



Research Paper

Mangrove Forest Mud-Scrowd Performance: Ritual and Commodification Tradition of *Mabuug-Buugan* in The Traditional Village of Kedonganan, Bali

I Made Sudarsana¹, I Nyoman Darma Putra², Pande Made Sukerta³,
I Wayan Suwena⁴

¹(a doctorate student of Cultural Studies Program, Faculty of Cultural Studies, Udayana University, Indonesia)

^{2,3,4}(a lecturer of Cultural Studies Program, Faculty of Cultural Studies, Udayana University, Indonesia)

Corresponding Author

ABSTRACT: This article aims to reveal the ideology behind the transformation of the *Mabuug-Buugan* tradition in the Kedonganan Traditional Village from sacred ritual to commodification. *Mabuug-buugan* (covered with mud) as a sacred tradition has experienced commodification along with the inevitability of change in society. The theory as the basis of analysis is Foucault's power relation and Bourdieu's genetic structure. Based on the analysis conducted, implicitly behind the process of commodification of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition consists of several things, namely, economic factors, globalization, tourism, religion (Hinduism), and resistance to the discourse on the reclamation plan for the Benoa Bay mega project. These four things essentially do not stand alone, but influence each other as a result of elite power relations and the structure (values) of the Kedonganan indigenous people themselves which have shifted. This then causes social practices towards traditional commodities which are packaged into products that can be traded in the tourism context.

KEYWORDS: Form, Meaning, Basiba's Kuruang Dress

Received 12 July, 2023; Revised 23 July, 2023; Accepted 25 July, 2023 © The author(s) 2023.

Published with open access at www.questjournals.org

I. INTRODUCTION

Every year between April and March, the day after Nyepi Day or Caka New Year, the people of Kedonganan, Badung, Bali hold a mud-strewn performance in the mangrove forest of the Kedonganan Traditional Village. The show was attended by hundreds of young people. Before jumping into the mud, they pray so that this activity is not merely an art of entertainment but has a ritualistic dimension of worship. This tradition has been going on since around 1942, although when exactly there is no agreement. To be sure, nowadays, this sacred tradition is showing strong signs of commercialization. This can be seen from the increasing number of travel agents selling this *mabuug-buugan* tradition to tourists. The people of Kedonganan, who have been open to tourism for a long time, positively welcome or at least do not reject the process of commercializing *mabuug-buugan*. This article discusses the transformation of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition from sacred ritual to commodification. This fact has subsequently become a unique icon as well as a traditional identity in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. Fairlough defines commodification as a process that refers to the organization and conceptualization of the production, distribution and consumption of commodities [1]. According to Piliang, commodification is anything that tends to seek scientific legitimacy and market legitimacy, to become an image packaged in such a way as a commodity [2]. Commodification is a process that is closely related to capitalism where objects, qualities, and signs are transformed into commodities. Commodity is understood as an item whose main purpose of existence is to be sold [3]. Commodification is a change that uses original cultural elements for the benefit of tourism, which is basically born because of the phenomenon of modification of various forms that have the idea of an overall structure of its own to fulfill new functions [4]. In general, what is enjoyed by tourists is something that is unique and original, including the traditional. This will stimulate the local community to maintain what is unique and original to be exhibited to tourists. In fact, people often fabricate events that are presented as something traditional.

The commodification discourse of *mabuug-buugan* involves various aspects, such as the power of the *kedonganan* customary elite, knowledge and truth. These practices are also intertwined with aspects of elite habitus, capital, and the structure of the *Kedonganan* indigenous people themselves. In this context, the essence of the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition is a reality created (production, construction) or re-created (reproduction, reconstruction), or in other terms, a new reality construction as a result of the previous reality construction that was deconstructed by various agents and actors as relations. Reality is a text that contains ideological values, truth, and certain goals. In this context, efforts to reveal the ideology behind commodification are important to do.

II. METHOD

This research seeks to reveal the ideological facts behind the transformation of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition from a sacred ritual to the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition in Kedonganan Traditional Village. Based on that, this research is field research through observation and interviews. This study was designed using a qualitative method that emphasizes exploring, describing, explaining knowledge emic, ethically, and holistically in accordance with the paradigm of cultural studies (cultural studies) [5],[6],[7]. The approach used is a multidisciplinary approach starting from the cultural studies approach which is complemented by social, economic, political, artistic, cultural, environmental and religious approaches which are applied to help provide answers to the problems raised. Such a framework of thinking with the intention of not only presenting one approach, but trying to cover various aspects used.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As a traditional ritual, *mabuug-buugan* is the implementation of the Tri Hita Karana concept, namely three things that cause happiness or harmony; (a) *p arhyangan* (harmonious relationship between humans and God) through the rituals of the *mabuug-buugan tradition*, the people of the *Kedonganan Traditional Village* believe in the existence of God who always provides fertility, prosperity and self-purification which is manifested in a series of prayer ceremonies and the *melukat* process in the *mabuug-buugan* tradition ritual so that can serve as a medium for religious experience ; (b) in *pawongan* (harmonious relations between human beings) through the *mabuug-buugan tradition* , social interaction between the community can be well established, so that through the *mabuug-buugan tradition* it also becomes a unifying medium for the *Kedonganan Traditional Village* community; and (c) in *palemahan* (harmonious human relations with the environment) shows that the *mabuug-buugan tradition* can be a medium for building awareness about the importance of protecting the environment in coastal areas in the *Kedonganan Traditional Village*.

Furthermore, in the environmental context, the emergence of the Benoa Bay reclamation discourse gave rise to resistance by the *Kedonganan* people with oral and written statements, this resistance was confirmed through the *mabuug-buugan* carried out in the *mangrove forest area*. That is, through the discourse of *mabuug-buugan* which is legitimized by the culture and religion of the *Kedonganan* people, it can directly preserve the *mangrove forest* in the future.

On the other hand, the *mabuug-buugan tradition* as an ancestral cultural heritage that has a connection with the social cultural life of the community, the *mabuug -buugan* tradition has become a cultural identity of the *Kedonganan Traditional Village*. So that the *mabuug-buugan* tradition is highly anticipated every year as entertainment for the residents and as a tourist attraction which has been commodified as a form of superior product for annual tourist attractions in the *Kedonganan Traditional Village* as well as an economic advantage.

Based on an analysis related to the ideology behind the transformation of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition from sacred ritual to commodification *mabuug-buugan*, then several things can be explained as follows.

Economic Orientation

Economic orientation and welfare of life is one of the basic human nature that always strives for a better life. The drive and rational attitude that is owned causes human economic behavior to always lead to human personal interests as consumers in economic circulation will try as much as possible to maximize self-satisfaction (*utility maximizers*), while humans as producers will try to obtain the maximum profit (*profit maximizers*). Humans are *homo economicus*, namely economic humans who always try with their rationality to obtain the maximum possible results from the various possible choices they face.

Even though the justification for modifying the *mabuug-buugan* tradition in the *Kedonganan Traditional Village*, *Badung Regency*, is an effort to preserve cultural heritage, general phenomena show that these modifications are more towards an economic orientation and welfare of life that are not far away, even directly in touch with the principles of economic principles. Broadly speaking, economic principles are related to the use

of various resources to fulfill needs with the aim of producing maximum satisfaction for humans, both as actors and beneficiaries. In Marxist thinking it is stated that the operation of ideology in capitalist society is based on class relations in society, between the ruling class (conceptors) and the working class (actors) which makes the domination of the ruling class over the working class. In a commodity society, the distribution of power reverses, that is, from top to bottom to top, or from the hands of the central authorities to the hands of the executors who form the fragmentation of power. But in society, power develops from various social groups that can be categorized as agents or producers of culture.

The economic principle from the point of view of the perpetrators and the beneficiaries, namely the perpetrators of tradition *Mabuug-Buugan* optimizes all efforts which of course benefit from third parties or *sponsorship* by designing activities or series of *Mabuug-Buugan traditions* with various events and festivals wherein *Mabuug-Buugan tradition activities take place*. So that these activities become an attraction in all activities that have exchange values or other transaction activities such as encouraging the growth of MSMEs in organized activities. On the other hand, from the side of the connoisseurs, they contribute to encourage tourism activities and have a direct impact on society. The role of economic orientation is related to the welfare of the people under its auspices and the development of the potential of several village institutions in the *mabuug-buugan tradition* to provide their welfare, as revealed below.

One of them is *mabuug-buugan* which is part of the implementation of *the Panca Yadnya* itself and this can go hand in hand with the LPD's goal of how to strengthen culture through the *Panca Yadnya* so that it is able to create *Panca Kertha*. Because in a *five-kertha* relationship it is related to *jagathita*, namely welfare, (Ketut Madra, interview, 20 July 2022).

Based on these facts, which are implicitly and clearly related to the vision and mission of the LPD, in general the aim of the LPD is to advance the Indigenous Village community economically, so that they can achieve a more decent standard of living. This is closely related to the economic conditions of the Kedonganan Traditional Village community. The Kedonganan community in fulfilling their life needs has various main livelihoods such as: employees, entrepreneurs, self-employed, fishermen, retirees, services, and various other industries. Even though the location of the Kedonganan Traditional Village is close to the beach, the service aspect of the Kedonganan community has more status in management such as investors and providers of large-scale, medium and small-scale fishing boat units. Based on the facts, this indicates that people's lives respond more to the rapid needs of tourism, the rest of the workforce is optimized in the culinary sector or the 24 grilled fish cafes along the edge of the Kedonganan Traditional Village Beach.

The rapid flow of domestic and international tourists visiting the village as a tourist destination has resulted in more and more residents responding to businesses in the supply of lobster, groceries, fresh fish, charcoal wood which are staples for culinary businesses at grilled fish cafes on the edge of the Kedonganan Traditional Village beach. Businesses like this require the deployment of labor or attention because additional effort sometimes also provides a new source of livelihood for the family.

According to Marx, humans are basically productive. That is, to survive humans need to work by exploiting nature. Work to produce other needs that allow humans to live. Productivity is natural, which allows humans to realize together with other people. In other words, humans are essentially social beings, they need to work together to produce everything they need to live. In addition to its cultural context, its position as a social being, as well as *the mabuug-buugan*, is presented in terms of rational interests, namely economic development in the Kedonganan community. Therefore, the *mabuug-buugan tradition* in the perspective of capitalism is the reason for the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan tradition* which can be described into two things, namely the inclusion of capitalism and market ideology in the existence of *mabuug-buugan* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village.

Globalization

The phenomenon of globalization has presented the reality of people's lives in developing countries, especially traditional societies, of the tendency for two different (seemingly contradictory) cultures to coexist, namely between global culture and local culture. In this regard, Trijono in I Nengah explains that this contradiction occurs because before globalization hit local communities, people actually already had local culture (tradition) as a superior product in countering global *culture*.

Globalization in relation to local culture is the globalization of modern culture which is deliberately distinguished from globalization in a broad (macro) sense, namely economic globalization and political globalization. Economic and political globalization usually refers to modern economic and political corporate systems in various multi and or transnational companies as well as the influence of transnational capitalists on the political economy systems of developing countries. Meanwhile, the globalization of modern culture is a globalization that refers to the principles of modern life as reflected in the cultural ideology of consumerism.

When faced with these two forms of life reality (global culture and local culture), traditional people will generally tend to choose or it is more correct to say they are forced to choose global culture with all its characteristics which are considered easier and more practical in an effort to meet the demands of the needs of local people's lives. Life will move forward with an urge to be modern, modernization becomes a normative project as well as a goal to be achieved, as a manifestation of a society that is increasingly rational in the sense of moving towards modernity.

The trend as above was also strongly influenced by development policies, especially during the New Order government which emphasized growth using quantitative measures. Thus, development policy is ultimately directed towards a development system, namely development that puts forward imaginary concepts of human life such as modern, advanced, prosperous and prosperous. This tendency has given birth to a process of modernization through capitalistic development or defending the interests of investors which can lead to commodification. Commodification is the process associated with capitalism, where objects, qualities and signs are transformed into commodities, i.e. something whose main purpose is to be sold in the market [7]. In relation to this discussion, the objects, qualities and signs that are transformed into commodities through the commodification process are the *mabuug-buugan tradition* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. Objectively the *mabuug-buugan* tradition is an ancestral tradition of the Kedonganan Traditional Village community which was carried out almost 60 years ago and began to be reconstructed in 2015. Knowledge, forms of function and meaning inherited to date are more reproduced in response to changing times. Nevertheless, the knowledge and process of its activities and the meaning contained are firmly believed by the people of the Kedonganan Traditional Village to this day.

Mabuug-buugan tradition of the Kedonganan Traditional Village has an inherent identity and as a symbol for the Kedonganan people in general (sacred, magical, religious and as a complement to culture) in their journey they have to deal with or interact with global culture through the openness of the Kedonganan Traditional Village community with all its cultural riches including the *mabuug-buugan* tradition of accepting global culture through tourism (tourists). The interaction between global culture and local culture does not necessarily result in a direct commodification of the *mabuug-buugan tradition*. But at least it has become the main trigger, which will affect other triggers that have more direct implications for the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan tradition* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village.

Mabuug-buugan tradition as a cultural heritage. So it is necessary to state again the notion globally as a strong interrelation between countries, markets and technology that allows both individuals, companies and countries to move to reach corners of the world that are faster, deeper and wider than before. In the context of strong interrelationships and different realities of life between one country and another, it is undeniable that all countries in this linkage will be dragged into the strong currents of global competition.

Renon Pelan and Jason Abbot in Wibowo state that the current era of competition, globalization has implications for the existence of the state. In facing the flow of globalization, both developed and developing countries will try their best to develop the right strategy to deal with globalization actors, defense of the exclusivity of a nation or community in facing globalization attacks, but it is more of an adaptive strategy to be aligned with the current movement of globalization. Various policies, strategies and development activities are generally directed towards exploiting the opportunities that arise as an implication of the presence of globalization.

Globalization is a reality that is full of power and "forces" and is unavoidable. Suyatna says that whether you like it or not, whether you like it or not, or whether you are ready or not ready, this global era full of competition must be explored and cannot be avoided, on the contrary, it must be welcomed and faced through quality development by bringing out superior excellence. is expected to be able to win the competition. With regard to the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition, whether consciously or not, the various dimensions of globalization have played a role and have become the basis for the development of the ideology of economic value in policy settings as well as the innovation and creativity of its people in respond to globalization. In the context of this understanding, various dimensions of globalization are then seen as opportunities that need to be exploited to show the *mabuug-buugan* tradition as the original tradition of the Kedonganan Traditional Village.

Tourist

Since the beginning of the New Order government in 1969 through the Five Year Development Plan (REPELITA) until the development policy of the reform government volume II, tourism has remained one of the development policy priorities, and has even been increasingly enhanced as a leading development sector. In terms of formal juridical legality, all matters relating to tourism were then developed with the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism, Post and Telecommunications in 1983.

The phenomenon of the increasing emergence of tourism as a *leading sector* in the context of increasing the national economy and income and welfare of the people directly, the position of tourism is increasingly

being strengthened in a regulatory manner with the presence of Law Number 10 of 2009 concerning tourism. In principle, the mandate of the Tourism Law leads to an increasingly decentralized tourism management system, by giving regional governments and communities wider authority to participate in tourism development.

The distribution of authority to local governments and communities in tourism management as stipulated in Law Number 9 of 1990 which was later expanded in Law No 10 of 2009, as well as its applicable regulation namely Government Regulation No 50 of 2011, has encouraged local governments and communities to take advantage of tourism opportunities by processing the various resources they have. This is done with the goal to be achieved, namely increasing income in order to realize welfare, or at least improve living standards that are better than before, especially in the economic field. In this corridor of understanding, the concepts of excellence, competitiveness, creativity, productivity and efficiency as well as empowerment are the main keywords that color patterns of development policies including tourism development and even the life activities of the Balinese people.

Bali has various kinds of cultural heritage which have their own charm for tourists. Balinese cultural heritage is all the creations, feelings and initiatives of the Balinese people inspired by the Hindu Religion, ancestral heritage that exists and is developing until now, which is full of noble ethical, aesthetic, historical, magical, ritual, social, spiritual values. as well as providing moral and economic benefits for the people of Bali. Post the island of Bali is known to be one of the world's favorite destinations for tourism, global influence is marked by the unavoidable arrival of migrants with the aim of taking a vacation or trying their luck (looking for work). This reality causes tourism to slowly begin to give effect and at the same time be recognized as contributing to economic development for the people of Bali, including the Kedonganan Traditional Village area. To increase the attractiveness of tourists visiting the Kedonganan Traditional Village, changes in the context of tourism have begun to be built, for example, beach arrangement with grilled fish restaurants or cafes, arrangement of village markets or fish markets on the coast, wharf management in improving fishing facilities or activities and others not only from the development sector but even from the human resources sector with tourism training in the Kedonganan Traditional Village area. In addition, changes to the progress of tourism globalization are marked by the establishment of various types of national and international hotels such as Watermak hotels, Maxi Hotels, Sari Segara Resort, Jimbaran Bay Hotels, Horison Hotels. Apart from that, other forms of development are also marked by the growth of *home stays*, *guest houses*, *villas*, *bungalows*, which were built by the Kedonganan Indigenous people and entrepreneurs from outside.

The progress of tourism in the Kedonganan Traditional Village also requires the Kedonganan people to improve their human resources or skills in responding to globalization of tourism, for example, within a certain period of time many young people are interested in taking or choosing tourism-based education routes. So that the knowledge obtained from the tourism-based education level can be implemented from job opportunities as well as creating jobs that originate from the rapid influence of tourism in Kedonganan.

Mabuug-buugan tradition as one of the original cultural heritages which is suspected to be extinct will become part of it and then be preserved as a form of tradition. Besides that, the presence of tourism provides an opportunity for the Kedonganan Traditional Village community to be used as an opportunity that can be utilized as a potential consumer of the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan tradition*, as well as government support by establishing the *mabuug-buugan tradition* as one of the national intangible heritages and assistance in the form of activity funds that take place every year. This was conveyed in an interview with Buda Astawa as follows,

When people talk about the beach, besides Kedonganan, what else besides *the sunset* and white sand? So, what we need to pack up is the *Mabuug Buugan tradition*. We make it an attraction, every year after the Nyepi celebration, the artists in Kedonganan Traditional Village need to develop it. So the target is that *the mabuug-buugan* tradition can be a portrait of Kedonganan as a tourist attraction and cultural attraction which is scheduled every year, (Buda Astawa, interview, 23 April 2022).

Based on this opinion, Buda explained that efforts to reproduce the *mabuug-buugan tradition* have always been proclaimed and aspired to become a tourist attraction and even as a mascot for the Kedonganan Traditional Village area. This is related to the Decree of the Badung Regent Number 204/0411/HK/2021 issued by the Badung Regency government. In the Decree it is explained, Stipulating 1) Determine the executor of the management of DTW (Tourism Destination Area) Kedonganan Beach, Kedonganan Village, Kuta District, Badung Regency by the Kedonganan Traditional Village; 2) The duties and responsibilities of the executor as referred to in the first dictum are as follows: a) To maintain and prevent damage/pollution by visitors to tourist attractions; b) Arrange, add to the completeness of facilities and maintain, maintain the cleanliness and beauty of the environment of tourist attractions; c) Prevent acts that disturb and damage the image of tourism; d) Maintain security, comfort and order in the tourist attraction environment; and e) Managers/pengemong in carrying out their duties are still guided by *Sapta Pesona*.

Based on the Decree of the Badung regent which regulates Tourism Destination Areas (DTW) as well as an effort by the Kedonganan community to reproduce the *mabuug-buugan tradition*, it becomes one of the annual tourist attractions in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. Efforts to reproduce the *mabuug-buugan tradition* cannot be separated from the influence of other villages, such as in Uluwatu, which has a *Kecak dance performance*.

Kedonganan must have a tradition with its own identity and even become a mascot that can be easily recognized by the wider community. Thus when there is or appears regarding the *mabuug-buugan tradition* it will refer to the Kedonganan Traditional Village or vice versa when there is or appears regarding Kedonganan it will refer to the *mabuug-buugan tradition*. As revealed below,

On the west coast which has been enjoying the boom of tourism with the existence of cafes, while the east community is also expected to enjoy this tourism. So that an eco-tourism concept was spawned so there are principles that must be fulfilled in the development of tourism on the east coast with its natural beauty potential, *mangrove potential*, traditional fishing activities, cultural values that are still highly guarded by the community. In the end, the *eco-mangrove concept came out*, what is *eco-mangrove*, in tourism activities by utilizing the potential for preserving *mangroves* with all the diversity of marine biota in them as well as traditional fishing activities as a tourism attraction to be developed sustainably, in order to improve the welfare of local communities. Wayan Merta, interview, 28 April 2022).

From all of these explanations, there are very clear indications that the commodification of the *mabuug-buugan tradition* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village occurred due to the encouragement of economic interests, by taking advantage of opportunities for tourism development, especially tourist visits to the Kedonganan Traditional Village. The basis of the drive for these economic interests is the desire of the Kedonganan people to change the image of the Kedonganan Traditional Village which was originally known as a producer of marine fish but was able to make the Kedonganan Traditional Village a cultural tourism destination by prioritizing the original traditions of the Kedonganan Traditional Village as its icon, namely the *mabuug-buugan tradition*.

Hindu religion

According to Barthes there are two big mistakes in modern social life. First, people think that institutions and intellectuals are a good thing because they are included in something natural. Second, is to see language as a phenomenon that is more than a set of conventional forms. As in his book entitled *Mythologies*. Barthes tries to analyze and criticize society. Where images and advertisements, entertainment, popular culture and literature, as well as goods that are consumed daily are examined subjectively in the results and their application.

In *Mythologies*, Barthes presents a new concept of myth. Myth is a message that myth makers want to convey and not a concept, idea, or object. Myth is a way to express messages, it is the result of speech not from language. What myth says is important and provides a disguise when it is included in ideology. Myth is concerned with what must be said, it is not a lie or a confession but a distortion. Myths don't hide anything, so their effectiveness is certain, it's just that it is necessary to distort myths to reveal them. Messages in myths do not need to be interpreted, elaborated, or omitted. Reading pictures as symbols, for example, is letting go of the reality of an image. If the ideology in the picture is clear, then it does not act as a myth. On the other hand, for a myth to work it must appear completely natural.

In *Mythologies*, language is an autonomous system. According to Barthes, in the bourgeois era, a rejection he made of the blurring of language and the placement of ideology was centered on the notion of true art as something related to imitation alone. However, according to Barthes, if myth is a way of naturalizing it, then myth will eventually hide something, namely its basic foundation.

In this book, Barthes writes his thoughts on mythology which is divided into two parts. The first part is entitled 'Mythology' and the second part is entitled 'Myths of the Present'. Mythology contains myths that exist in the daily life of the French, including: The World of Wrestling, Romans in Film, Writers On Vacation, Ship 'Blue Blood', Criticism Blind and Dumb, Soap Powder and Detergent, The Poor and The Proletariat, Operation Margarine, Dominici or Literary Glory, Iconography of Abbe Pierre, Novels and Children, Children's Toys, Garbo's Face, Wine and Milk, Steak and Chips, Nautilus and Drunken Boat, Einstein's Brain, Jet-man, Blue Guide, Ornamental Dishes, Not This and That Criticism, Nude Dance, New Citroen, Photography and Election Appeal, Lost Benoa, Plastics, The Human Family, The Lady of Camellias. However, the first part of the Gerwani myth will not be used to discuss it, so it will not be elaborated further. Here I will only describe the second part, namely 'Myth Today' (*Myth Today*), because this part will be used as a tool to dismantle the Gerwani myth. What the world supplies to myth is historical reality, defined by the ways in which humans produce or use it, although this too returns quickly, whereas what myth returns in turn is the natural image of this reality [8].

The emergence of concerns from traditional apparatus against the identity of traditions that have been inherited. *Mabuug-buugan* as a unique tradition, even the only one in Bali, is only owned by the people of the Kedonganan Traditional Village. This tradition initially appeared and experienced a vacuum for several years, causing a lack of interest from the new generation to play this tradition. This event has sparked concerns for artists to renew so that their tradition can appeal to and be in demand by the younger generation as mentioned below.

If we talk about myths, until now we have inherited what is called myth or mythology, just like the custom of the Balinese before when an earthquake occurred, we often voiced life, life, life, now that's a kind of prayer, not just a myth. Now, the *Mabuug-Buugan* tradition, if Balinese Hindus really believe in *Buug* or the land as mother earth, the case with the *Mabuug-Buugan* tradition that is polished with soil, that's a form of our devotion to our service as a people. That way we can get closer to him. Especially before we carry out this tradition through the stages of the ritual ceremony that is offered. *Mabuug - buugan*, which used to be just a game, has become a unique tradition in the Kedonganan Traditional Village, giving a lot of religious ritual nuances so as to provide an awareness effort towards *tri hita karana* and indirectly this is a positive impact as the application of *bhakti marga* for the people of Kedonganan Traditional Village (Buda Astawa, interview, 23 April 2022).

Mabuug-buugan tradition with the rituals in it can be correlated as the appearance of religious beliefs. The rites that are carried out encourage people to carry out and obey certain social orders and provide motivation and values at the deepest level. Because it has deep value and meaning, the Kedonganan people believe in absolute concepts that cannot be ignored or abandoned. Because, as has been the construction of Hindu buildings through three Within the framework of Hinduism, the *yadnya* ritual activity (a *cara/ u boyfriend*) is a form of materialization of the concept of teachings (*Tattwa*) which is then expected to be internalized in the form of devotional behavior of Hindus (*Bakti Marga*). If this is not the case, then ritual activity is nothing more than a mere symbolic action or behavior. Indeed, the symbols presented in ritual activities function as human mediators to relate to the sacred. This is because humans cannot approach the sacred directly, because the sacred is transcendent.

The fact about the meaning of the symbols up to the updating of the signs in *the mabuug-buugan* is unconsciously believed by the people who bear it. Applicatively, this is a manifestation of the implementation of *bhakti marga*, although from a critical perspective, the emergence of this language game has already been produced by the commodification agents of the *mabuug-buugan* themselves. This principle is known as a language game machine (*language game machine*) which has a great ability to produce a game of signs that are launched continuously for the benefit of commodities. The signs that are produced always emphasize the *parole* (context) and the *langue* - (text), so that the structure is never rebuilt but instead is continuously reinterpreted in order to create language games.

Its central orientation is expressed in its reluctance to rely on the system, so that efforts to create fascination, pleasure, excitement and ecstasy can always exist in its language game space. Therefore, this kind of principle is rightly called a meaning killing machine because the existence of meaning has never been raised in the language game, in fact its existence has indeed been deliberately destroyed, crushed by the free play of markers (a semiotic killing machine).

The principle of the language game can be factually proven if it is based on the actualization of the language game through the transformation of myths produced from the *mabuug-buugan* tradition as explained below.

The turning point for the *mabuug-buugan* tradition was around 2015 when it was revived. The initiation of *yowana* and *Sekaa Demen* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village revived this tradition. The tradition which is carried out once a year coincides with the *ngembak geni* holiday, there are three basic values contained in the *mabuug-buugan* tradition, the first is as a thank you to *Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa* who has given a gift of welfare. In the form of harvesting fish throughout the year which produce a lot so that the internal Kedonganan community can live from this gift, (Wayan Merta, interview, 28 April 2022).

Based on this reality, there is a shift in meaning by using various interpretive assumptions made by agents in reinterpreting the *mabuug-buugan* tradition. Based on the explanation from the interview, the initial meaning of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition was a hereditary tradition with the intention of playing, but as *Nyepi* was carried out, this tradition acquired a new meaning by building a correlation through myths of expressions of gratitude for the abundant catch of fish, continuing on to new theological assumptions about fertility. This reality is instilled to ensure the continuity of the implementation of *mabuug-buugan* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village.

mabuug-buugan tradition is synonymous with mud, which is land or mother earth and this is what is reflected in fertility. There is something unique about the song *Mentul-menceng, mentul-menceng, glendang-*

glendong, *glendang-glendong* which can be interpreted as a *yoni phallus* or male and female genitalia which can be interpreted as a thank you for the fertility given so that the Kedonganan people live from the gift of fertility. The second, clean up the Kedonganan community on a *scale* and *abstract basis*, especially during the year that has been going on, of course there have been negative things that have been done and this is the moment for self-introspection as well as cleaning. Physically we clean ourselves which is reflected from the mud that sticks as dirt and goes to the sea spiritually sprinkled with water so that it is cleaned directly. The third is the values of maintaining the sacredness of the tradition, where every activity invokes *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi* which is a sacred value and cannot be arbitrary because the activities of the *mabuug-buugan tradition* always begin with a religious ceremony such as being sprinkled with water before starting this tradition so that this activity can take place can go well. There is a value of discipline built up in the activity of the *mabuug-buugan tradition* which has become a tradition that is in great demand by the Kedonganan people and people outside the village are starting to look at it to join in and experience the *mabuug-buugan tradition* in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. In addition, there are also many media that have published to the public which are indeed unique in other places, which of course do not exist.

More concretely, the principles in their implementation are shown in several expressions which are marked by statements of orientation for the reconstruction of tradition, and in this case are closely related to the visualization of *butha*. In one meaning, the *mabuug-buugan tradition* with mud or *bug bandages* correlates to gross bodily dirt on humans in a literal sense. This statement is a sale, so whatever can be sold, that must be prioritized, in this case is its aesthetic appeal and religiosity.

Based on this statement, it is clear that what is desired in the *mabuug-buugan tradition* by the agents is essentially a language game in which *parole is prioritized* and breaks away from its *langue* which tends to adopt infrasive elements from its extra-visualization side. Soil with the element of mud in the *mabuug-buugan tradition* is also based on the philosophy of *Tapak Dara (Swastika)* the science of balance because land is as *mother nature* and as a function for human life (*napak pertiwi*) Candra, interview 30 August 2022).

In accordance with this explanation, in relation to the text of *Bhuana Kosa VIII 2-3* it is stated that; 1) *Patra Soca* , namely self-cleaning using leaves containing chlorophyll (a green substance) as a shade and conditioner; 2) *Pertiwi Soca* , namely self-cleaning by using soil as a means, because it is this land that forms human beings. A philosopher stated that humans are born from the earth element, live and grow from the results of the soil, develop because of the soil, and will return later to the soil. Why should it be like the sky? day; 3) *Jala Soca* , namely cleansing with water, this signal needs to be understood that we live from water or *yeh (toya)*, this water is none other than *purusha water* and *pradhana water* , which are like *karma* and *jnana* giving birth to *Shiva* which means love; 4) *Basma Soca* , namely cleansing using holy ash and sandalwood, so that life always has a fragrance in behavior; 5) *Jnana Soca* is nothing else stated in *bhuana kosa* , purification with knowledge as stated in the verses as follows:

*"Anghing Jnyana Soca is also more so than all Soca,
yes we aprameya phalanya",*

It means;

"purification with knowledge is the main thing because the reward is immeasurable"

Mabuug-buugan tradition uses *natural ingredients* to clean *bhuana agung* and *bhuana alit* . Through *natural means soca* , the seeds of life, *sauca* or *soca*, can be obtained by all living things. In the *Kakawin Ramayana* it is stated that *"Ksayan Ika Papa Nahana Parayojana"* human life does suffer and must always be purified and glorified through maintaining local traditions and wisdom that exist through the *Mabuug-buugan tradition*.

Resistance to the Benoa Bay Reclamation Discourse

The discourse on the reclamation of Benoa Bay, which has been widely debated by various groups in Bali, from 2015 to 2021 is an important record of the existence of the *mabuug-buugan tradition*, especially in Kedonganan. This discourse is developing because the Benoa Bay area has experienced siltation, especially the existence of Pudut Island which is very threatened due to global climate change, in addition to the threat of damage to coastal beaches and reducing the impact of natural disasters, especially the tsunami disaster and global climate change underpinning the reclamation of Benoa Bay.

The Benoa Bay area will also be developed as a new tourist destination which is said to promote and prosper the people of Bali. Apart from that, it is also said that the reclamation discourse will increase the geographical area of the island of Bali which can be utilized by the community so that reclamation in Benoa Bay is very feasible for the future of Bali. On the other hand, reclamation in Benoa Bay will produce several new islands which will result in faster silting of Benoa Bay which can exacerbate coastal abrasion, threaten the survival of marine ecosystems and natural disasters, even Udayana University in its study stated that reclamation Benoa Bay is not feasible from an environmental, technical, social, cultural and financial economic aspect, this

has caused a lot of debate and controversy in Bali which has a special impact on the Kedonganan Traditional Village area .

Resistance was *once* carried out in various forms by various components of Balinese society, especially in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. This resistance can be grouped into resistance that is demonstration, diplomacy, and creativity. This resistance is carried out with a statement of attitude orally and in writing. The demonstration against reclamation was then accompanied by creative resistance involving artists by utilizing various media, both print and digital media.

It is undeniable that the presence of masses in *mabuug-buugan activities* is interpreted as various opportunities in efforts to achieve certain goals by the elites in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. One of them is used as a media or arena for rejecting reclamation.

This rejection was initially triggered by the uncertainty of the attitude of the Kedonganan Traditional Village regarding the question of what form of direct rejection and involvement in the ongoing demonstrations. Meanwhile, from the other side it is clear and explicit that the Kedonganan Traditional Village together with Pasubayan Desa Adat stated the discourse of rejection because of the community's belief in the sacred area in Benoa Bay. So that in this discourse the activities of the *mabuug-buugan tradition* are one of the answers to the rejection referred to for various reasons orated. With the intention of taking the *mabuug-buugan tradition* as a scapegoat for this action, it is seen as a little inappropriate, although in the context, directly or indirectly, the people who carry the *mabuug-buugan tradition* as the original cultural identity of the Kedonganan Traditional Village justify these reasons.

IV. CONCLUSION

The ideology behind the mabuug buugan tradition from sacred ritual to commodification, namely economic ideology, globalization, tourism, (Hindu) religion, and resistance to the Benoa bay reclamation discourse essentially interact with each other and influence the commodification of the mabuug-buugan tradition in the traditional village of Kedonganan. In the context of economic ideology, the commodification of the mabuug-buugan tradition occurs due to the urge to generate financial benefits through cultural and tourism exploitation. The mabuug-buugan tradition, which used to be a social and religious practice, is packaged into a product that can be traded involving elite relations and knowledge, the government and the Kedonganan indigenous people.

Factually, this cannot be separated from another ideological aspect, namely globalization, which also plays an important role in connecting the Kedonganan traditional village with the global market, so that the mabuug-buugan tradition can become an attraction for international tourists. On the other hand, Hinduism as a dogmatic ideology also has a role in maintaining and maintaining the mabuug-buugan tradition through the relation of myths related to the Nyepi celebration. This means that Hindu religious values provide cultural and religious legitimacy for this practice, so that the people of the Kedonganan traditional village feel connected to their ancestral heritage.

However, along with the tourism development discourse, through the practice of mabuug-buugan, resistance to the Benoa bay reclamation discourse has become a form of resistance ideology. This is because the Benoa Bay reclamation discourse is seen as a threat to the environment and ecology which has an impact on the sustainability of the *mabuug-buugan* tradition and people's livelihoods. This resistance illustrates the spirit to maintain their local wisdom and cultural identity. This means that the Kedonganan indigenous village community must maintain a balance between exploiting economic opportunities through tourism development on the one hand, and with issues of cultural and environmental preservation as a result of the impact of tourism progress itself on the other hand.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Fairclough, N. 1995. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- [2]. Piliang, Yasraf Amir. 2010. *Semiotics and Hypersemiotics*. Issue 4. Bandung: The Sun.
- [3]. Barker, Chris. 2005. *Dictionary of Cultural Studies*. Yogyakarta. PT Kanisius.
- [4]. Burns, P. (2006): *Social identities and the cultural politics of tourism*. In P. Burns & M. Novelli (eds.) *Tourism and social identities: global frameworks and local realities*. Elsevier Science.
- [5]. Miles, Matthew B. & Huberman, A. Michael. 1992. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. (Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi). Jakarta: UI-Press.
- [6]. Miles, Matthew B. & Huberman, A. Michael. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. (Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi). Jakarta: UI-Press
- [7]. Barker, Chris. 2005. *Dictionary of Cultural Studies*. Yogyakarta. PT Kanisius.
- [8]. Barthes, Roland. 2007 *Dissecting the myths of mass culture: Semiotics or Sociology of Signs, Symbols and Representations* (trans) Yogyakarta & Bandung, Jalasutra.