

GOCEKAN AS A POWER RELATIONS IN BATUAN VILLAGE, GIANYAR, BALI

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ABSTRACT

Gocekan is a series of percussion rituals with brawls that are carried out routinely every year starting on the *kajeng kliwon enyitan sasih kalima* (mid-November) to *Ngembak Geni*, the end of the *sasih kesanga* (mid-March) in the *Puseh* Temple area in Batuan Village, Gianyar, Bali. In its development shocks have been influenced by various interests due to the power relations that occur in the implementation process. This study aims to address the main problems, namely regarding the forms of power relations, the driving factors for power relations, and the meaning and impact of power relations in shocks. Based on research there are several forms of power relations in shocks, namely the relations of hegemonic ideological power, symbolic power relations, and the power relations of domination practice. The factors that encourage power relations in shocks can be divided into two, namely internal factors consisting of beliefs (religious), cultural sacralization, openness of traditional villages, and lack of understanding of religious and legal norms. External factors consisting of capitalism, tourism and the economy. In this regard, the meaning due to the power relations in shocks is the symbolism of religious ritual and impunity. As a result it will have an impact on the deviation of the implementation of Hinduism, deviations of morality and power, and *metajen* habits as a subculture of the Balinese.

Keywords: shock, clubbing, power relations, interests

INTRODUCTION

Gocekan as part of ritual percussion in Hinduism in Bali by using chicken as a sacrifice which is routinely carried out every year, starting on *kajeng kliwon enyitan sasih kalima* (mid-November) to *Ngembak Geni*, ending *sasih kesanga* (mid-March) in the area *Puseh* Temple, Batuan Village. Scuff as a form of religious ritual in its development has been influenced by a variety of interests due to the power relations that occur in the implementation process. The development of shocks that seem lost control causes it to indirectly injure Hindu values. This research on "Gocekans as the Power of Relation Practices in Batuan village, Gianyar, Bali"

aims to analyze three problem formulations, namely: (1) the form of power relations in shocks, the factors driving power relations in shocks, as well as the meaning and impact of power relations that occur in shocks in the village of Batuan, Gianyar, Bali.

Research methods

This research, located in Batuan Village, was designed as a qualitative study with a cultural study paradigm. In line with this paradigm, data collection is done by observation, interview, and literature study. After primary and secondary data are collected, then analyzed using critical concepts and theories such as hegemony theory, the power of knowledge theory, and practice theory. All data were narrated and the results of the study were presented in analytic descriptive.

DISCUSSION

Modernization and globalization that occur throughout the world has led to dynamics and changes in all aspects of life including Hindu religious activities in Bali, in relation to the *megocekan* tradition. After the problems formulated, this study found that there were some developments in the implementation of shocks which were ritual percussion in the village of Batuan, which was caused by the various forms of power relations practices carried out by the agents involved in the implementation of shocks. The forms of power relations that occur in shocks are in the form of hegemonic ideological power relations, symbolic power relations, and dominating power relations practices. The hegemonic ideological power relation is a place for power holders in shocks, namely religious leaders (temple stakeholders) and the organizing committee organization assigned by the customary village by perpetuating the role of myths for the sustainability of *megocekan*.

According to Althusser (2010: 39), ideology is a representation of the relationships of imaginary individuals under the real conditions of their existence. Systematically hegemony ideology force individuals and society with certain thoughts, certain biases, certain preference systems, where power tends to do hegemony of meaning to social reality. Individuals and communities are accommodated by their values and ideas with a perspective that has been patterned, structured in terms of the meaning created and desired by power. Various myths about the implementation of shocks in Batuan Village were deliberately used as a basis and shield in their implementation. Another form of power relation is symbolic power relation, which is a relational game that is carried out by a group of shocks to the supporting aspects

of shredding (for example *bebotoh* and material aspects related to the implementation of shocks as a religious ritual). The form is in the form of the use of symbols to direct the view to interpret shocks as part of the rite. The material used in shredding seeks to be interpreted religiously and is related to religious rituals. Furthermore, the form of power relations in the form of the practice of domination, in general social relations the rules that already exist and are made by 'a dominant group' will become a habit that has unwittingly become a symbolic capital for the continuation of power. The practice of dominance in shredding is particularly evident in the formation of a committee which is hereinafter referred to as *sekaa* shaking by customary village of Batuan as the organizing committee for the whole series of shredding activities. The central role as a regulator of the implementation of shocks lies with *sekaagekan* which is an extension of the customary village government. The customary village as the protector of the execution of puts the chosen people in charge of organizing the shock every year. Everything related to the execution of shocks is prepared and carried out by this organization. The dominance of the chosen people also influences the procedure for its implementation, in that it does not deny that the agent can include ideas or special interests in the process of implementing the shock.



Source: dok: Dewi, 2017.

Second, developments that occur in shocks are influenced by several factors that accompany the implementation process so that the practice of power relations is encouraged. The factors that drive power relations in shocks consist of internal and external factors as follows.

A. Internal Factors

1. Belief (Religion)

Humans are homo religious, namely religious beings. Characteristics of religious people include belief in supernatural creatures such as gods or demons (Haryanto, 2015: 12). Both are often positioned in opposing characters namely gods with good character, while demons have bad character. In anthropomorphism both are often manifested in the form of creatures that resemble humans while the other resembles a giant (Weber, 2002 in Atmadja, 2015: 128-134). The linkage between shredding with homo religious is seen in the way of love, the *bhuta yadnya* ritual which is based on the calculation of the moon. According to the Balinese calendar. Related to the implementation of shocks in Batuan Village according to mythology, it is an effort to avoid the danger caused by I Gede Mecaling. The implementation of *tawur* at *Puseh* Village in Batuan Temple is also a ceremony related to the distribution of *sasih* as shown in the table above. *Bhuta*, according to the people of Batuan Village, is analogous to the figure of *I Gede Mecaling* who is both a negative force causing distress.

The presence of percussion in every *tawur/caru* is an ideological conception that underlies the organization of the shock in Batuan Village. Ritual activities that are one unit with a belief system (religious) are very difficult to be removed from the mindset of the community. So that whatever developments occur in the practice of the ritual, as long as it is still carried out it is likely that it will still be accepted by the community. Moreover, it is equipped with relational practices in it which perfects power games in shocks. If it is allowed to develop, according to Arifin (2005: 3), it indicates that religion (religion) will increasingly no longer be able to carry out its main function (functional imperative), because it's main function is sacrificed for the benefit of other social institutions that have very different main functions. In such a trap, religion (religion) is no longer an institutionalizing force which is then systematically and systemically interpreted with human reason (Arifin, 2005: 3, in Arsana, 2011: 278-279).

Sakralisasi Budaya

Culture is a fairly complicated and often debated word because this concept does not represent an entity that stands apart from the world of objects. Culture should be understood as a flexible marker that enables a variety of ways to discuss clusters of human activity with various purposes. In other words, the concept of culture is an instrument or tool that is more or less useful as a frame of life (life form). The use of this concept and the meanings embedded in it are constantly changing because thinkers relentlessly seek to do a number of things with this concept (Barker, 2014: 64).

Based on the explanation above, shock is one of the culture which is sacred through various practices that have been carried out and inadvertently in the next development, it is trapped into a culture of subculture. This idea is based on the consideration that the Balinese people in general and Batuan in particular have Balinese culture as a large culture that is dominant to the Balinese. Balinese culture includes the whole way of life and includes the mapping of meanings or meanings that affect how the world is lived or understood by Balinese as reflected in their social actions in social life. In the midst of the dominant Balinese culture, shocks can be positioned as a subculture.

Starting from its position as a subculture, shock tried to occupy a dominant position in society. One of the things done is trying to build confidence and legitimacy over the implementation of shocks through sacralization. Profane sacralization is the theft of sacred values and sacred rituals into the identity of non-spiritual products to be interpreted by consumers as religious faiths (Meinhold, 2005). In the current era of globalization, a culture that exists is a culture that can be emotionally attached to the equivalent of religion.

1. Openness of Indigenous Village

Regarding the shock in Batuan Village, it shows the open attitude of the customary village to the developments that occurred in the shock. This open minded acceptance is the first step in an effort to accept the effects of modernization and globalization. An open attitude will make us more dynamic, not be shackled by old things that are old-fashioned, and will be more receptive to the changes and advances of the times. However, the lack of social control originating from indigenous villages can also lead to the development of shocks that were originally only in the form of ritual activities so as to lead to negative things. Customary villages have *awig-awig* as a filtering of external influences that enter the village order. *Awig-awig* have a very strong social control because it has been determined what rights and obligations should be exercised by indigenous people. After being able to open up from new things, the next step is to have sensitivity (anticipative) in assessing the things that will or are happening to the effects of modernization and globalization. Anticipatory attitudes can show the effects arising from the current of globalization and modernization that lead to the ability to choose (selective). Customary villages as a place for growth and development of a culture must be able to be a shield in preserving a culture from the effects of modernization and globalization.

1. Lack of Understanding of Religious and Legal Norms

Norms are behavioral guidelines that must be done and should not be done in daily life, based on a certain reason (motivation) accompanied by sanctions. Religious norms are rules of life

in the form of commands and prohibitions, which are believed by its adherents to come from God, the Almighty. These rules not only regulate the vertical relationship, between humans and God (religious), but also horizontal relationships, between humans and fellow humans (Widjaja, 1985: 168). Scriptures Rgweda X. 34. 13, Rgweda X. 34. 10, Rgweda X. 34. 3, expressly forbid Hindus from gambling. Gambling can make a family miserable. Work on the fields and make ends meet and satisfy it, according to the contents of the Vedic mantra. *Manavadharmaśāstrayang* is a compilation of Hindu law sloka IX. 221 to sloka IX. 227 also states about the prohibition of gambling (Pudja and Sudharta, 1996: 587-588). In essence gambling is also an act that is contrary to legal norms. The Criminal Code (KUHP) regulates gambling in article 303, based on the Modern Criminal Law sanctions or reactions are given not only in the form of criminal, but also actions aimed at protecting the public from harmful acts (Hidayat, 2011: 87 -88).

Based on the provisions above, basically both in terms of religious norms and legal norms both do not justify an activity that is a gamble or gambling. An understanding of religious and legal norms is absolutely necessary to guide one's person so as not to commit acts outside of these social norms. In connection with the development of shocks in Batuan Village that lead to gambling practices, the most basic thing that must be introspected is the understanding of religious norms and legal norms of the perpetrators of these activities. Accepting the influence of modernism and globalization is okay, but consideration regarding the aspects of religion and law is needed in the preservation of a culture.

A. External Factors

1. Capitalism

Regarding the shock in Batuan Village, the dominant capitalist practice is seen in its implementation. Capitalists in relation to shocks are agents who have capital in them, both economic capital and social capital in the form of power. In terms of economic capital, which includes the bebotoh. Bebotoh is a gambler. Bebotoh certainly needs an arena to channel his gambling desires. Seeing the existence of a gap as an arena, many bebotoh involved in shocks. Whether or not there is a botoh affects the village's income. The number of bets that are in the flock depends on the number of bebotoh involved. If each fighting chicken is pegged at Rp. 1,000,000, - if the number of chickens has not yet been obtained, the chicken complaint will be postponed or canceled until it gets the specified amount anyway. Every 5% of the amount after each complaint will be deducted as excise tax (abbreviated as cuk). Thus, the

role of bebotoh in shocks is very important, namely as a contributor to income for traditional villages.

In terms of social capital in this case in the form of power, traditional village leaders and their predecessors are the dominant shareholders. The power to regulate the course of the shock makes all the shock can receive input or entrust the interests of a party. Based on a cultural perspective, power is an energy or strength that is able to maintain, preserve, transform culture in society. As an illustration, a person who has the capability as a ruler can instill the values in the body of the community. In connection with shocks, the power of traditional village leaders and their role plays a role in maintaining the existence of the implementation of shocks by hegemonying the community with built ideologies. The implementation of shocks that have evolved to become biased is protected by ideologies that are sparked for the sake of continuing shocks like today.

1. Tourism

Bali is one of the famous tourist destinations with cultural tourism. The tourism industry is the biological child of globalization that produces cultural objects to be traded for financial gain. One form of cultural objects that has been commodified in the era of globalization is ritual (Irianto, 2016: 213). Increasingly expanding the promotion of Bali cultural tourism packages through online media makes agents more creative to create new ideas to sell in the market. On several websites of online tourism agents found Balinese Cockfighting travel package promotions. This shows that there are efforts to include this activity as part of a cultural tourism package.



(Source: <http://bayubalitours.com/article/bali-cockfighting/>)

Meanwhile in Batuan Village, the way to promote Balinese Cockfighting is done by direct communication with tourists. The management officers who took tourists around the temple also explained about the existence of shredding and staging the Sutjang dance.

1. Economy

The implementation of shocks is closely related to providing employment for the community. Work done by humans as a reflection that humans as homo Faber means humans who create, namely making tools to increase work productivity (Haryatmoko, 2014: 56-57). This linkage can be direct, in the sense that they are certain people who are directly and physically present in the arena to get a fortune, both as primary and additional income. They can be divided into two, namely first, the breadwinner outside the arena of shreds. They are traders around the arena who occupy a relatively fixed space which is good from the context of their work. Most of the traders in the arena are food traders. Second, the breadwinner is directly in the arena of shocks. They consist of spur owners and fighting chicken traders. Those who are involved in shredding are never bored, but there are some people who specifically do certain activities to get a wage, so they come to the shocks as laborers. There are also earners who are not directly in the arena of shocks, however what they do is related to shocks. People included in this group are makers and traders of *guwungan* or confinement of chickens, makers and sharpeners of spurs, laborers who are paid specifically to raise chickens, and traders of chicken food and medicines. The role of traders in the arena is very important, namely as a supporter of excitement and enhancing the pleasure of people who come to the arena. Traders indirectly take advantage of the "arrogance" of *bebotoh*, considering that if *bebotoh* wins, they do not take into account the value of money so that whatever the price of food, it must be bought. This fact raises the perception that money in the gambling arena (*tajen* in general) is money with no eyes or blind money. This symbolic statement is used to show the nature of *bebotoh* when using his money, it seems like it does not take into account its value. This condition causes the price of food or perhaps goods sold in the gambling arena to be relatively more expensive than the market price.



Source: dok, Dewi, 2017

Third, the developments that occur in the implementation of shocks generate new meaning which also impacts the shocks themselves. Meaning that arises as a result of the power relations in the implementation of shocks causes this ritual cannot be interpreted absolutely as a rite, but rather a symbolism of a religious ritual. Other meanings arising from developments in shocks cause it to appear to be immune to the law, due to the fact that shocks have in fact been contaminated with gambling can continue to be carried out for quite a long period of time without firm action based on applicable law. As a result it will have an impact on the deviation of the implementation of Hinduism, deviations of morality and power, and Balinese culture (in this case the Balinese *metajen* culture) as a subculture.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Finally, by paying attention to all of the explanations above, it can be proven that there has been a power relationship in the shuffle in Batuan village, Gianyar, Bali. This is most evident in the presence of anyway with the assistance of rupiah money not with *Uang Kepeng*. The game of power relations in this study can be seen in a series of discussions about the form, driving factors, meaning and impact of power relations that occur in shocks. The occurrence of power relations on shocks indirectly also disturb Hindu religious values.

The suggestion of this research is that the existence of a culture especially religious rituals must indeed be maintained and preserved. But if there is a deviation in its implementation let alone violating the law it should be dealt with firmly. In connection with the phenomenon that occurs in shocks, mediation should be carried out by law enforcement

agencies and customary village government in order to revitalize the implementation of shocks.

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