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CAPITALISM PITFALLS TO WOODEN SCULPTURE CRAFTS IN BALI

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ABSTRACT

This research discusses about wooden sculpture crafts in Kemenuh village. It focusses on the development of traditional sculptors into mass sculpture industries. The aim of this research is to describe the process that made the sculptors shackled in the arena of capitalism, to identify the factors triggering the traditional crafts into mass cultural industry, and to know its implications for the lives of the sculptors in economic, social, and cultural field. This research used the sculptors and the businessmen of the sculpture crafts as the data source and applied the qualitative methods with the approach of cultural studies. The data collection was done by using participatory observation, interview, and documentation. The collected data were analyzed qualitatively by using descriptive method and supported by images, photographs, and tables. The result of the research shows that the sculptors from Kemenuh village were trapped into capitalism. This happened when artists changed the way of producing sculptures from traditional sculptures to mass production that began in the 1970s. The change was also influenced by internal and external. The internal factors were about the sculptors' habitués and natural environment, while the external factors involved the development of tourism, government encouragement through infrastructure development and regulations. The implication of mass sculpture crafts for the lives of the sculptors in Kemenuh village is that economically the income of the sculptors was decreasing. In this case their income was determined by the capitalists. Socially, the social structure which was before basically based on clan religion changed into social structure that was based on materials or patron clients. There was also women marginalization and discrimination. Culturally, cultural value decreased and there was no more freedom of expression in sculpturing.

INTRODUCTION

Bali, a province of Indonesia located in the east of Java island and west of Lombok is a popular island for tourism due to its nature, culture, nightlife and religious thing (Tajeddini, Ratten, & Denisa, 2017). Bali has its own features with its natural beauty and cultural uniqueness. It is due to these two potentials that make Bali grow fast for its tourism sector. It is considered that the two potentials are the basis of Bali's development.

The tourism sector is then considered a way out of becoming the foundation for the economy of the Balinese people. The type of tourism chosen for the development by the Bali government is cultural tourism. The beauty of the natural view and the peculiarities of Balinese ethnic culture are used as an attraction to stimulate the interest of foreign tourists. That's why Bali becomes one of the world famous cultural tourist destinations (Pichard, 2006).

Tourism development is a fairly complex activity. This service industry requires various supporting facilities, especially Bali which relies on authentic cultural uniqueness. At this point, local handicraft products become an important factor in smoothing cultural tourism activities. The handicraft industry is a determining element for the sustainability of the cultural tourism industry based on 'indigenous tourism', in addition to habitat, history and heritage (Smith, 1996: 304; Colton, 2005: 187-188). At this point, local handicraft products are an important factor in smoothing tourism activities.

According to Rodenburg (1980), tourism in Bali have three scales such as: small industrial, large industrial and craft industrial. At this point local handicraft products are important factors in smoothing cultural tourism activities. Craft industries have significant role in social economy. Based on the development of the craft industries, we have to respect the dimension of traditional and contemporary art crafting to promote the culture (Elina, Maria & Timo, 2018). Crafts have two important roles in realizing cultural tourism development. First, the existence of a craft center at tourist destinations can also function as a tourist attraction. In this case, crafts are served to meet the interests of tourists who want to see the first hand the work activities and the life of the artists (Pandit, 2003: 81; Kustina et al., 2019; Rinarta & Suryasa, 2017). Second, craft products play an important role as souvenir items for tourists. Tourists who come generally want to bring along art products as souvenirs (Ardika, 2007). This fact is in line with the new phenomenon of global society that has an interest in ethnic cultural artifacts including Balinese handicrafts (Naisbitt & Aburdene, 1987: 59-60; Susanto, 1998: 10-110).

It is not surprising that until the late 90s Balinese sculptures were sought after by foreign art collectors. Sculpture industries have a significant effect of economic growth especially in tourism sector (Pemayun, 2009). Jaya & Yuliarmi (2019), expressed that sculptures as a small-medium industry, as a safeguard for national economy, give significant contribution to the development of Indonesia economy. In the 2000s the government of Bali relied on regional revenues from the export of handicraft commodities.

Based on data released by the Department of Trade and Industry of Bali Province on the realization of export of commodity types in 2006-2012, it can be seen that the export of wooden handicrafts was ranked second after textile crafts. The total export of woodcraft for the past seven years was Rp. 562,270,025.45 or an average of Rp. 80,324,289.35 a year. At the national level, the handicraft industry became the second largest contributor to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2009, which amounted to 29 trillion rupiah or 27.72% (Zulaikha, 2009: 2; Smith et al., 2018; Brandberg & Amzel, 2017).

Craft sculptures, in the dynamics of Bali tourism as a world-class destination, tend to bring very good prospects for the welfare of craftsmen. This phenomenon encourages the

flourishing of sculpture centers in Bali. Many cultural experts provide a positive view that cultural tourism is able to provide positive effects on the economy of the community including sculptors. Cultural tourism has been re-affirmed by UNWATO as a major international tourism consumption element, accounting over 39% of tourism arrival (Richards, 2018; Stambouli, 2020; Liu & Alley, 2019). Empirically, this tendency has been responded by the community with the proliferation of centers of sculpture industry in various regions in Bali, including encouraging handicraft products from various regions of Indonesia and even neighboring countries to market their products in Bali. However, in line with the development of tourism in Bali, the craftsmen are trapped in the arena of capitalization. The sculptors in Kemenuh Village, for example, changed production modes from traditional statues to mass production (Sukerti, 2005: 5). They were no longer traditional sculptors who worked for local interests (*ngayah*). They became commercial sculptors who made sculptures solely for business (*mebayah*). At first, the sculptors worked based on their taste of art, then they became daily workers (*memasuh*) who made sculptures based on orders from collectors. This phenomenon needs to be mapped and understood, namely the factors causing such kind of movement. Historically, it is important to see the process of cultural commodification by Kemenuh sculptors and how they produced standardized and mass sculptures.

Based on the background above, the study of such kind of phenomenon need to be done and the questions raised can be formulated as follows.

- 1) How did the process of capitalism of sculptors from Kemenuh village happen?
- 2) What factors trigger the development of the mass sculpture craft industry in Kemenuh village, Bali?
- 3) What are the implications for the life of the sculptors?

The general objective of this research is to study, understand, and describe the cultural processes in the Mass Culture Industry that developed in Bali, especially in Kemenuh Village. It is also to criticize its tendency of providing a balanced picture of the existence of the sculpture industry. Particularly, this study is aimed at: (1) describing the process of the emergence and development of the mass culture industry in mass sculptor craftsmen in Kemenuh Village of Bali who are trapped in capitalism, (2) identifying the factors that trigger its development, and (3) interpreting the implications for the lives of artists in the economic, social and cultural arts dimensions. Careful and in-depth study of this issue will be able to provide theoretical benefits for the development of socio-cultural sciences including cultural studies and tourism, practically for emancipatory for marginalized groups, the mass sculpture craftsmen in Kemenuh Village, Bali.

METHOD

This research was conducted in Kemenuh Village, Sukawati District, Gianyar Regency, Bali, Indonesia. Kemenuh Village is the center of crafting wooden sculptures that produces mass statues of both traditional and modern motifs. Kemenuh has developed into a production site, distribution arena, and sculpture transactions between local producers and international distributors and consumers. The dynamics and complexity of the development of wooden sculpture centers in Kemenuh Village is the reason of choosing the location of this in that place.

This research applies qualitative method with a multidisciplinary cultural study approach, combining with ethical and emotional approaches. It uses qualitative data supported by quantitative ones. The data source consists of primary and secondary data. The main informants of this study were sculptors from the Kemenuh village. The technique of determining informants was done by combining snow ball techniques and purposive techniques. The researcher was the main instrument in data collection supported by an interview guide. Data collection was carried out by participatory observation techniques, deep interviews, and documentation techniques (Moleong, 1989). The collected data was

analyzed inductively by using cultural study methods namely genealogy method, deconstruction, semiotics, and qualitative descriptive analysis. The result of the analysis is presented in the form of narrative descriptions supported by pictures, photographs and tables.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The process of capitalism trapping of balinese sculptors

Historically, the origins of the emergence of Kemenuh sculpture craft centers can be traced from the development of sculptures in Ubud village, Bali. Ubud began to get western influence in the 1930s and developed rapidly in the 1960s. Since 1930 Ubud has attracted many foreign artists to live and work there. Foreign artists who come not only live and work in Ubud, but also interact and hang out with local artists. In these interactions, foreign artists such as Rodulf Bonet and Walter Spices have given 'new colors' to local artists. The immigrant artists acted as agents of renewal for the Balinese sculpture styles by touching on the three important elements, namely the perspective techniques, colouring, and sculpture themes. Previously, traditional Balinese art did not take into account the far-reaching perspective in casting objects of images of such characters. The touch of Western style in the form of perspective techniques was given to the traditional Balinese artists by considering the forms or objects seen from far and near. In the field of colouring, Balinese color materials are replaced with more modern colour materials, including variety of new media to produce artworks.

The themes of Balinese sculpture initially revolved around puppet story characters, then introduced new themes about everyday lives, or statues in the form of deities or statues in the form of animals, trees and fruits. Regarding to the renewal of Bali's arts, it is stated:

"... a new view of mastery of anatomical-realistic painting with a simplified composition can help create a renewal for Balinese artists. Renewal also appears in the disclosure of the themes of everyday life, and the addition of non-primary colours. This mastery became an element of forming new painting and sculpture in Bali (Kusnadi, et al., 1979: 156)

The purpose of the renewal of art by foreign agents was to make the work of local Balinese artists acceptable to Western art lovers. Not only that, foreign agents cooperated with the local elite (Puri Ubud) to form the art group "Pitha Maha", which in addition, to collect works by local artists and to promote the artwork on the international market. Through this effort the work of Balinese artists became known in the western world and began to be sought after by foreign art consumers.

When the works of Balinese artists were in great demand and needed by foreign people, art works have become a commercial commodity. This process also resulted a change of orientation of the work. It tended to meet the tastes of the western consumer market. Even though at that time, within certain limits, the characteristics of traditional Balinese style were still maintained, but what tended to occur was a paradigm shift for the work, namely from art orientation *ngayah* 'do job without any payment' to commercial orientation *mebayah* 'paid'. This moment can be said as the starting point of the commercialization of sculpture or the trap of capitalism towards Balinese sculpture artists or craftsmen (Mulyanto, 2012; Mardika & Laksmi, 2017).

The trap of capitalism in the process of commodification of Balinese art provided the space for the development of art as commodities. In line with the increasing number of foreign tourists visiting Ubud, there was also growing demand for artworks needed by the tourists. The increased demand for artistic goods has made art production centers grow and developed rapidly, not only in some places in Ubud, but also in other villages in Bali, including in Kemenuh Village.

In 1960s, Ubud truly became the crafts and souvenir sales centre for tourists. Villages such as Peliatan, Pengosekan, and Teges were known as sculpture centers. They produced animals and flora-fauna forms such as eagles, horses, lions and fish, while Mas village produced traditional sculptures in the forms of puppet figures. The development of the statue craft centers in Ubud attracted the people of Kemenuh village to participate in craft business. Kemenuh people then studied and worked at the nearest craft centers. People who lived in South Kemenuh area like Sumampan, Batu Sepih and Kemenuh conducted apprenticeships to sculpture craftsmen in Mas village, while those who lived in North Kemenuh (Tengkulak) chose the nearest neighbouring villages to learn, they learned them from the artists living in Teges Kangin, Penestanan, and Peliatan. I Wayan Jawi (77 years old), for example, in 1959-1960 had learned from I Made Resep living in Teges Kangin. The types of statues made were the statues of animals such as tigers (*macan*), horses (*jaran*), crab (*yuyu*), and swan (*angsa*) (interview, November 16, 2013). Ida Bagus Suwela, an eighty-year-old craft man stated that: "Since childhood I have learned sculpturing from Ida Bagus Nik (deceased). Ida Bagus Nik was a good sculptor from Kemenuh who studied sculpturing at Geria Mas in 1950s" (interview, October 10, 2013). According to I Wayan Sudika (52 years), his father Ketut Tulak and Jero Mangku Jedeng were two figures of sculptors of Kemenuh who also studied sculpturing from the artists living at *Geria* (priest's house), Mas village (Interview on October 18, 2013).

Because of the learning process, it is not surprising that artists' sculptures in the southern Kemenuh followed the style of the statues from Mas in the form of traditional puppet motifs, and the sculptors from the northern Kemenuh followed the style of Ubud sculptures in the form of motifs of various types of animals. This period can be seen as the time of gaining the knowledge for artists from Kemenuh village, and they generally acted as hired labours.

After the artists from Kemenuh had enough skills to do the process of sculpturing, they began to take part in sculpting with wholesale system. With the contract system, it was possible for the artists from Kemenuh not to go back and forth every day to work, they only went to Mas or Ubud then they worked from their homes. When they had finished they handed over to the collectors in Mas or Ubud.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s there were new developments in the field of sculpture works by Kemenuh artists. Some of Kemenuh's artists no longer belonged to crafters or hired workers, but they became independent sculptors. These artists bought materials and made sculptures by themselves and sold them to collectors or other customers.

As independent sculptors, it was possible for Kemenuh artists to develop different forms or styles of sculptures from where they learned from. Thus, beside maintaining their traditional motifs, they also developed their own styles of sculptures until they were known as Kemenuh sculptors. At a glance, the style of the statues of Mas and Kemenuh almost have the same character so that it is difficult to see the difference. However, if examined carefully there are several distinguishing features, especially when viewed from their size, anatomy and engraving, including the price.

Table 1: Comparison of the Style of the Mas Ubud Statue with Kemenuh

No	Element	Mas Ubud Style Statue	Kemenuh Style Statue
1	Motive	Variative	Relatively monotonous
2	Size	Average small size	Tends to be bigger
3	Anatomy	Good and clear	More rigid and vague
4	Carvings	Soft, detailed / small	Rougher, simpler / bigger
5	Price	More expensive	Relatively cheaper

Source: Processed from interviews and observations (2016).

Some famous sculptors from southern Kemenuh like Ida Bagus Nik, Ketut Tulak, Mangku Jedeng (all of them are deceased) were known as Kemenuh sculptors who produced high quality art statues (master pieces). Now, very few sculptors in Kemenuh make quality sculptures. However, there are only two sculpture artists from Kemenuh who maintain the traditional statues, namely Ida Bagus Lasem and I Wayan Siman. Almost all sculptors in Kemenuh today have turned into sculptors of 'production' (making mass sculptures). In this case, the artists make sculptures based on existing models or they make them to order both in terms of quantity and forms. Thus, the process of making sculptures by the sculptors from Kemenuh can be said as the form of 'reproduction', making sculptures based on a pre-existing model.

The same case happens to the sculptors from North Kemenuh. In the 1970s they still made traditional statues such as *garuda* 'eagles', fish, crabs and other animal species, then in the 1980s they developed distinctive new forms of duck, chicken and other bird species. In this period, the sculpting system was carried out entirely by the sculptors from north Kemenuh (total production), starting from making the statues to the painting process. This process became the turning point of the capitalization of the full-scale sculpture sculptors who then truly entered the realm of the mass sculpture crafts industry (Mardika, 2017).

Trigger factors of the mass sculpture crafts industry in kemenuh village

Nowadays the sculpture craft centers in Kemenuh village have become a mass culture industry. This cannot be separated from the supporting factors. In general, the trigger elements of the development of the mass sculpture industry in Kemenuh village Bali can be divided into two, namely internal factors and external factors. Internal factors that encourage traditional craftsmen to develop into mass sculpture craft centres are elements of culture and the natural environment. As we know, since ancient times Balinese people are known as farmers as well as artists. Talented artists in Bali come from various villages, one of them is Kemenuh village. According to I Wayan Jawi (78 years old), people from Kemenuh have been doing their jobs like colouring ceremonial facilities such as *dulang/wanci*, *bokor kayu*, and *lumpian* since a long time ago. This condition makes them capable in cultivating wood sculptures. This expertise was honed through an apprenticeship process to artists in Teges (interview dated 10 October 2016). The same thing was also mentioned by I Gusti Ngurah Umum (58 years old). It was said that hereditary parents were known as natural artists who used to make statues for the sake of temples' needs, or types of *garuda* and other animals for house decoration" (date interview October 16, 2016).

In addition to the talents and habits of the community in the field of sculpturing, the development of the Mass Culture Industry in Bali was also supported by natural conditions. The physical environment of Bali, especially in the vicinity of Kemenuh village there was a stretch of fertile land that is overgrown with trees such as *suar*, *albesia*, *pule*, *waru*, and *pangkal buaya*. These plants were commonly used for the materials of making sculptures. Ni Made Mari (47 years old) and I Gusti Putu Widana (39 years old) informed that these raw materials were available abundantly in the Kemenuh village until the 1990s. The sculptors had no difficulty in obtaining the raw material for the sculptures. This situation certainly supported a lot for the production of sculpture crafts (interview, 14 April 2016). Therefore, the availability of natural resources can be seen as an element that plays an important role in the growth of mass sculpture production in Kemenuh village.

There were also external factors that supported the development of Kemenuh sculpture centers. At least there were 3 external elements that trigger the flourishing of mass sculpture craft centers in Kemenuh village. First, the development of the tourism

industry. The progress of Bali tourism industry shown by tourist visits that came to Bali since 1970-1990 increased significantly, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Direct Tourist Visits to Bali in 1969-1997

Year	Number of tourist visits (people)
1969	11.278
1979	120.084
1989	456.358
1999	1.398.594

Source: processed from (Pitana, 1999: 30).

From the table 2, it can be seen that the average number of direct tourist visits to Bali every ten years is 46,214 people. The significant increase in tourist visits was apparently related to the change in the tourism development paradigm from the "anti-western", the Old Order government system to the "pro west" New Order government system. Modernization of tourism in the New Order influenced the characteristics of tourists visiting Bali. The tourists who came to Bali were mostly 'high class' tourists, so during the New Order period they tried hard to increase the number of tourists visit which means that they emphasized the quantity target of travellers. This trend resulted the change of type of tourists visit, that was the mass tourism (Pitana, 1999: 15-17). When the tourists visit increased, the need for more souvenir items increased. This gave opportunity for the sculptors in Kemenuh village to produce more sculpture industry products. Second, in 1976, the government of Indonesia developed infrastructure project in Kemenuh village, namely the project of electricity. In this case Kemenuh village was the first village in Indonesia that became the location of electricity project. The existence of the electricity resource made the sculptors have chance to work at night to increase the productivity of the sculptures. Construction of paving roads along Kemenuh village done in 1980 made the access to reach this village easy. The condition of the road was also good. This also made Kemenuh village become tourist trail and this condition could increase tourists visiting art shops and businessmen in the field of sculpture crafts began to come to buy or order sculptures produced by Kemenuh sculptors.

Third, the trend of mass sculpture production was triggered by the regulation policies issued by the government. According to Government Regulation No. 3 year 1974 it was stated that the form of tourism developed in Bali was cultural tourism. This regulation was later refined to become Government Regulation No. 3 year 1991 specifically article 1 (letter j). In this regulation it is stated that what is meant by cultural tourism in Bali is the type of tourism which uses Balinese culture (inspired by Hinduism) as the basis of its development. As part of national culture, Balinese culture plays the role as the most dominant potential for the growth of the growth of tourism. Balinese culture also involves a reciprocal relationship between tourism and culture so that both tourism and culture increase harmoniously, and in a balanced way. Sculptures as cultural art works play very important role in supporting cultural tourism. Therefore, the type of tourism developed in Bali provides a wide space for the growth of Kemenuh sculpture craft center as one of Bali's cultural icons.

Those three external elements bring logical consequences for the increasing market demand for sculptural products by Kemenuh artists. This tendency also gave opportunities for Kemenuh people to strive in the field of sculpture crafts such as collectors, selling agents, sculptors, providers of raw materials (wood) and other types of supporting businesses. Then, craft market agents in the form of the establishment of art shops such as art stalls, art shops and galleries appeared along the main road of Kemenuh village. These art shops, beside as suppliers or absorbers, also sell sculptures retail to tourists. Before, the art shops did the sculpture sales system in retail and since the number of orders or sales increased gradually, so they acted as wholesalers. Thus, in the years

1980s - 1990s Kemenuh village became the center of Balinese handicrafts as well as the center of transactions of handicraft art goods that developed rapidly in the year 2000s.

Implications

The development of the mass culture industry in Kemenuh village gave implication for the lives of the sculptors both in the economic, social and cultural fields. In the economic field, the mass sculpture industry could improve the economy of the people in the year 1970s-2000s. The improvement of the economy of the community could be seen from the increasing income of the sculptors, where handicrafts were the main source of income. This condition certainly created new jobs. However, the improvement caused the emerge of marginalization for the lives of the sculptors of the village. Meanwhile, the marginalization of the sculptors made them received low wages. Besides, there was no employment guarantee. Sculptors became alienated due to the limited access to the economy, employment opportunities, and there was lack of economic capital ownership.

The condition of the economy of Kemenuh village in the past, when Kemenuh experienced a golden age in the sculpture craft Industry, was very different from it was now. Those who had businesses in galleries, art shops, collectors, let alone hired craftsmen, assumed that the sculpture industry was no longer a job that provides economic benefits. This could be seen through the decline of tourist visits and consumer interest in buying sculpture. This then made most galleries and art shops in Kemenuh Village survive only, they were not able to run normally like ten years in the past.

The condition experienced by sculpture artists in Kemenuh village could not be separated from the characteristics of the development of the capitalistic mass sculpture industry. The capitalist economic model let capital owners and production facilities such as importers, exporters, intermediary agents and sculptors dominate and exploit workers who did not have production facilities, namely waged artists. Therefore, only few people of Kemenuh got economic benefit from the development of the sculpture industry. Meanwhile, most hired craftsmen groups still suffered from the domination of capitalism. Low wages and the absence of job security from investors made the sculptors remain poor and become the marginalized group.

Marginalization experienced by the sculptors in Kemenuh village was caused by the limitation the access of economic resources, employment opportunities, and ownership of financial capital. The mass culture industry employed limited sculptors to participate in managing economic resources. So, job opportunities for the sculptors to produce and market sculpture crafts became narrow. In addition, the sculptors themselves did not have financial capital. They only relied on cultural capital and skills to work for the entrepreneurs as the owner of capital and production facilities. These three limitations caused the sculptors economically marginalized (impoverishment), and politically subordinated so that they could not play the role in making decision in the public sphere.

The development of the mass sculpture craft industry in Kemenuh village has risen a new middle class of industry that did not exist before. The emergence of mass sculpture production shifted the characteristics of Balinese culture which has the core values of communalism, aesthetics, and religion (Geria, 2000: 48) to a pragmatic individual based on material domination. This tendency was identical with the ideology of the mass culture industry in the frame of the capitalistic economic system with the material benefit orientation. This materialist system influenced new developments in determining social stratification. It was not solely determined by heredity or birth, but rather determined by economic factors. Before, the mass sculpture crafts Industry that developed social structures was determined by the national system so that traditional elites occupied the upper class hierarchy. After the industry has developed rapidly, new middle classes emerged, they were groups of middle income, educated, and had a new lifestyle like the

new rich (Raharjo, 2016: 1). People who were successful in the field of sculpture crafts business had high prestige and were highly respected by the Kemenuh people.

It was realized that the shift from cultural value system of traditional sculpture crafts which were communal to mass cultural value systems which were pragmatically individual broke the traditional social structures. There were three elements involved by the shift: (1) there were no more boundaries of patriarchal culture, (2) the pattern of patron relationships of new clients emerges, (3) the socio-economic value system changed.

The disappearance of the boundaries of patriarchal culture was signaled by the increase of women's access in playing the role in the field of productivity. The job opportunities in the industry of sculpture crafts provided options for women to participate in earning income independently and play the role in political decision making. This signaled that the dominance of the patriarchal culture became weak it came into a more egalitarian culture. Men and women gained access and a more balanced role both in the productive domain and in policy making, either in their family or in the public sphere.

In addition to the gender sector, the shift from traditional social structures to service culture patterns for the mass sculpture crafts in Kemenuh village has led to new patron client relationships. If the traditional social structure of the *Kaula Gusti* relationship occurs in the nodes of *Puri* and *Geria*, then the development of the mass sculpture crafts industry in Kemenuh village raised a new connection, namely the relationship between employers and the sculptors. The pattern of relationships that occur in the mass cultural industry system at the local level shows a patron client relationship (Scott, 1993: 7-8).

The change from traditional craftsmen to mass production was seen as a source of destruction of the social order. The market economic system that characterized the mass culture industry triggered the destruction of the community into independent atoms as individual humans (Benjamin, 2010: 2) As a result, traditional craft patterns that were loaded with values of solidarity, esthetics and religion became broken and shifted by progressive culture which contains individual, secular, and material values as the characteristic value of the mass sculpture industry. This means expressive human relationships were transformed into commercialism and materialism. Thus, the mass culture industry raised a shift in socio-economic values in society which led to individualism and pragmatism. The community generally performed sculpting work when they considered financially profitable and left it was not. Now, being a sculptor is not economically profitable and less socially prestigious in the society.

Viewed from an aesthetic perspective, it seems the mass sculpture industry belongs a new trend of industry which is controversial. On one hand it is categorized as a culture of low-contoured masses, on the other hand it is considered as an industry with a high-level culture of virtue. The mass sculpture is also widely appreciated as an export-oriented craft art product that has its own artistic logic (Bourdieu, 1984: 483; Johnson, 2010: ix-xiv). That's why the mass sculpture industry brings implication for considering it ethically and emicly.

Ethically, the internal struggle of art discourse can be seen from the canonical art categorization which views mass culture industry as a lower class culture or a kind of imitation of a noble culture. Even, extreme works of mass sculpture are categorized as damned lowly cultures. Mass cultural products are positioned inferior to fine art (Strinati, 1995). Externally, the mass culture industry, especially the sculptor, must deal with the strong wave of capital as a penetration in the advanced industrial culture of capitalism. Mass production is greatly influenced by capitalist pro-capital penetration by oppressing sculptors.

Emicly, there was different understanding between fine art, mass cultures, and wood painting. Even, the sculptors themselves considered their works different in terms of naming and quality. First, a group of sculptors were considered as those producing mass production. The sculptures produced were called *patung kodian* 'market goods' the were also called *papulasan* or statues of mass production. Secondly, there was a group of sculptors produced their product based on quality, art as fine art. Sculptures produced by the Kemenuh sculptors were based on artistic creativity, especially art, which involved painting skills on wood, called 'wood painting'. Third, there was a group of sculptors who categorized their works full of features, wooden sculpture products consisting of mass sculptures and quality sculpture. In this case, the products were made to suit the tastes of the consumers whether ordered mass statues or quality sculptures. Thus, there was still a debate among the sculptors in giving the terms Kemenuh sculptures, whether art-value sculptures or high-quality art sculptures.

CONCLUSION

Kemenuh sculptors were trapped in capitalism when they changed the way of producing sculptures from traditional to mass. This phenomenon began in the late 1970s and developed rapidly in the 2000s. The trapping began with the process of imitating (mental templates) on the products of Mas Ubud statues by Kemenuh sculptors till they could create their products for the market tastes.

Factors that triggered the development of the mass craft industry in Kemenuh village Bali could be categorized into internal and external factors. Internal factors included the habitus of people who have long lived as farmers and traditional sculptors. In this case they were supported by the natural environment that gave the availability of wood for the raw material of sculptures. External factors included the progress of Balinese cultural tourism, infrastructure development, and legislative support from the government. Internal factors were the basic capital of sculptors. This condition was supported by external factors so that Kemenuh mass sculpture crafts industry could grow rapidly.

The mass culture industry in Kemenuh village brought implication on the lives of the sculptors in the economic, social and cultural fields which were ambivalent. On one hand, the mass sculpture craft industry was able to improve the economy of the community, create a new middle class based on the economy, and strengthen gender equality. However, on the other hand, the mass sculpture craft industry brought the effect of marginalization of sculptors, destabilizing traditional social structures, and led to a struggle for discourse on mass sculpture.

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