

**THE EXPOSITION OF THE SALE OF PENJOR
GALUNGAN ORNAMENT IN KAPAL HIGHWAY,
KAPAL VILLAGE, BADUNG REGENCY**

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Abstract:

The sale of Penjor Galungan ornament just before Galungan and Kuningan Day is a common thing to do. The customers feel relieved by the people who sell these ornaments so they do not need to struggle to make it. Likewise for the trader, it is used as an opportunity to achieve material benefit. Especially, in Kapal Highway, Kapal Village, Badung Regency, this phenomenon is very interesting to study. This study examined three problems, namely the reason why the trader sells the ornaments of Penjor Galungan, the impact of the sale of Penjor Galungan for the trader, and how the customer interprets the sales of Penjor ornament in Kapal Highway, Kapal Village, Badung Regency. Through this study, it is expected that there is a comprehensive description about the relationship between religious sense and business, as well as a review of the meaning behind the sale to the customer.

Keywords: penjor galungan ornament, the trader, the costumer, Kapal Village.

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I. Introduction

Hindu religion as a religion which has led Balinese people in any kinds of religious ritual is as a form of sacrifice or commonly referred to as *Yadnya*. Religious spirituality for Balinese Hindu population is more often expressed with various expressions of inner sense as symbol of devotion to *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* or the Almighty God. This devotion is expressed in a variety of sincere sacrifices known as *Panca Yadnya* including sincere sacrifice to *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* with all His manifestations called *Dewa Yadnya*. The existence of the universe and human life that comes from God to make His supernatural power possessed is needed by humans to live, shelter and beg for help. Mediation of human frailty in the hope of help from *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* performed various religious rituals, one of which carry out religious practices such as *Dewa Yadnya* by carrying out various religious ceremonies during Holy Day such as Galungan, Kuningan, Saraswati, Pagerwesi, Nyepi, and other etc.

Especially on Galungan and Kuningan Day, as a Religious Holy Day for Balinese Hindu becomes magnet in economic activity of the society. The activity, in one side, as an economic agent can be divided becomes the trader side who prepare all need of Hindus in carrying out Galungan and Kuningan Day, meanwhile, in another side, society as the customer who use various need of *upakara* tools in the form of *banten* which is ready to be offered to *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* and His manifestations who are called with various names to be worshipped by His *bhakta*. The definition of *bhakta* means to those who do puja bhakti to *Ista Dewata* and to worship it for Balinese Hindu is expressed in the form of *banten*. This offering which is in the form of *banten* has criteria which is agreed from generation to generation such as in the form of *canang*, fruits, cakes, or other offerings that based on the their devotees should be offered so the requirement that has been selected in religious ceremony could meet the regulation.

The most interesting preparation before Galungan is when Balinese Hindu people start putting up *penjor* in front of their house. *Penjor* is a sign of a Galungan and Kuningan celebration. The setting up of *penjor* is done by the society either young or old people especially for man. *Penjor* appearance as a symbol is usually set up in front of the house and done either alone or by working together. Once the importance of this *penjor* of Galungan make Hindus have the

opportunity to express its artwork so Penjor Galungan which was originally simply a celebration symbol has shifted as a dynamic art work.

The change of Penjor Galungan's shape certainly provides an opportunity to the trader to sell variety of *upakara* needs and also for Hindu to prepare the materials for Penjor Galungan to make it as ornaments and make this opportunity as it can increase the profit/volume of sales. This business opportunity can be seen in the Kapal village Badung. Various ornaments of Penjor Galungan provided on the side of Kapal High way with the position each trader faces each other so the crowd traffic is also accompanied by crowds of purchase Penjor Galungan ornaments. The position of the traders which direct to the side of the main Highway from Denpasar to Gilimanuk or from Denpasar to Singaraja and vice versa, make the traffic in this main Highway is very crowded and cause traffic congestion. Situation of homecoming or return home before Galungan Day make Hindus take this time also to shop at the side of Kapal highway in Kapal village.

Penjor Galungan Artwork is now easy to get because the traders have read the business opportunity and the customers who buy the ornaments feel easier to string up the materials to make Penjor Galungan which is vibrant and luxurious with great variety. That phenomenon becomes the material of this study. There are three issues discussed, namely the reason of the traders to sell ornaments of Penjor Galungan, the impact of the sale of ornaments of Penjor Galungan for the traders, and how the customer interprets the sales of Penjor ornament in Kapal Highway, Kapal Village, Badung Regency. The theories used to dissect the problem of the study were the Structural Functional Theory of Talcot Person and Social Practice Theory Bourdieu. The method used to collect data was direct observation to the field with the primary data sourced from vendors and purchasers and data types were qualitative.

II. Discussion

2.1 The Reason of the Traders to Sell the Ornaments of Penjor.

2.1.1 Easy Access in Getting Raw Material of Penjor

Penjor material may be referred to as a commodity because it is the work of man who deliberately manufactured to be exchanged through market mechanisms (Suyanto, 2013: 175). Further Suyanto explained that Penjor material as a commodity produced repeatedly with a use-

value which aims to satisfy human needs and can be exchanged for something that has a different value which is called the exchange rate. A commodity requires the existence of a price attached to such products and commodities can have a high price if he is able to offer a huge benefit when people in need.

Commodities of Penjor ornaments can be parsed separately in various forms, such as the curved bamboo, white and yellow fabrics, coconut leaf, palm leaf, elements of rice, coconut, and etc. Various supporting materials can certainly be obtained through the mechanism of the market buying and selling. Mechanisms to sell are those of traders who crowded the side of Kapal Highway. The traders who have a sense as party which sell products, services or creative ideas in executing their business can be categorized in several types of business entities such as individual businesses, Firm (Fa), Guild (CV) Cooperatives, Foundations and Limited Company.

From interviews with several traders who have business on the side of Kapal Highway (interviews, dated October 10, 2010), almost entirely are an individual business. These individual businesses tend to be a personal business or they put their own capital to build their business. This individual business usually do not require much license because those with relatively little capital, register at Kapal Adat Village and also at Kapal Market, they can start their business. Business relationships of Penjor material traders can occur between traders in Kapal highway with suppliers who come from other cities on the island of Bali, or from suppliers outside the island. Suppliers itself can be described as the party who send the materials of Penjor to be sold by traders in Kapal highway. The relation between traders and suppliers which is continuously and routine is called business relations.

Business relationships will be decreasing in business transactions when religious activities, especially Hindus do not carry out religious rituals. Ritual itself refers to the teachings of Hinduism faith that grows and develops in Bali. According Ardana (2000: 34) explained that the historical development of Hinduism in Bali starting from (1) the trust before the advent of Hinduism, (2) early arrival of Hinduism in Bali, (3) Hinduism in ancient Balinese, (4) Hinduism in Bali medieval period, and (5) New Balinese Hinduism period. Linkage of historical development of Hinduism in Bali in the form of ritual is studied more deeply for the

development Penjor Galungan as a representation in maintaining Hinduism and development of Penjor itself in the present form.

2.1.2 The Establishment of Relation with Local Resources.

The abundance of labor resources at Kapal Village or Mengwi District according to the data of labor force aged 15 years and over, actually used by the traders in Kapal highway as workers who can help to produce the material of penjor such as palm leaf, coconut leaf, white and yellow fabrics, and etc. Existing labor activities as a non-agricultural activities and the domestic industry or classified as small businesses. In Indonesia there are increasing symptoms of small businesses in order to sustain the local economy. Small traders is very difficult to access the banking world with the various procedures considered complicated by a large part of traders. The difficulty of access to the banking industry, especially commercial banks was delivered by Winaya, Seweni, Puja who work as a trader on Kapal Highway.

“There was a commercial bank from Denpasar came here, offering credit, I did not have the completeness of such a business license. The bank clerk was asking for guarantees for loans. I'm just a simple merchant so that I cannot meet these requirements. For that I use cooperative and LPD here” (interview, dated 10-11-2013).

The informant indicated that they are more interested in the things that are practical and easy as access to cooperatives or LPD or Village Credit Institutions in the region KapalAdat Village. The obstacle in banking access is actually more directed to the needs of traders to obtain the capital. Economic capital requirement is utilized for business continuity, and one of the alternatives to overcome the capital problem is through cooperation with suppliers of material requirements of Penjor. Supplier in the world of business is a chain of marketing relationship. From the first owner, Penjor materials are taken by the supplier, and then distributed to traders around Kapal Highway, a partnership relationship between suppliers and traders has existed long enough, it is expressed by Ni Putu Saraswati, a trader:

"The need for materials of Penjor Galungan and Kuningan, mostly we buy from several different merchants, who sell goods with one month payment system. The merchants certainly

have different products so that the number could reach five suppliers. Those suppliers are residents who live around here in Mengwi. This relationship has never experienced problems "(interview, dated 12-11-2013).

This interview indicates that the relation between partnership relations based on trust, the supplier believes in the trader and the trader fulfill his / her obligation based on his / her promise. This relationship has led to the concept of credit. The collectors put their goods who have already given the payment schedule backward; therefore, it can be said as credit in accounting theory, and essentially the credit or delayed payment is a symbol of a trust to the receiver of the goods. The material of penjor is clearly related to some agricultural resources, such as coconut leaf, palm leaf, and paddy and the first source as plantation crops are purchased by the supplier, and are purchased again by the traders to be sold to the customer as structural relationship. According to Functional Structural theory, this relationship is regularity starting from farmer in plantation business, the supplier who regularly put their goods on a large scale during Galungan and Kuningan, as well as the traders in Kapal Highway that take the advantage of opportunity to sell the ornament of penjor and the need of society as a whole chain and each of them do their responsibility. It is clearly visible when there is a disagreement in price level which is caused by the change of demand increasing so the market system makes some adjustment together for the harmony in transaction market.

Some informants like Gede Winaya, Wayan Sumadri, Gung Tut, they are migrants who seek a livelihood in Kapal Highway revealed:

"If a normal day, demand for Penjor obviously greatly reduced, so the price may be considered normal, if the condition of the feast of the Hindu religion, it will be very different. The prices could rise steadily until the peak of the price on the day before Galungan. Automatically, fellow traders will adjust the price. Price from suppliers is rising so that we as the traders also follow it. Some materials are taken from traders around the Kapal village." (Interview on 10-11-2013)

Explanation from the traders reflects how the price adjustment is a matter that cannot be avoided. Price of suppliers has increased and automatically traders also raise the price to the

buyer. Price adjustment is as a functional mechanism of the traders in taking advantage of feast momentum for gains. Price adjustment is agreed with the view of Person that a system should cope with the external situation by performing self-adjustment (adaptation) to the environment and adjust the environment to their needs (Ritzer and Goodman. 2008.121). Price fixing after adjustment on the feasts of Hindus according to traders is to increase profits, this opinion is in line with the economic concept which states that the price fixing objective is to increase the sales volume and increase profit (Nurbiyati and Machfoedz. 2005: 170).

2.1.3 Business Network across the Island

In general, in trading activities, there is a marketing network that helps traders getting goods to be sold but the goods cannot be reached by the traders directly. The difficulty of the trader to get the goods directly is more caused by the lack information, minimum time to find the source of the goods so that the traders need other parties to overcome this problem. A harmonious relationship between the trader and the supplier as a business network across island is done by the trader along Kapal Highway. Not all materials of penjor are obtained from Bali, but it needs to be purchased from outside Bali. The opinion of Suweni who was interviewed on 4 October 2013 mentioned that some materials of penjor are imported from outside Bali:

The materials of penjor are imported from the region outside Bali, such as palm leaf that is imported from Madura and Sumba, *Busung Ibung* from Sulawesi. The imported palm leaf is still mat, the trader who buy it from Madura or Sumba will color it to be bleached. After given the bleach and the palm leaf looks clean, and then it will be brought to the market to be submitted to the traders. The payment system is given backward time for one month.

The information of Suweni above indicates that the need of penjor material is not fully carried out by agricultural and plantation product in Bali. The palm leaf that is used as a part of making penjor look more beautiful is really needed by Hindus.

The palm leaves that have been formed in accordance with the creativity of art are displayed at several traders in Kapal Highway. The pal leaves given yellow dye to make it look brighter and there are also red and green as a work that is formed such that the color appears in the place

specified. Suppliers provide payment period of one month backward as normal in the economic world. Economic culture will occur when a business relationship already emerging partnership in mutual trust to each other. Credit as a form of non-fully payment in full is a tradition in the business world when mutual trust has been growing, especially from the supplier to the buyer.

2.1.4 Implementation of Religious Teachings through Entrepreneurship Practice

In the teaching of Sarasamuscaya 260 explained that the sacred teachings of the Vedas as the word of God should be made as tradition to the term of Vedic Abhyasa. Vedic teachings are eternal or *Sanatana Dharma* needs to be grounded in order to improve the welfare of mankind although the welfare is not the goal of human being. The goal of life in the Hindu view is *Mokshartam jagadhita ya caiti dharmah*, the meaning of *jagadhita* as a form of temporal welfare and moksha as inner peace. Thus, the Hindus purpose in life leads to physical well-being and achieve inner peace (Suhardana. 2007: 1). Some traders interviewed felt sure that the morning before they start a business, is an obligation that are almost never abandoned is doing religious rituals by *mebanten*. This activity began when they open a business by offering *canang sari*, accompanied by coffee and a cigarette offered on *plangkiran*. *Plangkiran* as a medium to get closer of mankind with God in various manifestations believed by adherents which are expected to provide live holy light and led traders to a better life. Better life which is delivered in the interview as followed:

We, before opening our business, certainly offer *canang* and *segehan* in front of our shop with the expectation that we can avoid disaster and our lives could be better. This routine has been taught by our parents for generations (interview on 10-10-2013).

This daily routine (*mebanten*) is clearly as their predecessor noble heritage which is very relevant to the teachings of Canakya Niti Sastra Chapter II Sloka 10.

Putra's cavividhah silair Niyoyah satatam budhah

Niti-jnah silasampanna Bhavantikula pujitah

The wise man should teach his son about propriety, knowledge of Niti Sastra and other sciences. For a son who is proficient in the knowledge of Niti Sastra and other sacred knowledge will lead to family commendable.

Teachings of Hinduism is transformed through a sense of devotion presented to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa by practicing religious rituals such as *mebanten*, this process takes place continuously and becomes a cultural custom. Synchronization of Hinduism teachings in leading its people to understand the purpose of human life is more emphasis on the book of Brahma Purana 228.45 (Nala, 1991: 131) *Dharmarthakamamoksanam sariram sadhanam* (the body is a tool to get Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha). The role of *Artha* in facilitating Hindus to achieve the goal of life is a very essential thing; the assistance of *Dharmain* carrying out activities of *Artha* has been woven through entrepreneurial activities by traders on the side of Kapal Highway in Galungan day.

2.2 The Impact for the Traders of Penjor Galungan Ornaments

2.2.1 Strengthening Social Capital and Cultural Capital

One month ahead of the Galungan day, stretching the economy related to various material requirements of Penjor materials started to show symptoms of increasing demand, traders have started preparing for the celebration that comes every six months. Activities are performed by gathering relatives, neighbors, or colleagues who are familiar invited to assemble a variety of Penjor ornaments. This family relationship is done by traders because they feel overwhelmed create it by themselves. It was delivered by Suweni when she was interviewed and said the following.

Far-away days before Galungan day, I remind my brothers and sisters, friends, or neighbors to assist in making various needs of Penjor ornaments, I really need them because my husband and I are not able to do both, because the volume of buyer demand very much, I'm afraid if I do not contact my relatives they would be given orders by other traders. They will be working on a variety of Penjor ornaments in each group, and once completed in two days they'll give it to me. I usually pay for their work (Interview on 15-11-2013).

Family relationship has been established by Ms. Suweni, and usually the relatives will establish a working group, consisting of three to five people. The group works for approximately two days, starting in the morning around 09.00 am till evening around 17 pm. The working time is very elastic, meaning that if there is obstruction due to be dropping off or picking up a child to school, then the liability they did, and after completion of pick up and have lunch at home they return to the group to continue the work contract.

2.2.2 Strengthening Economic Capital and Quality of Family

Increasing the public demand for a variety of Penjor Galungan ornaments has provided sustenance to the traders; they use the momentum of the six-month period as a blessing. Opinions of the traders like Winaya, A.A. Gede Putra, Sugita, A.A. Gede Raka, and Sumadri, Ni Wayan expressed at the time interviewed on 5 November 2013, expressed as follows.

It can also occur in a group, only one person who understands and has experience in forming Penjor ornaments, she will train the relatives who cannot do it gradually, and this process runs continuously so as to increase the skills of each individual. There are differences in the cost of those who are still in the learning stage than those who are proficient or are used in the process. The action of Ms. Suweni in accordance with the opinion of Bourdieu saying that economic capital has led to the possibility merchants to increase social capital by expanding business network to involve relatives, friends and neighbors and have an impact on the increase in cultural capital as their skills to meet orders from Mrs. Suweni as a trader, and this also applies to traders around the Kapal Highway. Almost all have a network and they also educate in order to create Penjor ornaments skills will always vary.

Every six months, during Galungan and Kuningan, is a long-awaited time. Our small traders are really helped by selling ornaments of Penjor, which is so in demand two weeks before Galungan day. Our average net reaches Rp 30 to Rp 35 million started two weeks before Galungan until one day before Galungan, and it also increases again since three days before Kuningan day. On an average day net profit is only Rp 8-9 million a month. These advantages we usually use to cover the debt in the LPD and so we are easy to borrow again when we need to borrow again and if there is still more money left, we use to meet the needs of a family or saving.

Opinion of informants is relatively equal in terms of the number of income on Galungan and Kuningan day and the use of the majority of the funds are used to cover the debt in Village Credit Institutions (LPD). The informant's thought seems rational because the existing debt will bear interest, so that interest becomes this burden should be eliminated first, by covering the debt. Total debt to one another are varies, but on the results of the interview appears that the result of net profit is still higher than the amount of their debt so that it can be used to buy household or deposited in savings.

In addition to the traders, the suppliers who deliver the goods to the traders in Kapal Highway also gain increased economic capital; it is delivered during the respective interviewed, Suweni, Ni Ketut and Karsana, I Putu. Both said that the increase in turnover can be up to six times compared to normal days. In addition to bringing the goods to traders in Kapal Highway they also handed over to the traders at Kumbasari and Kreneng Market. The results of net profit could reach Rp 60-70 million in two weeks. According to them, the perseverance in working is necessary as they already pursue. They are accompanied by four to five workers, who assist them every day. Working habits by taking the goods from the city of Banyuwangi, or Negara city then they immediately take it to the customer, until the early morning hours at 5 pm. This habit will increase during Holy day as Galungan and Kuningan day. When the holiday, the number of buses used are added into two units and they are ready to take Penjor ornament's material, or material needs of the offerings, flowers, and others.

Further increase in sales turnover is used for family purposes, such as buying children's clothes and school supplies, and the possibility of more funds deposited in the bank. This informant information is still the same with the traders in Kapal highway because the excess of sales during the holidays are still kept in a savings account or a bank. Frugality is looked at the traders and suppliers as the economic conditions cannot be predicted exactly. There is a possibility of goods price rises or government policies that make it difficult to trade. Thriftiness is also in accordance with Sloka Sarasamuccaya associated with *artha*. Sloka 261 and 262 which emphasize on the importance of getting *artha* or wealth should be based on the *Dharma* and *Artha* which is obtained shall be divided into three as cost or the means to get it. **First**, for a cost of *dharma*, **Second**, to meet the cost of *kama*, and **third**, to increase savings / capital in order to generate a

profit to maintain business continuity. Thus, in line with the thinking of Burch (downloadable from www.pengusahakecil.com, dated December 10, 2013) clearly stated that the contribution of entrepreneurship is to create employment, improve people's welfare, help utilize and mobilize the resources to increase national income.

2.3 The Meaning of the Purchase of Penjor Galungan

2.3.1 The Viability of Tradition in the Middle of Modernization

According to Gidden (in Utama, Budi., 2013: 73) that the tradition is an orientation to the past, and the past has great influence on the future, so that the life of the future is not separate to the past. Tradition is experiencing dynamic so pliable to the conditions of modernization, but there are values that still resistant to the onslaught of modernization. Furthermore, according to Gidden, the tradition includes ritual as the practical way to maintain the tradition. In the context of Galungan and Kuningan day, it appears that maintaining *memenjor* tradition is inseparable from the emotional involvement of individual followers of Hinduism and *Pakraman* village in each region. In connection with religious ceremonies in Bali, especially with regard to Hinduism, of course, people still continue the habits inherited from their ancestors. The tradition of setting up Penjor as a thing that cannot be discharged in welcoming Galungan can be seen in Penjor installation activity on the right side of front door of the house with a variety of provisions that refer to Jayakasunu papyrus, with the following explanation:

Ring Anggara Wage Dungulan patut apisuguh ring Ki Buta Tiga mungwing ajeng, melarapan upacara byakaon/tadah kala dst..... Ring sorene patut nanceb penjor, tegep saha rerasmenan: megantung-gantung, ubag-abig, sampian, gantungan, jaja-jaja, abug, dodol, satuh, bakayu, bagina, tape maungkus, palawija, palagantung, pala bungkah, pada sawetena, jinah 11 keteng..... Mungwing kasuksman penjor puniki, sapuniki: mungwing tetampen sang magama Hindu Bali, sapadagingan penjore, praja katur ring Hyang Batara lumingga ring Gunung Agung. Maka suksmea : ajaran bhakti, misadia ngaturang sarining tahun (sarining bhumi), dening ragane sampun ngamikolihang upon-upon punika, saking sawah wiadin saking tegal abian.

From the explanation of Jayakasunu papyrus above, it can be described various accompaniments of Penjor Galungan. I Nengah Dunia's opinion when he was interviewed on 4 November 2013 regarding the equipment of Penjor Galungan explained that he as the next generation, directly does not know the things that must exist at the time Penjor start to set up in front of the house. The activity conducted solely has followed the habits of their parents. The following description of I Nengah Dunia associated with the installation of the Penjor.

I am assisted by my two children to make penjor before Galungan Day. First, I buy an ordinary bamboo which has curved downward tip at a price Rp 25.000, white and yellow fabric which are used to coil around bamboo for Rp 20.000,-sanggah Rp 20.000, *busung ibung* Rp 30.000 for one meter and for *ambu* needs around 3 meter Rp 90.000, *sampian* Rp 10.000, *Tamiang* and fabric with *Ong Kara* symbol Rp 10.000, paddy and coconut Rp 20.000, lanterns Rp 30.000, the content of *sanggah* such as *tikeh*, *caratan*, *coblong* Rp 10.000, and etc. so that the total spending Rp 265.000. All the materials are ready to be installed in accordance with the place, and this is practical for me because today everybody is already busy and all are available in the market. At the time of Penjor already installed, there is a sense of satisfaction in my heart as I can establish a quality and up to date Penjor because my penjor is appropriate with my job as a manager at the company, so I will not to be embarrassed because I cannot make a nice penjor.

From the explanation of Dunia, I Nengah above, it can be interpreted that practical era has led the desire of buyers to buy things that are available on the market. This condition is also affected by working activities in global era. Globalization itself has narrowed the space and time so that it melts the space and boundaries, as a result of technological advances and rapid flow of information. Advances in technology increasingly facilitates the flow of movement of people from one place to another as well as easy communication wrought into human activity, especially in the economic field has made this practical life. Penjor has been experiencing various changes coupled with advances in technology in the field of arts and culture making it easier for people to access the change in other *Pakraman* village related to Penjor.

According to Seputra and Dunia that they put Penjor on Sunday so two days from those contained in the literature, this is due to their work and their children could not help. On Sunday

night Penjor already have set up. People who put up Penjor before Penampahan Galungan is rife in some places, of course, due to the time as the barrier. The installation of Penjor Galungan is apart from the cheapest by stringing own adornments to cost up to Rp 150,000, - to almost Rp 1.500.000, -. According to the informant, Sugita, this is inseparable from the improvement in their earnings and their want to be different. The desire to be different than others, according to Bourdieu cannot be separated from the emergence of the symbolic capital of the individual.

2.3.2 Unlimited Creativity

The definition of creativity according to Indonesia General Dictionary (1976:526) is as a human action based on creativity that are owned or have the ability to create. Creativity of the community in the Badung regency in installing Penjor Galungan looked lively start continued with the advent of various aspects of the arts in the soul of each. One of the media in Bali the Bali Post, published on 20-10-2013 in the first page explained about excitement of Penjor Galungan set up in front of the house of Hindus. It is described since last few years Penjor Galungan in Bali is fairly festive, luxurious, beautiful and fascinating. The look of Penjor is more varied with various beauties like as a work of art on display.

The diversity of Penjor Galungan shape from the modest to the most expensive with a variety of ornaments, indicate that the dynamic creativity of Hindus continue to experience the process of bhakti presented to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa or art that has double meanings namely bhakti in artistic creativity as well as the emergence of subjective senses as forms to show off financial capabilities.

Comparison of Penjor Galungan from the simple to the luxurious when associated with Bourdieu thought about the act of actor in amid of domains available. The actors are people who are still in a position to maintain the tradition with the simple look of Penjor and efficiencies in costs, but they still follow the rules that are required in filling the ornaments of Penjor, such as a variety of plants, crops, agriculture, centralized as a sense of devotion to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa by putting Ong Kara as a symbol. The rules governing the material of the Penjor ornament reflects the past history of the people of Bali as an agricultural population. The belief of Hinduism to harness the results obtained from the work to put it mildly represented in the form Penjor

Galungan. Changes in the dynamics of modernization make static art of Penjor ornaments shift to the dynamic progressive culture. The characteristics of a progressive culture (Utama, 2013: 80) is shown by the ability of people to deconstruction, construction and reconstruction toward the religious values so it can help human to solve their life problems. Problem of life in the world of tourism, as presented by informants Alit and Dunia (interview, dated 12 November 2013) is their activities at the workplace. Working time demand which full of discipline makes them do not have the time to make their own Penjor ornaments and setting up Penjor which do not correspond to the literary namely one day before Galungan, but on Sunday when they get off work.

III. Conclusion

Form of entrepreneurship that is built by the traders on Kapal highway, Kapal Village, is caused by the ease of access to them to get the raw material to be the ornaments of Penjor Galungan. Ease of access cause them to start considering the various local resources as potential support to business continuity, such as easy network of partnerships with local traders who sell ornaments such as paddy, flowers, coconut, etc. Readiness to start this business is more directed to the implementation of the teachings of Hinduism in the practice of entrepreneurship, so it becomes a cultural economy as an economic measure to strengthen the other elements of culture.

The impact of traders activity in selling the ornaments of Penjor Galungan make a strong social capital built and increasing cultural capital as a skill in art and culture on surrounding community and economic capital has assisted to overcome the problem of debt settlement and improve the quality of family.

The meaning of customers in buying ornaments of Penjor Galungan, on the one hand, because there is nothing apart from the establishment of *memenjor* tradition which is always celebrated every six months precisely on the day of Galungan and Kuningan, on the other hand, because modernization has changed the paradigm of society from an agrarian society into a progressive society, so the meaning of hidden symbolic capital has been revealed as a recognition of the economic capital capability which is owned by each individual.

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