

Small-Scale Merchants' Resistance towards the Revitalization Policy of Gianyar Public Market in Gianyar Regency, Bali

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Abstract

This research is aimed to examine the various forms of resistance from small-scale merchants against the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market. The grand revitalization of Gianyar Public Market has sparked a range of controversies, primarily concerning the interventions by various authorities from Gianyar Regency, who wield power over the development of this luxurious marketplace. This process has raised concerns as it displaces numerous small-scale merchants through extensive modernization within the Public Market environment. This qualitative study adopts a cultural studies framework and employs a critical ethnography methodology. Data collection entails observation, interviews, and document analysis. Theoretical frameworks of Hegemony, Theory of Knowledge Power, and Risk Society are employed to analyze the studied issues. Data analysis is conducted employing a descriptive interpretive approach, critically depicting the observed phenomena. The study findings revealed that, the primary objective of this resistance is to hinder the advancement of revitalization policies. Small-scale merchants engage in various tactics of resistance, with open actions like organized demonstrations held near the Gianyar Public Market being prominent. Instances involving disputed land claims by the government prompt a more formal type of overt resistance, involving official meetings alongside the local customary leader in Gianyar. However, the desired outcomes from such meetings are often not fully realized, compelling small-scale merchants to independently engage in resistance marked by vocal opposition to government entities. Concurrently, a subset of merchants, facing psychological barriers, opt for hidden resistance methods, subtly expressing their dissent by circulating alluring rumours and gossip about the conduct of government officials in the field.

Keywords: Smal-Scale Merchants; Resistance; Revitalization Policy; Gianyar Public Market

1. Introduction

The commercial sector developmental plays a pivotal role in expediting economic blossoming and elevating equitable distribution, thereby contributing significantly to employment generation, expanding opportunities, and augmenting income for marginalized subordinated populations. Trade activities are intricately interconnected and mutually reinforcing with other sectors. Under the decision of the Minister of Industry and Trade No. 420/MPP/Kep/10/1997, a market is a place where merchants and customers come together to conduct transactions, where the buying and selling processes take place, and based on the quality of services provided, can be classified into traditional markets and modern markets. Traditional markets, in particular, serve as a tangible indicator of economic activities within a specific region, especially in metropolitan areas or city centers.

However, the government is obligated to protect and empower middle and small-scale traders, as they constitute the majority. Small-scale merchants typically operate with limited capital and often refrain from approaching conventional banks to access funds due to the intricate procedures and stringent requirements involved. Moreover, some related merchants are illiterate and lack tangible assets that could serve as collateral. In addition, the trading activities of small-scale merchants are predominantly focused on fulfilling present-day needs, and many tend to neglect savings for the future. Their income is often reinvested in merchandise and daily necessities, including loan repayments. Small-scale merchants usually have a lower

level of education and prioritize the immediate fulfillment of their economic needs. The rising number of small-scale merchants willing to trade in traditional markets has led to an increasing demand for space. Insufficient space availability can lead to disorganized spatial arrangements within the market.

Regarding Regional Regulation of Gianyar Regency Number 1 of 2021 concerning the Arrangement and Development of Public Markets, Shopping Centers, and Supermarkets, the grand revitalization of the Gianyar Public Market has sparked various controversies due to interventions from different parties within the Gianyar Regency government. This market is indeed expected to prioritize local merchants, providing them with comfort and sufficient and conducive facilities while also implementing the discourse of "Gianyar Aman" (Safe Gianyar) during the 2018-2024 governmental period.

Furthermore, the Regional Development Planning Board and Research and Development of Gianyar Regency (Bappeda Gianyar) stated in their feasibility study on the Gianyar Public Market revitalization that they have considered the aging market buildings, which have weakened the market competitiveness. This action is reinforced by quantitative data with a focus on 120 samples of merchants. According to the percentage results, 51 (42.47%) merchants agreed on the market revitalization, while 44 (36.99%) merchants believed it was necessary but not urgent, and 25 (20.55%) others deemed it unnecessary. Consequently, the Gianyar Regency government decided to revitalize the Market, and the market now can accommodate 1,643 merchants in 95 kiosks and 143 shop units.

However, the merchants who can adapt and occupy kiosks or shop units are merchants with substantial capital, as they can afford to pay the rental fees and enjoy the enhanced atmosphere of the Gianyar Public Market, which now supports elegant and comfortable transaction processes. Consequently, small-scale merchants are marginalized by the various forms of modernization within the market environment. The marginalized small-scale merchants include local culinary merchants, traditional Balinese ceremony merchants, vegetable sellers, and others who previously thrived within the Market before the revitalization.

Despite the comprehensive concept of revitalizing the Gianyar Public Market aimed at fulfilling the comfort needs of merchants and consumers, including the free rental discounts provision for the initial six months, small-scale merchants still find it difficult to afford rent and occupy the kiosks or shop units. The underlying political dynamics covering this issue become more apparent if there is a presence of hegemonic practices by capitalism at this grand market site. The capitalist actors referred to as indications of hegemonic practices in this study are the Gianyar Regency government, thus making it a compelling subject for in-depth analysis employing postmodern and critical theory approaches to deconstruct the underlying issues. Drawing from Gramsci's perspective (Faqzhan, 2017: 69-70), capitalism's endurance can be attributed to the continual interplay between the economic base and sociopolitical superstructure in shaping social changes.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework utilized in this study encompasses relevant theories that are deemed applicable to the research subject, aiming to achieve the intended objectives. The theories employed in this study are as follows:

2.1 Theory of Hegemony:

Antonio Gramsci developed a theory that underlines how the acceptance of the dominant group towards the existence of the dominant group occurs through a peaceful process without violent usage. Hegemony highlights the forms of expression, the application methods, and the mechanisms employed to sustain and expand its influence over the subjugated groups, resulting in successful efforts to shape their mindset. Through hegemony, the ideology of the dominant group can be disseminated, and values and beliefs can be exchanged. However, unlike manipulation or indoctrination, hegemony appears inherently, and people willingly accept it as a norm (Zamroni, 2022: 19).

According to Gramsci, the primary driving forces behind hegemony are the ideological and political tactics employed by the ruling elite to influence, direct, and shape the collective mindset of the society. Other contributing factors include the use of coercion and sanctions by those in power, the tendency of the society to conform to new norms, and the conscious agreement of various elements within the community. Hegemony serves to illustrate the presence of a dominant class that not only governs but also exerts moral and intellectual leadership over society through persuasion (Storey, 2003: 172).

2.2 Theory of Knowledge Power:

According to Foucault, power is closely related to knowledge, and conversely is no knowledge without power. In his work "Society Must Be Defended" (Hearn, 2004: 76), Foucault outlines five steps to approach the problem of power. First, he advocates decentralizing the analysis of power and rejecting models of centralized power. Second, he proposes examining power externally, prioritizing attention to the places and locations where power has a consequence. Third, he considers power not as a commodity that can be possessed. Fourth, power works from the bottom up, not the top down. It begins with concepts at a small scale and extends to significant decisions and actions. Fifth, power does not originate from ideology but rather through mechanisms and practices. Based on these ideas, Foucault asserts that power is no longer solely repressive and limiting. Instead, power is more productive than repressive and has a positive element rather than a negative one.

2.3 Risk Society theory:

In the concept of risk society proposed by Beck (2015: 33), individuals can minimize the impact of risks, thereby achieving security and certainty in their social lives. Beck refers to this emerging society as "reflexive modernity," a process of individualization occurring in the Western world. People are becoming increasingly liberated from the constraints of traditional structures and are more adept at reflexively shaping their own identities and the societies they inhabit. The risks prevalent in this modern society are wealth and industrial advancements consequences. It can lead to harmful and even fatal. Moreover, the all-encompassing phenomenon of globalization further amplifies these risks, extending them beyond geographical and temporal boundaries. Beck's notion of reflexive modernity emphasizes how individuals, as active agents, have the power to shape their lives and influence their environment. However, this empowerment also comes with the responsibility of dealing with the potential hazards and uncertainties arising from the advancements of contemporary life.

3. Research Method

This study aims to analyze the various forms of resistance from small-scale merchants against the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market. The findings of this study are expected to provide support to marginalized parties involved in the market revitalization process. Qualitative research is employed to describe and analyze phenomena, events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts of individuals or groups (Sugiyono, 2010: 102). The study employs two sources of data: primary data and secondary data. Primary data including observation and interview is obtained directly from informants regarding the research topic, while secondary data is collected through literature review, document analysis, and field studies. Analysis of the research data employed inductive analysis for its easier to describe. What is meant by inductive data analysis according to the qualitative paradigm is the analysis of specific data from the field into units followed by categorization. This method is carried out by concluding that it starts from a specific understanding of cases in the form of a general conclusion.

4. Result and Discussion

This section aims to clarify the research findings on the resistance carried out by small-scale merchants against the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market. James Scott (1993) depicts resistance as the persistent and daily acts of opposition conducted by the less powerful groups against those in authority who hold control over them. Scott (Alisjahbana, 2005: 24) classifies resistance in society into two categories: open resistance and hidden resistance.

4.1 Open Resistance

Open resistance is usually characterized by acts of violence, disturbances, or riots. It is organized, systematic, cooperative, and principled in commitment, leads to revolutionary consequences, and aims to take action based on oppression (Alisjahbana, 2005: 24). The hegemony of the government's discourses that do not align with the realities in the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market has led to this conflict. Some small-scale merchants, who possess the capacity for overt (open) resistance, aim to seek social attention, driving their movement possible to garner support from the broader community.

Foucault's framework of power delivers an acquaintance that power itself is not devoid of conflict and resistance, as Foucault asserts that to comprehend power, one must first understand the diverse power relations inherent in organizational fields and the parties involved (Maring, 2010: 107). In this vein, quoting Gramsci's concept, wherever there is power, resistance emerges against it. Therefore, through cultural studies, where there is hegemony or domination of social and cultural forces in power, one can also uncover counter-hegemonic forces that resist (Kellner, 2003: 396). Counter-hegemony is a paramount concept in myriad cases of resistance by subordinate parties against the production of ideologies that render them the prevalent group. Thus, the study of open resistance by small-scale merchants has three indicators as follows.

a. Organizing Demonstrations Prior to the Demolition of the Gianyar Public Market

The resistance movement of the community against the development of the Gianyar Public Market is carried out by small-scale merchants, categorized as an old movement when driven by political and economic factors to demand desired changes in their lives to be more adequate, resembling the past without any issues. They organize protests to demonstrate the strength of their unity as small-scale merchants. According to Gramsci (Suyanto, 2010), the crisis of hegemony among the ruling class can only lead to action if the consciousness of the subordinated masses has already been formed and they are ready to take action. The small-scale merchants' community awareness regarding the dominance and hegemony of ideologies behind the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market led to a large-scale demonstration in front of the Gianyar Public Market (formerly known as Pasar Umum Gianyar before revitalization).



Fig. 1. Representatives of small-scale Merchant Groups Conducting Demonstrations (Source: Nusa Bali Newspaper Documentation, 2020)

The visualization reflects the unity of small-scale merchants in their resistance, incorporating several demands and grievances as an expression of this demonstration. Based on observations and interviews with representatives of the protesting merchants, several issues are being demanded. These include rejecting the revitalization of the Gianyar Market due to the unresolved Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the merchants, criticizing the chaotic selection of the market relocation site, highlighting the unfavorable economic situation for the merchants, and questioning the effectiveness of the excessive revitalization policy for the benefit of the merchants. The visualization captures the collective voice of the small-scale merchants, expressing their dissatisfaction and resistance against the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market. Despite the numerous demands, the number of protesters remained relatively small due to the impact of the past pandemic that hindered collective movements. As a consequence, this action has no significant impact on overturning the relocation policy.

Adopting Gramsci's paradigm that journalists are organic intellectuals owned by merchants in the resistance process, forging alliances with media journalists becomes a contemporary strategy to achieve counter-hegemonic goals and represent the aspirations of small-scale merchants through digital newspaper broadcasts. It aligns with Irfandi's statement as the field coordinators of the small-scale merchants' resistance movement that protesters are often interviewed by journalists, and they closely monitor the demonstration process. The journalists gain information regarding the action of the protesters and request to be informed for news coverage. This approach is taken because the number of protesters is limited to avoid violating the Large-Scale Social Restrictions. The protesters also leverage social media platforms in their actions. In the interview he said,

“.....Saat lagi rame sering sekali kami diwawancara oleh wartawan, mereka sampek seharian disini liat perkembangan demo pedagang. Mereka dapat info karena masing-masing massa ngasih nomor hp biar nanti kalo ada aksi demo lagi tinggal dikabarin aja biar mereka dateng buat ngeliput berita disini. Ini sengaja perlu dilakukan karena kami demonya bersedikit soalnya kalo rame” nanti melanggar PSBB, biar demo bersedikit tapi mendapat hasil yang memuaskan kita perlu memanfaatkan medsos....” (Irfandi, 19 September 2021).

Based on the interview results, the demonstrators aim to anticipate all risks, including health risks and negative stigma from the government and society. As an alternative, utilizing social media to facilitate their actions effectively avoid harm to anyone. This strategy ascertains effective as the demonstration movement gains attention from various segments of society. This statement aligns with the ideas of Curran (2020: 11) and Joyce (2010: 2) that the internet is a highly effective communication platform for activism. Social media can connect people, facilitate interactions, and mobilize activities efficiently and quickly.

Besides utilizing resistance methods through newspaper media, small-scale merchants also employ conventional strategies such as creating petitions. From a resistance perspective, this demonstration illustrates that small-scale merchants possess potential resources that enable them to produce an organized resistance movement. To achieve this, small-scale merchants seek support from various groups with superior capabilities, as expressed by Mr. Ketut (pseudonym) in the interview. He mentioned that the demonstrators sought assistance from educated friends to create a formal petition to drive the demonstration clear and well-organized. They do not want the protest to be perceived negatively. In the interview he said,

“.....saat demo kita cari bantuan teman yang berpendidikan untuk membuat petisi agar nanti lebih resmi supaya demo ini semakin jelas dan rapi. Kami ga mau pedagang di cap buruk akibat tindakan kami selama ini....” (K. A. G, 22 June 2023).

Based on the insights from the interview, this scenario illustrates the active involvement of numerous organic intellectual actors in the small-scale merchants' protest. In this vein, Gramsci characterizes the movement as an intellectual and ethical revolution. Intellectuals bear the responsibility for its execution. Gramsci believes that each social class generates one or more layers of conscious intellectuals, whose roles extend beyond the economic realm to encompass political and social spheres (Simon, 2000: 108).

b. Engaging in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Government

After running the demonstration, the resistance efforts by small-scale merchants persist into the subsequent phase. Contradicting the preceding modality of resistance, this particular iteration adopts a slightly more formal disposition compared to the demonstration. This variant of resistance entails soliciting the establishment of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to address the aspirations harbored by small-scale merchants concerning the policy of revitalizing the Gianyar Public Market. However, the mode of resistance through direct meetings is also classified as a manifestation of open resistance since both implicated parties engage in direct face-to-face interactions.

The convened meetings mirror one of the demands articulated during the demonstration, wherein they assert that the execution of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the government and the merchants has not been realized. This MoU movement is envisaged to involve small-scale merchants, the Gianyar customary organization as the representative of indigenous resistance along with the Gianyar regent, who is the architect of this revitalization policy. Despite varying reasons, the affiliation between the Gianyar customary organization (Organisasi Adat Gianyar) and small-scale merchants shares a common objective of rejecting the revitalization of the Gianyar Public Market. The customary organization opposes the revitalization movement due to the government's claim over the market's land, which is believed to be owned by the Gianyar indigenous village. Meanwhile, the small-scale merchants' provocations for this resistance are more intricate, involving an assortment of factors.

In this vein, Gramsci's assessment within an advanced capitalist society, where civil society has evolved, requires distinct strategies to counter dominant power. Gramsci terms this strategy as a "war of position." In the war of position, the lower class must dismantle the defense mechanisms upholding the hegemony of the upper class by building alliances with all social movements striving to alter societal relations. The hegemonic power of the upper class through civil society organizations must be continually weakened by marshaling counterforces under the leadership of the lower class (Kellner, 2003: 369).



Fig. 2. Meeting of Gianyar Customary Organizations with the Gianyar Regency Government. Source: Antara News Newspaper Documentation, 2020)

According to Figure 2, the meeting aimed at establishing the MoU has been executed even though the representation of the anti-revitalization stance in this meeting was exclusively from the Gianyar customary village organization. This selection is attributed to the deliberate restriction of participant numbers to foster a conducive environment. As a result, the representation of small-scale merchants' aspirations was delegated to the Gianyar customary village organization. Concerning this context, insights gleaned from an interview with Mr. D. M. S., the Bendesa adat (customary village leader) of Gianyar, elucidate that the imposition of

participant limitations during the meeting was strategic in order to forestall disturbances and adhere to the stipulations of the Large-Scale Social Restrictions. Moreover, the Gianyar customary village functioned as a conduit for conveying the aspirations and entitlements of the small-scale merchants within the Gianyar Market. In the interview he said,

“...kami batasi jumlahnya agar tidak ramai-ramai soalnya kami ingin kondusif takutnya ada yang rusuh. Selain itu kami juga mematuhi anjuran ppkm mengingat kita belum 100% memasuki era new normal. Terkait dengan aspirasi masyarakat kami yang berjualan dipasar, kami akan sampaikan seluruhnya akan tetapi kami hanya menampung aspirasi yang menyangkut hak mereka terkait ayahan desa, tuntutan mereka yang lain kami serahkan kepada mereka secara mandiri sebab kewajiban kami hanya pada sesuatu yang berbau *adat*....” (Mr. M.S, 4 April 2023).

Based on the aforementioned interview, the resistance approach through the MoU with the government did not unfold as per the expectations of the small-scale merchants. The direct access limitation imposed by the Gianyar customary village organization has consequently relegated the small-scale merchants to a subaltern community. In line with this, the term "subaltern" was initially employed by Gramsci to refer to the "inferior groups," which encompass segments of society subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes. Peasants, laborers, and other groups devoid of access to "hegemonic" power can be classified as subaltern classes (Setiawan, 2018: 14).

Nevertheless, the revitalization process was not rescinded following the MoU action, leading to disillusionment among the small-scale merchants. The representation provided by the Gianyar customary village organization as a conduit for small-scale merchants' aspirations was perceived as ineffective. In the wake of this realization, the small-scale merchants sought an autonomous alternative to direct resistance. Mr. D. S, in an interview, said that despite the transmission of their aspirations and rights, the government's ultimate decisions did not consider the small-scale merchants' perspectives and merely aligned with the interests of the customary village organization. Consequently, the small-scale merchants intended to run the MoU at the regent's office without intermediaries. In the interview he said,

“...pelaksanaan MoU percuma, aspirasi kita memang disampaikan tapi keputusan akhir tidak merujuk sepenuhnya kepada pedagang, hasil MoU tersebut hanya kesepakatan dengan pihak desa adat dan itu saya kurang tau apa kesepakatannya. Disini pedagang kecil semuanya akan melakukan MoU dengan datang sendiri ke kantor bupati agar hasil MoU berpihak sepenuhnya kepada kepentingan kita para pedagang....” (D.S, 16 Juni 2023).

However, the small-scale merchants were unaware that if they intended to hold an official meeting, they would need to provide at least official documents as administrative prerequisites stipulated by the government. Given that these small-scale merchants lack both formal and informal organizational structures, the realization of MoU with the government became unattainable.

c. Engaging in Resistance through Confrontation with Government Authorities

Considering that the small-scale merchants settling the Gianyar Public Market lack an official organization or association for unity, they sometimes must engage in individual resistance to advocate for their interests. Small-scale merchants rejecting the revitalization policy of the Gianyar Public Market are driven by divergent interests between their expectations and the government authorities' approach. Small-scale merchants hailing from the Gianyar customary village strive to preserve their land from being designated for mining through the government's takeover of certification. Furthermore, some migrant small-scale merchants undertake resistance to pursuing their aspirations for genuine well-being. On the other hand, government authorities remain

steadfast in persuading the indigenous community to relinquish their land and accept pandemic-related policies such as the relocation of the market for constructing the Gianyar Public Market.

Hence, the direct resistance conducted by small-scale merchants against government authorities entails verbal aggression within it. This form of resistance tends to be non-conductive due to the tumult and debates arising between two opposing sides. Each party presents arguments to defend and uphold its interests. This conflict is evident through the experience of a merchant named K. A.G (pseudonym) in an interview. He shared that he deliberately engaged in trading within prohibited areas to voice the grievances of the merchants. The respondents consistently countered reprimands by providing arguments in order to make the authorities understand the plight of the small-scale merchants. In the interview he said,

“.....waktu itu saya sengaja buka dagangan di tempat yang dilarang, saya lakukan itu agar mereka mengetahui dengan keluhan kami selama ini. Setiap saya dimarahi selalu saya balas dengan argumen yang kuat agar mereka dengar dan tau bagaimana rasanya berada di posisi saya...” (K. A.G, 22 Juni 2023).

The results of an interview with another respondent named Irfandi similarly display that he frequently confronts arguments with government authorities who hinder his street vending activities. Furthermore, Irfandi declares that he adheres to the presidential regulation to avoid gatherings. He remains steadfast in debating with authorities due to the loss of his vending location and the inadequacy of the relocation area. In the interview she said,

“....bapak kan tau ya alasan saya nolak program revitalisasi karna apa? Nah kalo udah tau ngapain kesini? Kan saya udah bilang kalo anggaran revitalisasi ga dialokasikan pada kami para pedagang yaudah biarkan kami dagang di jalan seperti ini. kalo disuruh ke denah relokasi buat apa? kan saya mematuhi kebijakan presiden alias ga boleh berkerumunan di keramaian, nah itu tempat relokasi buat calonarang aja masih kesempatan loh pak....” (Irfandi, 19 September 2021).

Aligning with the aforementioned statements, the small-scale merchants consequently establish their trading environment outside the premises of the Gianyar Public Market, such as along Ngurah Rai Street and Samplangan Highway. Ultimately, this impedes access to the Gianyar Public Market, resulting in traffic congestion due to road space utilization. Additionally, it provokes discomfort to the residents as the front of their houses is transformed into vending spaces.



Fig. 3. Independent Resistance by Small-scale merchants through Confrontation with Government Officials (Municipal Police and Police Officer). Source: Antara News, 19 December 2020

The efficacy of resistance through confrontational engagement with government authorities was on the grounds that the core aim of the small-scale merchants is centered on obtaining attention and acknowledgment for their resistance endeavor. This direct mode of resistance not only functions as a mechanism of validation but also serves a psychological function by providing an outlet for the accumulated sentiments of neglect they have experienced over time.

4.2 Hidden Resistance

According to Scott's (1993) concept, hidden resistance is typically characterized by the circulation of gossip or rumors among individuals, leading the community to convey a collective perception regarding a specific subject. Typically, this form of hidden resistance is enacted in an ambiguous or veiled manner. This type of resistance also shares similarities with the state of resistance exhibited by the small-scale merchants in the Gianyar Public Market, which will be presented through two sub-sections based on the qualitative facts below.

a. Gossiping Government Officials through Rumors/Whispered Information

Rumors and gossip/whispered information are also frequently identified in the context of hidden resistance actions among the small-scale merchants in the Gianyar Public Market. The emergence of such gossip usually takes place before or after government officials conduct inspections on the merchants. The small-scale merchants dominantly engaging in gossiping involving rumors and whispered information are often women. It is attributed to their general reluctance to openly express their grievances regarding government policies. As expressed by individuals like Ms. D.L. and Ms. J. during interviews, Ms. D.L. typically engages in chitchat with fellow merchants regarding the schedules of ambush inspections by the Municipal Police personnel, so she can close her stall before the inspection. Ms. J. states that the Municipal Police personnel are strict and indifferent to the circumstances of small-scale merchants. The Municipal Police personnel are perceived to have additional income that secures their livelihood, which contrasts with the situation of small-scale merchants. In the interview they said,

“.....*Biasa saya ngerumpi sama pedagang sebelah sambil ngulat tipat atau metanding di warung dan topiknya beda-beda tapi belakangan ini sering nanya-nanya jadwal sidak satpol pp biar saya bisa untuk tutup selid (lebih awal) pas sebelum mereka datang melakukan sidak....*” (Ms. D. L, 18 June 2023).

“.....*Saya sebenarnya memang tidak suka diberikan aturan seperti sekarang, yang saya dengar satpol pp itu agak tegas dan tidak mengerti dengan kondisi kita berdagang disini sedangkan mereka pasti dapat sampingan dan pekerjaan yang menjamin kehidupannya.....*” (Ms. J, 18 June 2023).

Based on the outcomes of the aforementioned interviews, it becomes evident that a portion of small-scale merchants opts to remain silent and avoid interactions with officials during field operations. However, they engage in resistance by expressing their grievances and sentiments of discontent among themselves, thereby manifesting their discomfort.



Fig. 4. Preceding the Surprise Inspection by Municipal Police Personnel on Merchants. (Source: Arisman Doc. 2022)

In the image depicted in Figure 4, a majority of the merchants have already ceased their activities before the visit of the personnel for the surprise inspection. They opt not to engage in high-risk decisions, as female

small-scale merchants tend to have mental vulnerabilities. This decline in mental well-being is attributed to the threats conveyed by authorities to the small-scale merchants through communication, indicating the potential consequences of non-compliance with government policies.

Some male small-scale merchants also engage in hidden resistance but with slight differences compared to their female counterparts. The male merchants' version of resistance involves spreading rumors among both internal and external traders within the Gianyar Public Market. An example of such a rumor was conveyed by Mr. K. A. G. (pseudonym), who mentioned that he has many friends from Gianyar who trade in other markets. The intention is to influence the notion that it is unacceptable to regulate native Gianyar residents in their domain. In the interview he said,

“.....*Saya* tidak bisa berjalan sendiri, harus ada yang bantu walaupun itu dari luar pasar, saya kebetulan ada banyak teman jualan di pasar sampelangan, yang jualan disana ada juga asli medesa adat gianyar. kita harus sadarkan mereka kalo pasar gianyar adalah tanah desa dan kita sampaikan jika warga semeton desa adat gianyar dilarang jualan di depan pasar rakyat gianyar *Saya* heran masak orang asli di atur di rumah *sendiri*...” (K. A. G. 22 June2023).

The discoveries from the aforementioned interviews reflect that the expansion of this resistance is also driven by rumors that can influence external merchants of the Gianyar Public Market. Hidden resistance by individual merchants can strengthen and broaden relationships in carrying out the resistance movement. Rumors are often associated with unverified information, possessing an attacking nature, and capitalizing on societal concerns. The propaganda of rumors can have dire consequences for the targeted subjects. Typically, rumors are ambiguous, yet they lead people to interpret them according to the agenda of the rumor's originator. As a result, the information presented appears to be authentic (Bachtiar, 2018: 3).

b. Engaging Boycott during Socialization

The government's strategy to counter the opposition actions of small-scale merchants against the revitalization and relocation efforts of the market involves conducting socialization among the merchants. This socialization aims to create a conducive environment and facilitate a shared decision-making process, promoting the idea that the relocation and establishment of a modern market will bring advantages. The approach taken by the Gianyar district government aligns with Foucault's genealogical method (Kebung, 2017: 38), which elucidates the interrelationships among individuals and how power is exercised within culture and human contact.

The cognition among small-scale merchants about this situation makes them the sole opposing party in the socialization. It is akin to Gramsci's notion of the three phases of development of collective consciousness and organization among subordinate classes (Simon, 2000: 33). The initial and earliest phase occurs when merchants need to stand in solidarity with their fellow merchants. The second, more advanced phase sees the maturing of awareness regarding shared interests across the entire class, albeit predominantly in the economic sphere. The third is the hegemonic phase, where previously fragmented ideologies compete until one or a combination of these ideologies emerges victorious (Simon, 2000: 34). In the context of the phenomenon of boycotting socialization, these phases depict that small-scale merchants have entered the second phase of consciousness concerning their claims. Recognizing that the policy of market revitalization is incongruent with and adversely affects their claims – favoring the government and big merchants – this prompts the resistance to be executed through counter-hegemonic motions, fostering the expectancy for the victory of the interests of small-scale merchants (subordinates).

The resistance through the boycott marks the initial stage of resistance undertaken by small-scale merchants. Reflecting the atmosphere within this socialization boycott movement, three representatives of small-scale merchants conveyed through interviews that they would not attend the socialization session because they did not gain anything from it and to advocate for its cancellation. They explained that many other small-scale merchants also agreed not to participate in the socialization. In the interview they said,

“....saya ga dateng untuk ikut sosialisasi karena ikut-ikutan temen yang lain. Alasan ga dateng biar sosialisasinya dibatalin, siapa tau kalo ga ada yang dateng jadinya diundur terus dan ujung”nya batal kan? Selain itu udah banyak kok pedagang yang nolak waktunya diminta untuk ikut sosialisasi di pasar....” (D. S. 16 June 2023).

“....saya ga dateng soalnya ga dapet apa” klo ikut begituan. Temen-temen yang lain juga pada sepakat buat ga dateng. Kita boikot biar revitalisasinya terhambat selama mungkin sampe dibatalkan. Intinya kami ga butuh revitalisasi, harusnya sebelum sosialisasi survey dulu pedagang itu butuh apa, setelah itu baru buat sosialisasi nah kalau begitu kan semua pedagang semangat hadir....” (K. A. G, 22 June 2023).

“....rencana pemboikotan ini sudah disepakati oleh semua pedagang kecil melalui ngerumpi kecil-kecilan. yang ga cocok biarkan saja dateng sendiri. Yang penting pedagang yang bener-bener nolak ikutan boikot supaya pemerintah mempunyai gambaran bagaimana dampak yang terjadi jika revitalisasi ini tetap berlangsung tanpa adanya pedagang kecil seperti kita....” (Irfandi, 22 June 2023).

Based on the three interviews above, it can be concluded that small-scale merchants reject the government's control through the ideology behind the discourse of revitalization by rejecting to attend the socialization efforts. The representation of counter-hegemony by small-scale merchants can be observed through this boycott as they avoid any new perspectives on the renewal of the Gianyar Public Market. However, the relatively small number of small-scale merchants, which constitutes a minority, qualifies the socialization to continue.



Fig. 5. Government of Gianyar Regency's Socialization Efforts for Revitalization. (Source: www.bappeda.gianyar.go.id)

Image 5 depicts the socialization situation, but there seems to be a lack of enthusiasm among the merchants. Despite the existing governmental system having achieved its objectives and targets, the mentality of the subordinate masses does not completely align with the dominant ideology. Concerning the indicator of merchants remaining silent amid the socialization, some small-scale merchants attended the event but did not actively participate in the voting process, as it is the comment given by Mrs. D. L., who mentioned that she did not take part in the voting process even though the questionnaire is provided. In the interview she said,

“....ikut jadi sampel aja tapi ga ikutan voting karena terlanjur dibagiin kertas *pertanyaan*” gitu.. saya ga ada jawab. Kalo pilih nolak saya ga enak dan *takut*...” (Mrs. D. L., 24 June 2023).

Although the boycott involved a significant number of small-scale merchants, their influence was overshadowed by the dominant presence of merchants who support the revitalization policy. The realization of the small-scale merchants concerning the futility of their boycott might stem from their acquiescence to the survey outcomes, which favored the pro-policy faction as the victor of the

socialization process. Drawing on Foucault's conception of power as strategic power relations in Kebung (2017: 39), it becomes evident that power emanates fundamentally from the interactions among diverse parties. This kind of power is inherently absolute, existing independently of human awareness. Consequently, the collective outcomes from the aforementioned interviews poignantly illustrate the tangible manifestation of the boycott during the socialization proceedings. Hence, the boycott movement materializes as a counter-hegemonic response to the endeavor of instituting a novel ideology within the milieu of Gianyar Public Market. The consequence of the omnipotent and dominant forces in favor of the revitalization policy ultimately nullifies the impact of the small-scale merchants' boycott, allowing the socialization process to persist unaffected.

5. Conclusion

Based on the exposition above, the formulated conclusion from this research is that small-scale merchants encounter challenges both internally and externally due to their commercial activities, which primarily serve to meet their family's needs. The subjects of this study, on average, belong to the lower echelons of society (characterized by minimal capital), making them the most affected by the revitalization policy of Pasar Rakyat Gianyar. Additionally, apart from the disparity in the equilibrium of socio-economic human resources potential, the development of the market is hindered by the socio-cultural conditions in the construction area. It is attributed to the fact that the land in this strategic location still holds the status of "Pekarangan Ayahan" or Tanah Ayahan Desa (Village Common Land). Tanah Ayahan Desa, also known as PAD, represents non-certified territory owned collectively by the local community under a communal system.

Furthermore, the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak also supports the external factors contributing to the reasons for small-scale merchants. The unstable economy and social activity restrictions have compelled them to demand assistance from the government, such as necessities or allowances during the implementation of the PPKM policy. However, amid the pandemic, the government has remained consistent in prioritizing the revitalization program within the local budget allocation. Various factors that do not favor small-scale merchants have fueled their motivation to engage in a resistance movement as a form of "counter-hegemony" against the revitalization policy of Gianyar Public Market.

The resistance unfolds during the revitalization, taking on explicit and concealed forms in line with the resistance concept proposed by James C. Scott. The primary objective of this resistance is to hinder the advancement of revitalization policies. Small-scale merchants engage in various tactics of resistance, with open actions like organized demonstrations held near the Gianyar Public Market being prominent. Instances involving disputed land claims by the government prompt a more formal type of overt resistance, involving official meetings alongside the local adat leader in Gianyar. However, the desired outcomes from such meetings are often not fully realized, compelling small-scale merchants to independently engage in resistance marked by vocal opposition to government entities. Concurrently, a subset of merchants, facing psychological barriers, opt for hidden resistance methods, subtly expressing their dissent by circulating alluring rumors and gossip about the conduct of government officials in the field. These speculative narratives wield considerable influence, effectively shaping perceptions within the wider public sphere and nurturing negative perceptions of government actions.

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