

As a neighborhood association, there is a “Arisan.” It is a kind of private financial system, which in English is referred to as Rotating Savings and Credit Associations. In this system, participants periodically pay a subscription and they can use it in rotation. However, people do not participate in it from just necessarily a cost-benefit calculation but for a mutual aid and friendship standpoint. Also in Terrace Ayung, friendship is the main role of the Arisan. It is held once a month in a public hall. The theme of the meetings in Arisan is such as about the number of guards and system of security, along with various problems within the district. The main points are summarized and submitted to the developer.

The places that are used for social gatherings and leisure are the club house, the fitness gym, tennis courts, the 50 meter pool, and barbecue garden. Terrace Ayung sports club manages such facilities and hold other activities, like swimming class and birthday party especially for children. Moreover the club supports charitable activities like gathering of used books and the donation of them to children’s orphanages or elementary schools with lack of funds.

We can see this district as a “Security zone” type gated community because of some specific attributes: a relatively fully equipped gate and security system, the intension for protection from riots and bombings, no activity of privatization of public space or facilities, not so high stability, and homogeneity. In addition, from the aspect that this community has a lot of leisure facilities, residents have intention to value the real estate. Thus, this gated community is closed like the “Recreational” one described in the ideal types of Aarbers (2003). However, considering multi-ethnicity, hired security, role of developer, connection with those outside the community, and effect of the Balinese culture, this community is more like the Jakarta model.

4.2. Security Zone 1

Here, we will see gated community “PAG.” Compared to Terrace Ayung, PAG is nearer to the “security zone.” The developer of this community also was involved in the development of some districts composed of gates and guard posts. These districts are small scale and only provide housing space, but 20 districts have already been established since 2002. The newest three districts have high walls around them, only one gate and a dead end road within it. That is the complete gated community. Because two of the three are still in construction, we will mainly refer to the interview with the developer and residents of PAG, which was finished in 2007.

In order to compare and clarify the characteristics of PAG, it will be necessary to consider the situation of another gated community, “PTG.” PTG is still in construction but it is the newest and the largest to this point. However, the scale is smaller still than that of Terrace Ayung. The number of houses contained within this community is 62 and costs 2 million rupiah per square meter of land. Completed houses sell for somewhere between 250 to 500 million rupiah. Advertisements for this community highlight the safety of the site location, situated around 1 kilometre from the office of the Denpasar city police.

Despite the rapid construction, street lamps cannot be found in the district because the installation of these items is not included in the developer’s contract. Similarly, the developer sets up the guard posts and gates but the management of these facilities and employment of the guards is left to the residents. Thus, some of the other districts constructed by the same developer have a guard post that is empty, a gate that is left open, and hardly any streetlights. Whether PTG keeps the figure of the gated community or not and what dwelling environment PTG takes are dependent on how the residents organize the local security and safety once the community is established. Considering this aspect, PTG has more unfixed and incomplete opportunity of character of development involved in the Jakarta model of gated community than Terrace Ayung.
4.3. Security Zone 2

Compared to PTG, PAG is smaller but it is a completely gated community that reflects the dense socio-cultural factors of Bali. PAG is situated in the northwest part of Denpasar city. To arrive there, one must travel on Gaja Mada street which is at the centre of Denpasar to the west and, then, turn onto an alley which is only wide enough to accommodate one vehicle at a time. At the middle of this alley is an open space followed by the gate of PAG. Nearby, there are busy places such as Pasar Badung market which is the biggest one in Bali and sells fresh food and various articles of daily use, Kunbasari market which sells a lot of traditional crafts, the Bemo (contraction of "becak bermotor," a small motorized vehicle used for public transportation) terminal, bank buildings, and government offices.

The gateway of PAG has a guard post in which only one guard can stay. It is integrated within a median. Both sides of the guard post have roads that are 4.5 meters wide, one serving as the entrance and one serving as the exit. Therefore, the gate is composed of two roads, a box and an arch on which the name of PAG is written. After entering the gate and turning right, one can see a straight dead end road and 36 houses on both sides of it (see Figure 1.)

Most of the residents are businessmen’s families. The businessmen are absence from their homes during the daytime and return home at night. The guards, set of gates, walls, and enclosed dead end road make residents feel at ease while they are away from their homes. Along the road, streetlights are also set up to provide lighting at night for added security. It is Mr. B (not his real name), a leader of PAG, who was responsible for setting up the guard and streetlights. Mr. B’s house is large and attractive on the frontage near the gate. Mr. B can see the entrance and exit of cars and also the people within PAG district. Mr. B used to live in Kuta, a southeastern seashore tourist town in Bali. Kuta residents have been trying to strengthen the customs and traditions (sanction Adat) because of the increase of migrants and the bombings in 2002 and 2005 (see Section 2). Mr. B purchased the house in PAG in order to escape not only from the noise and clatter but also from the strict traditions that are being reinforced. Although someone else served as the leader in this community before Mr. B moved into PAG, he was soon selected as the leader at a resident’s meeting because of his human network and popularity. Mr. B’s duties included summarizing the opinions of residents during the monthly meeting, gathering 100 thousand rupiah each month from every house, and using these funds to solve community problems. Some of the activities implemented include pulling weeds, managing...
garbage disposal, parking improvements, and hiring of guards. For setting up the streetlights, three months of the community dues were used to pay the office of capital region landscape.

PAG is a part of a neighbourhood district, “Banjar M” (not real name). Thus, it must participate in Banjar M’s activities of reciprocal help (Gotong-Royong) in order to keep good relations with the other members of Banjar M according to Balinese custom. With the help of Mr. B’s leadership, the residents of PAG and the neighbouring district cooperated in developing a system for use of the narrow path connecting main road and the front of gate. This system gave priority to the cars entering the community and eliminated traffic problems in the area. Similar to this example, Mr. B has had a lot of effect on decision-making and management of the facilities. He says that he feels more comfortable and freedom in PAG than in Kuta because he can deal with the living environment relatively free from the traditions and customs of Bali.

4.3.1. Shadow of Security Zone in Bali

Surely, the living environment has sharply improved since Mr. B became the leader of PAG. When Mr. B took up residence and was selected as the leader, the guard post was left unmanned and the gates open as is common with other communities. This created a great problem with the outside community. Since the end of 2008, young people had driven their motorbikes recklessly within PAG during the night. This disruption in the community led Mr. B to search for a person who could mediate with the young people from a neighboring district and hired him as a guard to deal with the situation. This guard also took on another job as parking guard for the secondhand market, which is opened along with the street and it is also situated at the front of entrance of the narrow pathway expanded from the gate (see figure 1). He strengthened his efficiency as PAG guard this way by controlling the human traffic and talking with people who were using the access alley.

Some of the residents of PAG have conjectured that the guard initially brought the gangs of troublemaking young people to PAG in order to create the job opportunity for himself. It is not clear whether it is true or not. However, another rumor is that a lot of stolen articles are bought and sold in the secondhand market, which draws crowds of gangsters (Preman) there to control the market and make profit. Considering this situation, PAG must deal with local and informal violent factors.

From the point of view of local security and safety, there are weekly patrols by the municipal police of Denpasar city and night watch activities by neighborhood residents. However, Mr. B believes these actions are not so important since PAG hired the full-time guard. Using a security company is too costly and formal for PAG. Regardless of the process by which the guard was hired, the expense is reasonable and he acts as an intermediary with the outside world for PAG. Seeing the equipment and uniform of the guards at Terrace Ayung, one may think that they are superior to the PAG guard. However, the PAG guard has a stricter eye and attitude toward outsider. He is on the border between the PAG community’s orders and the tension of possible disruption from the neighboring market area.

This subtle balance of security and safety creates the order within PAG. Here, the modern and urban technology of local security and safety, gated community, and the factors of more local and informal security are mixed.

5. Trial to Safety Tourist Sight by Local Society

Lastly, the case of creating a local image by setting up CCTV will be considered.

By going 6 kilometers from the center of Denpasar city to the southeast, one will arrive at a seashore tourist site, called Sanur. Sanur was the first mass tourism development site in Bali since the 1960s’. In early 1990s’, Sanur had 10% of the total number of hotel rooms in Bali. However, the number of tourists decreased with the effect of development of neighboring tourist sites and the Asian economic crisis in 1997. In contrast, migrants from other islands came to Sanur to work in the informal sector. Various kinds of peddler and vender crowded the main street in the tourist district. At the same time, traffic jams, an increase of garbage, crime, and the deterioration of the environment appeared.

In 2000, a new vigilante committee was established by the association of neighborhoods. The name is “Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur” (Sanur Development Foundation). This association and vigilante committee formed to create a new image for the tourist site and tried to improve the local environment. Through concerted effort, they were able to reestablish the image “good old Bali” with a “quiet and comfortable atmosphere.” (in detail, regarding the
association, vigilante committee, and their activities, see Hishiyama (2008).) Actually, such phrases can be found in many of the guidebooks. In addition, the existence of the vigilante committee was seen to be a symbol for the inhabitants to reconsider the local image and create it with their own hands together. Moreover, the vigilante committee created job opportunities for middle aged and older workers as guards in such places as the local tourist industry, shops, hotels, and restaurants. The vigilante committee could promote and control local security and safety through the tourism guards recommended by the committee. In other words, the members of the vigilante committee could gather the detailed information of security at the tourist site as a tourist guard. At the same time, he could confirm information with others in the work of the vigilante committee and contribute to the more general patrol in Sanur.

These days, the attention to “safety tourist areas” is more clearly focused by habitants. The new symbols are the local image of “Sanur Cyber Village” (see Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2006a, this is the outward briefing paper with Microsoft PowerPoint data) and the installation of CCTV (Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2006b). At the same time, the characteristics of the vigilante committee changed. It became more specialized and transferred to a part of the community policing projects by the police (Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Daerah Bali Kota Besar Denpasar 2006). This allowed members of the vigilante group to move from part-time work as tourism guards to full-time work on security teams which were authorized and trained by the police. Only a few members were permitted to manage and manipulate the CCTV. This change meant that the vigilante committee became formalized and modernized with education and universal techniques about security by the police.

5.1. Modernized Local Security

The system of security which composes “Sanur Cyber Village” is from CCTV, a set of computers, and telecommunication technology. The security team is put to practical use to connect and integrate them. It is said that the local security is activated holistically by the “Sanur Surveillance System,” which is created through the integration of them (see Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2006c, this is a pamphlet for tourist and distributed on Sanur village festival in August 2006). In addition, an early-warning system, video failure detection technology, fire alarm sensor, smoke detectors, and explosive detectors will be set up and combined to be part of the holistic regional system.

The features of “Sanur Cyber Village” by such a system is, first, that it is “suitable for family stay” and it “preserves privacy” (Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2006a.) Here we can see objective setting by transferring local security to the resource of tourism. Second, as the significance of installation of CCTV, compared with manual-handling patrol, surveillance can reach farther and wider, handling the incident can become faster, cooperation between head office and security team can become stronger, and trust not only from local society but also from people all over the world can be enhanced (Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2006a.)

However, there are some problems in the concrete operation and creation of a comprehensive system. First, it is about the position in tourism. The safety tourist area generates an environment where tourists are under observation from CCTV. How tourists view this situation of constantly being under scrutiny could be a problem. Second, it is about the necessity of reproducing the objectives and characteristics of the security team. After the installation of CCTV, the members of the security team have decreased (Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2009a). In 2000, the vigilante committee, which was the predecessor of the security team, was established. At that time, the incident that needs to be solved was very clear, management of migrants from other islands. However, now, a degree of safety is kept by the intervention of universal system manipulated by a few, particularly the administrator. The security team was positioned to be grafted onto the system. This situation created ambiguity of objectives and characteristics of the team regarding local society. Third, there was a problem regarding the cost of maintaining CCTV. The set up costs of CCTV were covered by Denpasar city (Walikota Denpasar 2006). At that time, the inflow of tourists who needed safety in the tourist area Sanur could be calculated. The set up of CCTV and specialization of the vigilante committee could have authority of the judicial policing because they were trained also as a project of the police. However, these days, Sanur Surveillance System does not have an adequate budget to maintain itself (Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur 2009b). It is said that some cameras do not work. Considering this situation, what security and what image are needed in Sanur has reached a turning point.
6. Conclusion

This research has confirmed the social tendency of the need for security and safety. Regarding this background, an analysis of the creation of the gated community and installation of CCTV as a modern technique of security, especially in Recreational/Security zone/Jakarta model community, security zone and the trial of tourist site for local security was undertaken.

The first example, Terrace Ayung had similar characteristics of US and European cases in much of the research of the gated community. The second example, PAG showed the more unfixed and incomplete character than it. On the third example, PAG, we could see the figure of a leader within the gated community. He contributed to create relatively free life from the rising nationalism and anti-globalism and the accompanying effects of tradition and custom. The leader also had an awareness that residents needed to build a relationship with neighbouring districts. In contrast, PAG also showed the effect of informal violence in Bali. That is to say, the environment which is completely gated is not so relaxed and even not so safe. Similarly, PAG shows that the management of the fluctuation of the border is important. In the last example, Sanur, the community was creating a value of safety for the tourists with modern techniques after the establishment of local security. However, the formalization of the vigilante committee and the installation of CCTV was not necessarily an organic link with the situation of local society and raised some problems, which were not completely security concerns.

We can suppose that the modern technology of safety and security has an intercultural characteristic because of the relative neutrality and universality of it. We can image the similar figure of the police and guard which possess the arts, technique, and technology of the security and safety among each country. Sometimes, we symbolize these items as the set of equipment such as the patrol car, uniform, and tools. In addition, the art of security and safety include the way to patrol, paying attention, behaviour, and gaze. Now, in the time of the security-oriented life, we use a part of the arts, technique, and technology of security as if they are neutral and universal material that everyone can use equally for their own use. Nevertheless, such a character of the materiality is going to have an effect on the situation through the reorganization of various border areas of social regions. In other words, the materiality has diverse meaning and function in the process that it is carried, moved, and applied to other regions.

On the one hand, such a tendency opens the opportunity for wider use of security and safety. But on the other hand, the manipulation possibility of the arts, technique, and technology has the potential to make culture and tradition of each region not the object of reflection but the immediate tools for exclusion. Now, we need further reflection as to what is the proper way to bring about a diversified form of living through applying the arts, technique, and technology of security and safety.

References


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