

# Commodification of *Tri Datu* Bracelets Talisman in Balinese Community

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## Abstract

This article is the result of qualitative research with critical paradigm on two issues, the meaning of tri datu bracelet talisman as well as commodities and reasons of its use. Informants were set purposively, i.e. tri datu bracelet talisman makers, sellers, users, and religious leaders. Data collection techniques were interview, observation and document study. The data analysis followed the steps of conceptualization, the results of conceptualization, verification, and objectivation. The results show that the commodification of tri datu bracelet talisman created commodity or popular tri datu bracelet talisman refers to its position as an artifact for the fulfillment of human basic needs on security. This situation raises the creative industries of tri datu bracelet talisman. The use of this talisman is associated with the meaning of tri datu = Tri Murti = Tri Sakti = Om = Ganesha and reinforced by Pancadewata = kepeng (ancient coin). Therefore, its magical power becomes a supreme power in order to overcome danger from niskala (bhuta Kala and black magic). The joy of wearing this talisman is not only because it is easy to buy, but also because the Balinese still believe in its magical power. More importantly, Tri datu bracelet is also the identity of Balinese ethnic as the identity of hope and resistance in the context of Ajeg Bali movement.

## Keywords

*Tri Datu* bracelet talisman; danger repellent; commodity; popular culture; identity

## INTRODUCTION

Hindu communities in Bali recognize danger-repellent talisman, namely *tri datu* bracelet. This talisman is originally a gift from shamans without receiving any formal service rewards. This talisman can be called as a *tri datu* bracelet talisman given by shamans. *Tri datu* bracelet talisman can also come from a *pura* (temple). During the worshiping ceremony in *Ped Dalem* temple of Besakih temple for example, Hindu peop-

le will definitely receive a *tri datu* bracelet talisman. The talisman can be called as *tri datu paica* (given bracelet talisman). The process of talisman making is done through a special ritual called *Pasupati*. Hence, the talisman becomes sacred and has strongly

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magical power.

In 2014 there was a change. *Tri datu* bracelet talismans can be purchased at ritual equipment vendors, souvenir shops, bookstores, *acung* traders, internet, *facebook* and *instagram*. The talisman can be called as *tri datu* commodities. *Acung* traders of *tri datu* bracelet talisman in Gajah Mada Street said that the buyers of this kind of talisman are quite a lot. Similarly, in the public space, there are many Balinese people who wear *tri datu* bracelets.

Although *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman are well known, but based on interviews with several informants who wear them, it turns out that they do not understand deeply and holistically about the meanings contained with it. This condition is alarming because the *tri datu* bracelet talisman as a symbol of Hindu religion has rich meaning. From the ideas of Poloma (2010), it has a manifest and latent functions. The meaning of bracelet talisman refers to Balinese cultural values and Hinduism as its philosophical foundation. These values are very important to expand the bracelet wearers' understanding so that their action is no longer based on imitation, but Hindu philosophy.

Starting from this idea, then the study of the *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman is not only interesting but also very important. Given its wider and complex aspects, then the assessment is limited into two issues, namely: first, the meaning of *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman both from its form and accessory. Second, the background of the Balinese people who wear *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman as shown in the public space.

The study on these two issues is very useful not only to address the public ignorance of the meaning of the Balinese *tri datu* bracelet, but it can also foster cross-cultural understanding. This is because the communities of the island of Bali are no longer only Balinese Hindus ethnic, but many non-Balinese and non-Hindu ethnicities as well. They often see Balinese *tri datu* bracelet without a full understanding of its meaning and function. This condition needs

revamping considering cross-cultural understanding is very useful for multicultural society (Kymlicka 2003; Parekh 2008; King 2009; Gottowik 2010; Roth 2014).

The theoretical framework for examining both issues is critical social theory (Lubis 2015). By adhering to this theory, the paradigm that human life in the era of globalization adhering to the market ideology is built. This condition results in consumption of goods including religious symbols which are treated as a commodity so that also raises the commodification of religion (Kitiarisa 2010; Hasan 2009; Mawani & Mukadam 2011; Picard 2011). Consumers of religious artifacts can be positioned as text to be read de-constructively. The goal is to understand the knowledge, ideology, values, truths and hidden goals behind the text so that understanding becomes holistic in terms of its denotative and connotative meanings (Agger 2003; Al-Tayyadl 2005; Sunardi 2004; Roth & Sedana 2015). Similarly, the understanding of the consumption of artifacts is based on the use value and value of ethnic, religious and social class marks (Barker 2004; Ibrahim 2011; Picard 2008).

## METHODOLOGY

The study was part of a research entitled "Bali Banten Island Perspective of The Theory of Commodification of Religion (Bali Pulau Banten Perspektif Teori Komodifikasi Agama)" (Atmadja, Atmadja and Mariyati 2016). The study examined the issue of commodification of offerings on the rituals in Bali. Commodification applies to the *tri datu* bracelet talisman thus forming *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman. This interesting phenomenon is specifically studied so that the understanding of this talisman becomes deeper and holistic.

The goal was achieved by conducting qualitative research based on critical paradigm. Data collection techniques were conducted through in-depth interviews to purposively designated informants, for example, the domestic makers of *tri datu* bracelet, *tri datu* traders, *tri datu* buyers and /or users etc. The interviews were equipped

with observation, for example, on the pattern of production, and the study of documents, such as *lontar* (manuscript) on the instruments of rituals and rites, Hindu gods, symbols of Hinduism, etc. The *lontars* were stored in the *lontar* library of Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja Town. These data collection techniques were used interchangeably or complementarily within the triangulation context.

The data was analyzed by following the steps, namely conceptualization, result of conceptualization, proof, and objectification (Samuel 2012). The conceptualization was shaped by digging activities of *emik* concepts related to *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman. The concepts were explored by digging the hidden meanings deconstructively. The researchers conducted the interpretation of the concepts of *emik* with the demolition of the values, ideology, interests, goals or resourceful uses that were not recognized and/or hiding behind the presence of *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman. In this way, a conceptualization which contains both denotative and connotative meanings was created.

Conceptualization results required verification through data collection more deeply and broadly. The process was then followed by interviews, observation and / or document studies. The result of the proven conceptualization was the raw material for forming the narrative to answer the research problem. Narratives were reinforced by objectification, namely comparing and strengthening through critical social theories. Therefore, a narrative that answers the problem of research critically and associated with existing social theory can be realized.

## FORM AND MEANING

The island of Bali is a province and its capital is Denpasar. This island is a locality for ethnic Balinese. Hinduism is a Balinese ethnic identity (Picard 2006; Covarrubias 1979; Davies 2007; Fox 2010). This raises the assumption that the island of Bali equals to Hindu and Hindu equals to island of Bali (Atmadja 2010; 2010a). This assumption me-

ans that Hinduism and Balinese cultures are a unity. The proof can be seen by looking at at *tri datu* bracelet. This bracelet is an artifact which contains the values of Hinduism. The use of *tri datu* bracelet is very common effect on the people of Bali. Evidence shows that the Balinese have pride in wearing *tri datu* bracelet.

For the people of Bali, the *Tri Datu* bracelet talisman means three (*tri*) strands (*datu*). The shape of the *tri datu* emulate bracelet can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. the top left figure is the example of a traditional *tri datu* bracelet talisman given by gods and shamans. The top right and bottom figures are the example of *tri datu* commodity/pop bracelet talisman (Source: Atmadja, 26 September 2016).

The top left figure is an example of a *tri datu* bracelet talisman given by shaman or a god in a temple – *tri datu paica* bracelet. The *tri datu* bracelet talismans in the top right and bottom figures show the *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman. *Tri datu* bracelet given by shaman and temple administration is simpler than *tri datu* commodity bracelet. The meaning of *tri datu* commodity bracelet, both its shapes and accessories can be observed in Table 1.

With reference to Table 1, it can be argued that the meaning of *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman is in a proposition, which is the common threads of red + black + white = Brahma + Vishnu + Shiva = Creator + Maintainer + Fuser =  $A + U + M = Om$  = Tri Murti = Tri Sakti = The One Almighty God. *Om* is Holy Scripture of supernatural power and nobody can overcome His power (Darmayasa 2015). *Om* is also a symbol of Ganesha (Burde 2011, p. 54-61).

The symbolization creates the abo-

Table 1. The meanings of the bracelet *tri datu*

Red thread	Black thread	White thread	<i>Tri datu</i>
Brahma Brahma as the creator of the universe. This god is worshiped in the Village temple.	Vishnu Vishnu as the keeper of the universe with compassion. This god is worshiped at <i>Puseh</i> temple.	Shiva Shiva as <i>Pemrelina</i> or Fuser universe. This god is worshiped in <i>Dalem</i> temple.	<i>Tri Murti</i> <i>Tri Sakti</i>
A	U	M	<i>Om</i> is Holy scriptures that has supernatural and magical powers. Because, <i>Om</i> = God Almighty in the form of holy script.
A line with two legs posture typical of <i>Ganesha</i> when he crouches down.	U is associated with a large belly and is believed by <i>Ganesha</i> .	M represents the curve of the mouth of <i>Ganesha</i> ( <i>vaktra</i> ). He is also called as <i>Vakratunda</i> ( <i>tunda</i> for the mouth).	<i>Ganesha</i> is closely associated with <i>Om</i> . Therefore <i>om</i> is equal to <i>Ganesha</i> as acoustic and visual aspects of the same Brahman.

ve *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman as shown in Figure 1 and is equipped with the inscribed circle sacred lettering *Om* = *Ganesha*. In connection with the *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman, it has the same meaning and refers to the position of *Ganesha* in the Hindu religion. *Ganesha* is a giver of blessings to man, namely: (1) knowledge; (2) romance; (3) problem solution; (4) controlling mice, pests and others; (5) rain; (6) to tease; (7) destroying evil; (8) pleading for good health; preventing harm; (9) restoring health; (10) returning the missing animal; (11) giving intelligence; (12) giving fertility of the soil; and (13) getting a child (Burde, 2011). Hence, the addition of sacred lettering *Om* ornaments on *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman as shown in Figure 1 above resulted in the broadening of its meaning and functions that leads to prosperity for mankind.

The below bracelet in figure 1 shows the *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman containing *kepeng* coins (*pipis bolong*). The description is related to the essence of *Kepeng* coin which is made of bronze metal. Bronze is a mixture of red gold metal as a symbol of *Brahma* occupying the direction of the southern winds; the black iron is the symbol of *Vishnu* occupying the north wind direction; the white silver is the symbol of *Iswara* occupying the east direction; and

the yellow brass is the symbol of *Mahadeva* occupying West wind direction. The combination of metal gold / red / south / *Brahma* + iron / black / north / *Vishnu* + silver / white / east / *Iswara* + brass / yellow / west / *Mahadesa* = bronze = *Shiva* who is in the center position. These five gods occupy the four directions of the wind plus one in the middle. All five are called *Pancadewata* (Atmadja, Atmadja and Mariyati 2016).

*Kepeng* coin was originated from China and was well known, even valid as a legitimate payment in Bali in the Dutch Colonial Period - until the 1950s (Geertz 2000). Its distant origin from China gives additional magical power. The combination of these conditions results in *Kepeng* coins being very important ritual equipment for Hinduism - and it is still valid until now. The additional ornament for *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman - money = *Pancadewata* (four guardian gods of cardinal directions plus one in the middle = *Brahma* + *Vishnu* + *Iswara* + *Mahadeva* = *Shiva*) not only strengthen its aesthetic, but also its magical power. The users of *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman with *kepeng* coin signify that they get the protection from *Pancadewa*, ie the four corners of the compass plus one in the middle.

## COMMODIFICATION

The changes of *tri datu* bracelet talisman to be commodities are driven by the globalization. Globalization facilitates the flow of global ideologies, such as the market ideology of the global capitalist countries to other countries, including Indonesia especially Bali. As a result, social changes are marked by the penetration of market ideology to various aspects of Balinese life, including religion (Atmadja, Atmadja and Mariyati 2016; Atmadja 2010; Wiltshier & Clarke 2012; Fox 2015).

This phenomenon is reflected in Balinese society which is highly dependent on the market. Markets and money are two important forces in meeting the needs of the Balinese people. Strengthening market ideology result in ritual objects including *tri datu* bracelet talisman change, i.e. from *paica tri datu* (given by shamans and god) to become commodity. These changes are sponsored by enthusiastic Balinese entrepreneurs. They develop creative industries to produce *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman in various villages, such as in Tulikup village of Gianyar, Trunyan Bangli, Buleleng Pendarungan village, etc. *Tri datu* bracelets are manufactured in these villages and sold to various markets in Bali, even outside Bali, particularly in the areas of Balinese migrants.

Hence, the *tri datu* bracelet talisman is not only in the form of *tri datu paica* bracelet or given by shamans, but also in form of *tri datu* commodities. The bracelets like the latter are mass-produced by the home industry with the main goal of making a profit. With reference to Abraham (2011), *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman can also be called popular culture which is a kind of cultural landscape practiced, distributed, marketed and used in everyday life in the midst of contemporary society -the consumptive society. The marketing of *tri datu* bracelet is very wide for example through *acung* traders and souvenirs stalls on tourism destinations and the main street in a city, the merchant at the time of the ritual in a public temple in Bali such as in Besakih, Gramedia

book shop, etc. Even the bracelet producers sell them in Pulau Seribu street, Gang 99 No. 5, Bali Singaraja and market their products through *facebook* and *instagram* so the range of marketing becomes more widespread.

The background of the emergence of commodification of *tri datu* bracelet talisman is related to public perception of Balinese people. They see the bracelets *tri datu* not in the manufacturing process, but in its essence. The essence of *tri datu* bracelet includes three strands = red + black + white = + Shiva Vishnu Brahma + = A + U + U = Om = *Tri sakti* is a magical talisman supreme strength to reject all sorts of dangers. This idea is proven from the interviews with informants of *tri datu* bracelet users. The informants consist of Hindu students, the professors at the University of Education Ganesha Singaraja, as well as the wider community. They are interviewed casually and believe that regardless of the making process, *tri datu* bracelet has highly magical power as a talisman to repel danger, either because the causes of *sekala* and *niskala*. The causes of *sekala* are for example traffic accidents, theft, pickpocketing, etc. The causes of *niskala* are for example disasters caused by *bhuta kala* (demonic beings) and black magic, like *leyak* (human beings who transform into apes, pigs, chickens etc), witchcraft, *cetik* (traditional poison), etc. In short, both *tri datu paica* and *tri datu* given by shaman or pop *tri datu* bracelets are essentially believed to have the same meaning, ie, as a talisman to repel dangers of *sekala* - *niskala*.

This idea reflects that the tackling of the danger caused by *sekala* and *niskala* in Balinese community, as stated Atmadja, Sendratari and Rai (2015) can be done by wearing a *tri datu* bracelet talisman. This phenomenon implies that *tri datu* bracelet talisman is a basic necessity for the people of Bali. This concerns the basic needs for security (Goble 1987, p.70) because the use of *tri datu* bracelet is believed to liberate mankind from all sorts of dangers both from *sekala* and *niskala* causes. Therefore, the use of *tri datu* bracelet is generally ac-

cepted in the Balinese people and even becomes part of the lifestyle reflected in everyday life in the public space.

Starting from the idea which can be put forward, although *tri datu* bracelet talisman has been transformed from a sacred object – which is originally obtained through the ritual at the temple or the provision of a shaman, and is then transformed into a commodity or as a popular culture that leads to *profanization*, but Balinese people still believe in the power of their magical power. Moreover, the addition of accessories, as shown in Figure 1, *tri datu* bracelet talismans containing *kepeng* coin and a small circle of sacred lettering inscribed *OM* is believed to multiply its magical power. There is even a popular *tri datu* bracelet talisman which contains seeds of *rudra paksa* fruit. The interviews with traders of *tri datu* bracelet talisman in Tangkas Kori Agung Temple, Klungkung shows that these accessories are very important to further strengthen the magical power of *tri datu* bracelet talismans. The *rudra paksa* seed is the symbol of God Shiva in the embodiment as *Rudra*. The supernatural power of God Rudra is able to overcome all the dangers that threaten the people, both caused by *sekala* and *niskala*.

However, the interviews with several informants (the users of *tri datu* popular bracelet talisman) show that they perform additional rituals to add the magical power of *tri datu* bracelet talisman named the ritual of *Pasupati*. This pattern is confirmed by the makers of *tri datu* bracelet that the process of *Pasupati* ritual will make the magical power of the bracelet stronger. In order to perpetuate the power of *tri datu* bracelet talisman, the procedures of wearing must be conducted correctly, in the right wrist of the users. This pattern refers to the principle of binary opposition of *rwa bhineda* or the Balinese people which strip the right hand and left hand - *tengen* and *kiwa* which serve as connotations with good/sacred and bad/*leteh*. *Tri datu* bracelet talisman is magical and sacred. Therefore, it must be worn on the right wrist. If it is worn on the left wrist - a connotation of bad/*leteh*, the sanctity and

magical power of *tri datu* bracelet talisman will go away.

Another aspect that requires close investigation about the excitement of Balinese people in wearing *tri datu* bracelet, until there is *tri datu* popular, is because of their need for identity. This is related to the constellation of ethnic composition in Bali. There are more and more immigrants from Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese, Sasak and other ethnicities. Generally, they are Muslims. In contrast, it raises the identification that ethnic Balinese equals to Hindu or Hindu equals to ethnic Balinese. The immigrants are very strongly contesting on ethnic and/or religious identities. This symptom is seen, for example, in wearing the veil among Muslim women. Similarly, based on observations, various restaurants and street food stalls are currently labeled using region, ethnicities and/or religion identities, for example East Java Restaurant, Malang Restaurant, Banyuwangi Restaurant, Minang Restaurant, etc. This label can be combined by Muslim labels, such as East Java Muslim Restaurant, Malang Muslim Restaurant, and even halal label. This pattern is reasonable given the results of interviews with some restaurant owners which indicate that in matters of eating, Muslims are very adhering to the law of halal and haram. Ethnic immigrants who are Muslims also show the political contestation of identity as reflected in the political party's affiliation, namely PPP, PAN, PKB, and PKS. In contrast, ethnic Balinese grouped on nationalist parties, such as PDIP, Golkar, Democrat, Nasdem, and Hanura.

Although the contestation of ethnic and/or religious identity commonly exists in the Indonesian context, the Balinese interpret it from the other side. They perceive it not only as cultural and/or religious arrogance by immigrants but also as a siege strategy for Balinese ethnic identity, a Balinese culture based on Hinduism. This siege is very broad because it involves the identity of the political flow, given the political flow of the host is a nationalist, while the political stream of immigrants are the parties based on Islam religion.

This condition causes Balinese people to need a sign as an identity. This identity is not only imposed in their body, but also can be easily contested in the public space. In this context, they choose *tri datu* bracelet. The reason is that the *tri datu* bracelet talisman is believed to have a magical power that refers to the Hindu religion and is contested in the public space, given the *tri datu* bracelet talisman is a body accessory. The sanctity of *tri datu* bracelet talisman as an ethnic identity can be observed on the results of interviews with informants. In general, they claim that the reason they wear a *datu* bracelet talisman, namely: first, to get a magical power to protect themselves from the dangers *sekala* and *niskala*; second, to show yourself to other people in public spaces - to the migrants that I/we are the Balinese/Hindu. This recognition is important because by the time they are wearing *tri datu* bracelet talisman, they want to show that I am/we are the Balinese/Hindu. Therefore, the connotative meaning is that they want to distinguish themselves from other people.

The use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman as a Balinese ethnic identity and/or Hinduism is closely related with *Ajeg* movement which emerged in the 1990s. Atmadja (2010) shows that the *Ajeg* Bali movement is a cultural movement focusing on the desire of ethnic Balinese to maintain its identity, namely Balinese culture based on Hinduism - *Ajeg* Bali also refers to *Ajeg* Hindu. The *Ajeg* Bali movement arises because the Balinese people are worried about its identity fading due to the influence of global culture as well as the more sparkling contestation of non-Balinese ethnic cultures and/or non-Hindu religions. Even non-Balinese/non-Hindu ethnic groups also compete with the Balinese economically, for example, street vendors belong to the Javanese and Madurese. Similarly, they do business activities by taking the work of Balineses, for example, a Javanese woman as a seller of *canang* (offering). In short, the use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman is not spontaneously cultural phenomenon, but it is associated with a larger frame, the movement of *Ajeg* Hindu or *Ajeg* Bali.

Starting from this premise, the use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman has connotative meaning not only as a contestation of identity, but also as the disclosure of a hope identity. That is, firstly, the use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman is not just to show that I am/we are/Balinese ethnic/Hindu different than her-him/them, but it is also as an invitation to their fellow Balinese to continue to develop its identity. Secondly, the development of the identity of all Balinese Hindus through the use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman contestation and actualization of the messages contained in *tri datu* bracelet talisman. This is related to the invitation to be creative in creating (Brahma = red thread), preserving (Vishnu = black thread) and replacing, changing or adjusting (Shiva = white thread) culture and/or interpretation on Hindu texts in order to always be contextual. Similarly, the users of *tri datu* bracelet talisman uphold the values of sanctity in thinking, speaking and acting as integration. Thirdly, the *tri datu* bracelet talisman serves as a symbol of identity containing expectations that she-he/them as newcomer citizens or *tamiu* migrants realize that in Bali there is me / us as hosts or *muwed* residents. He/we must be able to adapt socially to create a harmonious society.

However, behind the meaning of *tri datu* bracelet talisman as the identity of hope, then it has connotative meaning as the identity of cultural resistance as well. The use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman is not just to show that I am/we are the Balinese Hindus, but it is also a medium for the splendor of contestation against global cultural identity and ethnic culture/religion professed by the newcomers. The cultural resistance is very important because the cultural contestation and/or other religions in Balinese society tends to be increasingly strong and is feared to urge the identity of Balinese ethnic. They do not want to lose their Balinese identity. Under the view of Kymlicka's (1995) and Parekh (2008), identity is a necessity for human beings both as individual beings as well as social beings - members of a social or ethnic group. Therefore, the combination of expectation identity and resistance identity

makes the Balinese people to be very fond of *tri datu* bracelet talismans and use it in public spaces.

The need of Balinese ethnic for identity is ingeniously read by some entrepreneurs. They develop creative industries in a way of innovating *tri datu* bracelet talisman *talisman*. The innovation is not just about the production process and product quality improvement along with the addition of various accessories to strengthen the value of art and magical power *tri datu* bracelet talisman -shown in Figure 1, but also involves marketing system. Therefore, *tri datu* commodity or pop bracelet talisman is created. This innovation is well received by the people of Bali, not only because its usage value and its symbolic value, but also it is very easy to obtain through the market. Balinese people needs of the *tri datu* bracelet talisman will no longer only be met through the rituals in temples or shamans, but also through the market.

*Tri datu* bracelet talisman entrepreneurs continue to innovate by creating new models of bracelets, even constantly update it so that it looks more beautiful and powerful. As a result, the attraction of consumers to buy *tri datu* bracelet talismans talisman becomes stronger. Therefore the consumption of *tri datu* bracelet talisman as ethnic and religious identity - I am/we are the Balinese Hindus, not only out of necessity, but can also because of the desire that is deliberately created by the *tri datu* bracelet businessman. Hence, a person will keep on buying *tri datu* bracelet talisman.

Using the idea of Ritzer (2013), the use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman is also related to the *McDonaldization* phenomenon that hits the people of Bali. The first feature of the phenomenon is efficiency. This phenomenon applies to the use of *tri datu* bracelet talisman on the right wrist to be detachable just like watches. The second is arithmetic power such as its exact shape, size, price, and fast service. Consumers can instantly buy a *tri datu* bracelet talisman via the Internet, souvenirs shops, bookstores, *facebook* and *instagram*. The third is the predictive power. Consumers

can predict that whenever they buy a *tri datu* bracelet talisman, especially via the Internet and Gramedia store, there will be similar price and service. The price can vary tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, depending on the frills on *tri datu* bracelet talisman. The fourth is the control aspect. *Tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman is produced through strict controls regarding the process and the product. This idea is apparent at employers' of *tri datu* bracelet talisman in Pulau Seribu Street, Gang 99 No. 5, Singaraja, which carefully controls the process and production, either on the basis of customer orders as well as on their own creations. In this way, consumers are satisfied so that they not only buy, but also provide recommendations to other consumers to buy and create market expansion.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that the *tri datu* commodity bracelet talisman is a transformation of the *tri datu* bracelet talisman given by shamans and gods at a temple. Despite the transformation of form, but the meaning remains the same. It functions at fulfilling basic human needs to feel safe from the dangers of *sekala* and or *niskala*. This is related to the meaning of a *tri datu* bracelet consisting of three strands of threads = red + black + white = Brahma + Vishnu + Shiva = A + U + U = Om = *Tri sakti* = Ganesha. The *tri datu* bracelet talisman possesses supreme power to overcome all the dangers that come from the causes of *sekala* and/or *niskala*.

The *tri datu* bracelet talismans also has connotative meaning as a cultural identity and/or religion for Balinese ethnicity, both in the context of the identity of hope and resistance to face the global cultural identity and or ethnic and religious identity of the immigrants. They chose the *tri datu* bracelet because of its magical power. Therefore, it has been institutionalized in Balinese society and is practically used as a contestation of Bali's identity in public space as an accessory. This condition is used by entrepreneurs to create *tri datu* bracelet talis-

mans that continue to be updated through the creative industry. *Tri datu* bracelet enthusiasts not only provide *tri datu* pop/commodity bracelets more easily, but also fulfill consumer needs through continuous product updates. This condition is also related to the McDonalization that hit the people of Bali.

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