

THE COMMODIFICATION OF THE TRADITION OF HANGING THE PLACENTA AND PLACENTA CEMETERY AS A TOURIST ATTRACTION IN BAYUNG GEDE VILLAGE

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Abstract

As it is known as a traditional village or *Bali Aga*, Bayung Gede village has a unique culture, namely carrying out the tradition of burying the placenta by hanging it. Even so, the undeniable touch of the massive expansion of tourism in Bali has driven the potential of this unique tradition to be a tourist attraction. This paper generally examined the commodification of the practice of hanging the placenta and the area of the placenta cemetery as local wisdom and cultural identity for the villagers, which is a consequence of global capitalism development that can be functioned as a tourism prospect. This qualitative descriptive research is conducted in Bayung Gede village, Kintamani, Bali. This study employs a critical ethnographic method in the paradigm of cultural studies. The methods of observation, interviews, and documentation used to collect the required data and supported by secondary data sources in the form of written notes, previous studies, books, and other related documents. The globalization theory, the theory of capitalism, and the theory of commodification are used as a theoretical basis to investigate the problems studied. The results revealed the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and the placenta forest could be seen in the forms of commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta, and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction in Bayung Gede village is in the form of the production processes, distribution, and consumption processes. Moreover, the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta along with the usage of traditional placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction is impacted by external and internal factors, which have implications for social, economic, and cultural aspects.

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1. Introduction

Globalization has affected the smallest domain of human life, not only regarding economic issues but also in politics and culture. As a consequence of the instantaneous world transformation from globalization to the broader economic and political aspects, it stimulates the occurrence of phenomena that are integrated with the utilization of available economic opportunities. Tourism, a symptom of globalization and the implications of the development of science and technology, encourages the use of resources such as natural wealth and local wisdom so that the reachable area can feel the economic advantages packaged in expansion discourse. Local wisdom is an exotic asset to be used as a tourism prospect. Art, architecture, traditions, rituals, and folklore that evolve in a particular area can be attractive, especially if the cultural products offered are authentic. Authenticity and commodification are not apart from changes in tourist attractions (Meethan, 2002 in Smith &

Robinson, 2006: 176-179). Therefore, commodification is very closely related to tourism development strategies. (Marlina et al., 2021)

Bali has a strong culture and numerous unique local pearls of wisdom as potential and wealth, particularly in the strategy of expanding cultural tourism. According to Bali Provincial Regulation Number 5 of 2020, the tourism developed in the Bali area is cultural tourism, where a series of tourism activities are based on local wisdom. The strategy of developing cultural tourism that is based on Balinese culture is the dominant conceivable attraction that fosters various traditions in Balinese culture to undergo the process of commodification in this non-polluting industry. In this vein, varied traditions that were initially carried out as part of a ritual procession and become local wisdom of the society can now be used as potential to fetch tourists, such as the *Mapasah* tradition in Trunyan Village (Bangli) and the *Makare-Kare* tradition in Tenganan Pagringsingan village (Karangasem). Likewise, the tradition of hanging the placenta in Bayung Gede village where this tradition is considered unique because it is different from other Balinese traditions in general.

Bayung Gede Village is one of the villages that is known as an ancient village in Bali, located in Kintamani District, Bangli regency. Although the colonialist influence in state intervention and capitalism was brought about through tourism, it did not influence the village spaces or areas, including Bayung Gede Village as a Bali Aga village that is still traditional. The villagers in Bayung Gede still carry out traditions that are diverse from other Balinese cultures in general, one of which is the tradition of hanging the placenta. The existence of the hanging placenta tradition and placenta cemetery as an area designated for the procession is one of the local ecological wisdom, which has now become a cultural uniqueness and has become an allure in tourism growth in Bayung Gede village.

The discourse on the usefulness of culture as a potential for the tourism sector has recently experienced pros and cons. Several parties support utilizing culture as a strategy to strengthen cultural values through tourism evolution. Meanwhile, the idea of developing cultural tourism is facing opponents for the consequences of causing damaged or destroyed local culture. As a consequence of the development of the ideology of capitalism which is in line with globalization, it stimulates the use of various available variables, including traditions considered holy and local wisdom of the community that can be used as economic opportunities through commodification.

Although the villagers of Bayung Gede still believe the tradition of hanging the placenta and the placenta forest area is a sacred culture, and the undertaking of this tradition is still privately carried out, the undeniable touch of tourism has become the potential of the uniqueness of this tradition as a tourist interest. The commodification in utilizing the uniqueness of the tradition of hanging the placenta and the existence of the placenta cemetery area as a tourist attraction is interesting subject to investigate (1) the process of commodification, (2) the factors underlying the commodification, and (3) the implications of the commodification of the hanging the placenta tradition and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction in Bayung Gede village.

2. Theoretical Review

The ground theories employed in this research are considered applicable to the object of this research, so it is expected that the concealed definition behind the reality can be exposed, namely the theory of globalization, the capitalism theory, and the theory of commodification.

The theory of globalization, which refers to the reflection of Arjun Appadurai (Appadurai, 1990: 295), attempts to catch the primary issues of globalization can not only be defined by the existence of a conflict between homogenization and cultural heterogeneity as an implication, but various cultural transformations that emerge due to globalization are influenced by five dimensions, namely the occurrence of *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes*, *mediascapes*, and *ideoscapes*. The theory of globalization is the grounded theoretical for comprehending the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and the existence

of the placenta forest, which initially became something sacred, can currently be employed as a cultural identity that conveys economic value to tourism. The expansion of the function and meaning of the tradition of hanging the placenta and the existence of a sacred placenta forest area for the villagers of Bayung Gede to become something of selling value from tourism is influenced by five dynamic and interrelated dimensions as implications of the globalization phenomena. 822

Jameson (1884: 78), in the theory of capitalism, attempts to ascribe that the current era delivers the final form of capitalism which indicates the existence of extraordinary forms of capital expansion in spots that have not been exploited yet. All aspects of life are concocted to fulfill the demands of the global market in various elements of life, including local wisdom and traditions that show various commodification phenomena. The application of capitalism theory is to conduct a study of the commodification phenomenon of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as something of sacred value that can be transformed into a worth commodity in the camouflage of tourism discourse.

Commodification theory describes a process that constructs something which is not originally produced as a commodity into something that is exchanged or become a commodity. Reflecting on Karl Marx and George Simmel in Turner (1992: 115-132), the emergence of symptoms of commodification in diverse sectors of life is due to the spirit of producing as many returns as possible. This theory is applied to analyze the commodification forms in the use of the tradition of hanging placenta as well as the existence of placenta cemetery as a commodity in the shadow of capitalism through the expansion of cultural tourism.

3. Research Method

This study uses a cultural studies paradigm that is descriptive analysis (analytic) which seeks to analyze the research subject to obtain in-depth data (Sugiyono, 2018: 3) where the researcher relates to the participants, namely the object and subject of the study. The usage of a critical ethnographic method as a means of critical reflection on phenomena that are self-set based on the data obtained. (Thomas, 1993: 4) states that critical ethnography is a conventional ethnography with political goals and the interest in investigating injustice, social control, power, stratification, and the allocation of social rewards and resources that can limit the existence of certain groups (Kriyantono & Sos, 2015: 66). The critical ethnographic method is applicable considered to investigate the phenomenon of the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as tourist interest in Bayung Gede village, where the capitalist implications of tourism indirectly result in the transformation of traditions and ceremonies that have sacred values which are finally adapted to tourism conditions by selling values of uniqueness and authenticity. The use of the critical paradigm is to see the extent to which tourism growth techniques are not only concerned with economic libido but also manifold other implications that must be wisely addressed to prosper the residents.

The selection of Bayung Gede village, Kintamani District, Bali as the research location regards the uniqueness of both in terms of ecology, socio-cultural aspects, and traditions. Bayung Gede village is a Bali Aga village that still carries out various traditions from Balinese Hindus in general, one of which is the tradition of hanging the placenta and the existence of placenta cemetery. In addition, the location selection was based on the suitability of the topics conducted, namely the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and traditional placenta cemetery as the cultural identity of the Bayung Gede villagers and their existence in the growth of tourist villages. This study aims to reveal the ideological round in the use of the tradition of hanging the placenta and the existence of placenta cemetery, where this tradition is carried out as a tourist attraction along with various policy discourses, particularly in tourism growth in Bayung Gede village. Data were collected through in-depth and focused interviews with interview guidelines with informants selected through purposive techniques, which are the village head or Prebekel Bayung Gede, Kelian Desa Bayung Gede, Jro Bendesa Bayung Gede, traditional leader Jro Kubayan, Pokdarwis administrators, and the Bayung Gede residents considered involved with the research topic under study. Participatory observations were also carried out while obtaining the necessary data related to the utilization of

the tradition of hanging the placenta and the placenta cemetery forest area as tourism prospects. In addition, 823 the utilization of recording and note-taking devices is to avoid limitations in the data collection process.

4. Result and discussion

The rapid evolution of tourism in Bali promotes the use of available economic prospects that is not only in material elements but also in non-material, including culture. Culture, as the prevalent potential in tourism growth, makes Bali island unique and fascinating to visit. The indigenous population and their culture are increasingly being consumed in the tourism context, which encourages the process of cultural commodification that markets cultural, architectural, and ritual performances (Maunati, 2001: 1), one of which is in the discourse of developing the Bayung Gede tourism village which has a unique Balinese Aga culture that can be offered as a source of energy. The attraction is expected to bring economic benefits, one of which is the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery. The usefulness of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction indicates the form of commodification that runs through the process of occurrence, the factors underlying it, and the implications of the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction in Bayung Gede village.

A. The Overview of the Tradition of Hanging the Placenta and Placenta Cemetery in Bayung Gede Village

Unlike Hindus in Bali in general, who bury the placenta of a newborn baby at the exit or the *Bale Daja*, in Bayung Gede village, the villagers hang the baby's placenta in the south of the village. The tradition of hanging the baby's placenta carried out by the villagers of Bayung Gede is closely linked to the beliefs of the people who believe in and worship the ancestral spirits that are very sacred, namely Ratu Pingit and Ratu Bungsil. *Krama Ulu Apad* or caretakers who have carried out a purification procession for the birth of Ratu Pingit and Ratu Bungsil are also very chaste, so they are not allowed to be or go to places that are considered unholy or 'dirty'. The placenta of a newborn baby is considered dirty or tired by the people of Bayung Gede village, so it cannot be placed in the yard of the house but is hung in a different place, namely on the placenta cemetery (*Setra Ari Ari*).

The process of hanging the placenta can only be done within one day from the moment the new baby is born. After going through the cleaning process and wrapped in a coconut shell filled with spices in the form of turmeric, pepper, coriander, limestone (*pamor*), and tied with a rope made of bamboo. The placenta must then be carried by the father to hang on the placenta with the right hand so the child will not become left-handed when they grow up, which according to the belief of the villagers of Bayung Gede has an unfavorable connotation. The location for hanging the placenta is a forest overgrown by *bukak* tree, which is the type of Bintaro tree that is used as a place to hang the placenta covering an area of approximately 1.5 ha (Bayung Gede village Profile 2020).



Figure 1. (a) The Father Who Hangs the Placenta on the Bukak Tree (Source: warisanbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id, 2021); (b) Coconut Shell Wrapping the Hanging Placenta (Doc. Gayatri, 2022)

Although 'Setra' refers to the cemetery, the placenta is not buried but is hung on the *bukak* trees. People also often refer to placenta cemetery as 'Pengutangan Kau', which is interpreted in Indonesian as 'Pembuangan Kau' because it is where people throw 'Pembuangan' coconut shells 'Kau' as the placenta wrappers. Therefore, the cemetery area looks like an ordinary forest since many coconut shells are hanging on the *bukak* trees, and if they have rotted along with the time passing, the villagers will let the 'Kau' fall and decompose naturally. The uniqueness of this tradition and the existence of this placenta cemetery have attracted many tourists to visit the forest while obtaining a brief explanation from the accompanying tour guide.

B. The Process of Commodification of the Tradition of Hanging The Placenta and Placenta Cemetery as Tourist Attractions

Regarding the notion of commodification, the tradition of hanging the placenta is not mass reproduced and publicly displayed, as well as the existence of placenta cemetery at this time has also not become a tourist attraction with any price offered yet. Moreover, the villagers consider that its' function can bring economic prospects and a form of cultural identity to the Bayung Gede village through three aspects, namely how the process of tradition as a form of culture is produced, distributed, and consumed as a tourist attraction through commodification.

1. Production

All available resources which are added or changed to any part or all of the aspects are displayed as a form of production. A tradition is a form of culture utilized as a potential tourist attraction, especially in areas where culture is the primary asset in their evolution strategy, such as in Bali. In this vein, efforts to produce culture as a tourist attraction indicate the addition and expansion of functions to this cultural element. There is a transformation of cultural assets, such as cultural uniqueness, that bears the tradition to become economic assets through the benefit of culture as a tourist attraction.

If interpreted into the production process, the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery in Bayung Gede village is one of the tourism potentials whose existence is not duplicated in its performances and does not change the aspect of the time of the ceremony implementation. However, regarding the physical aspect, there are now several supporting facilities for tourism activities, such as description boards, toilets, and improved access to the spot. A cultural heritage, in this case, the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery, which are used as tourist attraction commodities, remains intact in the aspect of form, which has the facilities operated and the time of implementation but is packaged attractively to provide satisfaction comfort to the visitors.



Figure 2. (a) Nameplate and Description of placenta cemetery Attractions;
 (b) Main Road from Settlement to placenta cemetery Tourist Attraction in Bayung Gede Village (Doc. Gayatri, 2022)

Regarding the production process, the uniqueness of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery, as the cultural asset of the Bayung Gede villagers, can be transformed into their function as economic assets. It reveals that there are additions and expansions in the form of using the accompanying elements, such as the empowerment of stories or verbal traditions, as well as the uniqueness of the uncovered procession in other areas in the tourism evolution strategy in the Bayung Gede tourism village. The forms of cultural heritage in placenta cemetery, which initially had a scary notion as a cemetery and was closely related to holy nuances, can be packaged to make it attractive, such as the construction of facilities and spatial planning in the cemetery area to offer satisfaction for tourists.

2. Distribution

The exertion to commodify a cultural phenomenon as a tourist attraction is an integral part of the role of the agencies involved in disseminating information to the broader group for popularity intents. The growth of Bayung Gede village as a tourism place that makes culture the leading asset is not apart from the interaction of several networks or agents, namely the role of government, universities and intellectuals, industry or business, and local communities. Producing the cultural heritage of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction in the Bayung Gede Tourism village is a process of the involvement of the network of these agents in spreading discourses in the form of policies and other information that can expand the reach of the wider community, especially tourists to visit and know the Bayung Gede village.

The significant influence on the increase and decrease in the number of tourists in tourist destinations is in the regulated policies at both the central and regional government levels. Bayung Gede village is one of the tourism villages in the Kintamani Tourism destination, which was also stipulated in Regent Regulation No. 4 of 2018. Based on the interviews with informants, the Tourism Destinations Division of the Bangli Regency Government, at the regional or district level in Bangli, the determination of tourist villages were assessed as legal forms to trigger the growth of tourism expansion in an area carried out by various parties such as investors, private institutions, and local communities.

In echoing the success of Bali as a tourism destination, the intellectuals or academics also played an essential role. In addition, the history of the name Bayung Gede village has been known since the 1930s via the work and publications of several foreign researchers, one of the most famous of which is the research conducted by anthropologists Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. Lately, many new works have arisen in the form of written books, journals, and other publications that investigate the lives of the people of Bayung Gede village from various scientific fields, such as anthropology, architecture, tourism, ecology, agriculture, and arts. The writings and works of art produced have indirectly introduced Bali, especially Bayung Gede village, to the world.

Another crucial aspect as the agent in producing the tradition of hanging the placenta as a potential for tourism is the role of the Bayung Gede villagers. The expansion of the tourism sector in Bayung Gede village since 2010 indirectly encourages the society to empower the community to be actively involved in the planning and expansion process through the establishment of organizations and community institutions authorized to handle tourism activities in Bayung Gede village, such as the Koperasi Kerta Wisata and Kelompok Sadar Wisata (Pokdarwis) in 2017.

3. Consumption

Cultural uniqueness, including tradition in the tourism context, is packaged in the form of products and services that adapt to market demands so that they are attractive for consumption. In contrast to commodity products in the form of goods that can be traded or exchanged, the use of traditions as products in this context are not products intended to meet consumer needs directly. Culture, such as the tradition of hanging the placenta used as commodities, can only satisfy the tourists in exchange for

materials in the form of donations during every visit. The hanging placenta tradition is a cultural product consumed in its utilization as tourism potential in Bayung Gede village by the wider community, namely local and foreign tourists as consumers, both as a unit and consumption of particular elements.



Figure 3.(a) Domestic Tourist Visits to Placenta Cemetery (Source: Lintas Daerah News, 2021);
 (b) Cycling Activities in the Placenta Cemetery Area (Doc. Gayatri, 2022).

C. Factors Underlying the Commodification of the Tradition of Hanging the Placenta and Placenta Cemetery

Tourism is a necessary strategy to spur rural economic growth, mainly based on the potential for diversity and uniqueness of resources so that rural areas may have a development opportunity into productive tourism areas (Damanik et al., 2018: 2). The cultural uniqueness of hanging placenta and placenta cemetery, encourages efforts to use it as a tourist attraction through commodification. The factors underline the commodification of the tradition of hanging placenta and placenta cemetery in Bayung Gede village are influenced by external and internal factors.

1. External Factor

Unquestionably, the rapid development of tourism in Bali has driven the tourism growth that encourages exertions to expand the economy to the smallest area, such as in Bayung Gede village. Regarding the commodification concept, the external factors that provoke dynamics or changes in culture form and function are adjustments to consumer demand, market intention, tourism, and the economic needs of the community groups concerned (Beratha et al., 2016: 554). Although the tradition of hanging the placenta does not modify the ceremony time and process of its implementation, making it an attractive spot that can bring economic potential, it displays the forms of commodification. Thus, it is caused by external factors, namely, technological evolutions and globalization, the maturation of global capitalism, and the experience of successful tourism spots in the surrounding area.

According to Appadurai (2005: 40), the dynamics of the globalization phenomenon are affected by aspects of *ethnoscape* (human mobility), *technoscape* (development of knowledge and technology), *mediascape* (media development), *financescapes* (financial aspects), and *ideoscapes* (ideological conflicts). The technology and population movement aspects encourage the commodification of cultural potential in the tourism growth in the area that was initially in a marginal position and has gradually shifted to the center of the *scapes* aspect. The tradition of hanging the placenta, which indirectly created a myth for the residents, then becomes its own uniqueness for the broader community in addition to its function as part of the ritual of the Bayung Gede villagers.

Globalization drives local culture not only as a consequence of human creativity and fantasy but also as economic value and importance. Through global capitalism, natural potential, human resources, facilities, including local culture provide the identity and potential expected for the economic

empowerment of local communities (Gunn, 1988 in Fadlurrahman, 2021: 184). The uniqueness of the cultural potential of Bali Aga, one of which is in Bayung Gede village, is a force for people's economic empowerment, as a cultural tourism commodity in Bali, in addition to agricultural aspects, which are also potential for agro-tourism. 827

As one of the villages located in the Kintamani Tourism Area and Batur Geopark, Bayung Gede village is inseparable from the consequence of the success of tourist villages and surrounding tourist destinations. The existence of Bayung Gede village as a tourism spot is affected by the route of tourists passing through this village when heading to or from the surrounding tourist spots, especially the Kintamani Tourism Area. Access to Bayung Gede Tourism village is easier because it is located between the Ubud tourist area and the Kintamani tourist attraction, which is also nearby the Mount Batur World Geopark Area (Sonder & Yulianie, 2019: 111). The echo of Bayung Gede village as a tourism destination that utilizes culture as its primary potential is also inseparable from the influence of Penglipuran village, which is believed to be descended from the Bayung Gede villagers. The achievement of Penglipuran village as a cultural and populist-based tourism village encourages the people of Bayung Gede village to develop tourism potential, especially those based on the culture in its growth. Some of the same traditions as the people of Bayung Gede village are still carried out by the people of Penglipuran village, although there are some changes related to the culture carried out.

2. Internal Factor

Regarding the commodification concept, various cultural potentials, including the tradition of the hanging placenta are the culture and local wisdom representation of the Bayung Gede villagers, which is used as a tourist attraction. The usefulness of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a potential in the strategy of expanding cultural tourism in Bayung Gede village is not only a dilator behind changes and interventions that come from outside the community but also a reaction that reaches from within the community, namely the availability of cultural resources, a shift in outlook on life, and community economic orientation.

It has the potential in the form of cultural uniqueness, namely the existence of a unique grave for the baby placenta, encouraging its usage in the development of culture and populist-based tourism strategies in Bayung Gede village. The cultural capital owned by the people of Bayung Gede village, namely the tradition of the hanging placenta and placenta cemetery, can be used as attractions in the development of culture-based tourism. Utilization does not only ensue at the macro stage through government legitimacy in policy-making, but also at the micro stage through the role of village officials, tourism awareness groups, and the Bayung Gede villagers.

One of the factors that indicate the occurrence of the use of the tradition of hanging placenta and placenta cemetery, which are ritual magic is the form of response and negotiation of the people of Bayung Gede village to develop the uniqueness of cultural and ritual assets to be able to compete in tourism competition which tends to demand uniqueness for something offered. As the primary actors, the involvement of Bayung Gede villagers in optimizing the management of cultural heritage usage as a potential tourist attraction, especially those who are considered capable of advancing socio-economic life and enhancing the welfare of the local community.

D. Implications of the Commodification of the Tradition of Hanging Placenta and Placenta Cemetery

The term implication can convey a result arising from the event happens that affects the parties involved. The meaning of implication is an essential basis in this paper to find out the final consequences of the commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction in Bayung Gede village. The occurrence of a form of commodification or producing the potential of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as an attraction in tourism development expands social, economic, and cultural implications for the people of Bayung Gede village in particular and the Balinese people in general.

1. Social Implication

The existence of tourism raises implications for the social aspects of the community of an area that becomes a tourist destination, especially in a culture-based tourism evolution strategy such as in Bayung Gede village. As a village that has been designated as a tourist destination, the interaction and role of local communities is an essential aspect of tourism growth. Through the interactions that occur, there are several implications for the social elements of tourism development in Bayung Gede village, including (1) expanding community interactions and relations; and (2) the formation of new social groups. The usefulness of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as the primary potential in tourism expansion in Bayung Gede village has led to broader interactions and community relations with diverse stakeholders involved such as government, academics, institutions, and private businesses as an effort to develop existing potentials for the welfare of the Bayung Gede villagers in a sustainable manner.

2. Economic Implication

Tourism is considered a strategic aspect as a factor in boosting the economic growth of a region, particularly in encouraging development in areas that have potential as tourist objects (Yakup, 2019: 2). In this vein, the people of Bayung Gede village are starting to realize that the uniqueness of culture and nature is an essential component to enhancing the economic aspect through tourism. However, the agricultural sector is also still the livelihood of the majority population.

The economic implications appear in the expansion of the employment sector that can be carried out by the Bayung Gede villagers as a result of tourism growth. The increasing job opportunities in other sectors generally encourage the development of the local economy of the people in Bayung Gede village, especially for those who do not have agricultural land. Usually, people do other jobs than the agricultural sector, such as trading and tourism workers, both as staff and freelancers, so that indirectly there is a money circulation that can stimulate the regional economy.

3. Cultural Implication

The tourism development strategy in Bali has undeniably influenced the existence of community cultural products such as art, architecture, culinary, and tradition as the primary assets adjusted to the tourism interests to continue enjoying sustainably. One area that uses culture as the potential for tourism development is Bayung Gede village which has implications for the following cultural aspects.

a. Shifting Values and Expansion of Functions in Tradition

The tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery is the main attraction in tourism growth in the Bayung Gede tourism village. The placenta cemetery establishment as a cultural tourist attraction encourages the arrangement of space and facilities for the benefit and comfort of visitors, such as the sequence of toilets, counters, pedestrians, and circumstances arrangement. In addition, globalization transforms the value of this tradition, initiating the influence of Hinduism dogma that developed in the Balinese people. Subsequently, there was the addition of *Ongkara* in the ceremony procession of hanging the placenta carried out by the Bayung Gede villagers because the villagers did not know the concept of *Trimurti* (Dewi, 2015: 4).

Besides, the transformation of traditional architecture in the Bayung Gede village has also affected the function of some house yards to establish groceries store as a place to sell the daily needs of the local people and tourists. The construction of groceries store 'Warung' tends to eliminate land for *Jineng* as the main building that must exist in every house yard of Bayung Gede village (Paturusi et al., 2017).

Moreover, some aspects of evolutions in cultural elements as potential in tourism development in Bayung Gede village, namely the tradition of hanging the placenta and the existence of traditional architecture, do not drive a significant shift or loss of value but in the part of expanding the function of the uniqueness of cultural potential, which is considered to be able to obtain other benefits, including the economy for the Bayung Gede villagers.

b. Cultural Revitalization

Utilization of the unique potential of cultural elements becomes an essential component of tourist demand to stimulate people to strengthen and preserve their culture. Tourism expansion can be an exertion to maintain local wisdom and the villagers' traditional lifestyle through revitalization. In this vein, the Bayung Gede villagers had also conceded the expansion of tourism that utilizes the potential for the unique culture and local wisdom. Additionally, multifarious unique cultural potentials possessed by the community drive the village into a prospective tourist destination. Bayung Gede village has a maintained unique Bali Aga culture amid the onslaught of globalization, such as various arts, architecture, and traditional spatial patterns, traditions, and rituals that attract tourists, especially those who want to learn more about the culture of the Bali Aga community.

Besides the traditions and placenta cemetery, the existence of traditional architecture and spatial patterns in the Bayung Gede village also attracts tourists, not only sensing the atmosphere but also having the opportunity to take pictures. It is indisputable that modernization and technological growth have led to people's longing to modify the shape of the building in their yards. However, through interviews with informants (Jro Bendesa Bayung Gede) in his position as a community leader, he wishes to be a driving force for the community to maintain the original structure and shape of the traditional house yard. Based on the interview result, the Bayung Gede villagers are not apart from changes to the influence of technological developments and modernization, but the establishment of the status as a tourist village can motivate the community to maintain the values of their cultural authenticity.

c. Environmental Conservation

Tourism also indirectly encourages forms of conservation or preservation of the environment. Employing the theoretical knowledge of cultural materialism, human adaptive responses to ecological and economic conditions influence the occurrence of socio-cultural changes. Local wisdom, for example, is unconsciously integration and conservation as an adaptation of the community in the development process in the era of globalization, such as tourism. It is reflected in the practice of people's beliefs which often contains unconsciously rational logic possessed by most of its supporters (Pujaastawa, 1996). The harmony of relations, especially in the environmental aspect, is reflected in several cultural ceremonies with diverse ritual forms by using the forest as the location of various traditions and rituals. Most of the traditions and ritual processes held in Bayung Gede village are in the dry land or forest area to form the community's mindset to maintain their sanctity. Moreover, placenta cemetery is one of the forest areas preserved because it is the location for processing the tradition, namely the tradition of hanging the placenta. Thus, the implication of environmental conservation on the hanging placenta tradition makes the Bayung Gede villagers not have any destructive effort on the forest area as well as for the placenta cemetery that indirectly shows conservation efforts.

d. The Effort in Tourism Development

Tourism, which is considered a basis of income for both the state (foreign exchange) and the region, encourages various efforts in tourism growth strategies by numerous parties. Practically, these exertions often clash among the parties or stakeholders involved, including at Bayung Gede village. The decision of Bayung Gede as a tourist village is not in line with optimal economic benefits in the tourism sector for society. It is because the running program has not been maximized. Therefore, at the initial stage of establishing it as a tourist village, various efforts to maximize the visit to Bayung Gede village were carried out by numerous partakers, namely the synergistic involvement of the government, the private sector, academics, and villagers.

Several efforts to promote tourism potential in Bayung Gede Village through the participation of local communities were initiated by Pokdarwis in collaboration with the government and the private sector. As in 2018, namely the Adventure Bayung Gede (ABG) event. This activity is an

event for Bali off-roader lovers to channel their hobbies by taking the location along the road in the Bayung Gede village area. The government positively welcomes this activity to promote the Bayung Gede village tourist area because it has considerable potential, especially for off-road fans. Based on the interview outcome with members of Pokdarwis Bayung Gede, this activity was lively running, and the income earned was quite a lot. However, this activity invites debate from the local community because it is considered less targeted as a village promotion media, which basically stands out for culture as a superior potential.

The effort in tourism expansion in Bayung Gede village also occurs against the clash of traditional values believed by the local community with the new values that have emerged as a globalization and modernization consequence. The strategy of growing cultural tourism in Bayung Gede village causes the curiosity of the wider community (tourists) to witness and document cultural elements that are used as attractions, such as art, architecture, traditions, or rituals. However, most of the traditional leaders, particularly the older generation in Bayung Gede village, whose community culture is still robust and inherent in their practice, tend to reject some values that are considered incompatible with the values adopted. The presence of a conflict between the traditional leaders of the village Ulun concerning the new era is the fear of the erosion of sacred values in the ritual procession.

5. Conclusion

Tourism, an implication of the globalization phenomenon that encourages various cultural products that were sacred and became part of ritual processes, has developed into the potential to have tourists attraction and experience commodification in the process, one of which is the trade of hanging the placenta in Bayung Gede village.

The forms of commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction in Bayung Gede village are carried out through the process of production, distribution, and consumption. Regarding the production process, the uniqueness of the tradition of hanging the placenta and placenta cemetery as a cultural asset of the Bayung Gede village can be transformed into its function as economic assets through the empowerment of stories or verbal traditions, as well as the uniqueness of the procession in tourism expansion strategies in Bayung Gede Tourism village. The distribution process includes interactions, roles, and interventions from several networks or agents such as government, academies or intellectuals, industry or business, and local communities through policies, works, or publications, as well as promotions that have been carried out to be able to expand the reach of the broader community to visit. Meanwhile, the consumption process includes the wider community, namely local and foreign tourists as the consumers.

The commodification of the tradition of hanging the placenta and the use of placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction is influenced by external factors in the form of technological developments and globalization, the growth of global capitalism, and the experience of successful tourism spots in the surrounding area. The existence of internal factors is based on the availability of cultural resources, shifting views of life, and the economic orientation of the Bayung Gede villagers.

Moreover, the commodification of hanging the placenta tradition and placenta cemetery as a tourist attraction raises several implications in various elements, such as social, economic, and cultural. The expansion of community interactions and the formation of new social groups are implications for the social aspects. The elements of the economy are expanding job opportunities and increasing people's incomes. The cultural factors include shifting values and developing functions in tradition, cultural revitalization, environmental conservation, and efforts in tourism management.

6. References

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