



## **BALINESE CRAFT'S MEANING CONTESTATION IN POST INDUTRIAL ERA**

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### **Abstract**

The entry of industrialization to Bali has an influence on the life of Balinese people both on the social, cultural and economic aspects. One of the elements of Balinese culture that is influenced and experienced a significant change from the industrialization is the artisan's community. As the theories put forward by Bourdieu and Plummer, the changing lives of Balinese craftsmen in the post-industrial era, capital ownership affects the way of each individual artisan society to change, even performs various forms of contestation in the framework of self-defense in the post-industrial era. Likewise with Scott's idea of economic morals and subsistence ethics that explain the basis of a person's behavior, acting and activity in economic activity, was adopted to understand the way the craftsman community overcame the various problems it faced in the post-industrial era. There are three parties experiencing changes in the post-industrial era that affect the life of Balinese crafters, namely consumers, craftsmen themselves, and entrepreneurs. This paper emphasizes on two important questions namely how the pattern of life of Balinese craftsmen changes as a result of industrialization? How are each party involved in the development of Balinese handicrafts in the post-industrial era in maintaining their identity and purpose? Through analysis with this critical approach is expected to provide a better understanding of the change of the artisans society in the post-industrial era and the forms of seizing the space of meaning by every individual involved in it.

**Key Words:** Balinese Craft, Industrialization, Contestation of Meaning.



## INTRODUCTION

Bourdieu (2010: 87) and Plummer (2011: 229) mention that the ownership of capital is important for survival, for participation in a competition and for struggling for meaningful space. In this case, Bourdieu thinks that there are three main capitals that have to be possessed by an individual to be able to compete in life including in industrialization, namely economic capital, cultural, and social capital. On the other hand, Plummer breaks down capital into seven resources that are going to be possessed by everyone to survive in life stratification, namely economic resource, socio resource, cultural resource, symbolic resource, political resource, physical resource and personal resource. Capitals in practice can bring an individual to occupy a certain position in competition. This is what happened in the artisans' life in industrialization. Artisans are divided into three groups, namely those who have the profession as labor, who works based on the order received by collectors, artisans who in addition to have the profession as labor also work as collector or receiver of orders from consumers and handicraft entrepreneurs, including artisans who are able to develop businesses at a high level, so that they can occupy the position as entrepreneurs. In practice, artisans who only work as labors can get the highest level of pressure, both from the collector and entrepreneurs, so that in the stressful condition, many of them now are changing their profession into construction labors, working in tourism industry, or becoming servants. This conforms to the idea developed by Scott (1981: 23) about economic, morality, and subsistence ethics that explains that people tend to have an ethics to survive in a minimal condition. However, if the minimal limit is violated, they will fight. In this context, the change in the artisans' profession is the solution to their inability to survive in the minimal living condition, in which they cannot live as artisans who have experienced many changes in industrialization.

Industrialization is a process of social economic change from agricultural community into industrial. Industrialization is also interpreted as a condition of the community marked by the emergence of various kinds of professions with certain specializations which finally determine one's income. In practice, industrialization has become part of modernization process where change that has happened whether in the social, economical or in cultural aspect is always related to technology. In this case, industrialization is not separable from technology which changes the people's thinking pattern from traditional to rational way of thinking. The latter is more focused on work efficiency. Like



Damayanti's perspectives (2008) which explains that industrialization is an important stage which has been achieved by the developing countries with the purpose of increasing the nation and the community's welfare, especially in overcoming unemployment that can have an implication on poverty. In addition, it is also explained that in practice, industrialization that has occurred in the country also has an implication in the use of machines and manpower classification.

Industrialization that occurred at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century has changed work pattern which was formerly traditional or manual into the use of machine for efficiency reason. Machine power was regarded more capable of giving profits in a relatively short time, the same thing also happens with handicrafts production which has changed into factory production. Almost all manual works start to vanished, replaced by machine which can produce product according to human's desire in a time which is also determined by human. This also occurs in the production of handicrafts in Bali in which some manual works have been replaced by machine which automatically has implication on the defeat of local labors who do not have skills needed by the business owners. This phenomenon conforms to Marx's idea, that is by the presence of industrialization that requires specific workers. The local people often have to accept their defeat because of the demand of the business owners who stress on the working efficiency and standardization (Suyanto, 2013). The increasingly higher demand of the markets both in terms of quantitative and qualitative aspects, causes every business including handicraft businesses in Bali with their various types to be subjected to market pressure, even business owners often have to eliminate the peasant moral ethics by choosing to recruit workers from outside of the locality to meet the production target.

Industrialization in practice has given birth to capitalism. As what is stated by Scott (2006) capitalism is government system to manage economy that has emerged in different settings and keeps undergoing development. Capitalism as political, social, and economic system in which all capital owned by private sector cannot only be able to activate the market, but can also monopolize the market and production. In practice, capitalism is contrary to the previous economic system, namely feudalism, since it is marked by the occurrence of the hiring of the workers with some money as their wages according to the type, work load, and production produce by the worker in question. On the other hand, Banks (2010) who studies about laborers and creative industry explains that the



effect of industrial capitalism is the occurrence of job division into more isolated and specialized classifications, use of more mechanization, and formalization of bureaucratic control in factory system. The target and quality of production that have been standardized both nationally and internationally have the effect on requirement for knowledge and skill of the workers in which every worker is recruited based on his or her ability according to the part of job that has to be done by him or her.

Practically, almost all handicrafts productions in Bali have undergone industrialization like jewelry handicraft in Celuk village, statue handicrafts in Silakarang village, *dulang* (a kind of tray for putting offerings) handicraft in Bangli and Ubud, and other handicrafts related to the profession of needs related with religion, household needs or only as ornaments. The industrialization that happened to handicraft businesses in Bali has implication in various forms of meaningful space contestation among the artisans, in which every artisan tries to win based on his or her interest. The people who are involved in meaningful contestation include local artisans and artisans from outside of Bali, local artisans and entrepreneurs in Bali and local artisans and entrepreneurs from outside Bali. This meaningful space contestation is interesting to be investigated since there is a tendency among the local artisans to have to accept their defeat in the contestation for meaningful space contestation for the handicrafts which are actually their culture's asset.

## METHODS

This study was done to understand the phenomena of the movement of consumers, artisans, and handicraft product entrepreneurs in Bali. This study used deconstruction method as put forward by Barry (2010: 82) who states that deconstruction is a technique of reading a text which is different from the habit of reading a text or to read a text by opposing the text itself. In relation to this study, the artisans' meaningful space of contestation in industrialization was studied critically by understanding the hidden ideology behind an event, especially the one related to the marginalization of local artisans in their own arena. The result of data analysis was presented informally in the form of descriptive narrative or verbal description formulated and conceptualized by the researcher based on the rules of cultural studies.



## DISCUSSION

### Balinese Handicrafts and Industrialization

Industrialization is an interactional process that involves various factors which include the use and development of technology, innovation and development of work specialization and market development. Industrialization is also interpreted as an economic modernization process that covers all economic factors which can be directly and indirectly related with manufacture industry as the result of the need for technology as the substitute for human power (Didit and Devi, 2008). Industrialization which is loaded with the use of technology gets enough attention from various critical thinkers, like Walter Benjamin (1999) who discusses various changes that occur in work of arts as the effect of the emergence of technology, both printed method and electronic technologies. According to Benjamin in principle, work of art can always be reproduced. The basic problem for Benjamin is that how the reproduction process occurs in the area which he calls mechanical production and what is its implication.

Mechanical reproduction of work of art by Benjamin is not only related to the problem of how art can be produced in a large quantity, but how it loses its aura when it has undergone mechanical production. Benjamin gives an example in the development of photography which replaces the function of lithography to take the picture of an object which matches the original. The presence of an object which replaces its appearance according to Benjamin reduces the aura of the work of art itself. The conception of aura described by Benjamin is interpreted as the ritual function of art. Benjamin stresses that the development of reproduction technology in photography has made it possible to get a perfect reproduction. Benjamin gives an example through photography in which it is possible to copy the reality into the image model form, whose quality is far superior to painting. In this case, Benjamin views that mechanical reproduction frees work of art from its dependence on ritual practice. Benjamin's idea gives an insight and concept reference related to mechanical reproduction of art, even the term mechanical reproduction in this study was adapted from Benjamin's work.

While Giles Slade (2012) states that in this century it is difficult to find an activity without any intervention from technology. Machine as a representation of technology on the one hand helps human to meet his or her need. However, on the other hand, it has brought human to leave his or her social



interaction. Slade also views that the preoccupation of human in playing with various gadgets has created alienation from the world around him or her. According to Slade, human is as social being and the isolated situation cannot be neglected. But for industrial world, this condition opens a new business opportunity. The loneliness makes someone to buy all the things he or she needs for himself or herself and the sale becomes doubled. This phenomenon motivates people to become an economic being. In this case, Slade interprets that the close relation with machine has a potential to motivate people to become mechanical. Stronger criticism about the effect of the closeness of human with technology has the implication of the birth of industrialization is given by Herbert Marcuse (2000) who views technology as something which is not free from value or can be regarded as neutral in human life. For Marcuse, technology can motivate human to desire things that she or he needs, in which he or she believes that with technology he or she can achieve anything, and can be produced. Marcuse believes that actually whatever is needed or desired by human is because of the technological system itself in which the more products produced by machine, the more human needs will be.

Based on the ideas above, it can be understood that industrialization does not only aim at helping people to work more actively and efficiently to increase income and economy, but it also has nurturing effects which include the loss of opportunity for the local people as workers in their work place because they have been replaced by machine or people with specific skills, the occurrence of urbanization because of the opening of job opportunity for those who have special skills, and the occurrence of human exploitation since they have to follow work schedule of machine for production that has been fixed to reach a determined target. Marx in Magnis-Suseno (2001: 193) states that in terms of process capitalism is an economic system that only recognizes just one law that is the law of bargaining in free market. In this case, capitalism is free economy, free from various limitations set by the king or other rulers, in which anybody can buy and sells goods in any market. Similarly in capitalism there is also freedom from the limitation of production. Anybody is free to do anything and produces anything she or he wants. And the most frightening thing is that in capitalism workers are free from restriction, thus everyone can look for a job anywhere without being bound to his or her village or workplace in this context, the determining factor is profit. Therefore, artisans have to accept a condition under pressure from consumers and entrepreneurs to earn money. It is very



interesting to investigate this phenomenon, considering that industrial revolution or industrialization in a country cannot only increase the country's economy but it can also marginalize local people as the effect of the fact that they do not have enough capital to compete with other people. This is this case with artisans in Bali who produce handicrafts as a form of Bali community economy.

Bali is a province in Indonesia with various types of handicrafts which can be found throughout the region. However, not all of them are well known because of some factors such as the use of the specific handicraft types which have a limited number of consumers and the handicrafts have not been promoted well which has caused them to be less known by public. Generally, the types of handicraft that are developed in Bali are wooden handicraft, *paras* stone handicraft, painting, metal handicraft, textile, bamboo handicraft and *wayang* handicraft (Anam, Jajang, Sutrisno, 2016). In practice, the handicrafts have undergone industrialization and local artisans have been replaced by artisans from outside Bali, or even by machines. This is what has happened to wooden handicrafts, *paras* stone handicraft, and metal handicraft. In this case, the production of handicraft was initially done manually. The local artisans are now replaced by machine and workers from outside Bali who are regarded by their business owners to be more capable in producing a maximal profit. In the statue handicraft in Silakarang village (Arsa, 2013) and Balinese style carved door (Arsa, 2015) the use of molding as an appropriate technology has substituted sculptures and carvers. *Padas* stone statues which were formerly made manually one by one are now produced with molding in which the owner of the handicraft business need only to make one model and a mold of the model is made. Thus the process of making the statue can be done by molding the statue using sand and cement or other materials according to what one wishes to use. The owner can even produce statues in a large number in a relatively short time.

While the Balinese style carved door which is complicated enough to make can at last be produced in a relatively shorter time by using an appropriate technology. As shown by Arsa and Laba (2016) there is a high market demand for Balinese carved doors because of the Balinese need to actualize themselves, thus there is a need for innovations in Balinese style carved doors. The study was done by making use of teak wood sawdust which had formerly been dumped. The process of processing the sawdust waste into the product followed five stages, namely (1) the sorting of wood waste, (2) the sifting of the waste, (3) the boiling of the wood sawdust waste, (4) the



mixing of the wood sawdust waste with resin by using a mixer to produce composite and (5) the molding of the composite. By following the five stages Balinese style carved doors are produced ready to be sold to the public. Balinese style carved doors which are often called *kori kwadi* are Balinese traditional doors which are only used in Balinese traditional buildings. Balinese style carved doors were formerly used by noble people since nobility can be associated with a high economic capability. This is caused by the relatively expensive price of a Balinese style carved door, since it is made as something special with very complex carving and in a relatively long time. However, as the thinking pattern of Balinese and the life style of the community have developed, the Balinese style carved door does not only serve as a door to enter into and to exit from a room, but it also functions as a marker of an individual's social status in the community. Thus for it to be able to be reached by the market the Balinese style carved door which is made of synthetic material and mixed with sawdust waste is in a high demand, which is of course bought by middle class and lower class people.

The use of technology in the industrialization of handicrafts in Bali with the most impact on the artisans is the use of casting technology in the production of jewelries in Celuk village. The use of casting technology that is applied by the artisans and entrepreneurs because of a high market demand that pushes the producers to produce jewelries in a certain number in a relatively short time. In this context, Marx's idea about production and Baudrilard's idea about consumption find their realizations in the phenomenon of the large quantity of jewelries produced to cater for the life style of the postmodern community life style. Scrace (2003) views that success in the folk handicrafts in the wider national and international markets depends very much on the global consumers' desire. In the case of global market, as stated by Bourdieu, we can differentiate the status of the type of handicraft produced and the type consumed. The handicraft that looks of a high quality, rare, and very beautiful, or has a complex construction has a special and elite consumer market. The elite consumers have a stronger tendency to be able to connect the story about the handicraft and its origin, location, and the specific details about the artisan community, etc. knowing these things, it is very appropriate if Celuk village, Gianyar regency, Bali can be used as an arena of production and sale of jewelries, especially those that are made of gold and silver, since the image of this village as the place of the production of jewelries is not only



known locally and nationally but also internationally. Thus, to maintain the image, some entrepreneurs in addition to the shift to the use of casting machine also recruit workers from outside of the village to produce jewelries to meet the market demand.

### **Shifting Production to Consumption: Contestation of Consumer Meaning**

Shifting the determination of products from producers to consumers is also perceived by the crafters in Bali, namely craft products must be made in accordance with the tastes of consumers. Martono (2011: 134) describe that in the rationality of consumption in the system of consumer society has undergone many changes, where people buy a product no longer based on the needs of his life, but to fulfill their desires. Even the purchased product is often not based on its original function, but rather it is used to validate its identity in the social status of the community. Thus, the factors that influence consumer behavior such as social, cultural and psychological factors must be understood by every manufacturer including craftsmen so that the products they produce can be accepted by the market and the crafters can make a profit. The competition is getting tighter, in such a condition the consumers have a strong position and can determine the price based on their acquisition of the bargaining position (Sumarwan, 2003; Kotler, 1993). In this case, the market law that the more products sold in the market of the same type at the same price, the more the consumers are given the opportunity to bargain, so that the consumer's bargaining position becomes stronger. Baudrillard's idea (2009: 73) about human right that every human always tries to like an object which will maximally satisfy him or her is an important thing that needs to be understood by the artisan and handicraft entrepreneurs. In this case the consumer tends to be satisfied at the beginning so that he or she finally decide to buy a product in his or her own way. The consumer hopes to be able to enjoy the product that he or she bought and he or she gets a pleasure from the product that he or she bought. This phenomenon of course cannot be ruled out, the development of the consumer's buying style has to be the main object to be analyzed by the producers, as artisans and handicraft entrepreneurs in producing handicraft products. Since it is not impossible if the consumer has specially noted the product that he or she bought and consumed in a certain place, then he or she will become a limited consumer who is fanatic toward the type of product. Some types of handicraft products can also be used by the consumer as his or her social



status marker in the society. Jewelries or Balinese style craved door, for example, can be used by the consumer to show his or her identity. As an example, the consumer becomes fanatic and when he or she wants to buy jewelries, he or she will go to Celuk village. Or if he or she wants to build a house, he or she will choose a Balinese type craved door made by people in Gianyar regency, since it is regarded to have the most unique and beautiful carving.

When consumer is offered a variety of products, any consumer's style will also develop. In the postmodern era which is known as the condition of the consumptive community, this actually becomes an opportunity for the producer to gain a profit. In this context, as the effect of the availability of everything in the market, people are given the opportunity to select, then what will happen next is that they will become spoiled and make buying as the best choice. Widiastini (2014) in her study of the consumer's behavior in selecting culinary products, the sellers of food carefully understand the need of the people, including the kinds of food tourists prefer to eat and their consumption pattern. Thus, the food product can be in a high demand in the market. This is also applied by the artisans in Bali in some places in which they tend to produce products that they usually produce. As an example, the artisan will produce jewelries with a motif or style which is in fashion in the market, although some other jewelries which do not follow the trend such as the bracelet for the three month old ritual and other jewelries which were once in a high demand keep being produced. In this case, the capitalist or the entrepreneurs or artisans with a big capital are required to understand consumers' desire to consume the goods available in the market ( Lull, 1993 in Atmadja, 2010: 89). By knowing the consumers' desire, finally, the capitalist will be able to use their domination by manipulating the consumers' desire (Suyatno, 2013: 23). In line with this, Suyanto (2013: 114-115) states that in the industrial era which is dominated by capitalist strength, Frankfurt school believes that the community consume cultural products generally are not only motivated by the need, but also are caused by the construction and logic of desire that are formed by popular culture attraction including various types of handicraft products with social function as self identity marker in the community.

Consumers, in practice, play an important role in activating the trend created by the capitalist, however, they can also create a new trend by adopting a developing trend. There are three stages which are generally



followed by producers and consumers, namely observing, imitating, and modifying. In the post industrial era, every individual has something for creating something, including to develop and express ideas, both verbally and nonverbally. In Bali, for example, as what Ardhana believes (2017) generally the Balinese worship gods and goddesses by adopting Indian philosophy and statues are worshipped as their manifestations. Then, the artisans will try to find out the people's statue consumption style. The development of spiritual tourism and Indian film in these three years in Bali has been very massive that has led the people to consume god and goddesses statues and their accessories in a small size to be put in various places which are regarded appropriate for them by the consumers, at home, in the workplace and in the car. This causes the artisans and entrepreneurs to have to adopt the consumer's behavior, for the products that they produced can be sold well or accepted by market.

The consumer's behavior which should also be understood by the producer as what is stated by Kacen, Hess and Walker (2012) that producers have to understand the classes of the consumers in terms of economy. It does not mean that some of them who have a limited amount of money will not like to buy a product that marks their social status. Thus, Arsa (2015) explains that the artisans in Celuk village produce jewelries from brass which is plated with gold or silver to give the chance to the lower class people to show up in style in various social and cultural activities in the community, for example in religious ceremonies. The consumer's way or process of buying the commodities can be described through three stages, namely awareness, desire, and buying. Consumers in practice do not directly determine the products that they will consume, but they also have to understand the products that they will consume, although some consumers are often dominated by their desire than understanding of the products they will buy. Some consumers do some considerations before picking the products that they will buy. Thus, it is also very important for the producers to identify and classify the consumers before selling their products, on the basis of gender, economic class and social status of the consumers in the society.

Fadhilah (2011) explains that in practice consumption is interpreted as social class division, the object of consumption is represented through goods which are sought for by the consuming subjects which mark their social class. In this case, there is a difference in the opportunity for the ownership of



objects in the form of goods consumed, in which every individual tries to give a meaning to the physical object in a different way based on education, gender, origin, occupation, status and purchasing ability. As Baudrillard's perspective the nature of consumption is a social integration with objects throughout the social life arena. Consumption subjects are the consumption community itself. In this context, the consumption in the consuming community has undergone change in meaning which becomes class division that serves as the distinguishing factor and class institution, in which consumption social logic is an autonomous and rational logic which naturally is not related to the appearance of objects as what they are in the surface, but is logic-metaphysical (idealistic), based on the subject's ideology whose truth tends to be subjective. Practically, the activity of consumption is influenced by individual needs in pursuing social status and self-esteem in the society through goods consumption, including handicraft products consumption.

### **Meaningful Space Contestation in Industrialization**

The tight competition in industrialization is not only felt by big entrepreneurs who have produced their products in a factory but also by artisans of micro businesses, as what is felt by artisans in Bali who take some actions to become the winners in various aspects of life. In practice, industrialization that occurs in handicrafts in Bali has the implication in the contestation of meaningful space in the economic, socio-cultural, and political aspects. Space as social construct is understood as something which is organized spatially which is formed by a set of dynamic processes that are related to power and symbolism, so that it is very important to understand human activities which are distributed in spaces, considering human interactions take place in special spaces with various social meanings (Baker, 2014: 269). While meaning is located in attitude, belief, purpose, justification, and reason used by people every day. Meaning indicates that something actually has an importance for each person in which it is interpreted as a maker shown by an individual in justifying his or her action (Barker, 2014: 167-169). Signification in this case is a process of creating meaning through a sign system, while signifying practices are activities of meaning creation.

Consumers are the main target of all artisans, thus the handicraft products produced by artisans and entrepreneurs have to meet the consumers' taste. As



what is explained by Scrase (2003) who quotes Mike Feathersone's idea, in the consumer's culture and postmodernism, to buy something is a symbolic experience and is to validate oneself, in which the pleasure in buying something is often greater than the pleasure that comes from the value of what is bought. Thus, the artisan's innovation in creating an innovative and fashionable handicraft becomes something important which has to be done to win the market. Symbolic signification is a signification through social status that is stressed by the consumers in consuming a product. Thus, the artisans have to try to win the market by creating a product that can continuously be consumed by the market. Artisans occupy the lowest position since they do not only receive the pressure from consumers whose every lifestyle have to be followed, but also from entrepreneurs who in addition to their function as the givers of order are also the patrons in their social relations.

The artisans are people who can work and produce a product through self learning, without following a normative instructional process. As what is stated by Elizabeth (2013) artisans have a difference in a business frame, in which they create a product that meets the taste of the consumers, they did not get the skill through an educational process, but rather by absorbing information found by various ways, both directly, that is by knowing it from the consumers who made orders, and indirectly, that is by obtaining information from media, both printed and electronic, especially the internet. A more critical view is expressed by Banks (2010) who says that artisans are only producers and they only live in the world of tools and worldly engineering. Handicraft workers are also regarded as additional workers rather than the main workers, such as artists or talented people so that in practice are always under a tight supervision of the managers. In this case, the ones who made order or entrepreneurs. The prize for the handicraft workers are their wages, and they never get any royalties although they are able to create unique handicraft products which meet the consumers' desire. In this case, the handicraft workers are regarded to always obey the management of the business that is applicable to them, business which has been broken into some divisions. Although the artisans get a low status in industrialization, Adamson G (2007) stresses that they are high quality skillful workers who have a motivation to produce products with a high selling price in the market.

Artisans are not only required to possess cultural capital or talent in producing attractive and innovative jewelries, but are also required to possess



other types of capital in winning the competition among local business actors. A strong economic capital can be used to develop a better and wide business relation to buy sophisticated technological equipment to be used in helping the production of the handicrafts products. As what is put forward by Scott (1991) in acquiring capitals, people can be divided into two groups, namely the group with a position to dominate, and other one who have to accept the dominance. In their acceptance, they have to accept their identity as producers who can produce handicraft product with good quality and able to earn money to meet their daily necessities in line with Scott's idea (1981: 23) in his theory about peasant economic morality. In this context, it is explained that peasant community members tend to select an attitude which avoid risk in drawing subsistence plan to survive. In Scott's theory (1981) it is explained that peasants do not care how much is taken by the owner but how they struggle for is the minimal limit of what is left. Artisans finally accept a wage given by the one who orders as long as the wage is enough to meet their daily needs.

Based on this condition, it is very natural if in this time many artisans change profession with the aim of earning more income because of the high price of the raw materials for production and the living necessities which become more expensive.

Under pressure, artisans keep trying to survive by many ways, including the use of information technology which can be used by everyone even without any restriction. The use of media both printed and electronic is an appropriate choice, moreover, now people tend to use the media to get some information. It is hoped that through the use of technology the handicraft products of the artisans can be sold widely, even they can imitate the types of trendy products in the market. On the other hand, people can live a better life not only economically but also socio-culturally, in other words, the society is willing to appreciate the local products that they have. As what is stated by Kellner (2010: 3-4) who carefully explains private television creativity. Televisions are generally cultural media that give pleasure. The entertainment media can often be enjoyed which use view, sound, performance to influence the viewers to identify themselves with certain views, attitudes, feelings, and opinions. Consumers' culture offers a range of goods and services which are very stunning. Media and consumers' culture work together to produce ideas and actions which are in line with existing values, institutions, beliefs, and practices. Media culture as industrial culture according to Kellner (2010) is organized into mass production model media and is produced for mass



audiences based on genre, established formulas, codes, and regulations. Media culture is a form of commercial culture and its product is a commodity which is aimed to produce profits. Media culture is aimed at general public and to achieve the aim, the themes developed have to be up-to-date and are liked by the public.

### **Meaningful Space Contestation by Entrepreneurs as the Biggest Capital Owner in Handicraft Industrialization**

Generally, the second position in the production of handicrafts is occupied by entrepreneurs, although in some cases such as class businesses which have a certain image have been able to reach the first position after they understand the logic of consumers' desire. They can produce products which are always accepted by consumers, thus, it is this businesses that can activate the market/ consumers. As what is stated by Suyanto (2013: 129) cultural industry has two main characteristics, namely: standardization and quasi individualism, in which cultural industry has been able to form the taste and the trend of the people and develop their consciousness of false needs. Magnis-Suseno (2001) adopts Marx's idea that capitalism openly places its egoistic interest to gain the highest profit for its business, so that the entrepreneurs will always do a market survey to know the social lifestyle and then activates them as the target of consuming targets. This phenomenon is very clearly proven in fashion products which are also produced by Balinese, that is textile handicraft which in Bali can be divided into two namely *cagcag* and ATBM textile (*Alat Tenun Bukan Mesin* (looms which are not machines)). Both handicrafts have been able to activate the consumers to become consumptive. The need to dress up by presenting local nuance but fashionable has led the community to consume textile products massively. The product is not only used as cloth that is compulsory to be worn when someone is going to the temple, but it is also made into dress both as uniform and daily dress.

The community live in post-modern era, is characterized by consumerism and the dominance of signs, in which the traditional community has changed toward a modern community now has become hyper modernism. Haryatmoko (2010: 277) stresses that hyper modernism is marked by consumption which is increasingly leaving the logic of needs to enter the sign consumption, in which human life is detected by objects since it has to follow the rhythm of goods that have been transformed into sign which has social meaning.



The consumers no longer buy goods because of the use (use value) contained in it, but it's related to the meaning of the whole object as regulated by sign system (Haryatmoko, 2010: 277). Such condition of the community, is not only found in the higher class people, but also in middle and lower classes. To meet human's need which is increasingly complex, people are spoiled by various ways, thus, loan a spreads out. Consumptive life and even hedonistic life have colored the life of the community in this post-modern era, all want to appear the best, and all want to occupy an existing social status in the community as legitimacy of his/her identity.

What is ideal in the new capitalism culture is to become rich by short thinking, in which economy becomes episteme that is the dominant signifying structure of today (S. Sennett, 2006 in Haryatmoko, 2010: 216). In the signification context which is oriented to economy like this, culture is always understood as social values and practices which can unify people as an institution in the effort to achieve each goal, in which individuals only think about their own happiness (Haryatmoko, 2010: 216). People now are largely oriented to consumption in which desire, plan, need, want, and relation are translated as signs and objects to be bought and consumed (Haryatmoko, 2010: 218) which give the opportunity for the capitalist to create a product which makes people stay in a certain group. By understanding this phenomenon, entrepreneurs as capitalist try to create handicraft products which meet the market's demand and they will aim at producing goods that are consumed by consumptive people by dividing them into high, middle, and lower consumer classes, so that the prices offered are also different in which what is emphasized is the appearance, although the quality are not the same.

Suyanto (2013: 108) explains that in the post-modernity era, the most important characteristic is the mechanism and the production which give opportunity for consumption as social cohesion fabric embroiders and as individual identity source. In this case, the consumer's community will feel that they are out of date and inferior when they do not buy new products, which serve as part of identity of status symbol of the modern community. As stated by Wijayanto (2012) *eligo ergo sum* which means 'I choose and that's why I exist', which explains that all people have the right to determine their choice since human is naturally a creature who desires (*homo volens*), who has the right to choose the style or fashion as the formation of his or her identity in community. Practically, consumers in the post-industrial era are generally under pressure in



two ways. *First*, they are pressurized by the need to always buy goods and to show their lifestyle, in order that they always appear to adapt themselves with the development of the era. *Second*, they are pressurized by corporation or commercial industry power which always produce and at the same time appear in the middle of the development of the era which has become increasingly global and post-modern (Suyanto, 2013: 108). Entrepreneurs in getting consumers will always try to produce a product which conforms to the consumers' lifestyle and continue to control the consumers to consume the products continually. In this case, not only the quality is given the stress but also the quantity. Producers will always try to meet the order by the consumers to develop trust for the products being ordered. In this context, entrepreneurs have to do various ways to meet the consumer's demand by using all the capital that they have.

An order of a large quantity as the effect of a high consumers' need for a product implies the pressure given by the entrepreneurs to the artisans. In this case, the entrepreneurs push the artisans to produce products in a certain quantity and at a certain time without taking care of the physical and psychological condition of the artisans. This, as pointed out by Bourdieu, is a symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is done by a person with symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is capital that is viewed through classification scheme which is developed socially, in which violence is done by someone who has symbolic capital against an agent with a weaker power. In this context, entrepreneurs who feel that they have capital in the form of production assets dominate the market, so that they can make people order goods for them, try to dominate the workers or the artisans by their own way with the aim to get the highest profit. Symbolic violence done by the entrepreneurs is in line with Aytac, et al's idea (2011) about violence at the workplace. It is explained that violence at the workplace is caused by some factors which are individual, environmental in practice, which cause inconducive work climate, distrust, and misunderstanding. The implication of violence at workplace can trigger a series of physical and psychological problems in the people who become the victims.

The inability of the local artisans to accept pressure from handicraft entrepreneurs who demand products with a certain quantity and quality within a certain time causes the replacement of their position by the new comers who accept the pressure as long as they have money to meet their daily necessities. It is on this occasion that the entrepreneurs have absolute power in determining who have the right to be their workers. On the one hand, the entrepreneurs can



hire local people and people from the outside so that the economy of the people becomes better, but on the other hand, they can also replace the local people position if they cannot follow the rules that they have determined. This is similar to what is stated by Sutrisna (2008) that industrialization cannot only improve the economic growth of the community, but it can also cause an impact in the life of the community, that is, a high population growth as the effect of the arrival of new comers from other places who work there. The same thing will also happen to the community's economy in which the local artisans will look for other job after being fired at the workplace in their area to meet their life's need.

## Conclusion

Handicraft products in Bali that have been produced massively and widely have the implications in various ways. Consumers as the main target of the products have been able to change the production pattern in which in the post-modern and industrialization era the consumers have the most important position with the ability to activate the market with their purchasing lifestyle. The consumers are divided into classes both socio cultural and socio-economical classes. The consumers, who feel that they belong to high class both in terms of socio-cultural and socio-economic status, like people with high class tend to consume goods that are able to maintain their self identity in the community. While consumers with middle to lower socio-economic and socio-cultural statuses always try to appear in style in public so that the producers both the artisans and the entrepreneurs try to produce handicraft products that can be consumed by the consumers of those classes. In this case, appearance becomes more important for the producers in presenting the product that can be accepted by public compared to quality, since the number of consumers exceeds that of the high class consumers.

The artisans who feel that they have talents and abilities in creating products try to enter the competition by using all the cultural capital that they have. Although in the economic capital aspect, that is, the material capital, and in the social capital or the marketing network, the majority of the artisans are weak, industrialization whose is presence is followed by information technology development has caused many artisans to be able to sell their products personally in global market through the internet. The artisans can use the sophistication of information technology not only in marketing but also in analyzing handicraft



products that are in high demand in the market by observing, imitating, and even modifying the products, so that some of the artisans cannot only survive although they are under pressure from the entrepreneurs and consumers but they are also able to exist by introducing themselves through the internet.

The entrepreneurs who have strong capital in cultural, social, economical, and political try to show their power to the artisans and show their identity to the consumers so that the brand that they created is expected to become something the consumers look for in meeting their needs and lifestyle. In practice, the entrepreneurs try to activate the consumers to be able to consume the handicraft product produced by understanding the consumers' lifestyle periodically. The entrepreneurs will always try to develop consumers' false needs in order they buy and consume from time to time. On the other hand, to meet the consumers' need the entrepreneurs finally commit symbolic violence against the artisans with the aim of producing products which meet the demand both qualitatively and quantitatively.

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