

## THE IMPLICATION OF TANAH LOT TEMPLE'S COMMODIFICATION TO BERABAN TRADITIONAL VILLAGERS

**I Made Girinata\***

---

### **Abstract**

As a tourist destination, Tanah Lot temple has contributed a lot to the people of Beraban traditional village and the Government of Tabanan Regency. Levy from the management of Tanah Lot temple is now divided into two, they are first, traditional village of Beraban as a party I distributed in each traditional village in district Kediri and second is Tabanan regency as party II. The area of the sacred area, Tanah Lot temple which initially serves as a place of prayer then reproduced arranged to look beautiful to provide optimal service to tourists. The development of Tanah Lot tourism eventually led to economic practices. Acceleration of tourism development process Tanah Lot reap conflict as a result of hegemony of integrative elite. This study will try descriptively interpretative describes the problem. The development of tourism in Tanah Lot temple is very important to be observed because based on the facts, it can be identified that there has been commodification of space. There, on the one hand, it can produce material benefits, but on the other side as a threat to the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple which well-known as a temple of heavenly world (*Kahyangan Jagat*). There is also a threat in the form of conflict of interest.

**Keywords: commodification, implications, Tanah Lot temple, tourism**

---

\* **Lecturer of Post-Graduate, Denpasar State Hindu Dharma Institute**

## **I. Introduction**

Since the development of the sacred tourism of Tanah Lot temple seems to also follow the complexity of the flow of social change of traditional society to modern one. According to Sztompka (2007: v), the fundamental change in the world is marked by the emergence of urban, industrial, and capitalist society. From that opinion also shows that the tourism industry has changed the dynamics of the traditional village of Beraban into a capitalistic tourist industry and the arrival of the urban. Tourism has influenced all aspects of the people's life in the traditional village Beraban, whether economic, social, political, and cultural in line with the stipulation of Bali Regulation No. 3, Year 1974 on the development of cultural tourism.

According to Mudana (2000: 199), this regulation is substantially based on the proposition that culture purposes for tourism according to a linear and one-way relationship pattern that is linked to national development issues that give high priority to the economic field. As a result of high priority in the economic field, further encouraging tourism development in Beraban traditional village leads to mass tourism industry that begins with the increasing number of tourist arrivals and the development of building tourist accommodations are getting increase. Characteristics of the development of cultural tourism today is bureaucratic capitalistic tourism. Therefore, in the next development brings a fear that it could destroy the local society and culture.

The mass tourism industry that developed in Beraban traditional village has been perceived by the people of Beraban as an industry which promises the life's prosperity. But on the other hand, it also encourages the growing awareness of criticism from villagers against the dynamics of cultural tourism. This is in line with the opinion of Pitana (2008), he said that cultural tourism is one form of cultural industry. It is said that because it has been utilizing various aspects of culture in a bulk in a production system that includes aspects of production, reproduction, consumption, and promotion. Thus, it encourages people to make changes to life systems that emphasize more on innovation in order to provide tourism services in accordance with the motivation and needs of tourists who are increasingly crowded visiting the holy Tanah Lot temple. At the same time, that change is also for the anticipation of the mass impact of industrial tourism that cannot be separated from urban, industrial, and capitalist.

The innovation of the change of life system of the traditional village of Beraban is supported by the opinion of Sztompka (2007: 333) and Trijana (2006: 148-156), which it has orientation and hope into the future according to the local and global context that encompasses it in reflective dialectic relationship. Changes are made to overcome weaknesses into strengths so that it is the process of troubleshooting, turning weakness into capacity, changing shape without having to replace its contents. Thus, the meaning of innovation changes leads the system of life of the people in Beraban village to be more effective and as a power in developing tourism destinations.

According to McKean (in Picard, 2006: 174) in his research in Bali from 1970 to 1971 also presented that people, government, and tourism industry actors are playing innovation in developing the tourism by promoting various cultures to attract the tourists. The arrival of the tourists witnessing the cultural practices in the tourist destinations makes the interaction among tourists and local people. The interaction is described by McKean as the relationship between "inside" and "the outside". Balinese traditions, art, and religion ("in") are considered attractive by tourists ("outsiders") so that the passion of tourists to the Balinese tradition through the process of "inward" adaptation to the requests and expectations of the "outside" self-confidence and Balinese identity, while stimulating their artistic talents. The assessment of the "outsider" gives power to the "in", both economic and aesthetic.

What McKean described is also agreed by the chairman of Beraban traditional village now and so did the former Beraban's chairman, it is the tourism has provided an economic power that stimulates the aesthetic talents of the villagers. In addition to the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple, the source of cultural practices in the public places, such as *melasti* ritual procession, *tawur kesanga*, *pengerupukan*, or *nangluk merana* are aesthetically arranged so as to be interesting tourist spectacles. The ceremonial area is laid out in such a way in which it gives space to tourists to be able to watch the ceremonial procession. Similarly, cultural practices related to livelihoods and daily social interactions take into account the economic value of tourism.

The local people start taking innovative steps towards cultural capital related to livelihood and art to seize economic opportunities in the tourism sector. Their free time to mingle with fellow villagers or their family began to decrease. The women also have a new flurry of hawking young coconut drinks, souvenirs, opening stall, offering transportation facilities, and so on to tourists. In the field of art, aesthetic innovation is also evident from the growth of *sekaa* (group) of art in performing *cak* dance at certain times to entertaining the tourists and so by this they earn money. Innovation is also shown in *melasti* ritual procession on the beach and *tawur kesanga* at the intersection road so that these ritual processions at once can be witnessed by tourists. Similarly, the place of *melasti* ritual procession is arranged in such a way as an arena of performances that allows tourists to watch it well.

## II. Discussion

### 2.1 Religious Implication

Bali Regulation No. 3, in 1991 on Cultural Tourism explains that tourism developed in Bali is cultural tourism. In the regional regulation clearly stated that cultural tourism is a kind of tourism which in its development and the development using Balinese culture which is inspired by Hinduism as part of national culture is the dominant basic potency. Along with that, it implies an ideal of a mutual relationship between tourism and culture so that both are harmonious and balanced.

Based on the local rules (Perda) of Cultural Tourism, then the change of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple as a cultural capital became a tourist attraction in tourism development in the traditional village Beraban contains religious meaning. Conceptionally, this religious meaning reflects the change of cultural capital is expected not to cause negative impact on religious teachings that believed by the Beraban villagers. Tourism culture is expected not to destroy the culture of Beraban village that is imbued with Hinduism. Therefore, the maintenance of the existence of Hinduism means also maintaining the sustainability of tourism in the traditional village of Beraban.

One of chairmen of Beraban village, I Made Subawa, and the former I Wayan Arwata, expressly acknowledge that believing in the religious meaning, the cultural changes that have been done so

far do not deviate from the norms and values of the teachings of Hinduism. Although the culture of tourism seems very prominent to meet the space in Beraban village, but the religiosity remains strong rooted in the life of the village which is based on *Tri Hita Karana*. This is in line with Mangunwijaya's (1982: 15) opinion that the spirit of religiosity is the guidance for the local people of Beraban to the all better things in doing cultural change in the tourism development nowadays.

Lubis (2006: 24) also acknowledges that religion or religious cultural practices is a form of desire to change, either changing the followers from misguided human beings to true beings as well as returning the lost to the true beings and inviting the people to achieve salvation . This phenomenon is called as adaptive culture which means the portion of a nonmaterial culture (norms, values, and beliefs) can encourage a change and adapt to material innovation in such intelligent and constructive ways.

The changes in cultural capital in Beraban village can take place in tourism development, as acknowledged by I Nyoman Suteriya. It is said so because the villagers in Beraban can still keep the religious meaning in the change. A form of cultural practice that adapts to the tourism interest is felt reinforcing the beliefs of local people towards the religious meaning of religious traditions that have been preserved to this day. Between religious activity and the dynamics of tourism are described as a picture of a wheel (*chakra*) that continues rolling toward the peak of a good life. Tourism is considered a *chakra* that continues to spin, while the one that drives it is the power of religious activity. Local people of Beraban believe that the religious activity is a *yadnya* (sacred sacrifice to achieve the welfare of life) so that the religious activity and tourism dynamics are known as "*chakra yadnya*". With the concept of *yadnya chakra* is believed to change the culture in Beraban village in the development of tourism is a form of sacred sacrifice to achieve the welfare of life. I Nyoman Suteriya further explains this religious meaning as follows.

“Our environment develops into a global tourism area. However, we still maintain our characters as religious villagers accordance with *Tri Hita Karana*. We always put forward the philosophy of *wiweka* or the ability to sort out which one is good and bad thing in making a change to the

culture of the village which is arranged through traditional village's *awig-awig*. It becomes the main thing for our dependency as a villagers of Beraban in particular and Tabanan Regency nowadays in tourism sector so that in the tourism sector and tourism culture that have entered the life of customary village needs to adapt to the development of tourism. Therefore, adaptations that we do still keep paying attention to things related religious so that both religious activities and tourism can stand to each other harmoniously which this we call it as "chakra yadnya", means that cultural changes occurred in tourism development and so it will go on that aims for holy and noble to improve the welfare of villagers' life"(Interview, June 16, 2015).

Understanding of the term "chakra yadnya" seems to be in line with the concept of *karma yoga* in the teachings of Hinduism adopted by Beraban villagers. *Karma yoga* as described in *Bhagavadgita* holy book (Pendit, 1978: 63) is a teaching that leads Hindu people to achieve the happiness and welfare of all living beings through work based on a sacred heart and sincerity. Therefore, the tourism activities as a form of work which is from deep heart and sincere will give the welfare and preservation of life's harmony.

In accordance with the concept of *Tri Hitta Karana* which underlies the life of Beraban village, the income received from tourism is also used for the sake of *parahyangan* through the implementation of the ritual and restoration of the holy places so that religious meaning is maintained. Sanctuaries in Beraban village, such as *Kahyangan Tiga* temple, *Penyarikan* temple, *Segar* temple, *Penataran* Temple, or *Pesanggaran* temple currently all look well maintained. *Pelinggih* (a sacred building in temple areas) looks good with *prada* decoration and roofed fibers.

According to the chairman of Beraban traditional village, I Made Subawa, the villagers are no longer burdened for the purposes of the ceremony in the temple, including in other temples under the responsibility of Beraban village. In addition, on certain holy days, such as *melasti* ceremony, *tawur kasanga* in Nyepi Day, and *nangluk merana* ceremony, the villagers are not in charged for the *urunan* (burden of dues). The villagers through each *banjar* (local community) is only charged for the task of making God's offering (*banten*) in accordance with the division and as the executor in the ritual procession in turns under the coordination of village chairman.

Thankfully the tourism developed well, religious activities in Beraban village look more festive and villagers are also more aware and passionate following every ceremonial procession. This is in addition to the viewpoint of following the ceremonial procession, can also be seen from the prayer dress worn with eye catching and polite, supported by a togetherness attitude of joy. During work in celebrating the ceremony, the villagers really feel a family atmosphere without distinguishing the status. In interaction with other fellow family, the communication is still applied with the social ethics language using *sor-singih basa*, especially when interacting with the elderly or to higher degree ones. This attitude of togetherness and joy is according to Mangunwijaya (1982: 72) is the adult attitude of the faithful in faith and charity, which eventually developed into a religious society.

According to Eiseman (1989: 2-3), Balinese's beliefs on *sekala* and *niskala* is related to the term "spatial and spiritual orientation" which means the difference is not interpreted as an exclusive distinction - separate from each other, but the difference within a spiritual orientation intact to create a balanced life. Like all winds in Bali, *kangin* (east) - *kauh* (west), *kaja* (north) - *kelod* (south), each of them has a spiritual orientation to maintain the balance of the universe. As these different elements of the opposite direction of the wind become a unity in the middle, there is a harmonious, balanced and peaceful life full of spirituality.

With the ability possessed by the villagers to live and practise the meaning of *rwa bhineda* in everyday life, then the sacred ritual activity and profane tourism activity in Beraban traditional village keep conducting in harmonious until now. As this confirmed by Jero Mangku Aris (Interview, July 15, 2015) that *rwa bhinedatan pacah pasahang, nanging worth kapiara lan kaanggen torch ngewangun kasukertan gumi* (different things should not be separated or eliminated, but should be maintained and used as guidance) Luc Maurer (in Picard, 2006: 179) states that based on degree of cultural functionality, Balinese society can distinguish between two different cultural production spheres although they coexist. First, it is being directed to "inside" consumption and the second is directed to consumption "outside." The Balinese know clearly the boundary between the sacred and the profane, between which can be sold and what must be protected vigorously.

## 2.2 Environmental Implications

Hinduism has a strong concept of traditional wisdom in preserving the natural environment, through the ideological superstructure of values, norms, beliefs, and myths that are implemented in the form of rituals and deeds (behavior). Ritual is a reflection of the belief in *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* (God) as the creator of the natural environment, while the act (behavior) is a reflection of the parents (ancestors) as previous heirs who maintain the natural environment and then passed on to the next generation. On the basis of consideration of values, norms, beliefs, and myths, Hindus in managing the natural environment always with the principle of prudence. Hindus do not dare to indiscriminately cut down trees, build and sell parts of the natural environment due to having fear of *niskala* warning from *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* and from their ancestors who are well known as *kapongor*.

The high impact of the development of Bali tourism has implications on Bali's natural ecosystem so it must be addressed with a policy oriented to save the environment. The Minister of Tourism Center as the mandatory policy manager highly obliges to take care of Bali. Minister of Tourism together with leaders in the area should not only be oriented to sell Bali. The increased targets of tourism and investment visit in managing Bali tourism must be balanced with the commitment to preserve the nature and culture of Bali. Chairman of DPD Fishermen Association of Indonesia, Ir. I Nengah Manumudita, M.M. (Bali Post, August 20, 2015: 1) criticized the policy of tourism management as so far it tends to sell and exploit Bali.

Achieving high profit targets and high investment, in fact, it only a small part that Balinese can enjoy with. Orientation of market-based tourism management eventually triggers the destruction of Bali's natural ecosystem. The long-term rate of uncontrolled tourism will marginalize Balinese as a buffer for Balinese culture. Minister of Tourism as policy holder must reorient policy in managing Bali tourism. The exploitation of Bali's nature is a form of incomprehension in outlining *Tri Hita Karana*. The management of coastal-based tourism has made the marginalization of some community professions evicted, such as fishermen and agriculture.

Rice fields (*subak*) is a very significant thing for Hindus in Bali Island. Since the arrival of the *Kuturan Empu* in Bali, *Subak* has received a lot of attention because it is one of the economic

sources of the kingdom and the local people's economy. In addition, subak as one source of community welfare. In the development with the philosophical insight of *Tri Hita Karana*, subak is one aspect belongs to it. For example the element of *Tri Hita Karana* in subak is *parahyangan* element, it is proved by the existence of *pelinggih*(temple) named *Ulun Suwi* or *Ulun Carik* or *Bedugul* temple. As the element of *pawongan* in subak, it can be seen from the existence of the all committee or villagers conducting *subak* and the last one is the element of *palemahan* is evidenced by the existence of *palemahan*(environment/area/land) subak (Suratmini et al., 2003: 125).

The sacred area of Tanah Lot Temple was originally a rice field, now almost completely filled with buildings. Cultural capital in the form of residential house building with characteristic Balinese architecture containing philosophy, now start shifting to be multi-storey houses, especially at the bottom can be used for other purposes. This reflects that economic factors have tremendous strength and are able to defeat the norms of local wisdom that have long been strongly believed and adhered because of the consequences for those who violated it against the noetic (*niskala*) warning. Commodification occurs in the sociocultural dynamics increasingly uncontrolled and very quickly.

The development of Pura Tanah Lot tourism has an impact on the widespread exploitation of the environment after the issuance of Governor Decree No.528 Th.1993 on 21 Tourism Areas in Bali. Finally, Tabanan Government followed up by issuing a Decree of the Regent of Tabanan Regional Head No. 31, Year 1988 on January 13, 1988. The contents of this decree concerning the development of Tanah Lot tourism area by setting two villages namely Beraban Village and Belalang Village, but Beraban Village remains as the center of its development. The consequences of the letter are widespread giving space about ecological threats to the use of tourism, especially productive lands.

As the result, the capitalists are anxious about breakthroughs to invest their capital in conducting competitive tourism practices in getting the landowners close with fantastic bids. As the result, the mindset of the local people feel anxious as well, on the one hand, it makes them considering the economic impact by selling their land and then the proceeds from the sale are lucky to profit

from agricultural production. On the other hand, they see it with the moral considerations of the ancestors that the land they have is an ancestral heritage, so the land is prohibited to sell because the land is interpreted to have meaning as symbols of religiosity.

### **2.3 Implications of Social Economic**

The development of the sacred area of Pura Tanah Lot as a tourist destination is very beneficial in improving the economy of Beraban traditional village. Therefore, the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple as the basic capital of tourism development in Beraban village is interpreted as one of the welfare source for the villagers. According to Ardika (2007: 120), in accordance with the purpose of developing cultural tourism, the development of tourism should be able to provide benefits for the local community. In addition, since it is in line with the implementation of Law Number 22, Year 1999 on Regional Government, which focuses on the principles of democracy, community participation, equity, justice, and potential and regional biodiversity.

The Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 9, of 1990 on Tourism also affirms that tourism has an important role to broaden and declare business opportunities and employment, promote regional development, increase national income in order to improve the welfare and prosperity of the people, as well as enhancing friendship among nations.

In line with the affirmation of the law above, the Asia Pacific Tourism Ex-change Center (APTEC) has refined the concept of Sustainable Tourism Community Based Development (Sustainable Tourism Community Based Development) in 2001. The improvement emphasizes that the initial step of democratic-based tourism development should starting from the love to the community (love is the underlying requirement for community development). (Tourism-based community development also starts with love for the community). From those descriptions, it is known that it seems that tourism is expected to grow forward and dynamic, namely Indonesia's tourism has the ability to grow and play a significant role in nation and state development. Such roles can be realized among within the framework of economic development, through generated foreign exchange, improving people's economic welfare, regional development, environmental sustainability, and contributing to cultural enrichment (Ardika, 2001: 3).

The implications of the above law, it cannot be denied again that tourism in Bali has a big role as economic development locomotive. According to Pitana (2008: 78), tourism plays a positive role in the creation of income for the people, creation of employment, sources of foreign exchange, export drivers especially the products of handicraft industry, and the transformation of Balinese economic structure in a more balanced direction. Tourism and cultural industries have become a driving force in economic development and locomotive the socio-cultural changes of Bali.

Tourism in the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple is able to support the economy of Beraban village, even the whole of traditional villages in Kediri subdistrict are gained the income of the sacred tourism management of Tanah Lot temple. In accordance with the agreement between the government of Tabanan Regency and Beraban traditional village Number 12, Year 2011 Number 358 / DPBRB / XI / 2011 concerning the Management of Tanah Lot Tourism Attraction, it is described that from the gross income after deducting expenses such as development costs, management, operational costs, and promotional costs, the revenue sharing is 60% for Tabanan District Government, 24% for Beraban village, 7.5% for Tanah Lot Temple, 4% for temples associated with the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple , and 4.5% for all traditional villages in Kediri district.

Especially for the local people of Beraban village, the development of tourism has played an important role in mobilizing the economic development of the villagers, improving the welfare of the villagers, and encouraging the change of cultural capital. Therefore, the meaning of prosperity in the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple as the basis of tourism development in Beraban traditional village can be seen from the dynamic of economic activity from the result of several types of entrepreneurs which is managed by the village, those are merchant business unit, art market business unit, and business unit of Village Credit Office/*Lembaga Perkreditan Desa*(LPD).

Business units which are managed by Beraban traditional village, namely business units of small shops/stalls, art market business units with each levied retribution, and business unit of Village Credit Office (LPD). Currently, those business units are running well and managed professionally. The development is monitored by the Local Government of Bali and the

operational management structure is based on the Bali Regional Development Bank – chapter Tabanan so that no one suffers losses. There has never been a case of abuse of authority or position entrusted by Beraban village to the villagers who served in each type of those businesses.

The LPD of Beraban village, according to I Ketut Suitra, is intended to build the traditional village economics including help the villagers of Beraban. Earnings from tourism should be manageable and utilized to save money or borrow money to finance the necessities of life, religious ceremonies, or to develop a business. With the services developed, LPD Beraban strongly supports and supports the economic sector in the area of Beraban traditionalvillage. The LPD of Beraban regularly holds gebyar prizes in order to celebrate its birthday. This event is one of the strategies in promoting LPD extensively to the local people. As for the contested prizes, such as motorcycles, televisions, refrigerators, washing machines, mobile phones, bicycle meuble, and other gifts (interview, May 29, 2015).

Further, Suwitra expressed his delighted to see the contribution that has been given by LPD art market business unit, and a very big trader so that the villagers had a lot of help in funding religious ritual activity and renovate the sanctuary which is under traditional village. With the great capital gained from the development of the entrepreneurs, Beraban villagers build the village in the field of *parahyangan*, *palemhan*, and *pawongan*. In addition to the magnificent physical construction of the holy places, 210 days or six months according to the calculation of the calendar of Bali is also implemented *piodalan* (religious ceremonies in each temple of Beraban. All costs for the purposes of *piodalan* (ceremony) taken from the typical Beraban village's saving, while the villagers only *ngayah* (as the doer), succeeding the whole series of ceremony procession.

In Beraban traditional village, there is a professional group work of photographer / photo shoot services under the village and coordinated by Tanah Lot Tourism Management Agency. According to Tanah Lot Tourism Manager (I Ketut Toya Adnyana), the number of amateur photographers who sell their services are divided into several groups according to the specified schedule (shift). They move from one place to another within a certain area within the area only.

That is, they are actively looking for consumers around the beachfront by offering friendly services. They communicate using a language adapted to the guest / tourist.

The development of sacred tourism Tanah Lot temple has been able to provide prosperity to the local people of Beraban traditional village, because it can involve a lot of employee or workers. According to the Managing Manager (I Ketut Toya Adnyana), in accordance with the operational management structure, to the date, there are 189 workers and 200 traditional polices (*pecalang*) take in charge to maintain security. Of that total, all of the labor came from Beraban traditional village who were recruited through internal mechanism (interview 11 July 2015).

According to I Wayan Suarka, besides the local community are recruited in the tourism management agency of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple, they also work in BNR hotel. The structurally management of the BNR hotel unrelated to the tourism management institution of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple. However, any plan to find labor (hiring employment) is always preceded by coordinating with Beraban village chairman and the vice-chairman. In the coordination, the main employee come from the local area in accordance with therequisite. If it is not there, then the hotel (BNR) is looking for workers outside of Beraban village (interview, 6 June 2015).

The cooperation among customary villages, government, and tourism entrepreneurs in building or improving the infrastructure of Beraban village keeps continuing. For example, arranging beachside by the exploitation, making planter box planted with katang-katang tree, making public toilets, construction of main gate to enter the beach, and construction of *bale pasayuban* in strategic aerial. In addition, there has also been created a large *wantilan* building on the beach near Tanah Lot temple which is also used as a resting place, both for the prayers and tourists who come. To add to the natural atmosphere, in addition to *wantilan* planted with shade plants and grass that are treated regularly. In some corners are prepared some garbage cans so that people who visit do not throw garbage carelessly. With this arrangement, the area becomes beautiful and provide a sense of comfort to tourists. To create cleanliness, security, beauty, and environmental conservation *setra* (cemetery) in Beraban village has arranged it well. In addition, the villagers

are not allowed to make grave graves permanently, but only by planting directly on the ground after the symbolic of *Ngaben* ceremony finished.

From the success data of Beraban village capture the economic opportunity by managing business units in tourism development and the amount of its assets have reflected the purpose of development of cultural tourism and gives a significant influence in improving the welfare of customary manners. It is in line with Picard's view (2006: 192) that the hegemony of tourism with the ideology of the capitalist market is considered positive by the manners of Beraban village because it can create new jobs and increase their income.

According to Bourdieu, the strategy must rely on the amount of capital owned and the capital structure in its position in the social space. In a dominant position, the strategy should be directed towards preserving and maintaining the status quo so that the dominated group changes the distribution of capital, the rules of the game, and positions so that there is an increase in social ladder. In this case the symbolic investment strategy is very important because it is an effort to preserve and enhance social recognition, legitimacy, or honor through perceptions and appreciation schemes that best suit the particular situation of the clan.

In a dominant position as the owner of the region, the perpetrator, and the heir of cultural practice, Beraban village is indeed required to undertake a symbolic investment strategy. This investment strategy in the form of practical political struggle, cultural politics, and continue to spread the discourse of the meaning of welfare in tourism development. With a growing number of potential welfare candidates Foucault and Bourdieu assure that by spreading the word or discourse will be achieved the power. It is said, because language, power, words, or discourse play an important role in the formation of meaning. Discourse occupies a strategic position for seeding ideology that is in the hands of the ruler, it is Beraban village as the ruler of cultural capital in the development of tourism. The discourse on the meaning of the welfare of the change of cultural capital will erode the forms of symbolic manipulation that marginalize Beraban's villagers in developing tourism.

Tanah Lot Temple which is used as commodity material through reproduction has been able to give a big contribution to the regional income. The development of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple as a tourist attraction and its status as a temple of *kahyangan jagat* (heavenly world), it requires the role of the Government of Tabanan Regency to regulate and manage in accordance with the provisions of applicable legislation. Based on the recommendation of Chairman of Tabanan Regency DPRD Number: 170/1976 / DPRD, 23 September 2011, it is known that the management of Tanah Lot tourism object is conducted by two parties (Tabanan and Beraban traditional village) in the form of Management Board.

Such management policy is carried out by the Government of Tabanan (Tabanan Regent with the DPRD) because previously there has been a management system by making cooperation with private parties. At that time, according to former Beraban village's chairman, I Wayan Arwata the income from Tanah Lot tourism object did not contribute so much to Beraban village. On that basis, the people of Beraban as part of the tourism object structurally suggested to be directly involved in the management and kindly no longer involve the private parties (interview, May 22, 2015). Finally, the Letter of Cooperation Agreement of the Government of Tabanan Regency with Beraban traditional village, Kediri Sub-district Number 12, 2011, Number 358 / DPBRB / XI / 2011, and Recommendation of Chairman of Tabanan Regency DPRD Number: 170/1976 / DPRD, 23 September 2011. This letter explains that the management of Tanah Lot tourism object is conducted by two parties, namely FIRST PARTY, Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti, S.Sos., as The Regent of Tabanan in this case acting for and on behalf of the Government of Tabanan Regency. On the other han, dr. I Wayan Arwata, M.M., as the Beraban's chairman, in this case acting for and on behalf of Beraban's villagers, hereinafter called as the SECOND PARTY. Between the first party and the second party included as the subject of the agreement.

The income of the sacred tourism of Tanah Lot Temple according to one of the employees of the Management Board, I Ketut Nurbawa (interview, June 20, 2015) said that the income average for a day is about 100 million to 120 million which these totals are exclude of the holy days. The total revenue comes from the admission of incoming ticket sales, the revenues from the sale of two-wheeled, four-wheeled, six-wheeled parking tickets, and stall / store lease receipts, and other legitimate receipts

The Managing Agency continuously strives to promote, whether through electronic media, cooperation with travel services bureau, or show the cultural attractions regularly every year in collaboration with the local government of Tabanan. All promotional costs are set in accordance with a letter of cooperation agreement of 15% of gross receipts after deducting management operational costs. The tourism object of Tanah Lot's revenue growth in the last ten years (2005 - 2015) can be seen in the following table.

Tabel 2.1

## Tanah Lot's Revenue Growth

YEAR	INCOME (Rupiah)	GROWTH (Persen)
2005	2.273.341.400	-
2006	5.512.396.583	142,48
2007	6.553.617.595	18,89
2008	8.616.628.242	31,48
2009	10.656.220.494	23,67
2010	13.301.422.250	24,82
2011	14.519.147.750	9,15
2012	26.974.888.596	85,79
2013	33.519.717.827	24,26
2014	40.589.501.282	21,09
2015	41.427.942.260	2,07

Tourism oobject of Tanah Lot's Revenue Growth from Year

2005-2015. Source: Tourism Object of Tanah Lot Operational Agency (2015)

The data above represent the progress of Tanah Lot's revenue every year starting from 2005 - 2015 after deducting operational and promotion expense by 15% from gross income. This study only shows Tanah Lot's income for the last year that is in 2015 after cut operating costs amounting to Rp 41,427,942,260.00. The number has increased 2.07% compared to 2014. Of that amount as the Government Agreement of Cooperation Agreement with Beraban traditional village, Kediri District No. 12, Year 2011 Number 358 / DPBRB / XI / 2011, on the

Management of Tourism Attractions Tanah Lot, pursuant to the contents of Article 9 paragraph (1) on the sharing of results. Furthermore, it distributed to some parties as follows.

#### **2.4 Social and Cultural Implications**

In an effort to understand the life of the Hindu community in Tabanan regency, especially the people of Beraban traditional village, it certainly cannot be separated from the Balinese Hindu system in general. Various feelings of anxiety and fear of losing the identity as a polite Hindu, tolerant, friendly, honest, and innocent has always been a social topic. However, after trying to enter the life of the Beraban's villagers, all forms of concern to the loss of Balinese's identity until now is generally the core essence is still maintained. The people of Beraban both individual and collective, still consistently maintain the intact philosophy of Tri Hita Karana which is believed as three elements that cause prosperity. However, in the process of conducting all these things in Beraban village, they succeeded confronting everything related to a nowadays-things and the modern era. The mode of their social interaction as one part of Tri Hita Karana in Beraban village still go on. The social sensitivity that is implemented in the life of tolerance, mutual cooperation, and compassion serve as the top priority. This is as explained by I Made Jedog and I Nyoman Sutarya (interview 16 May 2015) as follows.

"Even though the people of Beraban village are part of Tanah Lot temple's tourism management and its people are much involved in tourism management, the social interaction of community life is maintained in mutual care or "gotong royong". Communities still carry out their obligations, both in the capacity as the individual as well as the obligations of the organization. Obligations of the essence of the organization still remain as it used to be like carrying out duty "ngayah" when there is one of the residents has a ceremony. It's just that the technique is changing because we also see the development of the times.

"The development of tourism in Tanah Lot temple is able to cultivate an attitude of empathy towards fellow villagers who are realized, individually or collectively. When there is one of the people affected by illness, especially mental illness, then on behalf of Beraban village responsible for providing medical expenses as treating them to the hospital. This is as explained by I Nyoman Suwarka as follows.

It can be said that Beraban village here has sufficient funds, so if there is one of the villagers suffering from mental illness or insane , the village will cover the hospital fee from the beginning to the end. Here, there are two villagers suffering it and were treated at Bangli Hospital already, all costs were provided by the village (interview, May 25, 2015).”

On human resources improvement, to support the sustainability of tourism, especially communication with tourists, institutionalized every villagers are supposed to be able to communicate at least in giving directions, if one of the tourists asked about something. Specifically the younger generation is provided with the help of foreign language education expenses for those who are interested in joining a language course with a predetermined schedule. On the other hand, the younger generation who are interested in continuing their education in the field of tourism are also provided scholarships assisted by the hotel (BNR) with the agreement if they have graduated later, they are expected willing to work in the hotel (BNR). Besides, all the farewell ceremony fees at the end of each year for elementary school, the students are from Beraban village are assisted by the village. For the elementary school level the winning students are also awarded from the village (I Nyoman Suwitra, interview May 25, 2015).

According to I Made Subawa (interview, May 25, 2015), with the contribution of Tanah Lot Temple tourism, we as village administrators are motivated in maintaining the values of local wisdom here, especially the field of art culture. From that cost we actually re-explore the potential of art culture from the ancestral heritage that had dimmed. Each banjar/local community, we support them with funds to revive the existing art groups ranging from the younger generation to the arts of the elderly, especially sacred art. In Beraban village, there are fifteen groups, *sekeha santhi* consists of ten groups, *sekeha gong* as many as fourteen groups, *sekeha* of profane arts consists of three groups (*sekeha cak*, *barong bangkung*, and *joged bumbung*), and other *sekeha* as many as three group (*sekeha geguntangan*, *sekeha mancagra*, and *sekeha wayang*). Thus, the total number of *sekeha* in Beraban village is 45 groups.

## 2.5 Ideological Implications

Lull (in Atmadja, 2010: 73) states that one dimension of globalization is the flow of ideology from developed countries to developing countries. One form of ideology is capitalism, market ideology, or also called by the term market religion. The belief in market power over human life is the result of globalization that has become part of the world culture. The globalization that unites Bali with the countries of capitalism leads to market religion quickly entering the socio-cultural system of Balinese society. Bali as the center of world tourism raises religious market implications to gain strength, because tourism as ethnoscape which is business activity as the main concern.

The rapid development of shopping malls or supermarkets not only in big cities such as Denpasar, but also in the district cities in Bali, such as the city of Tabanan. The famous supermarket in Tabanan City is Hardy's, the most convenient and largest shopping palace that is always crowded with people. Hardy's provides excellent facilities including a playroom for children. Another aspect that is not less interesting, in the villages is no exception in the village of Beraban, appeared minimarket which is a descendant of the supermarkets in the city. The goods are sold no less diverse than the supermarkets in the city. Service model modeled supermarket, which is impersonal. Conditions like this indicate how strong the influence of market religion, both in the city and in the countryside. However, regardless of the form and label of the shop, whether it is a stall, a traditional market, a store, a minimarket, a mall, or a supermarket, the ownership of money is absolute because in this money the economic system of money applies. Provided that any desired money can be obtained easily. With that reality then being rich is a major hope for human beings.

Now such a life's mode has also occurred in the village of Beraban as I Wayan Mandia explains when conducting one of the ceremonies, the marriage ceremony of some villagers increasingly feel proud if able to hold a marriage ceremony royally by inviting many friends and people of rank. Giving done by invitations, especially as a member of the village community of village used to form objects (rice, traditional snacks, sugar, coffee, and others), but now replaced with money. Such phenomena reflect the deepening influence of market religion on the people of

Beraban village so as to relieve the tradition, then replace it with something more practical (interview December 19, 2015).

Atmadja (2010: 92) explains that looking at the life of the Balinese then there are two values that are obscured, they are the value of use and symbolic value. What is consumed by Balinese is often not based on the need, but on desire. As a result, the Balinese do not become users, but consumers. Consumerism is not solely linked to the role of symbolic value, but it is also related to the question of identity. The rapid development of Tanah Lot tourism has shown signs of the penetration of the culture virus of consumerism towards the Beraban villagers. Consumption is not merely the matters of expenditure or the acquisition of objects to be self-owned on the basis of use value, but also the purchase of identity. Therefore, the trend of the people of Beraban village consume objects to be utilized to meet the needs of their lives, but also from the things they buy are loaded with the aim that they get recognition in social interaction with the community environment. It shows that consumption becomes a means for one to understand and communicate symbolically between one person and another.

The ideology which is inherited by Hindu society on the philosophical beliefs of Tanah Lot temple as part of the *purasad kahyangan* Batukaru temple that is interpreted as a spiritual climbing place connoted as "sunya (Batukaru Temple), *ramya* (downtown of the king) and *sunya* (Tanah Lot and Srijong temples) ". Sunya (lonely) also in the Hindu philosophy is interpreted as a place for *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi* (God) and His manifestations. In other words, people who go to Batukaru temple, Tanah Lot temple, and Srijong temple can be interpreted as looking for *sunya* (deserted) or going to where *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* stays. When Tabanan has not become a tourist destination yet, Batukaru temple, Tanah Lot temple, and Srijong temple are really sunya (quiet) to be visited. People come to there for incidental purpose only which means they come for praying (*odalan*) or conducting a particular purpose, which is also due to limited facilities.

But then, in the period of the 1970s until now when some Tabanan regions were destined to become tourism destinations, the places of *sunya* ( Batukaru and Tanah Lot temples) changed very drastically into *ramya* (crowded). In addition to the purpose of travel, every day there must

be Hindu people who come to pray specifically to Tanah Lot temple. In fact, in social communication, there is a shift in communication. If previously, people used to invite their family or friends to Tanah Lot for praying only, but now, they most often visiting Tanah Lot temple for *melali* or holiday while praying together.

### **III. Conclusion**

The implications of the commodification of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple for tourism services to the Beraban villagers appear in the magical religion, namely Tanah Lot tourism object has given the power that stimulates the ideology of the villagers of Beraban conducting cultural practices in the public places, such as *melasti* ritual procession, *tawur kesanga*, *pengerupukan*, or *nangluk merana* are arranged aesthetically so become interesting tourist spectacle. Similarly, cultural practices related to livelihood and daily social interactions are very strong in calculating the economic value of tourism. That is, villagers began to take innovative steps towards cultural and religious capital related to livelihoods to seize economic opportunities in the tourism sector.

Environmental implications, it is the commodification of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple with the conceptual condition of sustainable development of the ecological field is not met because it reduces agricultural productive land. As a result of land conversion does not always make a positive contribution because it gets a lot of money for the people who sell the land, but also has negative implications for the pattern of kinship patterns among children, siblings, and parents.

Economic implications, namely the commodification of the sacred area of Tanah Lot temple, can improve the economic and welfare of the people, both individual and structural in the traditional village community. The proceeds from the management of Tanah Lot after deducting the operational costs of management and 15% of development and promotion costs were distributed to the Tabanan District Government as much as 60% (as the first party), 24% for Beraban village distributed to fifteen traditional banjars (local communities). Tanah Lot Temple gets 7.5%, the ten temples in the sacred area of Tanah Lot Temple get 4%, and traditional village in Kediri gets 4.5%.

Social-cultural implications, means the spare time of Beraban village to mingle with fellow villagers began to diminish. The kinship system undergoes a shift that is always measured with time and money. The women also have a new flurry of hawking young coconut drinks, *jaje klepon*, souvenirs, stall opening, offering transportation facilities, etc. to the tourists.

The ideological implications of the Hindu community of Beraban traditional village still uphold the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* as a canopy in realizing harmony. Along with the rapid development of globalization as a famous tourist destination in Tanah Lot temple, the people of Beraban are also trapped into the culture of consumerism through the signs of always wanting to achieve perfection, sufficiency and diversity . Money is the most important goal in the fight for their life. With money, then they can buy stuff not only containing value for use, but also have a symbolic value. With the goods they bought brings expectation to raise their dignity in social status.

## References

- Ardika, I Gede. 2001. “Pembangunan Pariwisata Bali Berkelanjutan yang Berbasis Kerakyatan”, Naskah Lengkap Seminar Nasional Bali, *The Last or The Lost Paradise*, Denpasar, 1 Desember.
- Ardika, I Wayan, 2007. “ *Strategi Pengembangan SDM Pariwisata dalam Era Kompetisi*” Naskah lengkap makalah seminar nasional Universitas Udayana, Denpasar 16 Juni.
- Ardika, I Wayan, 2007. *Pusaka Budaya dan Pariwisata*. Denpasar: Pusaa Sari.
- Atmadja, Bawa I Nengah, 2010. *Komodifikasi Tubuh Perempuan Joged “Ngebor” Bali*. Denpasar : Program Studi Magister dan Doktor Kajian Budaya Universitas Udayana.
- Atmadja, Bawa I Nengah, 2010. *Ajeg Bali Gerakan, Identitas Kultural, dan Globalisasi*. Yogyakarta: PT LkiS Printing Cemerlang.
- Eiseman, Jr, Fred B. 1990. *Bali Sekala Dan Niskala*. Periplus Editions. California: Barkeley.
- Lubis, Nur A.Fadhil. 2006. “Agama sebagai Poros Perubahan”. Teuku Kemal Fasya (editor) *Kata dan Luka Kebudayaan*. Medan: USU Press.
- Mangunwijaya. Y.B.1982. *Sastra dan Religious*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.

- Mudana, I Gede. 2000. "Industrialisasi Pariwisata Budaya di Bali: Studi Kasus Biro Perjalanan Wisata di Kelurahan Kuta". (Tesis) Denpasar: Universitas Udayana.
- Pendit, Nyoman S. 1996. *Hindu Dharma Abad XXI Menatap Masa Depan Peradaban Umat Manusia*. Denpasar: Yayasan Dharma Naradha.
- Picard, Michel. 2006. *Bali Pariwisata Budaya dan Budaya Pariwisata*. Terjemahan Jean Couteau dan Warih Wisatsana, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Pitana, I Gede. 2008. *Kepariwisata Bali dalam Jejaring Nasional. Dalam Kebudayaan dan Modal Budaya Bali dalam Teropong Lokal, Nasional, Global* (Yudha Triguna, Editor). Denpasar: Widya Dharma.
- Sztompka, Piotr. 2007. *Soiologi Perubahan Sosial*. Terjemahan Alimandan, Jakarta: Prenada, Media Group.
- Trijana, Lambang. 2006. "Gerakan Sosial Baru dari Refleksi Menuju Aksi". Teuku Kemal Fasya (Editor) *Kata & Luka Kebudayaan*. Medan: USU Press.

### List of Informan

No	Name	Occupation	Address
1	I Made Subawa	The chairman of Beraban village	Batanbuah, Desa Beraban
2	I Ketut Toya Adnyana	The chairman of management of Tanah Lot tourism object	Batanbuah, Desa Beraban
3	I Wayan Arwata	The former of Beraban's chairman	Batanbuah, Desa Beraban
4	I Nyoman Sutarya, S.Pd.,M.Pd.	Government Employee	Batugaing, Desa Beraban
5	I Nyoman Suwitra	Government Employee	Batanbuah, Desa Beraban
6	I Nyoman Suteriya Putra	Entrepreneur	Batugaing, Desa Beraban
7	I Nyoman Suwarka	Government Employee	Dusun Beraban,

			Desa Beraban
8	Jro Mangku Aris	Priest	Batugaing, Desa Beraban
9	I Made Jedog	Constructor	Batanbuah, Desa Beraban
10	I Ketut Suitra	Entrepreneur	Batanbuah, Desa Beraban
11	I Ketut Nurbawa	Subsector of Tanah Lot Management	Kepolisian Sektor Kediri