

THE STRUGGLE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TOWARDS THE REORIENTATION OF BHISAMA IN FACING CULTURAL CAPITALIZATION IN TENGANAN DAUH TUKAD VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, which is one of the Bali Aga Villages, has a *bhisama* that contains a prohibition on selling land to parties outside the village. Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village is now faced with the onslaught of capitalists who offer tourism development through a cooperation system. This is a challenge for the indigenous people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village to maintain the existence of traditions that they have such as *bhisama*. This study aims to identify the form of struggles that occurred to the reorientation of *Bhisama* in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, to describe the phenomena underlying the struggles that occurred to the reorientation of *Bhisama* in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, and to interpret implications of the struggle that occurred to the reorientation of *Bhisama* in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. This research is a qualitative study, using data collection methods such as observation, interviews, and document analysis. The theories used in this paper are the theory of practice by Pierre Bordieu and theory of power/knowledge relations by Michael Foucault. A deductive approach is employed in the data analysis. The findings reveal that the reorientation of *bhisama* is carried out by the village head, towards his community. *Bhisama* is a construct, undergoes deconstruction due to certain interests, from a socio-spiritual ideology to a socio-economic ideology. Using the theories of Bourdieu and Foucault, discipline is implemented in society, allowing the village head to successfully seize his territory, which is the ongoing tourism development in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. There are three form of struggles occurs to the reorientation of *bhisama* in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, first is different perception of the *bhisama* and different perception of capitalist that invest in the village, second is competition between investors, and third is competition of right and obligations among Tenganan Dauh Tukad communities. There are two factors that influence the struggles of reorientation *bhisama*, such as internal factor and external factor. The internal factors are lack of communication, differences in interests, and economic disparities. While external factors are caused by the entry of cultural capitalization, technological developments, and globalization. The implications of the struggles to the reorientation of *bhisama* including implication to the socio-cultural, socio-economic, and environment.

Keywords: the struggle, indigenous people, *bhisama*, cultural capitalization

INTRODUCTION

Bhisama are various customary rules, such as prohibitions and procedures that must be obeyed by the village community which are continuously passed down from one to the next generation. *Bhisama* is a strong foundation for creating harmony and social balance in the village. The community obeys and follows these rules with full confidence, because it provides clear guidance on how to interact between communities, carry out customary rituals, and maintain the sustainability of village culture. The existence of *bhisama* is a symbol of discipline and unity in society that is closely related to daily life (Gelgel and Utama, 2013). Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has *bhisama* that states that “*it is not allowed to sell/rent village land to parties outside the village*”. Along with the development of the times and the administrative needs of the traditional village, *bhisama* began to be codified in the form of written rules called *awig-awig*. *Awig-awig* is one of the written customary rules that plays an important role in the lives of the people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, especially in regulating land ownership and use. For example, Articles 81 and 82 in the *awig-awig* stipulate rules related to the sale and rental of land. Article 81 emphasizes that the sale and purchase of land within the village may only be carried out between village residents, while outsiders are prohibited from buying land within the village. Violations of this rule are subject to sanctions in accordance with customary provisions. Meanwhile, Article 82 regulates land contracts to parties outside the village, which are limited to a maximum of 20 years and must be approved by the traditional village community through joint deliberation.

Regarding land regulations, today *bhisama* is no longer seen as a unifying element in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. On the contrary, in the face of modernization and ongoing social change, this concept has become a source of debate and polarization among villagers. The phenomenon that occurs, where *bhisama* in this village which regulates the prohibition of land sales/rentals and the construction of buildings by investors, is considered to have begun to be violated by parties with power. Based on a statement by an informant, the form of violation that occurred was the existence of a cooperation system for leasing land owned by the Village of approximately 10 hectares for approximately 88 years to investors. This is considered no longer relevant for the *bhisama* of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. These differences of opinion then raised concerns among the community. Some parties consider that *bhisama* is still relevant and must be maintained so that the village's cultural identity is preserved. On the other hand, there are groups who consider that *bhisama* limits individual development and freedom,

and is no longer in accordance with the reality of the development of the times.

The rapid development of the tourism industry has had a significant impact on local culture. Friction between customs and tourism is one of the deep-rooted problems in Indonesia, including in the traditional village of Tenganan Dauh Tukad. Tourism on the one hand is the backbone of the Balinese economy, but on the other hand is a major challenge for the sustainability of local culture. Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, known for its strong customs and traditions, is now at a crossroads between maintaining its cultural identity or following the flow of tourism. Investors that came to Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village is a form of cultural capitalization that has a significant impact on the local community. On the one hand, the investment opens up new economic opportunities, such as increasing employment and developing the tourism sector. However, negative impacts are also beginning to be felt, especially with the possibility of increasing number of lands being sold to outsiders. This risks changing the social and cultural structure of the village that has been tightly guarded, and raises concerns about the reduced space for local communities to maintain their traditions and local wisdom.

The urgency of this research lies in the empirical nature of the situation that occurred in the traditional village of Tenganan Dauh Tukad. Furthermore, the informant said that the phenomenon that emerged was that there were differences of opinion among the village community, namely those who wanted to maintain the *bhisama* with those who gave leniency or even ignored the *bhisama* which contained rules, especially in dealing with the discourse of cultural capitalization that occurred in the village. On the other hand, tourism has become a basic need in supporting the economy of this village. This phenomenon has become the subject of this research. This research is considered important to study and provide scientific solutions that can help maintain this cultural tradition. This study not only aims to understand the extent of the indigenous people's struggle towards the reorientation of *bhisama* in facing cultural capitalization, but also to provide scientific arguments that can be used as a basis for efforts to preserve culture amidst the flow of globalization and commercialization.

Methodology

The method of this research is qualitative methods and descriptive-qualitative analysis techniques. This research seeks to understand and interpret the meaning of a phenomenon in a particular situation according to the researcher's point of view. The data analytical process consists of three stages; data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The data analysis method is conducted through observation,

interview and document analysis. The theoretical frameworks used in this paper include the theory of practice and power/knowledge relations. A deductive approach is applied in the data analysis. The results of this research are presented through descriptive explanation using academic terminology supported by formal elements such as table, graphic, and illustration or photographs.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Forms of The Struggle Towards The Reorientation of *Bhisama* in Facing Cultural Capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village:

1. Different Perception of *Bhisama* Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village

Perception of Bhisama Regarding Land regulation

There are different perceptions of *bhisama* related to land, which has led to the reorientation of community groups that seeing *bhisama* as a rule being maintained and obeyed and groups that reject and consider *bhisama* irrelevant to today's life. Through an interview conducted by the researcher to people in the village, there is different perception from one to another villagers.

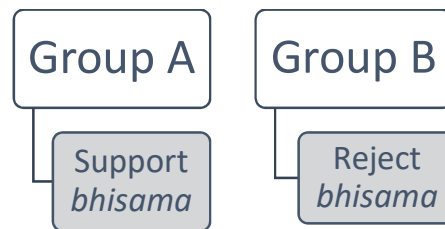
"Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has a bhisama which states that it is forbidden to sell land to parties outside the village. Bhisama comes from a sacral incipations that was told in the 1980s. But what is happening now is that 10 hectares of village land is contracted with a cooperation system with investors for 88 years. In my opinion, that is already an action through bhisama even though it is only a cooperation system and not selling. But that is just language and in the future there is a possibility that there will be relaxation of the rules and the land could start to be sold. So in my opinion, the usual bhisama is starting to loosen." (interview with Putu Guntur Permana, 22 March 2025)

"Our village has a bhisama and no one has ever violated it. We also don't dare to violate the bhisama. From my understanding, the bhisama prohibits selling land, but what happens is that the land remains intact and is not sold to investors. So in my opinion, we have implemented the bhisama well and we have not violated it. It even complies with the customary law or awig-awig." (interview with Nyoman Suardana, 22 March 2025)

Based on the interview, it shows that the group that supports the preservation of *bhisama* assumes that accepting the investors into the village is the same as the violating *bhisama*, the villagers afraid that the original culture of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village can be eroded by the rapid development of tourism. Meanwhile, the party that rejects *bhisama* assumes that there is no violation of the *bhisama* of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, where the investors does not affect the implementation of *bhisama*. The rules are still implemented in accordance with customary provisions and are still preserved. Differences

of opinion occurred when both parties had different legal guidelines, namely the *bhisama* contained in the inscription and the *aig-awig* which is the written customary law in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village.

The differences in perception that occurred gave rise to polarization among the people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village which emerged during the struggle (can be seen in graph 1). The polarization that occurred gave rise to two different groups among the community, namely group A and group B. Group A is a group that supports *bhisama*, while group B is a group that rejects *bhisama*. Polarization among the people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village is a phenomenon that occurs where the community is divided into groups that have different views on *bhisama* regarding land in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village.



Graph 1. Polarization of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Communities
regarding perception about *bhisama*

Perception about Investor in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village

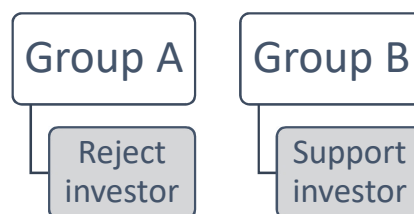
The struggle began with the emergence of investors who began to look at land owned by villagers. The villagers often received offers from investors who wanted land in the village to build tourism. The natural conditions are still green and cool, becoming economic capital for the community to develop their tourism. In addition, the customs and culture of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, which is a Bali Aga village with unique house architecture and traditions, are symbolic capital owned by the village. This is what causes these capitalists to compete to make investments so that cultural capitalization practices emerge in the village, including other land that is rented to investors with a cooperation system, the emergence of souvenir shops, and the existence of tour packages provided by the tour guide community in the village.

The Head of the Traditional Village of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village through an interview expressed his concerns about the development of tourism in Bali where many young people are leaving the village because village tourism is considered to be lacking in terms of income. Many villagers, especially young people, leave the village to migrate

either outside the village or abroad. This is what the Head of the Traditional Village and the village administrators are worried about regarding who will continue the customs and culture if all the young people choose to leave the village. So through the development of tourism in the Traditional Village of Tenganan Dauh Tukad and with cooperation with investors, it is hoped that it can attract back the village community so that they do not have to go far to find work.

However, the entry of investors into the village was not entirely warm. Some communities who were against the entry of investors were from the migrant group, who felt their voices were not heard. Although only a portion of the community is a group of rejecters, it shows that there is a minority that also wants to be heard and have their voices heard. Most of the people who disagreed did not dare to express their opinions, only a few dared to be vocal in expressing their opinions in the forum. The community that rejected the investor expressed suspicion of the selected investor and fear that it would have a negative impact if the *bhisama* is not preserved. They also concern that if the cooperation system with investor was implemented, it would have a negative impact in the future, especially because it was not in accordance with the rule of *bhisama*. Studies related to the environmental, social, and cultural impacts on tourism development had not been carried out. The cooperation agreement was considered too quick to be approved without considering the various impacts.

In this case, differences in perception regarding the entry of investors also gave rise to polarization among the people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village (as seen in graph 2). The resulting polarization gave rise to two distinct groups within the community, namely group A and group B. Group A is the group that opposes the entry of investors into Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, while group B is the group that supports the entry of investors into Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village.



Graph 2. Polarization of Tenganan Dauh Tukad communities
regarding perception about *investors*

2. Competition between investors in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village

One form of competition that occurs is competition between investors in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. Investors who see the potential of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village can be categorized as internal and external investors. Internal investors are members of the indigenous community of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village who have begun investing in village tourism, such as building accommodations on their land to rent to outsiders (foreign nationals). Meanwhile, external investors are those from outside the village who want to invest in village tourism. External investors in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village are mostly foreign nationals (foreign nationals) who have frequently inspected land in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. Competition occurs between Tenganan Dauh Tukad residents and investors from outside the village, and between external investors.

3. Competition for Rights and Obligations Between Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village Communities

The rapid growth of tourism in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has led to competition within families over land rights and obligations. Regarding village resource management rights, the development of tourism has led to the emergence of artshops or craft stores opened by residents in front of their homes. This has led to intense competition within families, such as who can build an artshop or craft store in front of their homes.

This competition over rights and obligations is interconnected with the economic benefits the community derives from supporting tourism in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. In relation to these rights, the community is obligated to contribute a certain amount of their profits to the village, which is used for forest conservation, traditional textiles and accessories, and traditional activities. This competition arises because the greater the community's rights to utilize its resources, the greater their participation in carrying out their obligations in the village, particularly in traditional activities.

Factors that influence the struggle of towards the reorientation of *bhisama* in facing cultural capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village:

1. Internal Factors

Lack of Communication

Communication between communities in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, in relation to the community's struggle towards reorientation of *bhisama* in facing cultural capitalization, can be said to be still lacking. This is indicated by the differences in views and perceptions in the customary forum discussing the permit for investors to enter the

village. Communities who are against the entry of investors feel marginalized because they often cannot attend the important forum. Meanwhile, communities who are pro the entry of investors feel that they have invited interested parties to attend the customary forum but have not attended for various reasons. One of the customary communities of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village who was successfully interviewed admitted that he was invited to the customary forum during the discussion regarding the permit for investors to enter the village, but it was as if the invitation was delivered suddenly so that the party concerned was unable to attend.

Differences in interests

There are differences of interest between indigenous communities that support the entry of investors and indigenous communities that reject the entry of investors. Indigenous communities that support have economic interests that assume that tourism development will automatically open up jobs and attract people to stay in the village so that it is easier to carry out customs. Meanwhile, indigenous communities that reject believe that by allowing investors to enter, implementing a land lease cooperation system for 88 years is a form of violation of *bhisama*, where the *bhisama* of the Tenganan Dauh Tukad Traditional Village which regulates the sale and purchase of land in the village is starting to be ignored. This is what caused the struggle.

Economic inequality

The indigenous people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village have diverse livelihoods, but most of them are in the agricultural sector. The economic gap is seen in the indigenous people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village related to the struggle of the indigenous people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village towards reorientation of *bhisama* in facing cultural capitalization. Based on the results of observations and interviews in the field. Communities with low or below average economic income tend to support the entry of investors and hope for tourism development. While communities with sufficient and higher economic incomes tend to reject the entry of investors and hope that *bhisama* will still be considered.

2. External Factors

The Entry of Cultural Capitalization

Cultural capitalization that has entered Bali has brought complex impacts, where we often find Balinese culture being commercialized and turned into a commodity. Tourism, which is the main driver of economic growth, has also brought drastic changes to the lives of the Balinese people, with traditional values starting to be ignored for

economic interests. Balinese society has experienced drastic changes due to the entry of global cultural elements, including the ideology of capitalization. Bali, which is a popular tourist destination, attracts many investors who seek quick economic profits in the tourism sector such as the construction of hotels, villas, and other tourist facilities. Capitalists in Bali refer to investors and business owners who focus on economic profits in the development of tourism and other sectors in Bali. Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village is a village that has tourism potential that has begun to be noticed by various investors because of the natural beauty of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village which is still pristine, the history and traditions of the village, and the hospitality of its residents. Based on the results of observations and interviews with one of the indigenous people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, there have been many offers from investors to build tourism in this village. Even during field observations, some indigenous people thought the researcher was an investor who would look at the land/land that was being rented. This shows that capitalists are no longer something foreign to indigenous people.

The Development of Technology

The development of technology greatly influences the development of tourism in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. Previously, this village was not widely known by outsiders, now with the existence of technology such as the internet and social media, many tourists are starting to visit this village. Through technology, this village began to be bought by various investors. The rapid progress of tourism in other areas in Bali due to the impact of the use of technology, initiated the people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village to advance tourism in their village. In fact, Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village is very famous for its strong customs which have their own way of maintaining their strong traditional ecosystem from outside influences (investors), namely by not allowing the sale of inherited land to parties outside the village. The reality that occurs due to technological developments can be seen from the presence of investors who enter the village with the aim of building tourism.

Globalization

Globalization greatly influences the culture of capitalization because it encourages the creation of a global consumer culture, where society is increasingly tied to the consumption of products and status symbols that are compromised through capitalization. This can also cause the loss of local culture and nationalism, as well as weaken social inequality, and encourage the exploitation of nature. As happened in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Globalization creates a consumer culture in society, where society wants tourism development by accepting capitalists (investors).

Implications of Indigenous People's Struggle Towards Reorientation of *Bhisama* in Facing Cultural Capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village:

Implications to Socio-Culture

Not all indigenous peoples have the same understanding of *bhisama*. *Bhisama* often has a deep meaning and needs to be interpreted correctly. The *Bhisama* of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village which comes from an inscription has not been translated and written, resulting in different interpretations. Differences in interpretation between individuals or groups can cause differences in understanding and practice of *bhisama*. The flow of globalization and modernization has an influence on traditional values, including the understanding of *bhisama*. Hindus may be more interested in new values that are considered more relevant to modern life.

Public trust in *bhisama* is increasing due to the development of tourism, while *bhisama* which is considered to hinder the community in developing tourism is starting to be ignored. *Bhisama* itself has been codified in the form of *awig-awig* which has clear sanctions, but this is what causes the meaning or content of the *bhisama* to change. The community tends to expect rules that are beneficial to their lives.

Differences in perception regarding *bhisama* cause polarization between communities to increase. Increasing polarization in the village refers to increasing divisions and sharp differences of opinion among village communities. The existence of two different groups is clearly visible during village meetings or forums held to discuss the cooperation system with investors. Polarization in the village can be a serious problem that needs to be addressed immediately. With joint efforts from all elements of society, it is hoped that the village can return to being a harmonious and prosperous place.

Implications to Socio-Economic

The struggle towards *bhisama* in facing cultural capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has implications for the increasing influence of capitalization. The increasing influence of capitalization in villages can have positive and negative impacts. On the one hand, capitalization can encourage village economic growth through investment and job creation. However, on the other hand, capitalization can also weaken society, exploit natural resources, and lose local culture. Capitalization can trigger village economic growth through investment capital from outside, both from the government and the private sector. Infrastructure development such as roads, bridges, and other public facilities can be accelerated with investment.

The struggle of indigenous peoples towards *bhisama* in facing cultural

capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has implications for the emergence of various creative economies in the Village. The emergence of the creative economy in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, which is a Bali Aga village, is driven by the unique potential of this village, especially the Gringsing weaving craft and the tradition of writing lontar prasi. The development of tourism has also contributed to the growth of the creative economy in this village, with changes to traditional houses and village facilities that are adjusted to attract tourists.

The struggle of indigenous peoples towards *bhisama* in facing cultural capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has implications in the economic sector in terms of the utilization of yard land functions. Open spaces in the yards of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village can be used for dance performances, traditional music, or traditional ceremonies. This allows tourists to get closer to the culture of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. In addition, traditional houses with distinctive yards are used as tourist attractions. Visitors can see the unique architecture, spatial layout, and daily life of the people of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. The yard land can also be used for craft shops or craft workshops. Visitors can see the process of making gringsing weaving, weaving, or lontar prasi, and buy craft products as souvenirs.

Implications to Environment

The Struggle of Indigenous Peoples towards *Bhisama* in Facing Cultural Capitalization in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village has implications for environmental health which is getting worse. Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, which is famous for its beautiful and clean environment, if tourism development starts to grow rapidly, it can have an impact on environmental change. The impact of tourism in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village on environmental health includes the problem of garbage and waste management that is not yet optimal, as well as the potential impact on water resources. Although this village has awig-awig that maintains natural and social preservation, it has not touched on the preservation of the artificial environment. Traffic congestion often increases in tourist areas due to the increase in tourist numbers. Rapid tourism growth can lead to an increase in the number of vehicles, both private, rental, and public, which ultimately triggers congestion. The government's dominance over tourism development has led to changes in the architecture of houses in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, which, like other traditional villages, has been influenced by modernization. These changes are evident in the use of more modern building materials, such as brick and roof tiles, as well as changes in building design and layout. The introduction of modern building materials and construction

technologies has transformed the appearance of traditional Tenganan houses. The use of brick, roof tiles, and other modern materials has replaced traditional materials such as bamboo, alang-alang grass, and earth.

CONCLUSION

The result of this study shows that the struggle is taking place between two groups. Group A represents the community that supports *bhisama* and opposes the entry of investors, namely the migrant community and a small portion of the community living in the village. Meanwhile, Group B represents the community that rejects *bhisama* and supports the entry of investors, namely the traditional government that has a power and the majority of the indigenous community living in the village. There are three form of struggles occurs to the reorientation of *bhisama* in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, first is different perception of the *bhisama* and different perception of capitalist that invest in the village, second is competition between investors, and third is competition of right and obligations among Tenganan Dauh Tukad communities. The struggle that occurs is influenced by two factors, internal factors and external factors. Internal factors that influence include lack of communication, differences in interests, and economic disparities. The struggle of indigenous peoples towards *bhisama* is also influenced by external factors, including the entry of cultural capitalization, technological developments, and globalization.

The struggle of indigenous peoples towards *bhisama* has implications for the socio-cultural, socio-economic, and environmental aspects of the indigenous peoples of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. The struggle has implications for the socio-cultural aspects, namely the increasingly blurred understanding of *bhisama* and the increasing polarization between communities. In terms of the socio-economic struggle that occurs, it has implications for the increasing influence of capitalization, the emergence of creative economy in the village, the utilization of yard land functions, and competition between residents in the economic sector. Not only that, the struggle that occurs also has implications for the environmental aspect such as increasing traffic density, worsening environmental health, and changes in the architectural form of the houses of the traditional community of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village.

The research conclude that the reorientation of *bhisama* is carried out by the village head, towards his community. *Bhisama* is a construct, undergoes deconstruction due to certain interests, from a socio-spiritual ideology to a socio-economic ideology.

Using the theories of Bourdieu and Foucault, discipline is implemented in society, allowing the village head to successfully seize his territory, which is the ongoing tourism development in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. The indigenous people's struggle towards *bhisama* that occurred in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village took place peacefully without violence. The community did not struggle in an extreme way, but through differences of opinion that were conveyed well through village meetings such as sangkep. The struggles that occurred did not result in conflict that was detrimental to either group. Rather, they could be resolved through effective cooperation among residents across socio-cultural, socio-economic, and environmental dimensions.

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