

COMMODIFICATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PUNCAK PENULISAN TEMPLE IN SUKAWANA VILLAGE, BANGLI REGENCY

I Kadek Sudana Wira Darma¹, I Nyoman Wardi², I Wayan Suardiana³

^{1,2,3}Cultural Studies Study Program, Faculty of Cultural Science, Udayana University

Email: 1kswiradarma@gmail.com, 2wardiecoculture@gmail.com,
3i.suardiana@unud.ac.id

Received Date : 10-09-2023
Accepted Date : 24-10-2023
Published Date : 30-11-2023

ABSTRACT

Cultural tourism is the largest industry in the world and the fastest-growing sector. This has caused many cultural heritages in the form of temples to be used as tourist attractions, including the Puncak Penulisan Temple in Sukawana Village. As a result of state intervention and capitalism through tourism, it has resulted in the expansion of functions and transformation of cultural values at Puncak Penulisan Temple. Based on the background of this problem, this research aims to (1) analyze the process of commodification Puncak Penulisan Temple, (2) understand the ideology behind the commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple, and (3) examine the implications of the commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple. This research was designed using qualitative methods with a critical cultural studies approach. Data collection was carried out through interviews, observations, and literature studies relevant to the research title. Then the collected data was analyzed using qualitative descriptive analysis. The theories used to analyze research problems are the theory of genetic structuralism (Pierre Bourdieu). The results of the research show that the practice of commodifying the Cultural Heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple has gone through a long process. This is caused by changes in habits (*habitus*) such as open attitudes of the community, changes in thought patterns and economic orientation, as well as the potential of the Sukawana Village community in the form of cultural and natural heritage. The commodification process is society's response to the struggle between globalization and capitalism through tourism with society's cultural values. The ideology behind the commodification of the Puncak Penulisan Temple's cultural heritage is the ideology of capitalism and the ideology of preservation. The commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple's cultural heritage has implications for cultural, economic, and social aspects that influence the lives of the people of Sukawana Village.

Keywords: *commodification, cultural heritage, ideology, Puncak Penulisan Temple*

INTRODUCTIONS

Tourism has been growing rapidly due to globalization and it encourages the use of natural resources and local cultural treasures to benefit the welfare of a region such as Bali. Many traditions and religious sites that were originally used for ritual processions and prayer are now used as tourist attractions. Cultural tourism is currently the largest industry

in the world and cultural heritage tourism is the fastest-growing sector (Ardika, 2015: 6). Therefore, cultural heritage has a significant value for the tourism industry. One such example is the Puncak Penulisan Temple in Sukawana Village, which is a holy place that holds a unique and rare cultural heritage. This situation has created a conflict between local culture, which has traditional and sacred nuances, and the influence of global culture, which has modern nuances and is full of economic interests. Puncak Penulisan Temple has a long history and holds great significance for the Hindus. It is a cultural heritage site that is well-protected and preserved. The temple is believed to have originated from the ancient Balinese kingdom, as evidenced by the Sukawana AI Inscription (804 Saka) that mentions a holy place called Ulan on Cintamani Hill (the former name of Puncak Penulisan Temple). Additionally, there is an inscription on the back of the Sejoli Statue that mentions the number 933 Saka. This statue represents King Udayana and his wife Gunapriya Dharmapatni. The statue of King Anak Wungsu's wife, who ruled from 1049-1077 AD, bears the words "Bhatari Mandul". The temple's collection of 35 statues in embodiment, 2 statues of Ganesha, a statue of Brahma, 20 linggas, a rectangular stone with scratches on all four sides, and several miniature temples serve as symbols of the mountain where the gods or holy spirits reside (Srijaya et al, 2019: 24). Along with the development of tourism in Bali, this temple is also used as a tourist attraction. Puncak Penulisan Temple, which is essentially a cultural heritage and even a sacred place, is in the process of becoming a tourist destination. Puncak Tulisan Temple is one of the five leading tourist attractions in Bangli Regency. The five leading tourist attractions are Batur, Penglipuran, Kehen Temple, Puncak Penulisan Temple, and Trunyan (Government Tourism Bangli, 2018). A phenomenon appeared to occur during observations made at Puncak Penulisan Temple, that the commodification of cultural heritage can give rise to a dual function for this cultural heritage. This means that apart from the cultural heritage of the Puncak Penulisan Temple being sacred, it is also a tourist attraction that gives tourists the freedom of space and time to enter the sacred space (main mandala) without anyone knowing whether the tourist is dirty (cuntaka). Another aspect that is conceptually in conflict is the remodeling of places within the temple environment for the benefit of various facilities to support tourist activities. The tug-of-war of interests in the commodification process of Puncak Penulisan Temple is currently occurring and has occurred. Of course, something like this is a problem, and if it is not examined in depth, it will disrupt the human balance in efforts to achieve physical and spiritual well-being. This research takes a cultural studies perspective and examines the social realities related to Puncak Penulisan Temple amid

globalization. The temple, being a holy place, has experienced commodification as an adaptive form of global culture. This means that the influence of global cultural flows has led to the emergence of capitalist practices, resulting in the temple's cultural heritage becoming a commodity. The process of commodification can be complex, and this research focuses on three main problems: 1) What is the process of commodification of the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple; 2) What ideology is behind the commodification of the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple?; and 3) What are the implications of the commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple's cultural heritage?

METHODS

This study examines the Puncak Penulisan Temple located in Sukawana Village, Kintamani District, Bangli Regency through a qualitative lens using a critical cultural studies perspective. The research methodology comprises interviews, observations, and literature studies pertaining to the research topic. The collected data is subjected to qualitative descriptive analysis, and the theory of genetic structuralism by Pierre Bourdieu is employed to analyze the research problems.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

a. Process of Commodification of Cultural Heritage at Puncak Tulisan Temple

The description in this chapter is exploring a unique approach to understanding the commodification of Pura Puncak Penulisan temple's cultural heritage. It uses a theory called genetic structuralism to deconstruct the causes and processes behind the commodification. The goal is to gain new insights and knowledge about this phenomenon. The author also draws upon Bourdieu's (1984) formulation of social practice, which is $(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{social practice}$, to further this deconstruction process of commodification of cultural heritage at Puncak Penulisan Temple.

Habitus

Habitus is a cognitive structure that mediates individuals and social reality, in the sense that individuals use the concept of habitus in dealing with social reality (Harker et al., 2005: xviii). Habitus in the Sukawana Village community is encouraged from within and is influenced by the potential that supports tourism development in Sukawana Village. Bourdieu states that habitus is the result of skills that become practical actions which are then translated into an ability that seems natural and develops in a particular social

environment. In the process of acquiring these skills, the structures that are formed change into structures that form. So habitus becomes a source of driving action, thinking, and representation (Haryatmoko, 2016). In this case, the people of Sukawana Village have behavioral habits, namely the open attitude of the community. Globalization and the development of science which have implications for various world movement phenomena are factors in shifting and changing a person's views, both individually and collectively. The rapid development of tourism in Bali has brought changes to people's living conditions in various aspects of life, especially in the economic aspect. The development of tourism opens up a more advanced and modern mindset in society in seeking business opportunities in the tourism industry. changes in mindset and economic orientation, as well as having the potential in the form of cultural heritage, both tangible heritage (material cultural heritage), intangible heritage (cultural heritage such as community traditions), and natural heritage. This influences people's habits in tourism development.

The Sukawana Village community promotes cultural exchange through an open-minded approach. The globalization of society has brought about significant socio-cultural changes, including shifts in geographical conditions, material needs, population composition, and ideology, which have resulted in the commercialization of the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple. Despite this, the Balinese people remain receptive to external cultural influences, and they strive to incorporate positive aspects into their culture while rejecting negative influences. In Sukawana Village, an open attitude towards globalization has led to the adoption of new cultural directions, which have helped to increase the welfare of the community. However, this has also led to the abandonment of traditional values, including the sacred and holy nature of the Puncak Penulisan Temple. The temple has been utilized for tourism development, with a focus on providing comfort and beauty to tourists, to generate funds for cultural preservation. The people of Sukawana Village, who once relied solely on agriculture, have diversified their livelihoods by exploring privately owned businesses and the private sector within and beyond the village environment. Despite the changes, the Sukawana community remains committed to promoting cultural exchange and preserving their cultural heritage.

Capital

Capital is an ability that every habitus has and can be fought for in the realm. Capital in relation to sociocultural science according to Bourdieu has a very broad definition and includes material things that have cultural value and consumption patterns such as economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Harker et

al, 2005: 16-17). Economic capital includes means of production (machines, land, labor), materials (income and objects), and money that can be easily used for all purposes and passed on from one generation to the next. Economic capital in the form of money generated from orange gardening by the Sukawana community is then used as capital to increase other capital, such as being used to go to school so that they get cultural capital in the form of knowledge and symbolic capital in the form of an educational degree. The money is also used for traditional purposes in Sukawana village, whether for ceremonial purposes or repairing holy places. One of them is the importance of ceremonies and maintaining the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple.

Cultural capital includes all intellectual qualifications that can be produced through formal education or family inheritance. For example, the ability to present oneself in public, ownership of high-value cultural objects, and certain knowledge and skills resulting from education. Bourdieu (1984) also defines cultural capital as culturally valuable tastes and consumption patterns with a broad range such as art, education, and language forms (Harker et al., 2005: 16). The cultural capital of the Sukawana Village community can be seen from community education, both formal and informal. Formal education takes the form of public awareness to continue to a higher level of education. Meanwhile, non-formal education takes the form of coaching, counseling, and training provided by the government and universities related to tourism development. The cultural capital of the Sukawana Village community has also been inherited from generation to generation. This capital is passed on to the community in the form of local knowledge regarding cultural and environmental preservation which can support tourism development. The people of Sukawana Village also have other cultural capital, namely ownership of high-value cultural objects in the form of the oldest inscriptions in Bali, and statues of ancient Balinese kings stored in Puncak Penulisan Temple.

Bourdieu defines social capital as the number of resources, actual or virtual, that accumulate in an individual or group because they have a long-lasting network of reciprocal relationships of acquaintance and recognition that are more or less institutionalized (Field, 2010: 23). In this cooperative relationship, there will be a pattern of reciprocal relationships that are mutually beneficial between the two individuals and or groups. This reciprocal relationship is formed based on trust which is based on the values and norms that exist in a society (Habullah, 2006). The Sukawana

community has a large social network which is bound by Pura Puncak Penulisan, the social network is Banua Gebog Domas Pura Puncak Penulisan spread over four main villages called Gebog Satak (Gebog Satak Sukawana Village, Kintamani Village, Selulung Village and Bantang Village) with sub-villages. Their respective traditional villages. (Wardi, 2019: 2, Duija, 2022: 86). The Banua Gebog Domas social network usually attends and gathers together when there is a celebration of the pujawali ritual of Pura Puncak Penulisan every ten years (Catur Wali Mukha), namely Purnama Kapat and other related important activities. Another social capital that the people of Sukawana Village have is their relationship with the government. In the management of Puncak Penulisan Temple, the government through the Cultural Preservation Center Region XV (Bali) carries out the task of preserving the Puncak Penulisan Temple Cultural Heritage Site. Then social capital in tourism development is a reciprocal relationship between society and government that is mutually beneficial. Social capital can be observed from several interrelated elements, including community participation in tourism development, reciprocal relationships, beliefs, values, norms, and proactive actions from the community.

Symbolic capital includes all forms of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy (Fashri, 2007: 100). The symbolic capital of the Sukawana Village community in tourism development can be seen from the traditional village power. In this case, the traditional village is represented by the Sukawana Traditional Village Head, Mr. I Wayan Jasa, who is also the Chairman of Puncak Penulisan Temple appointed by Jero Kubayan Mucuk Sukawana. The high status possessed by the Bendesa Adat is used to provide suggestions or suggestions and instructions to the community in realizing tourism development in Sukawana, especially at Puncak Penulisan Temple. The use of symbolic capital should be done wisely so that it runs optimally.

Field

The concept of habitus cannot be separated from what Bourdieu calls field, because both of them presuppose a two-way relationship: objective structures (social field structures) and habitus structures that have been integrated into behavior (Mahar and Harker: 2010). In an arena, there is a battle for capital. This struggle is also strengthened by capital, so this realm is a realm of power, in which there is a struggle for access to power (Mutahir, 2011). The realm of social space in this discussion is tourism opportunities, which are described more clearly as follows. Tourism is part of a dynamic human culture in which the travel experience is interrelated between visitors and the areas

they visit. Tourism is also associated with activities, services, and industrial products that can create travel experiences for tourists (Muljadi, 2010: 7). The opportunity for tourism as a social domain makes the conditions for tourism development one of the things related to the process of commodification of the Puncak Penulisan Temple cultural heritage, such as the power of tourists to consume cultural heritage. Cultural heritage, most of which are sacred places that were originally only used as religious media consumed by local people, is now developing as a cultural tourist attraction consumed by tourists. Sukawana Village as a research location is a village that has diverse cultural riches, such as archaeological sites and unique traditions. The cultural heritage that is currently being used as a tourist attraction in Sukawana village is Puncak Penulisan Temple, which was previously a sacred and sacred place that has developed into a tourist destination. The Bangli Regency Government, which saw tourism opportunities, to obtain regional original income also took part in the arena battle. The unique culture of Sukawana Village and its natural potential have made this village designated as a tourist village through Bangli Regent Regulation No. 4 of 2018 concerning the Third Amendment to Bangli Regent Regulation No. 16 of 2004 concerning Tourism Villages in Bangli Regency.

Social Practice

The new knowledge and understanding produced through the deconstruction above are then rearranged (construction) using the formula, namely $(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{social practice}$. Through this construction, it can be understood that the commodification of the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple in Sukawana Village can occur as it is now due to the habitus of the Sukawana people who have an open attitude, changes in thought patterns, and economic orientation. This habitus can encourage the growth of new social practices, the nature of this habitus is called Generature. Then this habitus is supported by the capital owned by the Sukawana community, such as economic capital in the form of money, cultural capital such as knowledge about tourism and material culture at the Puncak Penulisan Temple, social capital such as networks with the government and gebog domas in efforts to manage Puncak Penulisan Temple, symbolic capital such as the strength of the Traditional Village, in this case, is the Sukawana Traditional Village Head who also has a high status as Chair of the Puncak Penulisan Temple appointed by Jero Kubayan Mucuk Sukawana who has an important role in realizing tourism in Sukawana Village. Tourism opportunities in Sukawana Village are in the realm of fighting over the cultural resources of Puncak Penulisan Temple.

b. Ideology Behind the Commodification of the Cultural Heritage of Puncak Penulisan

Temple Ideology plays a vital role in guiding human behavior, serving as a blueprint for how individuals interact within society. The superstructure of ideology includes values, norms, knowledge, and beliefs (Atmaja, 2010: 133). In this study, ideology refers to the ideas, thoughts, and values that are upheld by the Bangli Regency Government and the Sukawana community when it comes to commodifying the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple. Specifically, the commodification is based on two ideologies: the ideology of capitalism and the ideology of preservation.

Capitalism Ideology

Referring to Marcuse's ideas (in Sachari, 2002), modern industrial society is a one-dimensional society. The characteristic is that all life is directed towards one goal, namely the continuation and improvement of the existing system, namely the capitalist system. Whatever the label, the basic principle remains the same, namely that humans carry out economic activities freely to get as much profit as possible. Marx also stated that commodification is a process associated with capitalism, where objects, qualities, and signs are transformed into commodities (Barker, 2005: 145-15). The expansion of the capitalist economic system in Balinese society has widely influenced elements of the ideological superstructure, such as the sacred temples, which have sacred value for Balinese society, being turned into commodities for profit. The market ideology in the commodification of the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple can be observed that the cultural heritage tourist attraction of Puncak Penulisan Temple is a place of exchange between supply and demand. This ideology is also inseparable from the Bangli Regency Government's strategy to attract tourists to come to visit to earn greater income. In developing cultural tourism, especially in the context of managing tourist attractions, the Bangli district government 2022 is rebranding Bangli tourism with the tagline "Bangli the Origin of Bali" which means that Bangli Regency is historically the origin of Balinese civilization, which is proven with various archaeological finds and inscriptions from the ancient Balinese Kingdom. Apart from that, it can also be observed from efforts to obtain income through Regional Regulations or Regent Regulations. The Regent of Bangli issued Regulation Number 8 of 2022 concerning the Review of Levy Rates for Recreation and Sports Places in Bangli Regency. These regulations are the Retribution Regulations which are stipulated, namely the entrance ticket is Rp. 50,000 for adult foreigners, Rp.

30,000 for foreign children, Rp. 25,000 for adult Indonesian citizens, Rp. 15,000 for Indonesian children. Meanwhile, the tariff for transportation equipment has increased to Rp. 10,000 for Bus, Rp. 5,000 for Micro buses, sedans, jeeps, and so on, while Rp. 2000 for motorbikes. Based on these regulations, tourists who want to consume the cultural heritage tourism at Puncak Penulisan Temple are required to pay according to the nominal rupiah that has been determined.

Conservation Ideology

The ideology of conservation related to the commodification of cultural heritage is governed by Law Number 11 of 2010, which concerns Cultural Heritage. Preservation is a continuous effort to maintain the existence and value of cultural heritage by protecting, developing, and utilizing it. Cultural heritage preservation is divided into two categories: formal preservation and conventional preservation. Formal preservation is carried out by authorized institutions or agencies that follow the provisions stated in Law Number 11 of 2010, while conventional preservation is traditionally carried out by the community in protecting and caring for cultural heritage objects. The Region XV Cultural Conservation Center, located in Bedulu, is responsible for formal preservation and has the duties of maintenance, protection, restoration, documentation, guidance and counseling, investigation, and security of movable and immovable cultural heritage. On the other hand, the Bali Archeology Center, currently BRIN, located in Denpasar, handles the field of cultural heritage research in Bali. The cultural heritage preservation strategy in Law Number 11 of 2010 covers three aspects: protection, development, and utilization. Cultural sites that have been designated as Cultural Heritage in Republic of Indonesia Law No. 5 of 1992 must be re-evaluated in stages starting from the district, according to Law No. 11 of 2010. Puncak Penulisan Temple has been granted the status of Regency-level Cultural Heritage by the Bangli Regency Government in 2021, following the issuance of the Bangli Regent's Decree Number 430.05/824/2021. In 2022, the Bali Provincial Government granted Puncak Penulisan Temple the status of Provincial Cultural Heritage through the Decree of the Governor of Bali Number 763/03-J/HK/2022. Currently, Puncak Penulisan Temple is undergoing trials by the National Cultural Heritage Expert Team in Jakarta to be considered a National Ranked Cultural Heritage in 2023. The community plays a crucial role in preserving Bali's cultural heritage, which is mostly located in temples spread across nine districts/cities and situated amid community settlements. These cultural heritage sites serve as living monuments, and their preservation is beneficial since

they still function in the religious life of the supporting community. The community has been maintaining the cultural heritage within the temple for generations, and their role includes providing security by placing cultural heritage in a locked gedong. At Puncak Penulisan, several very important cultural heritage items, such as the Statue of the Embodiment of King Bali Astasura Ratnabumibanten, are placed in Gedong Cemeng, while other statues in Gedong Puser Tasik are prohibited from entering the temple area or only allowed with the owner's permission, and they are guarded on certain days.

c. Implications of Commodification of the Cultural Heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple

The commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple's cultural heritage gives rise to cultural, social and economic implications for the people of Sukawana Village.

Cultural Implications

Puncak Penulisan Temple and Sukawana Village have been of special interest to archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians for a long time. The village's social and cultural life is colored by intensive religious rituals and the many cultural remains from the past. As the society undergoes socio-cultural developments and changes, its customs, traditions, and culture also experience changes. Initially, Puncak Tulisan Temple in Sukawana Village was not created for commercial purposes, but it has now undergone commodification. The temple is a sacred place of worship for Hindus. Similarly, the Puncak Penulisan Temple is a sacred place for the Sukawana Village, Gebog Domas community, and Hindus from other areas in Bali. However, over time, Pura Puncak Penulisan has become commercialized, and it has been transformed into a cultural product to cater to market demands. This transformation reflects the connection between tradition and modernity, which has resulted in a commercial relationship. Due to various capitalist interests, Puncak Penulisan Temple has become a commodity with a selling value. The market dictates the direction of Puncak Penulisan Temple's appearance, including its quality, ornaments, architecture, artifacts, and arrangements, all being packaged as commodities to satisfy market tastes. One can see the commercialization of Puncak Penulisan Temple in the provision of kamben and shawls, which tourists can purchase to enter the temple area. Before entering, tourists must pay an entrance fee of Rp. 50,000, which gives them access to the entire Puncak Penulisan Temple area. The cultural products of Pura Puncak Penulisan have become commodities, along with the promotion

of other commodities, to showcase and introduce Puncak Penulisan Temple at home and abroad. The emphasis on exchange rates requires Puncak Penulisan Temple to improve its appearance to meet consumer tastes optimally. Therefore, the management continues to strive to develop creativity and modify cultural products to attract consumers. This has caused Puncak Penulisan Temple to become a commodity that is commercialized for market purposes.

According to Richards (1996: 6), the commodification of culture leads to a shift in cultural and economic boundaries, as is evident in tourism practices, especially cultural tourism. However, the local culture does not progress much beyond being an economic commodity for tourism. The people in cultural spaces also become desensitized by the practicality of global culture, which is perceived as more attractive, easy, fast, and efficient. Puncak Penulisan Temple as a result of culture, has an identity that sets it apart from others. The commodification of the Puncak Penulisan Temple blurs its identity and results in the loss of cultural values. This loss is due to the "structuring" of the temple to attract tourists. Cultural heritage, including Puncak Penulisan Temple, has its own story to tell about the cultural values it embodies. However, these values are not as important as the ability of the cultural products of Puncak Penulisan Temple to continue being consumed.

Social Implications

The process of developing tourism in Sukawana Village requires collaboration with other parties such as the government; as an institution authorized to issue formal legal issues, industry or private entrepreneurs; which can encourage the development of tourism infrastructure through investment, and academics or researchers; as an agent who can expand networks related to tourist villages through works and publications. Interaction in the form of partnerships in efforts to develop tourism strategies in Sukawana Village with the government is characterized by forms of cooperation in the form of management activities of the Puncak Penulisan Temple tourist attraction. This collaboration is stated in a cooperation agreement between the Bangli district government and the Puncak Penulisan Temple Committee. The cooperation agreement regulates the collection of fees for recreation and sports venues at the Puncak Penulisan Temple tourist attraction. The rights and obligations between the Bangli government and the Puncak Penulisan Temple Committee are also regulated in the agreement. Collaboration with non-private institutions in tourism development efforts in Sukawana village is generally not formally bound because the village is still in the exploration stage. The existence of

interactions and relationships with institutions such as travel service bureaus and tour guides generally aims as a promotional medium, especially in planning tour guides with travel routes providing travel routes that include Sukawana Village as one of the destinations. Apart from that, the presence of media workers such as journalists, photographers, and videographers who often capture cultural events carried out by the Sukawana community indirectly expands the name of this village as an interesting tourist destination. The role of domestic and foreign academics or researchers who want to know more about the uniqueness of Sukawana village is also an interaction that indirectly expands the name of Sukawana as a tourist destination area with various potentials. The open attitude of the community to provide information to researchers indirectly creates interactions and expands relations for the Sukawana community.

Economic Implications

Tourism development efforts aim to prevent the marginalization of local communities and ensure that they are not just "spectators" or "spectacles". The tourism industry has the potential to create many job opportunities, especially in tourist villages. Its multiplier effect is significant as it leads to the development of other commercial sectors, such as agriculture and livestock, through ecotourism, homestays, and souvenirs (Putra, 2017: 52). By commodifying the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple, the Sukawana community hopes to improve their welfare and sustainably preserve their culture and environment. The tourism sector employs many people, especially younger generations, while others continue to cultivate agricultural land. Residents are also starting to establish businesses by using their homes or agricultural land as kiosks, food stalls, or cafes to provide necessities for the community and food and drinks for tourists. Some Sukawana residents work outside the village, mainly in the private sector, such as the tourism industry as hotel employees, guides, and cruise ships. The community's diverse range of work is one of the positive impacts of tourism development in Sukawana Village. The Sukawana community is hopeful for a better future, which is supported by both internal and external factors. The internal factors come from the society itself, where they feel that their current situation is no longer satisfying and they desire something better. On the other hand, external factors include government programs such as education, promotion, and tourism culture. The development of tourism in Sukawana Village also leads to better village infrastructure, which is essential for providing excellent service to tourists and benefiting the village residents. Furthermore, new businesses such

as cafes, coffee shops, and camping/glamping sites are being constructed in Sukawana Village due to the increasing participation of the locals in tourism development activities.

CONCLUSION

The process of commodifying the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple was a gradual one. It was brought about by changes in habits, such as the community's more open attitudes, shifts in their thought patterns and economic orientations, as well as the Sukawana Village community's potential to offer cultural and natural heritage. Habitus, which is equipped with economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital, is fought for in social spaces such as tourism opportunities. The community's response to the battle between globalization and capitalism through tourism with community cultural values was the commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple's cultural heritage. The commodification of the cultural heritage of Puncak Penulisan Temple is driven by the ideologies of capitalism and preservation. Capitalism is the driving force behind the commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple cultural heritage, which involves the government and society in creating more value to obtain a distribution of retribution. The conservation ideology related to the commodification of cultural heritage refers to Law Number 11 of 2010 concerning Cultural Heritage. Preservation is a dynamic effort to maintain the existence of cultural heritage and its value by protecting, developing, and utilizing it. The commodification of Puncak Penulisan Temple's cultural heritage has significant implications on various aspects of community life, such as cultural, social, and economic aspects. In the cultural aspect, this phenomenon results in the commercialization of sacred places and the erosion of cultural values. In the social aspect, the implications can be seen in the increased interaction and relations among the Sukawana village community, who collaborate with the government and non-government parties to develop and promote tourism. In the economic aspect, commodification leads to the creation of new job opportunities and stimulates regional development.

REFERENCES

- Ardika, I Wayan. 2015. *Warisan Budaya Perspektif Masa Kini*. Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
- Atmadja, Nengah Bawa. 2010. *Komodifikasi Tubuh Perempuan Jaged Ngebor Bali*. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan.
- Barker, Chris. 2005. *Cultural Studies: Teori Dan Praktik*. Yogyakarta: Bentang.

- Duija, I Nengah, I Nyoman Linggih, dan I Wayan Wastawa. 2022. *Sistem Banua Sebagai Kohesi Sosial Berbasis Religi Pada Masyarakat Tradisional Di Kabupaten Bangli, Bali*. Denpasar: Jayapangus Press.
- Fashri, Fauzi. 2007. *Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol (Apropriasi Reflektif Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu)*. Yogyakarta: Juxtapose
- Field, John. 2010. *Modal Sosial*. Yogyakarta : Kreasi Wacana.
- Hasbullah, Jousairi. 2006. *Social Capital: Menuju Keunggulan Budaya Manusia Indonesia*. Jakarta. MR-United Press.
- Harker, Richard dkk. 2005. *(Habitus X Modal) + Ranah = Praktik: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Bourdieu*. Yogyakarta: Jalansutra.
- Haryatmoko. 2016. *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Muljadi: 2010. *Kepariwisata dan Perjalanan*. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Mutahir, Arizal. 2011. *Intelektual Kolektif Pierre Bourdieu: Sebuah Gerakan untuk Melawan Dominasi*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- Sachari. 2002. *Estetika, Makna, Simbol, dan Daya*. Bandung: ITB
- Saifullah. 1994. "Mobilitas Penduduk dan Perubahan di Pedesaan". *Majalah Prima*, 10, 32-41.
- Srijaya, I Wayan dkk. 2019. "Ikonografi Hindu Abad VIII-XIV di Kabupaten Gianyar, Bangli, dan Buleleng: Analisis Bentuk, Fungsi dan Makna". *Jurnal Kajian Bali*, 10(2), 469-490.
- Tim Penyusun. 2018. *Analisa Pasar Pariwisata Kabupaten Bangli*. Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Bangli.
- Wardi, I Nyoman dkk. 2019. "Bentang Budaya Kosmologis Kerajaan Bali Kuno: Kajian Kearifan Lingkungan Dalam Upaya Mendukung Pembangunan Berkelanjutan (Kawasan Banua Gebog Domas Pura Pucak Penulisan Kecamatan Kintamani Kabupaten Bangli)". *Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi*. Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Balai Arkeologi Bali