



The Bali Paradox: Best of Both Worlds

MA - Thesis

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Date: 15 December 2014
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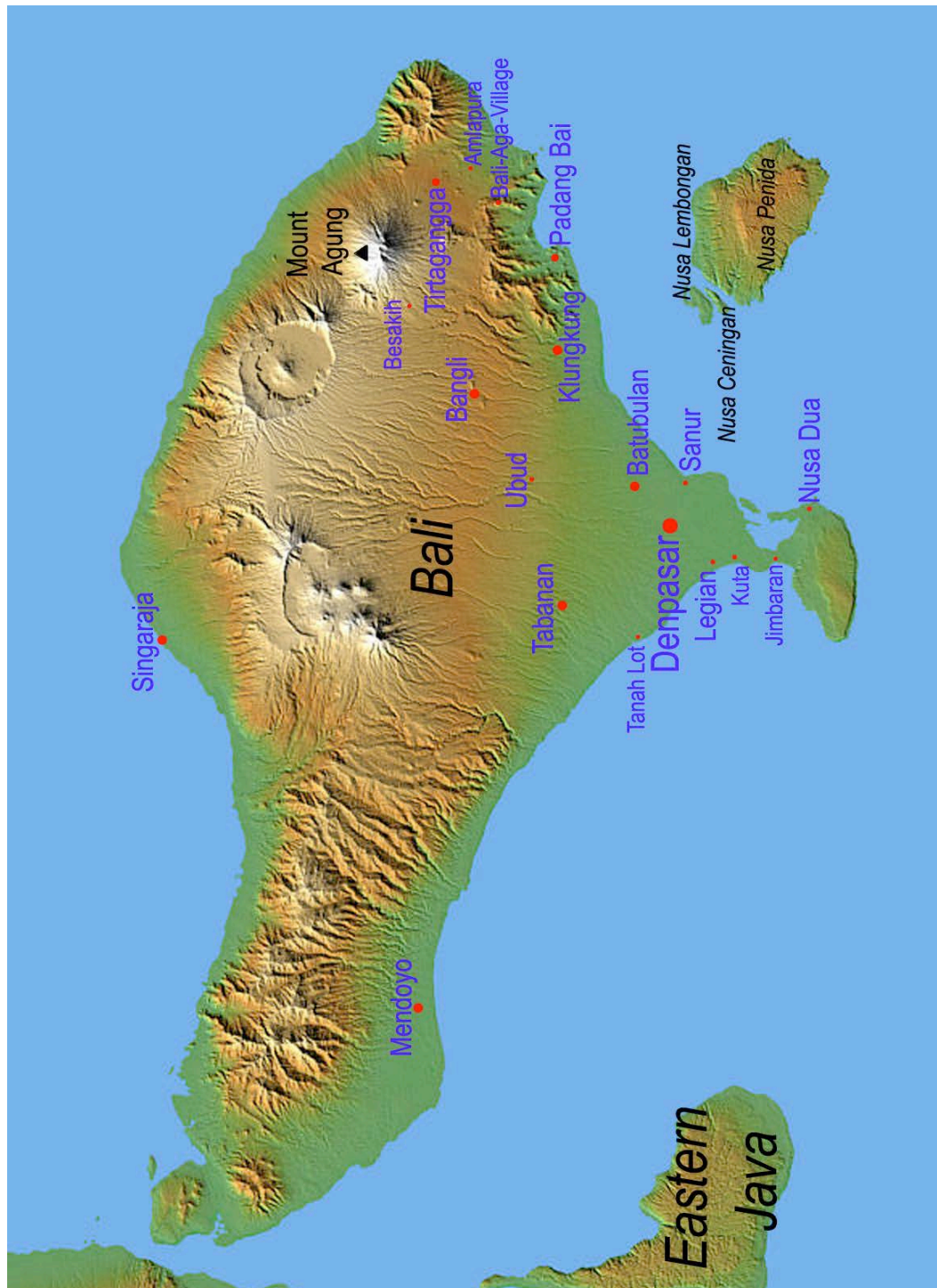
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Map of Bali
Source: Bali Tourism Board

Introduction

In the past few years that I have been visiting Bali I have seen the island change and not just a tiny bit. To the eye it may look like the Balinese landscape is exchanging its natural scenery for new accommodations, turning Mother Nature's treasures into 'concrete towns' and although this is quite what has been happening at the moment, underlying changes go much deeper than that. In the face of globalization, global tourism has been forming a threat to Balinese cultural diversity. The industry implies substituting cultural values for economic values to stimulate and encourage tourism. There seems to be a discrepancy between academic literature and actual development on the island, debating whether such changes really are a threat to cultural diversity. Observing the dichotomy between culture and tourism my curiosity has been triggered to explore this subject any further. Next to cultural aspects, the thesis will also deal with social and economic relationships.

The thesis will address the following questions:

Research question

- In what way has tourism changed the Balinese cultural diversity?

Sub questions

1. In what way has the Balinese society been integrated into tourism?
2. What are the effects of tourism on the Balinese society?
 - What are the general effects?
 - What are the cultural effects?
3. What impact do these changes have on the use of Balinese culture in tourism?

A short fieldwork took place in the summer of 2014 in Seminyak, Kuta, Ubud and Batuan. For this fieldwork an interview has been put up to gather information that would enable me to outline a general picture how tourism and culture interact. The interviewees were very willing to co-operate and I appreciate every bit of help I have been given.

The first chapter will start with the theoretical framework and deal with some discourses frequently apparent in the field of anthropology and anthropology of tourism. By referring to such discourses, it will provide the reader with a better understanding of the perspective in which this thesis has been written. The use of theoretical knowledge and existing knowledge will enable me to explain and illustrate the impacts, effects and results of global tourism in Bali. The second chapter reflects on the course of tourism in Bali from the New Order era until most recently. The following chapter deals with the effects of tourism on Balinese society, which are subdivided in general effects and cultural effects. The last chapter describes the mutual reinforcement of tourism and culture and has been illustrated with examples from the fieldwork. The thesis ends with a conclusion, which will explain in what ways tourism has influenced Balinese cultural diversity and to what extent.

1. Theoretical Framework

Today there is a varied academic and popular literature available on Bali, often describing and designating the unique culture as the main attraction of the island. Bali's unique culture has become a favorite topic in modern anthropology and has been dealt with by prominent anthropologists such as Geertz, Picard and Vickers. According to Yamashita 'anthropologists avoided tourism as an object and felt no particular attraction to tourism: it was a modern phenomenon, and because anthropologists focused on traditional culture, tourism had little appeal as something to be investigated' (2003, p.6). And indeed, tourism can be seen as a modern phenomenon as new technologies made faster and further travel possible.

In the recent past, academic literature mostly focused on the impact of global tourism on Balinese culture, often only covering a one-way impact of the industry on the island. In a later stage academic literature also focused on the two-way impact of the industry, discussing interaction between tourism and culture. There has also been a substantial amount of academic literature on the impact of tourism on the ecology of Bali, as tourism demands an increase of new accommodations and facilities often threatening natural environments. However, due to the increasing growth of global tourism the island has been subject to continuous changes, leaving many scholars in fear that these changes will lead to overdevelopment of the province. With regard to the framework of tourism and culture there seems to be a discrepancy between theory and practice in exploring the widening gap between tourism development and cultural diversity on the island. How has global tourism further affected the island, its society and culture, and to what extent?

1.1 Field of Anthropology & Tourism

Cultural anthropology can be described as the study of the human and their development and seeks to understand how they function and why. An eminent cultural anthropologist is Clifford Geertz leaving behind an important legacy in modern anthropology after his death in 2006. In *The Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays* Geertz argues the theories of culture and cultural interpretation, describing culture as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973, p.89).

As mentioned earlier, tourism was not considered as a subject in anthropology as it was seen as a modern phenomenon and anthropology initially focused on the mere traditional aspects of culture. This notion was later reconsidered, as tourism seemed to be of big influence on traditional culture, attempting to adjust and adapt culture to the needs of globalization. The foundation for anthropology of tourism was laid by and began to take form in the work of Smith's *Guests and Hosts: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1977) in where he describes the impact of tourism and how the latter serves as an incentive for cultural change. Of key importance in his framework has been the classification of and relationship between two social groups: the insiders (hosts) and the outsiders (guests) (Smith 1992) (Yamashita 2003, p.6). The insiders are considered 'cultural mediators' providing access to their culture to inform and entertain the outsiders (Dahles 2002, p.784). By acting as gatekeepers of their culture they are responsible for what they represent to the outside world. Being unique for its Hindu culture, Bali is experiencing continuous changes as a result of globalization. With tourism evolving into mass tourism the island has become the victim of overdevelopment: livelihoods are affected, including its cultural aspects.

The thesis will deal with cultural diversity, but not in the original given definition. The concept will not solely focus on 'different groups of people living together developing distinctive cultures'¹, but more on the variety and differences within one culture'. Within the context of this thesis cultural diversity can thus be linked to 'values, customs, institutions, traditional knowledge and way of life' (Agung 2006, p.5). The field of anthropology will be of great significance to the thesis, as it will help lead to an understanding of the interaction between tourism and culture in contemporary Bali.

1.2 Nationalism

The study of nationalism researches how and why people identify themselves as being part of a nation, as to creating a patriotic feeling of pride. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) has been of great significance in the field of nationalism. Anderson refers nations as 'imagined communities': *'it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'* (Anderson 1983, p.5-7). Anderson considers the community, despite a majority never meeting each other in real life, as a group of people who share a sense of identity based on their nationality. Many scholars have used Anderson's theory in their approach to nation and nation-states.

According to Zimelis 'nationalism has become one the most powerful and recognized forces of global politics' (2010, p.5). Looking at the trend of tourism development in Indonesia this is certainly true to the extent that concepts of nation, nation-state and nationalism played a significant role in development plans under the New Order. Within the framework of nationalism Suharto continuously emphasized the notion of 'Unity in Diversity' in his development plans to foster nation building and to stage Indonesia as a unified country (Dahles 2001). With regard to Balinese tourism development, the ongoing process of globalization has put pressure on the local identity. Has globalization weakened or strengthened their identity, and to what extent?

1.3 Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism has been subject to many definitions, but I find the description of the World Tourism Organization most accurate describing cultural tourism as 'all movements of persons, because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters' (Richards 2003, p.5). As given by Picard, keywords within cultural tourism are 'development of tourism' and 'fostering of culture' as they often seem to overlap each other in a highly globalizing world (1997, p.180). Former aspects can complement, but also most certainly outweigh each other resulting in culture becoming an 'asset' or 'source of cultural consumption' (Richards 2003, p.1). The latter has been described as a process of 'cultural pollution' and has been of big concern to many traditional cultures (Yamashita 2003, p.55).

In order to guard Balinese culture against the increasing influx of tourism, the Balinese provincial government has implemented the policy of cultural tourism to develop culture and tourism simultaneously. Still, cultural tourism has become a popular debate in Bali as the tourism industry continues to flourish, implying the fading of cultural aspects. Picard has given the latter process the term 'touristic culture' and describes it as the process where culture and tourism combine economic and cultural values (1997, p. 129). To assert otherwise, and maybe due to wider

¹ Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

scholarship and more media coverage, tourism has split into multiple forms, such as eco-tourism, green tourism and sustainable tourism, but eventually comes down to the same thing: tourism. Stated by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) cultural tourism managed to position itself as a political tool to 'promote destinations and enhance their competitiveness' and to 'create local distinctiveness in the face of globalization'.² In reality this is not always the case as culture is often guided towards the needs of tourism. If not careful cultural tourism will become a danger to itself.

1.4 Authenticity

Within the framework of tourism, authenticity may be the most important keyword. According to the Oxford Dictionary authenticity refers to 'of undisputed origin', 'genuine', 'made or done in the original or traditional way' and can thus be referred to as 'the quality of being authentic'.³ The question remains: in the face of globalization, what exactly can be described as authentic? The term is disputable, as it often has been related to Orientalism. Cole describes authenticity as a 'Western cultural notion, as a majority of the analyses tend to have a Euro-centric view' (2007, p.943). Quite frankly, Orientalism has indeed played a significant role in constructing the 'authentic character' of Bali. Looking at the latter Wang is therefore in her right to state that 'the concept of authenticity is widely used, its ambiguity and limitations increasingly exposed' (1999, p.349). In addition, global tourism has also been perceived as a staged paradise where the hosts adjust, modify and adapt to the needs of the tourism industry, implying guests will not experience real authenticity. Yamashita refers the latter in guests 'pursuing a pseudo-event of authenticity rather than a real event' (2003. p.19).

1.5 Concepts & Definitions

The use of some concepts might be open to misinterpretation; by explaining them I will be able to restrict the definition within the framework of the thesis.

Concept	Definition*
Threat	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 'A person or thing likely to cause damage or danger' <p>The influx of global tourism in Bali entails pressure on the society, culture, economy and the ecology of the island. Referring to threat I will address the extent to which this pressure, e.g. manifested in the widening development gap and poverty, has changed the actual situation on the island.</p>
Preservation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 'Maintain (something) in its original or existing state' 2. 'Retain (a condition or state of affairs)' <p>The effects of globalization have a great impact on the livelihoods of Bali. As Bali is known for its unique Hindu culture, changes in cultural manifestations are among those impacts. Referring to threat I will address the extent to which the local population and institutions will undertake measures to ensure and 'freeze-frame' cultural diversity (Picard 1997, p.11).</p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 'The action of protecting, or the state of being

² Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

³ Translations according to Oxford Dictionaries

Protection	<p>protected'</p> <p>2. 'A person or thing that protects someone or something'</p> <p>Although not the same, the definition of protection comes close to that of preservation. In this case however, I will stretch the notion of protection as preventing the action from happening to keep the cultural diversity intact.</p>
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Table 1: *Concepts and Definitions*. *All definitions according to Oxford Dictionaries

Other important concepts have been defined within each chapter itself, as reading them in context will do them better justice.

1.6 Research Methods

Next to the use of primary and secondary sources, I have also done some fieldwork. In the summer of 2014 I brought a visit to the island and subsequently visited Seminyak, Kuta, Batuan and Ubud.⁴ Bali has several well-known areas, each with a different character and these villages have been selected due to their portrayed traditional and commercial character. Due to little time, I have put up an interview and drawn few simple, but encompassing questions that would enable me to outline a general picture. The type of questions most concern on whether the Balinese think the advent of tourism has changed the island and to what extent. The interviewees differed from ethnic background and profession.⁵ In addition, by frequently visiting the island in 2011 (study abroad) I have been able to experience and witness changes taking place on the island, which I can process in the thesis.

⁴ See Appendix I

⁵ See Appendix II

2. Development of Tourism in Bali

Globalization has brought many foreign influences to Bali. The imagined picture of Bali as a paradise with white beaches and palm trees still exists, but is affected by the many hotels, restaurants and shops that changed traditional Balinese landscape. As part of the Indonesian archipelago Bali has a total land area of 5,636.66 square kilometers and a population of 4.2 million, making Bali one of the most densely settled islands outside Java (Erviani, 17/12/2012). Its natural beauty, tropical climate and unique culture have turned the island to one of the world's popular tourist destinations, often dubbed as 'Paradise Island'. An important aspect of Bali's unique culture is its Hindu religion that pervades every facet of life among the Hindu Balinese and has additionally earned Bali the names of 'Island of Gods' and 'Island of Thousand Temples'. Next to its beautiful natural scenery, the island is mostly known for its 'outward manifestations of temples, offerings, music, dance, ceremonies and rich craft heritage, which gave rise to a colorful and exotic atmosphere' (Wall 1996, p.123). Primarily being dependent on agriculture, Bali's tourist industry has been flourishing, contributing greatly to the country's economy.

In this chapter I will describe the process of tourism development in Bali. First describing how tourism development was launched under the New Order, I will continue to describe the process of tourism development in Bali.

2.1 Tourism under the New Order

In the wake of independence the country's biggest task was to foster nation building. Still a fragile Republic, nation building became one of the headlines on the political agenda. The government attached great value to the policy, as it was important to create a unified nation. The challenge to unify was already a struggle in itself as the country at that time approximately consisted of 220 million people and 250 ethnic groups (Ardiwidjaja -, p.2).

Former president Suharto has gone through great lengths to push tourism industry forward and has managed to do so by forming policies, campaigns and programs until his departure in 1998. Tourism was seen as a 'vehicle that would contribute to economic development' and it was not long before tourism was incorporated in several cultural policies and development plans (Dahles 2001, p.3). The greater political program, which was inspired by the *Pancasila* (the state ideology), was used as a political instrument to portray Indonesia as an economic and political stable country, and to promote national unity (Dahles 2001, p.15). In regard with the latter, Suharto used the motto 'Unity in Diversity' as the slogan for his political programs.

*"What we wish to encourage is the richness and diversity of the many cultures, and to inquire how the tools and technology that makes globalization possible can not only preserve and protect cultures they make accessible but much more than this, to rather encourage a cultural renaissance, a renewal and an enriching of those cultures. We are not seeking uniformity among mankind, we are encouraging *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika – Unity in Diversity*"* written by Joop Avé (Dahles 2001, p.2).

Borrowing and reflecting on this passage from Dahles, it is evident Suharto uses cultural diversity as Indonesia's strength and by doing so, Suharto makes clever use of 'the marketing of ethnic diversity as a marketing tool to improve the country's competitiveness as a tourist product' (Dahles 2001, p.16). However, quite contradictory, despite promoting cultural richness, Suharto did not grant these different ethnic groups any form of autonomy. After some time Suharto's efforts began to take form and he managed to attract national as well as international

attention from both the popular crowd and worldly institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The emphasis on tourism became more loaded when the oil prices started to decline on the international market. For a longer period of time Indonesia experienced rapid growth due to the oil boom era in the 70s and 80s. Unfortunately, this era came to an end when the government was forced to pursue fiscal and monetary policies (Thee 2012, p.71). While looking for other sources of non-oil revenues and the government saw the tourism industry as a potential vehicle for bringing in large amounts of foreign exchange.

In the framework of 'development through tourism' the Indonesian government implemented cultural policies 'to advertise Indonesia's cultural riches' (Agung 2006, p. 15) (Hitchcock 2007, p.35). However, real progress was still limited. Witnessing the success of tourism in neighboring countries, Indonesia joined the ASEAN Tourism Forum (ATF) to stimulate tourism. The institution has been of great significance in developing tourism in the ASEAN region and i.a. focuses on projecting the ASEAN region as 'an attractive, multi-faceted destination in effort to attract visitors'.⁶ In addition, the government established tourism awareness campaigns to attract domestic visitors calling on 'Indonesians to take tourism as a means of development and to become tourists in their own country' (Picard 1996, p.55). After years of preparation the ATF launched the 'Visit ASEAN Year' campaign in 1991 to promote and encourage intra- and inter- ASEAN travel (Picard 1996, p.29). During this campaign ASEAN was being promoted as '*The World's only 6-in-1 Tropical Paradise*' (at that time ASEAN consist of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand). The Directorate General of Tourism designated 20 destinations as priority areas to promote Indonesia. Jakarta, Bali and Yogyakarta were among those areas.

Optimistic about the campaign, Suharto subsequently launched the 'Visit Indonesia Decade' in 1992 in which each 'Visit Indonesia Year' was devoted to a specific theme, highlighting Indonesia's treasures such as craft, art or engineering (Dahles 2001, p.29) (Yamashita 2003, p.53). The Visit Indonesia Decade lasted until 2011 (with an 'absence' of almost eight years from 2000 to 2008) when the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy officially changed the name of the campaign into 'Wonderful Indonesia', which still runs today.⁷ Institutions such as the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy and the National Tourism Office were significant in steering tourism development.

Year	Number of Foreign Visitors
1968	52.400
1969	86.100
1970	129.319
1971	178.781
1991	2.964.000
1992	3.205.000
1993	3.403.138
1994	4.006.312

Table 2: Number of Foreign Visitors to Indonesia and Revenues 1969-96. Source: Dahles 2001, p.235

⁶ Source: ASEAN Tourism Forum 2015

⁷ Source: Bali Tourism Board

As shown in table 2 the number of foreign visitors grew significantly. The increased arrivals were not only from markets such as Europe, the United States and Australia, but also from within Asia due to increased intra-regional travel (Prideaux 2003, p.480). Table 2 (partially) demonstrates to what extent tourism has grown in the beginning of the new tourism policy during the Suharto era and in the event of joining the ASEAN platform.⁸ Also very significant has been the upward trend in domestic tourism. Suharto highly focused on the new Indonesian middle class, respectively the youth, as they were considered a prominent group 'for cultivating a love for the country and a sense of national pride' (Dahles 2001, p.17). Famous destinations for domestic travel within Indonesia are Bali, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. The government has acknowledged the significance of domestic tourism and in 2012 the number of domestic visitors was set at 125 million (Atmodjo, 21/06/2012). It did not take long before 'tourism became an integral part of the Indonesian economy' (Sugiyarto 2003, p.685).

During the New Order, tourism also had to cope with events disrupting the influx of international tourists. Events such as the Gulf War (1990-1991) and 9/11 (2001) had minimal effect on tourism, but during the Asian financial crisis Indonesia suffered a real decline in tourism (Prideaux 2003, p.475). The collapse of the Rupiah, followed by political, ethnic and religious unrest led to the overthrow of president Suharto (Prideaux 2003, p.480-481). Due to unrest in the capital, many countries recommended against travelling to Indonesia, which resulted in declining numbers in tourist arrivals. To save and stimulate the tourism industry a distinction had to be made between Bali and Jakarta. Within this framework the authorities launched two campaigns in combination with special tourist packages:

1. 'Two Years in Bali' to promote Bali;
2. 'Let's Go Indonesia' to promote Indonesia (Hall 2000, p.164).

2.2 Tourism in Bali

Tourism in Bali began to take serious forms in the early 1970s as a result of some important cultural and tourism policies under the New Order. Within this greater political framework Bali, next to Jakarta and Yogyakarta, was designated as a main priority tourist area to attract visitors (Dahles 2001, p.28). The 'Bali project' started off with completing the construction of the Bali Beach Hotel, the island's first five star resort complex in 1966 and the opening of Ngurah Rai International Airport in 1969 (Yamashita 2003, p.52). In line with nation building, the creation of a national culture was as equally important. Encouraged by the latter, the Balinese provincial government adopted a policy of 'cultural tourism' in which both global tourism and ethnic culture were merged to develop the region (Yamashita 2003, p.42). To date, the main objective of this policy is to introduce, empower, preserve and improve 'the quality of culture' as a tourist attraction.

Just as for Indonesia, tourism in Bali gradually came into motion. The construction of Bali as a tourist destination goes back to the colonial time where the government of the Dutch East Indies established its first national tourism bureau, sharing their head office with the *Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Luchtvaart Maatschappij* (KNILM) (Picard 1996, p.27). The bureau mainly brought in tourists from the Netherlands, but the island became better known to the international public after the publication of several guidebooks, some of which widely covered Bali, in 1913-1914 (Yamashita 2003, p.26) (Kartajaya 2010, p.1). From the period of World War II until the Old Order tourism (despite some failed attempts) ended up in a downwards spiral, until the emergence of the New Order.

⁸ See Appendix III for full table

As soon as Suharto came to power the country experienced economic growth and political stability. The tourism sector was slowly developing and it did not take long before tourist arrivals increased. Growth in the sector was also made possible by investments made in new accommodations and promotional campaigns (McTaggart 1980, p.458). From 1969 until 1971, the World Bank and SCETO (French firm) developed a master plan for tourism development in Bali at government's request (Picard 1996, p.45). The 'Bali Tourism Provincial Master Plan' was funded by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and mainly discussed the discourse of 'cultural tourism' of which the primary aim was to separate the influx of global tourism from the local population (Picard 1996, p.48). Distinguishing 'seaside tourism' and 'cultural tourism' it was recommended that 'a part of the island should be set aside primarily for tourist development, where tourists would not have to mix with the local populace' (Picard 1996, p.48) (McTaggart 1980, p.460). Quite remarkable, the master plan was merely based on the 'wealthy Westerner', excluding any form of domestic tourism (Picard 1996, p.47). The Bukit District located in the south of the island was chosen as the site to start the project and mainly focused on Nusa Dua, Sanur, Kuta and Den Pasar.

Year	Number of Foreign Arrivals
1970	24.340
1971	34.313
1972	47.004
1973	53.803
1974	57.459
1975	75.790
1976	115.220
1977	119.095

Table 3: *Visitors Arrivals Bali*. Source: McTaggart 1980, p.458

As Bali remained the main focus point of tourist development the tourists alighting at Ngurah Rai International Airport eventually overruled the influx of tourists alighting at Soekarno-Hatta International Airport. Due to increasing pressure of the capital, the government once again launched tourism awareness campaigns promoting other important tourist areas than Bali and used slogans such as 'Bali and Beyond' and 'Indonesian Archipelago Paradise', which are still used today in many promotional packages (Picard 1996, p.55). Over time, domestic tourism in Bali was increasing as well as the island gained popularity among the new middle class in short trips and long-weekends. Unfortunately, as the immigration ports are not required to register domestic arrivals it remains unclear to what extent domestic tourism has increased (McTaggart 1980, p.458).

Tourism in Bali was mainly disrupted in 1997 due to the Asian Financial crisis, the fall of Suharto in 1998 and the Bali Bombings in 2002 and 2005. As a result from the financial crisis, the economy of Bali experienced a fallback from which they slowly seem to recover in early 2000. Not so long afterwards, the island was hit by the 'Bali Bombings' in 2002 and 2005. Short after, many countries recommended against travelling to Bali and this resulted in declining numbers of tourist arrivals. Due to the events, Bali's image as 'the Last Paradise' fell in to pieces and the island had to work hard on its rehabilitation in the years after. In 2002 the Bali Tourism Board (BTB) was formed to 'build and develop a better and sustainable tourism industry in Bali'.⁹ The Board was recognized by law in 2011 and now oversees broader functioning in guarding the quality of tourism and life in Bali.

⁹ Source: Bali Tourism Board

2.3 Changes in Tourist Composition of Bali

Internationally

Significant in the aftermath of the 2002 bombings was the change in composition of tourists. Soon after the bombings, many countries adjusted their travel advice to Bali, as the security and safety of the tourist could not be guaranteed. It was then the island experienced its first real setback. Bali's main markets consist of Singapore, Malaysia and Australia, its secondary markets of Japan, South Korea, China, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA, and its emerging markets of India, the Middle East and Russia.¹⁰ After the bombings some important markets shrunk, particularly Australia and the USA, and it took around a year for the tourism industry to recover.

During my study abroad in 2011 I was quite astonished at the number of Russians I encountered in Bali. The most remarkable aspect was that many of these Russians were settled on the island and had opened tourism facilities such as surf schools and travel agencies that focused primarily on the Russian market. Returning to the island in 2014 I was even more astonished by the number of restaurants, hotels and agencies who would provide their services in Russian (next to English and some other languages), clearly to serve the increasing Russian market. The upward trend appears to be a result of increasing direct flights from Moscow to Den Pasar.

Domestically

After the 2002 bombings (the 2005 bombings were less severe and had less impact on the tourism industry) the island had to recover from a major shock. As many countries worldwide stopped promoting travel to Indonesia, out of desperation, the provincial government of Bali switched over to price cuts to attract visitors. After quite some time, both international and domestic visitors slowly found their way back to the island, showing increase in arrivals and spending.

Up to this day, the tourism industry in Bali has been flourishing and the number of visitors is only expected to grow in the near future (see graph 4). As Sugiyarto states 'tourism is bound to play an important role in the future' (2003, p.686).

Year	Number of Arrivals	Rate of growth %
2007	5.505.759	13.02
2008	6.234.497	13.24
2009	6.323.730	1.43
2010	7.002.944	10.74
2011	7.649.731	9.24
2012	8.044.462	9.42
2013	8.802.129	-

Table 4: *Progress of International Visitors Year 2007-2013*. Source: Bali Tourism Board 2014

2.4 Conclusion

The cultural and political structures of Indonesia were considered as incentives for flux and turmoil. However, under the New Order president Suharto managed to prevent any major disruption in the country until the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. During the New Order, tourism development had a significant role in national development plans, mainly in the form of cultural and tourism policies. In addition, the industry had strategic importance in that it could position Indonesia on the international map, while functioning as a vehicle for economic growth at the same time. Using the motto 'Unity in Diversity', Suharto used the industry as a political tool, first to display Indonesia as a unified country with social peace and political order and

¹⁰ See Appendix IV for full table

second to bring in foreign exchange. Institutional development such as the establishment of the National Tourism Office (Indonesia) and the Bali Tourism Board (Bali) also played a significant role in steering tourism development. All together, these efforts have paid off, as the tourism industry has become an important component of the Indonesian economy.

Despite major progress of the industry Indonesia still faces major bottlenecks. In the 2013 Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report issued by the World Economic Forum, Indonesia was ranked 12 on a regional level (Asia Pacific) and 70 on a global level, moving up four places since its last report. According to the report, infrastructure, safety and security, and the sustainable development of the tourism sector remain the biggest challenges (World Economic Forum 2013, p. xivv).

In the framework of tourism development, Suharto designated several priority areas to promote Indonesia as a tourist destination. Due to its unique intertwining of nature and culture, Bali was chosen as 'the showcase of Indonesia' (Picard 1996, p.39). The fall of Suharto has led to unstable situation throughout Indonesia, which subsequently led to declining numbers of tourist arrivals. The national government was still pretty much focused on gaining foreign exchange and imposed strict control on the priority tourist areas. The latter was the prelude of 'degradation of the island', which would transform 'Garden Island' into an 'Island of Concrete' (Picard 2003, p.111). Although primarily dependent on agriculture, the tourism industry continues to flourish, transforming the industry into the most dynamic sector of the island.

3. The Effects of Tourism on Balinese Society

The advent of tourism has had a great impact on the island and for that the island still needs to cope with these changes up to this day. To get a better vision of these changes this chapter will address the effects of tourism, subdivided in general effects and cultural effects, and discuss to what extent these effects have influenced Balinese society. The general effects will be subdivided in migration, poverty, crime, infrastructure and pollution, while the cultural effects will be subdivided in language, religion, literature and art. As global tourism is a manifestation of globalization, the effects will also be linked to foreign influences.

3.1 General Effects

1. Migration

The movement of people or groups of people can vary from political, social and economic reasons. In Indonesia, the latter has been the reason for many Indonesians to leave their home and seek for employment across the country or region. With regard to Bali, the rapid growth of the tourism industry has turned the island into a popular migrant destination, pulling people from all across Indonesia (Hitchcock 2007, p.120). Internal migration from Java to Bali has taken place in large numbers and many of these migrants ended up in the tourism industry (formal as well as informal). Thus far, the tourism workforce largely consists of people from mainland Java. However, in recent times the share of Balinese in the tourism workforce has increased as well. The success of the industry continues to pull people from inner lands (and to some extent outer lands) and it must be acknowledged that 'Bali's internal migration has local significance, as tourism development serves as a vehicle for generating revenue and encouraging employment' (Ardiwidjaja, p.2).

Due to unregulated migration it has not been clear how many migrants there are on the island. Currently, Bali's population counts 4.22 million people. The rising population has become a challenge to the island and subsequently fuelled socio-economic pressure, with locals 'competing with those inside and outside of Bali' (Erviani, 17/12/2012). The marginalization of the Balinese should be a push for the provincial government to halt or regulate migration.

1) Javanese

The influx of migrants has changed the composition of the Balinese population radically. The majority of the migrants consist of ethnic Javanese who are mainly employed in the informal sector. The Javanese often end up having better employment opportunities than their counterparts, which resulted in the latter growing resentment towards the Javanese (Cukier 1996, p.268). According to the Balinese, the Javanese were only 'lured by the goldmine of tourism' and did not very much worry about the consequences of their migration (Picard 1996, p.63). Due to cultural differences, especially in the field of language and hierarchy, interaction between the two ethnic groups was very limited (Hitchcock 2007, p.65).

2) Indo-Chinese

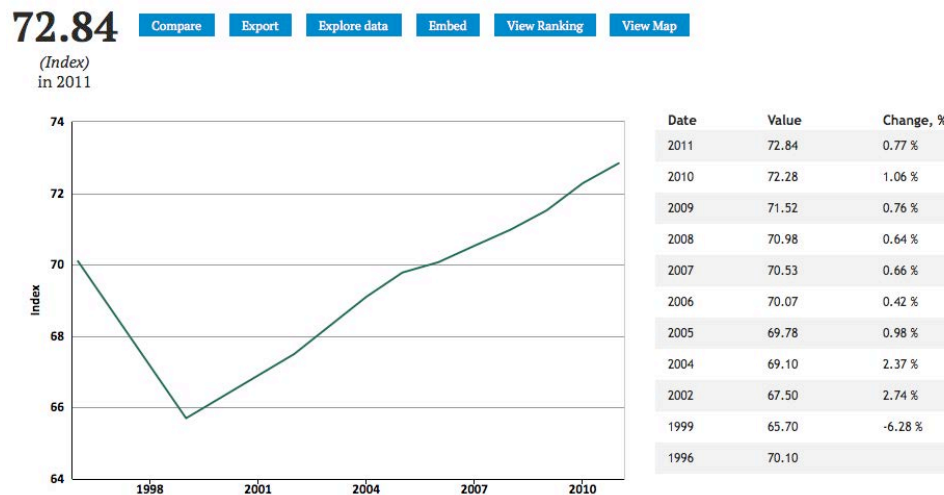
Another major ethnic group are the Indo-Chinese. Due to riots on the mainland in the past, many Chinese fled to surrounding islands, only to return some time later. Not all Chinese returned and especially those residing in Bali decided to stay. The tourism industry continued to prosper and many Chinese believed the industry would provide them with new opportunities (Picard 2003, p.112). The Chinese are represented in all sectors of the economy. Other smaller Indonesian migrant communities primarily originate from Java, the Lesser Sunda Islands and Sumatra (Hitchcock 2007, p.70).

2. Poverty

The fast growing population and influx of migrants have created a gap between social groups, specifically in economic and social terms. While the migrants seem to benefit from the islands' prosperity, many Balinese lagged behind in the low-wage sector. Returning to the village was often not seen as an option and the Balinese would find themselves caught in the semblance of wealth and abundance.

An important indicator to measure development and human progress is the Human Development Index (HDI) from the International Organization for Migration (IOM).¹¹ The index is based on three basic dimensions of human development, which are a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.¹² The higher the HDI rank, the higher the country's or region's development.¹³ According to the index, Bali's HDI has been growing significantly over the years from 65.70 in 1996 to 72.84 in 2011.

Bali - Human Development Index (HDI)



Graph 1: Bali – Human Development Index (HDI). Source: Knoema

Quite contradictory to the results of the Human Development Index, the battle against rampant poverty still remains. The province of Bali exists of eight districts: Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan, Buleleng, Bangli, Jembrana, Karangasem and Klungkung. With development projects mainly focusing on tourist areas in the south, respectively the districts of Badung and Gianyar, rural areas seem to be excluded from development as they lack access to some important facilities such as clean water and healthcare. Further unequal allocation of funds will widen the development gap between rural and urban areas and create problems on the long-term (Erviani, 31/07/2012). In addition, the influx of tourism drives market-driven prices to come beyond the reach of many poor, again worsening the position of the poor (Erviani, 26/07/2012). By and large, overall wealth did only improve for those in privileged positions.

¹¹ IOM is an important institution that deals with migration worldwide.

¹² Source: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Reports

¹³ Source: International Organization for Migration

3. *Crime*

Next to political stability and economic growth, perceptions of safety are vital to tourism. The display of a country to the outside world is often fundamental for the constructed image of the tourist; the media is in this case a powerful tool. As mentioned in the 2013 Travel & Tourism Competitive Report, one of Indonesia's bottlenecks has been security and safety (World Economic Forum 2013, p.xxiv). Both security and safety have become debatable in contemporary Bali, as an increasing set of crime waves has been torturing the island. Pressure on socio-economic relations seems to be the incentive for the increasing crime rates. Next to petty theft, criminal activities also take place on a transnational level, particularly in human trafficking, drugs and bank fraud (Erviani, 03/02/2013). Up to now, most crimes have occurred in the densely populated areas of Bali.

The latest trend under petty theft is called 'motorbike mugging', where motorcycles run up next to you and snatch your belongings while quickly driving off. This new trend has received media coverage and already cost several of lives¹⁴. Another trend is crime against foreigners. In recent years, both tourists and expats have become a beloved target for local criminals. To guard their own safety, expats have created the Facebook page 'Bali Crime Reports' (which I joined) to keep anyone interested up to date on criminal activities in Bali.¹⁵ I have witnessed petty theft on several occasions. For example, during a night out, I witnessed groups of young children (probably aged 6 to 14) pickpocketing tourists on the main street of Kuta.

The criminal activities have invoked a lot of criticism 'as would threaten the reputation, well-being and prosperity of locals and foreigners alike'.¹⁶ Thus far, the crime rate did not seem to scare off many people, as many brush it off 'as something that occurs anywhere in the world on a daily basis'. Due to growing criticism, the provincial government has been taking efforts to improve safety and security. Statistics show a slow progress, as reported cases of crime were 8.100 2012 down to 7.785 in 2013 (Erviani, 02/01/2014).

4. *Infrastructure*

The provision of transport and infrastructure is very much fundamental in tourism development as it enables tourists to move back and forth between destinations. In order for tourism development in Bali to succeed, the master plan of 1971 urged for the improvement of infrastructure and significantly emphasized the expansion of the existing road network throughout the island. In this framework, initial improvement has been made in connecting tourist areas in the south with important touristic attractions across the island.

The first sign of infrastructural development was the expansion of Ngurah Rai International Airport (formerly Tuban Airfield) in 1966 until 1969 with some additional (international) terminals. In the period after, the airport was running at full capacity, but could barely handle the influx of tourists. Part of the mistake was the great encouragement of travel to Bali, while infrastructure was still lacking. In order to control these influxes, both national and provincial governments incorporated infrastructure in their development plans.

¹⁴ Kim, a woman from South-Korea, died during a motorbike mugging (Erviani, 22/05/2014)

¹⁵ Source: I-Magazine Bali

¹⁶ Source: I-Magazine Bali

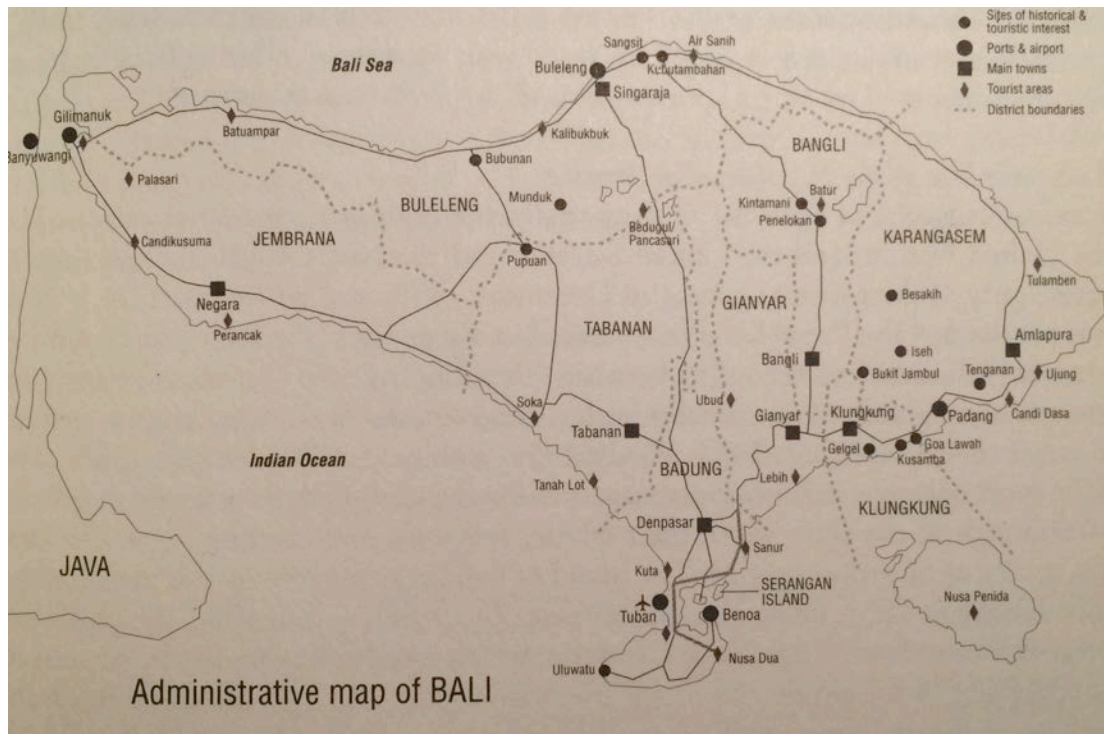


Photo 1: *Administrative map of Bali*. Source: Picard 1996, p.39

The island has few official ports of entrance:

1. Ngurah Rai International Airport
2. Ferry point Gilimanuk Ketapang (from/to Bali)
3. Ferry point Singaraja (from/to Bali)
4. Ferry point Benoa (from/to Lombok)
5. Ferry point Padang Bai (from/to Lombok)

In effort to improve infrastructure, the national government has turned to The World Bank to launch some large-scale infrastructure projects in Bali (Atmodjo, 13/06/2014). Main objective of the so-called Bali Urban Infrastructure Project is the improvement of 'infrastructure services to meet basic needs in all important urban centers'.¹⁷ Within this project, Ngurah Rai International Airport recently celebrated the opening of their renovated airport. The airport has been expanded and is now able to accommodate 25 million passengers per year (Atmodjo, 19/04/2014). Major airline Qatar Airways has already expressed interest in constructing a direct route to Bali (Lubis, 10/06/2014). Another recent progress has been the opening of the Bali Mandara Toll Road, which connects Den Pasar – Kuta – Benoa, and takes pressure away from the daily congestion between the south and north of Bali. The modern toll way partly runs over the sea and provides a special lane for motorcycles (which is rare in Indonesia). In addition, to alleviate pressure from existing ports, former president Yudhoyono has announced the construction of a second international airport in the Buleleng regency in the north of Bali. According to the plan, construction will start in 2018 and end in 2021.¹⁸

Despite progress in infrastructure, the wide gap in development between the south and other areas remains as many investors continue to go south due to the availability of infrastructure and other supporting facilities (Atmodjo, 28/12/2013). The provincial government has been urging to improve infrastructure in all areas of the

¹⁷ Source: World Bank, The Bali Infrastructure Project

¹⁸ Source: Ubud Writers & Readers Festival

island as a means for social change, but reality shows otherwise as the decision-making from the national government is primarily interested in constructing Bali as an important hub. It is most likely that Bali will have international-standard hospitals, trade centers and sport complexes in the near future. How will the situation improve if the national government continues to overrule the regional government and tends to invest in high-class modern accommodations, when it cannot even provide basic facilities to the poor?

5. *Pollution*

The growing population, increasing migration and developing tourism have also resulted in environmental damage. As Bali continues to be part of development plans, its natural scenery is slowly disappearing to make way for 'concrete towns'. To preserve Balinese landscape, the provincial government has implemented the 'palm tree rule', which prohibits the construction of buildings higher than the tallest palm tree (Picard 1997, p.74). Compliance of the rule is in question, as Balinese landscape seems to be 'littered' with tall buildings.

Tourism nourishes consumerism and in the tourist areas this has led to severe garbage pollution (Helmi, 29/03/2012). Garbage has been dumped at illegal dumpsites and it is almost impossible to drive along the roads without spotting any garbage. The situation has gone from bad to worse (not to mention the smell) and unfortunately there are not many who take this problem seriously. While the problem of pollution has been acknowledged, no concrete efforts have been taken so far. The garbage problem especially shows during rainy season, when all the garbage that has been floating in the waters is being pushed back to the shore. To make matters worse, garbage from mainland Java and its surroundings have been coming ashore as well.¹⁹ I have been in Bali during the rainy season and it was not possible for me to swim in the sea as it was filled with all kinds of rubbish.

The lack of control will only worsen the situation. The government should feel obligated to intervene, as pollution will increase if tourism continues to grow at this pace. One possible government intervention could be to invest in education, as many Balinese do not seem to know (or care?) about the consequences of environmental dangers. Such a measure would highly benefit contemporary and future Bali. As for now, the provincial government should intensify control and 'focus on a number of strategies to reduce the amount and impact of pollution' (Nurhayati, 25/02/2013).

3.2 Cultural Effects

1. *Language*

The official language of Bali is Bahasa Bali and belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian languages, a subgroup of the Austronesian languages, which is spoken by approximately 390 million people across Southeast Asia and the Pacific (Hitchcock 2007, p.13). The Balinese language has several different indigenous variants, but is slowly losing ground to 'modern Balinese', which is spoken on a daily basis. The Balinese language has been used to a lesser extent these days, but still plays an important role in religious affairs (A)(B). Due to tourism many Balinese are bilingual or trilingual, in addition speaking Bahasa Indonesia and English. Today, Bahasa Indonesia has come to dominate the streets.

In the sense of unity, language is seen as a powerful tool to unify Indonesians from different ethnic backgrounds and different regions across the archipelago (Paauw 2009, p.5). In Bali the learning of Bahasa Indonesia has become mandatory in the

¹⁹ 'The Plastic Problem', SURFER Magazine

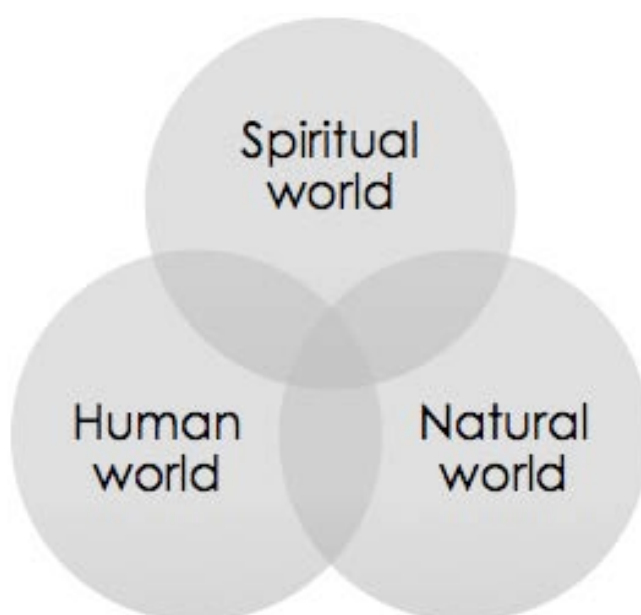
school environment and is taught from primary school. In addition, the rapid growth of the tourism industry has made the use of English significant in contemporary Bali.

During my time on the island, I was quite astonished by the number of people (mostly women) that were not able to speak Bahasa Indonesia in the tourist areas of Bali, let alone English. It is feared that the limited use of Bahasa Bali will lead to the disappearance of it. To prevent such event from happening, the provincial government has undertaken action to promote the Balinese language through several cultural campaigns (Jagra, 23/10/2014).

2. Religion

The Islam is the dominant religion in Indonesia. The country has the largest Muslim population in the world, which approximately consists of 203 million Muslims. Bali is a major exception to the case as it is the home of the Hindus who account more than 90% of the Balinese population.

The first pillar of the *pancasila* ideology states the 'belief in the one and only god'. The Indonesian law legitimately protects six religions: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism, Confucianism and Catholicism. The Hindus in Bali adhere Hindu Dharma, which is a mix of Hinduism and Buddhism and must be distinct from Hinduism in India. As the followers of the Hindu Dharma consider themselves more Hindu than Buddhist, they have been distinguishing themselves as Hindus in accordance with the law (Hitchcock 2007, p.13). Since the 1960s this unique form of Hinduism has been the foundation of Balinese culture. The Balinese-Hindu belief system distinct itself from Hinduism in India, as it combines Hindu gods with Buddhist heroes and in addition engages in ancestor worship, animism and magic. Within their belief-system the Balinese distinct three interrelated worlds: the natural world, the human world and the spiritual world (Agung 2006, p.27-28, 70-71).



Graph 2: Schematic representation of traditional cosmology. Source: Agung 2006, p.71

My driver was eager to tell me anything about his religion and even told me his wife used to be involved in religious teachings. He started off by explaining the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, which appears to have great significance within the Balinese belief-system. The Tri Hita Karana is considered the philosophy of life and primarily revolves around the discourse of harmony in relation to traditional cosmology.

The Tri Hita Karana comprises three aphorisms:

- Berpikir yang baik
'Think good' ('Good thoughts')
- Berkata yang baik
'Do good'
- Berbuat yang baik
'Act good'

By following these rules the Balinese believe one is able to construct a balanced life. In addition, they also believe the Tri Hita Karana corresponds with karma in that 'by acting good, one will get good in return'. Within this belief-system the Balinese consider the island as the spiritual source of their human being. According to their beliefs, the Tri Hita Karana has been the reason the 2004 tsunami surpassed the island. Another important aspect within the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana is the aspect of '*Gotong Royong*', which stands for 'communal help' and encourages volunteerism. During a road trip I witnessed such a '*Gotong Royong*' when a group of people were closing a hole in the road. A good example of Tri Hita Karana is *Dewi Sri*, also known as the 'Goddess of the Fields'. Responsible for the harvest, many farmers believe that by maintaining a harmonious relationship with the Goddess and nature, she will provide them with prosperity in the fields (C)(D).

Similar as the Indonesian language, the study of religion is an important aspect in the Indonesian curriculum and made mandatory in the Indonesian school system. From a young age, children are taught the beliefs according to their religion, dealing with aspects such as god(s), morals and prayers (Yamashita, 2003, p.61-63).

As the majority of the migrants were primarily Javanese, the island welcomed a great influx of Muslims. The confluence went smoothly and the two religions managed to coexist. To maintain traditional Balinese-Hindu landscape, Muslim attempts to build mosques on the island have been frequently counteracted. To date there are only eight mosques on the island, all located in the south of Bali. The harmonious relationship between the two groups slightly changed after the Bali Bombings in 2002, as the attack was proclaimed by radical Muslims. The bombings put severe social pressures on the Muslims, as they were found guilty in the eyes of many Balinese (and if anything else, the world). The situation between the two religious groups however soon improved. From asking around I have learned that the Balinese do not wish to speak of the bombings, as it is still a sensitive topic. Every year thousands of Muslims leave the island for the annual *Idul Fitri*, celebrating the end of Ramadan.

There are no recent statistics on the division of religion in Bali, so the statistics shown below originate from Hitchcock's *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali* (2007) to give some indication.

Year	Hindu	Muslim	Buddhist	Protestant	Catholic	Total Population
2001	2,823,173	183,977	18,884	21,255	15,782	3,063,031

Table 5: *Bali's Religious Mix 2001*. Source: Hitchcock 2007, p.121

3. Literature

According to Putra, Indonesian literature is based on language use and can broadly be divided into two sections: national literature (national language) and regional literature (regional language) (2011, p.1). Balinese literature obviously falls in the second category and has been through a remarkable journey.

The Balinese literary world has been quite dynamic in the course of the 20th century, enduring most changes during Dutch colonialism in the first half of the century and during the process of globalization in the second half of the century. During Dutch colonialism, the Dutch implemented an ethical policy that was primarily aimed at improving the general welfare of its colonial subjects. Within this framework the Dutch i.a. established schools to provide their colonial subjects with 'proper education', which significantly meant teaching them according to Western thoughts and ideas (Picard 1997, p.20-21). Works produced during colonial time marked the beginning of 'modern Balinese literature'. There are some academics that widely contested the Dutch significance in the construction of modern Balinese literature. Creese asserts that 'Balinese modernity' has been created by Balinese authors, who travelled through Indonesia and came in touch with different forms of modernity (2007, p.726-727). Next, as Suharto was able to position Indonesia on the international market, the following influx of foreign influences had a major impact on Balinese literature, primarily discussing topics such as tourism, poverty and culture (Putra 2011, p. 39). Latter works have been essential in understanding the extraordinary changes taking place in Bali.

Western academic literature on Bali has been quite dynamic as well. Western literature deals with a variant of themes, however their main focus often remains tourism and culture. Authors such as Spies, Covarrubias and Vickers were of great value to Western-Balinese literature and their work is still very much used as reference in contemporary academic literature.

In my view, language and literature are in close interaction. As mentioned before, the use of the Balinese language has been very limited in contemporary Bali. Then again, traditional Balinese literature has been declining as well. Any existing works are often printed in limited amount and restrict these works to reach a wider audience. Throughout the 20th century Balinese newspapers, journals and magazines have the habit to appear and disappear from the scene. The main question remains: how will Balinese literature survive, as no one is able to speak or write the Balinese language anymore? Efforts to preserve the Balinese language (and its variants) have caught the attention from some non-governmental institutions such as Yayasan Mudra Swari Saraswati who is responsible for the annual Ubud Writers & Readers Festival.²⁰ Many Balinese authors have expressed their fear and hope to revive the Balinese literary world

4. Art

Before proceeding on this topic, it must be stated that art has a broad definition. With regard to this chapter I will define art as 'works produced by human creative skill and imagination'.²¹ Balinese art finds its origins in the Majapahit kingdom, which lasted from 1292 to around 1527, and was one of the last major empires in the Southeast Asian region. In contrast to contemporary Indonesia, which is highly Islamic, the kingdom was dominated by Hindu and Buddhist influences. The fall of the kingdom largely entailed the downfall of these influences as the former kingdom was taken over by the Islam. Bali however, managed to retain these Hindu and Buddhist

²⁰ Source: Ubud Writers & Readers Festival

²¹ Translation according to Oxford Dictionaries

influences (Yamashita 2003, p.28) (Picard 1996, p.17). The Balinese consider the Majapahit kingdom as the source of their culture and this is highly reflected in the classic Balinese art scene.

During the 20th century, Balinese art has been very much affected by Western influences. Three developments contributing significantly to the Balinese art scene were 1) the availability of imported paper, inks and paints, 2) the takeoff of tourism and 3) the arrival of foreigners and their new concepts of perspectives and general composition. Of key importance was the role of the German Walter Spies who came to the island in the late 1920s. As an artist himself he was largely responsible for the revival of Balinese culture, including its dance, music and art, and was entitled the 'producer of Bali' (Yamashita 2003, p.30). His years in Bali witnessed a 'virtual revolution' and primarily focused on European trends using contrasting colors and different themes. Through this process 'culture could be seen as an art-system' (Yamashita 2003, p.38).

During his glory days, Spies was responsible for guiding the local traditional artists towards the needs of the growing tourism market and enabled them to incorporate both modern and traditional elements and display their art to a wider public. The contribution of Spies to the Balinese art scene, and thus Balinese culture, was very much appreciated. Many other Western artists located on the island took him as inspiration and in the art scene, Bali soon became known as 'the islands of artists' (Picard 1996, p.31).

❖ Ubud: a day at the museum

Spending my day in Ubud I brought a visit to the Agung Rai Museum of Art (E)(F), which was officially opened in 1996 by Prof. Djojonegoro, former minister of Education and Culture. The museum is set in a beautiful natural scenery and is next to a museum also a center for performing and visual arts. The museum consists of several buildings and displays a wide collection of traditional and contemporary paintings. The owner Agung Rai is in possession of the largest collection of Spies' paintings in Bali and has a gallery solely devoted to the artist.

Ever since the rapid growth of the tourism industry, the needs of the Balinese art scene have been put in favor of the industry. Many local artists see a growing demand for modern Balinese art are subsequently producing for both the domestic and international market. The influx of tourism continues to nourish the idea of consumerism and reinforces competitiveness between artists. Efforts to revive traditional art have been made significant and many institutions involved in art have since contributed to 'the cultural renaissance' of Balinese art. One of these efforts has taken form in The Bali Arts Festival. The festival has been the annual peak of the year and organizes so-called 'art contests' (in music, dance or craft) for groups willing to represent their district (Yamashita 2003, p.46-48). Fun fact is that the co-founder of the foundation behind the Arts festival, Janet DeNeefe, the wife of a Balinese artist, was responsible for setting new international standards in Ubud and is now involved in events to revive Balinese culture (MacRae 2011, p.67).

1) *Balinese architecture*

In traditional given definition, architecture constitutes a section of art and can be subdivided in many themes. Balinese architecture has been very significant in shaping modern Balinese landscape in contemporary Bali. The Balinese style does not only adhere to modern trends and techniques, but also leans towards traditional elements. The growing tourism sector has stimulated and encouraged a combination of both to display Bali as a traditional island with modern touch. As for example, Kuta and Seminyak tend to display a more modern-day setting by accommodations such

as malls and large hotels (earning them the names of ‘Las Vegas’ and ‘Beverly Hills’), while Ubud tends to display a more traditional setting with little art shops and a market (earning the name of ‘cultural center of arts’).

❖ Batuan: visiting the temples

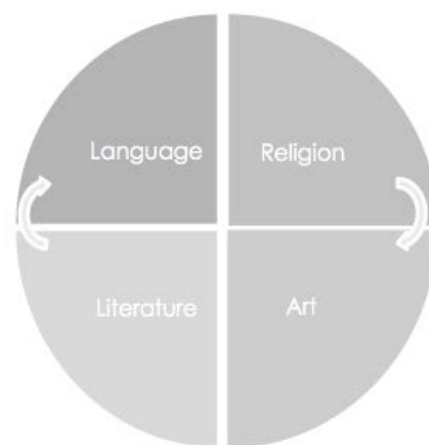
Religion architecture is one of those themes under Balinese architecture. In my view, religion and art interconnect, as religion is often the source of inspiration for many Balinese artists. My experience with Balinese architecture can best be described through my visit in Batuan. The latter has been home to two of the oldest and most precious temples of Bali and has so far not fallen in the hands of the tourism industry. The Batuan temples have contained their traditional elements and this is most visible at the front gates of the temple. The gates of the temple are split in two parts and lead to a courtyard (G). The front gate (*jabe sisi*) is accompanied by so-called gate guardians (*penyeng kepi*) often in black/white or white/red garment (*penyeng baran*) (H). Passing the front gate and the courtyard one will find the middle gate (*jabe tangah*) to find the main square (neutral zone), which is filled with statues and decorations. The gates are meant to push negative energy back before entering the neutral zone. Within or near these temples one will also find the *beringin*, a big rooted tree with spirit, dressed in the colors of *penyeng baran* or orange/yellow, which reflects the relationship with the sun (I).

3.3. Conclusion

The effects of tourism and thus globalization, have affected the island in many ways, which had immediate impact on environmental, cultural, social and economic aspects. At first, Bali could be described as being homogeneous, as it had its own religion, language, literature and art-style. Now, it seems Western intervention has influenced the island’s homogeneous character by touching upon its traditional elements to quite some extent. In addition, general effects have not been so pleasing as well. While analyzing the general and cultural effects, I noticed that these effects are interrelated and often propel one another (see graph 3 and 4).



Graph 3: *Interrelationship general effects*



Graph 4: *Interrelationship cultural effects*

First, with regard to general effects, it seems the impact of tourism has largely been of negative influence on Balinese society. Despite the contribution of the tourism industry to the island’s economy, the consequences on a social level are quite discouraging. Migration has fuelled inequality among the population and over time the development gap between social groups tends become bigger. While some are

able to enjoy the island's prosperity, others remain in rampant poverty. The consequences on an environmental level were quite discouraging as well. The influx of tourists and migrants has put pressure on infrastructure and in addition, boosted pollution.

Second, with regard to cultural effects, it seems tourism has largely been of negative influence on Balinese culture and society. Language and literature have been heavily affected by globalization and even art has been implementing many modern aspects. Religion seems to be the only strong aspect in the face of globalization. As it is most likely that the tourism industry will continue to grow, the provincial government should take serious effort to preserve its cultural heritage. The first step for them to take should be to adopt a strong and dedicated attitude towards the revival of Balinese culture. At the end, it appears both general and cultural effects have influenced Balinese society to quite some extent, more negatively than positively.



(A) Entrance *Pura Puseh*, Batuan



(B) Balinese writing at *Pura Puseh*, Batuan



(C) Rice field near Ubud



(D) Offering to *Dewi Sri* near Ubud



(E) Agung Rai Museum of Art, Ubud

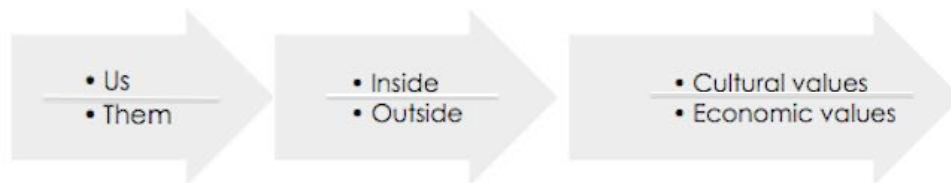


(F) Museum of Art, Ubud

4. Mutual Reinforcing Factors: Tourism and Balinese Culture

Tourism has managed to change the island in such a way one may question whether Balinese culture is actually threatened. Building on the previous chapter, which dealt with the effects of tourism on Balinese society, the last chapter will deal with the mutual interaction between tourism and culture: the way tourism has influenced Balinese culture and, more notable, in what way Balinese culture has influenced tourism. In the interaction between tourism and culture there seems to be a lot of compromising with culture adapting to tourism and vice versa. Key concepts within this framework are 'authenticity' and 'quality tourism'. What can be considered as 'authentic' and 'quality tourism' in contemporary Bali? To outline a general picture, four cities, two highly commercial cities Kuta and Seminyak²² and two cultural cities, Ubud and Batuan, have been selected to illustrate to what extent tourism has influenced these cities.

By doing so, I will use an interesting model of Picard where he describes the interaction between culture and tourism, using Orientalism as the medium in counterbalancing cultural values against economic values (Picard, 1996, p.123). In Picard's view, cultural values are often overruled by economic values.



Graph 5: *Us vs. Them*. Source: Picard 1996, p.123

4.1 Perceptions of 'authenticity'

'Balinization and Balineseness'

In the beginning of the 20th century the Dutch colonial regime became the center of discussion in international relations after a brutal intervention of the Dutch in attempt to conquer the southern kingdoms of Bali. The intervention became highly controversial as it was perceived as an unequal battle, where the Balinese with their traditional weapons did not stand a chance against the modern weapons of the Dutch. In addition, the intervention was characterized by the Balinese traditional ritual of *puputan*, which meant "fight to the death" (MacRae 2011, p.61). Rather than losing dignity many Balinese also killed themselves in the battle for which the Dutch were also blamed. Would there not be an intervention, the Dutch would not provoke the Balinese to perform the ritual.

The event received worldwide media coverage and subsequently put the Dutch under pressure. Acknowledging their accountability for destructing and disrupting the island's social structure the Dutch decided to make amends by 'restoring' Balinese culture. The latter was framed in the policy of 'Balinization' and was again highly controversial as restoration took place according to Western thoughts and ideas, essentially turning Balinese culture into an asset 'that could be served to Western tourists' (Yamashita 2003, p.33). Due to well preservation of historical heritage and 'traditional way' of living Bali functioned as a 'living museum' (Picard 1996, p.20-21).

²² Unfortunately no literature available on Seminyak or able to make any comparisons

Quite frankly, traditional Balinese culture already lost its authentic character during Dutch colonial regime before tourism hit the island. By selecting and promoting certain aspects of religion, customs and art, the Dutch created a 'modern' version of Balinese culture, turning the latter into a mere reflection of its 'original version'. As a result of the 'Balinization' policy many Balinese ended up having an identity crisis, caught in the modern and traditional version of their culture. Determined to re-construct their identities, the Balinese engaged in processes of cultural revival, which would enable them to find their 'Balineseness'. Despite their efforts, the 'cultural renaissance' in the late 1920s made the nexus between cultural and economic values clear. During this period many artists were guided towards the needs of the tourism industry, where they would often neglect traditional aspects. To set an example: the construction of 'traditional' dances and art techniques only came to being due to western intervention.

Quite contradictory, the Balinese could also be held responsible for the deterioration of their own traditional culture, as they were very open-minded people willing to adopt any new idea as described by Covarrubias in 1937, *"the Balinese still retain their traditions and hold on to their own manner of life, but they are only too willing to adopt every new idea, good or bad, brought into their island by merchants, tourists, unsuitable education and missionaries"* (Picard 1996, p.35). Even to date, the discourse of traditional Balinese culture has been disputed. Yamashita states, *"what seems to be traditional culture in the eyes of tourists in Bali is not an unbroken cultural tradition dating from ancient times. Instead it is a newly created traditional culture based on the contemporary plans and cultural policies of the Bali regional government, together with the national government of Indonesia"* (2003, p.52). I strongly agree to what Yamashita states and find that traditional culture has not been able to return to its original form as it has been in constant battle with regional (cultural values) and national government (economic values) planning.

To illustrate the nexus between cultural and economic values even further, I will give an example of the Kecak dance in Uluwatu.

❖ Enjoying 'traditional' dance in Ubud and Kuta

The Kecak dance, also known as the 'Fire Dance' or 'Monkey Dance', has been highly popularized since its construction and become a 'standard dance' offered to tourists. During fieldwork I brought a visit to the Kecak dance in Ubud and Uluwatu (near Kuta) and I was quite astonished to see to what extent the dance in Uluwatu has been commercialized. To make a comparison I have put the main differences in a table:

(1) Ubud	(2) Uluwatu (Kuta)
Setting: theatre (J)(K)	Setting: cliff bank with sunset view (L)
Crew: primarily old people	Crew: primarily young people
Entrance fee: 75.000 IDR	Entrance fee: 100.000 IDR, excluding 5000 IDR for parking and 15.000 IDR entrance fee for the temple (not possible to enter the show without paying for the temple)
Language: Bahasa Indonesia (except for introduction)	Language: Bahasa Indonesia and English
Distribution of flyers telling the story of the dance in Bahasa Indonesia and English	Distribution of flyers telling the story of the dance in Bahasa Indonesia, English, France, German, Dutch, Japanese, Chinese and Korean

No interaction with the crowd	Interaction with the crowd
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Table 6: Differences between Kecak Dance in Ubud and Uluwatu

In this particular example, Ubud seems to be holding on to traditional values (although set for tourism purposes) whereas Uluwatu seems to be heavily commercialized, nourishing the notion of turning culture into an asset. I have been told that people from the southern areas are more money-minded and that was definitely clear in how the organization continued to fill up the arena while it was obviously overcrowded. *A simple case of the more the merrier?*

❖ Ubud: a walk at the market

While heading for the market my driver asked me to which market I wanted to go. As I thought there was only one (and this was indeed so), my driver pointed out that the local people distinguish three parts: one for the locals, one for the western and one for the Russian (yet again, the emergence of the Russians shows). While there was only limited time I chose to go to the local and western market. The local market engaged in the selling of vegetables, fruit and such, while the western market was thoroughly aimed at the tourist. Arriving at this part of the market I stumbled across countless of artifacts, paintings, woodcraft and sculptures (M). However, you should not be surprised to find these collections of beautiful historical and ethnic artifacts next to modern-day merchandise such as jewelry, clothing and games. During my stroll I was not even a bit surprised to see paintings of Minions (characters from the animated Walt Disney movie 'Despicable Me') and Angry Birds (popular videogame). Also during this visit, it was quite clear the locals try to combine cultural and economic values by fusing traditional and modern elements.

4.2 Perceptions of 'quality tourism'

In the framework of mutual interaction between tourism and Balinese culture, 'quality tourism' is of key concern to keep standards high. In my perspective, 'quality tourism' can best be achieved through top-down and bottom-up processes. By approaching the concept from two perspectives, I believe both tourism and culture will be able to find a middle way to constitute, provide and sustain quality tourism.

Top-down

1. *The Politics of Tour Guiding*

During a road trip it struck me that my driver never entered a site or venue, even when I offered to pay for his entrance. He explained to me that in the past many drivers acted as tour guide, but did not possess the required documents to perform as one, and were now forbidden to enter any touristic attraction. Tour guiding has become a frequent topic for discussion in contemporary Indonesia, as many official tour guides have been competing with illegal ones. To guard traditional culture and provide 'quality tourism' it is most important for a tour guide to master the culture (Dahles 2002, p.784). After the rapid growth of the tourism sector, the discourse of 'quality tourism' was taken into question when many job seekers entered the field of tour guiding as way of earning quick money. This emerging group of 'tour guides' was seen as a threat and subsequently the government opted for more control (Dahles 2001, p.135).

Upon the initiative of Joop Ave, former Minister of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication, Indonesia formed a national Indonesian Tourist Guides Association 'to promote and ensure that tourist guides are recognized as the ambassadors of their country'.²³ Training programs were put up in which tour guides

²³ Source: Bali Tourism Board

were able to obtain a classification badge. The program distinct three badges (green, yellow and white) of which each badge differ on knowledge: basic core, general knowledge and specific knowledge²⁴. In addition, to ensure a high standard of guiding the government has turned to legislation where all guides in Indonesia are now required by law to be licensed. The formation of a national association was also a political strategy for Indonesia to join the World Federation of Tourist Guide Association (WFTGA) enabling the country to participate on another platform in international relations.

'Tour guiding politics' has been a problem since the early 1980s and despite government intervention, has been a problem ever since (Dahles 2001, p.137). Control on tour guiding have been intensified, but just as criminals, illegal tour guides continue to find a way to circumvent the law. In relation to this topic, a new trend has been found in the form of 'shadow travel agencies' who offer services from outside Bali and connect foreign tourists with unlicensed operators (Unknown, 16/12/2013). Another common circumvention is made by those foreign travel agencies in Bali (e.g. referring back to the Russians in chapter 2) who are not eligible to perform as tour guides themselves (it is forbidden by law for a foreign tourist guide to act as a tour guide in Indonesia) and closely work with illegal ones instead. Despite announcements for stricter control, many tourists continue to fall victim for these scammers due to lack of control.

2. *Autonomy*

During the policy of Balinization, the Dutch colonial administration urged for the protection and preservation of traditional Balinese culture. A consequence of the policy has been the implementation of a 'village structure' concept, which distinct two types of institutions on the village level: administrative (*dinas*) and customary (*adat*) villages. Main point of distinction can be found in the foundation of village legislation: while the customary villages deal with customs and traditions, the formal administrative villages deal with 'modern administration' (Schulte Nordholt 2008, p.27). It was not until the *Reformasi* period when the village structure got subjected to changes. Significant during this period was the process of decentralization of which the primary goal was 'to bring decision making closer to the people' (Schulte Nordholt 2008, p.1). *Reformasi* invoked a more liberal environment and subsequently promised less control from the capital while granting more to district governments. Reality seemed far off when only the administrative village was granted with more power, leaving the customary village in a subordinate position.

Today, the island counts 1.488 customary villages and 716 administrative villages. The customary villages have joined forces and established a Grand Council of Customary Villages (MUDP). In the face of globalization the Council has repeatedly insist on granting Bali a special autonomy status 'to preserve their cultural and natural resources' as many Balinese still consider the customary villages 'as the most powerful traditional institutions on the island' (Erviani, 05/02/2013 & 19/06/2014). The village structure might soon change as the flourishing tourism industry has given rise to a new type of village called the 'tourism village', which aims to encourage and stimulate sustainable tourism.

Bottom-up

1. *Everyday religious practices*

Walking around Bali, main tourist will probably be surprised by the number of offerings that can be found in the Balinese landscape. The handmade offerings, which are called *canang sari* (N), form a significant part of the Balinese-Hindu

²⁴ Source: World Federation of Tourist Guide Association, Area Report by Kandia Nyoman

religion and are a daily occasion. To my understanding the offerings are meant to look after people and places as a way of protection within the bigger picture of *Tri Hita Karana*. Due to the latter, placing such offerings takes place on a strategic basis and will enable the offering to get in 'direct contact' with the interrelated worlds of the humans, the spirits and the natural environment. By and large it is believed that 'a higher position' will provide easier access to god and it is for this reason that many temples are (slightly) build on higher grounds. The offerings can however often be found at the ground (to thank the environment) or on and near a shrine (to thank the gods, spirits, and ancestors). The most common places to find these offerings are in doorways and in front of houses, shops or restaurants, but also at important intersections (to prevent accidents) and the beach (to keep the sea calm). In general, I found it highly remarkable that these offerings were often put in places where they would most likely be run over.

The performing of rituals is at own choice and on voluntary basis and 'in the Hindu religion, people are allowed to choose the levels of the rituals – utama (foremost and elaborate rituals), madya (moderate) and nista (simplest), in accordance with their capability in terms of knowledge and finance' (Suriyani, 01/09/2012). Witnessing the daily rituals I often noticed only women partaking. From asking around, it appears that women have taken up the responsibility to supervise these daily rituals, primarily manifested in the care taking of the *canang saris*. Busier lifestyles are the reason why some women have undertaken a *canang sari* business, selling fresh *canang saris* at the morning market (O).

Next to the public community temple in the village, the Balinese also have a family temple at home. Religion constitutes an important part of their daily lives and many of the Balinese are still tied to the Balinese calendar year. On Balinese 'holidays' many Balinese return to their village to perform ceremonies with their relatives and others close to them. When it is not possible to put down work, many Balinese will often perform the ceremony at the workplace. During my visit, I was able to witness such a ceremony at my hotel in Kuta. While a part of the staff was busy making the *gebogan* (P), a decorated banana trunk, others were preparing the ceremony for the *beringin* in front of the hotel.

2. *Imposition of rules*

❖ Batuan: visiting the temples

During fieldwork I brought a visit to *Pura Puseh* and *Pura Desa* in Batuan (the same temples as described in chapter 3) build around 949 AD. Before entering the temple, guests have the opportunity to donate and write down their names in the guestbook (Q). Every six months the temple closes its doors for their bi-annual ceremony to honor the gods, spirits and ancestors. Due to its traditional character the temple does not charge any entrance fee ('asking' for money is a sin and is not in line with the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*) and is primarily dependent on donations given by tourists. It is said that by writing down your name in the guestbook and donating money the Balinese will take you with them in their prayers. Before entering the temple it is mandatory to wear proper clothing (R). The temple provides *sarongs* and any person entering is obligated to wear the *sarong* until departure. The temple tour guides wear a different *sarong* to distinct them from i.a. tourists and drivers. In addition, tourists are forbidden to enter the temple during ceremonies. Some villages have opened up their ceremonies to tourists (often a way for gaining money), but there are some who consider ceremonies as a holy occasion, which are only accessible for the community. Again, it seems quite apparent some villages attach more value to economic aspects than cultural aspects by imposing a different set of rules with regard to i.a. entrance fee, dress requirements and ceremonies.

4.3 Conclusion

The mutual interaction between tourism and culture has been very dynamic. I consider the 'authenticity' of Balinese culture is not at danger as Balinese culture has already lost the majority of its authentic character during Dutch colonial administration. Over the years Balinese culture has been subject to many changes, to development plans if not cultural policies, and step-by-step authenticity is being exposed to degradation. Today, Balinese culture has become highly commercialized and commoditized, turning its unique culture into an asset for the tourism industry.

An attempt to save traditional Balinese culture can be found in the implementation of the 'village structure'. By acknowledging institutions on a traditional and modern level, the national government seems willing to distribute power and control equally on the village level. Unfortunately, the formal administrative village continues to hold power, putting the customary village in a subordinate position and pretty much powerless. In general, the national government seems highly ambiguous in measuring with two standards. To my opinion, Balinese culture is most likely 'to survive' when efforts come from both bottom-up and top-down practices. While the provincial government fulfills a tremendous role in safeguarding Balinese culture through *adat*, the most important role lies with the Balinese people themselves, as they are the most profound performers of their culture.

In popular media it is often proclaimed that local culture in Bali is seen as the key to sustain tourism attraction and should therefore be protected and preserved. To balance the outcomes of culture and tourism the provincial government has framed these mutual reinforcing factors in a policy of 'cultural tourism', where both elements are considered to act as beneficiaries of one another. However, looking at the model of Picard and the given examples during field study, it seems apparent that economic values tend to overrule cultural values to quite some extent. Both perceptions of 'authenticity' and 'quality tourism' are therefore disputed. Able to witness and experience many cultural activities, I am convinced that if both groups adhere more to cultural values, traditional culture and heritage are most likely to survive on the long-term.



(G) Courtyard Batuan Temple



(H) Entrance Batuan Temple



(I) Ceremony for *Beringin*, Kuta



(J) Theatre, Ubud



(K) Kecak Dance, Ubud



(L) Kecak Dance, Uluwatu (Kuta)



(M) Artshop, Ubud



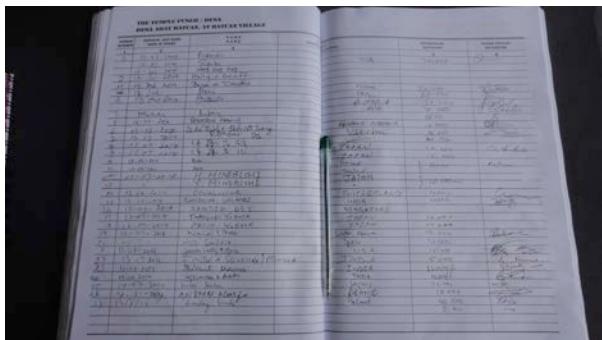
(N) Canang Sari, Batuan



(O) Morning market Ubud



(P) Gebogan, Kuta



(Q) Guestbook, Batuan Temple



(R) Dress requirements, Batuan Temple

5. Conclusion

Following the history of tourism development in Bali it seems most likely tourism in Bali will continue to grow. From the 70s onwards the tourism industry managed to become the economic backbone of the economy, surpassing the agricultural sector, and is bound to play an important role in the future. Tourism is big business and eventually evolving into mass tourism comes with fear of overshadowing Bali's history and traditional culture. There were talks about cultural degradation and cultural pollution, implying mass tourism would lead to less cultural diversity and transforming the island into an asset in the needs of the tourism industry. To prevent such happening, a solution was found in the policy of 'cultural tourism' primarily meant to distinguish tourism and culture and how to make them beneficial towards each other. Over the years economic and cultural values were in interplay, but it was often the economic values that predominate. The policy seems debatable as its content continuously seems to be adjusted in favor of tourism.

The advent of tourism has put pressure on the island in several ways, subdivided in general and cultural effects. These effects afterwards seemed more severe and could not be more a scream for help in any form.

To debate whether contemporary Balinese culture is threatened Bali, one should look at the key elements of 'authenticity' and 'quality tourism'. Authenticity refers to the 'untouched' and is often linked to 'the traditional way'. In the case of Bali, the notion of authenticity has been debatable since Dutch colonial rule, since the Dutch were responsible for adjusting and adapting certain aspects of culture in the process of 'Balinization'. The introduction of a new set of values was in conflict with the traditional ones and the Balinese became caught in the traditional and modern version of their culture, many questioning their identity. The open culture of the Balinese was also considered a problem, as they were willing to incorporate every outside idea, whether good or bad. In course of the latter, foreign influences were highly significant in contributing to the revival of Balinese culture in effort to reinforce certain elements of dance, art and literature. Simultaneously, tourism started to take form and many aspects of Balinese culture were guided towards the needs of tourism, leading to a merge of traditional and modern elements.

As the cornerstone in Indonesia's tourism developmental framework, Bali has managed to transform itself into a prominent international tourist destination. In the face of globalization, the provincial government has the responsibility to protect and preserve Balinese culture. Often in conflict with the national government for putting economic values above cultural values, the provincial administration has continuously pleaded for a special autonomy status to protect traditional Balinese culture. Indeed, the decentralization process after 1998 has led to more regional freedom, but the provincial administration is still very much in control of the state. The existence of customary villages (based on customs and tradition) and administration villages (formal government defined village) helps to keep Balinese society and culture in check by separating traditional institutions from modern day administrative institutions. The proposition of the 'Village Law' stipulating 'that the regional administration must only register one form of village to be acknowledged as the official village in the state structure' has made the situation slightly more difficult, implying that both administrative and customary villages will fall within more control of the national government (Erviani, 26/07/2014). The back and forth pulling of the government on a national and provincial level has been going on for years, but the autonomy Bali has been waiting for might never happen. On a provincial level efforts have been taken to revive Balinese culture through art contests, festivals, workshops and programs.

From the bottom-up the Balinese are still very much tied to their culture and try anything in their power to keep Balinese customs and traditions alive. The latter, mainly manifest itself in everyday religious practices in the form of the *canang sari* offerings. Furthermore, many Balinese take (a) day(s) off during Balinese holidays and close their business to return to their village. It is quite remarkable to see how the Balinese express their utmost respect towards their traditions in a highly modern becoming world. Although many Balinese worry about the future and their place in it, it seems that tourism is very much needed in contemporary Bali, just not out of control. Bali's open-minded culture should not be mistaken for its own downfall, as globalization would confiscate the island in some way anyway. It is rather the way the island deals with the incentives of globalization, mainly brought to the island through global tourism. Tourism development should not lead to overdevelopment; leaning towards the needs of the tourism industry and therefore neglecting society's welfare. In the framework of cultural tourism one should try to find a solution for tourism and culture to coexist.

Yes, tourism has indeed affected Balinese cultural diversity, transforming Balinese culture in an asset for the tourism industry, but it has also led to more creativity in stimulating and encouraging Balinese culture. As Yamashita asserts 'tourism in Bali has stimulated traditional culture, and has also acted as a stimulant in the creation of a new culture' (2003, p.36). Many cultural activities managed to keep their traditional originality, but have been adjusted to contemporary conditions. The Balinese have found a perfect way to blend culture with tourism and their ability to keep their culture alive is often underestimated by many anthropologists. If Bali wants to preserve their cultural diversity and simultaneously enjoy the benefits of tourism, one should first recognize the problem to solve the problem and maybe in this way Bali can have the best of both worlds.



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Appendices

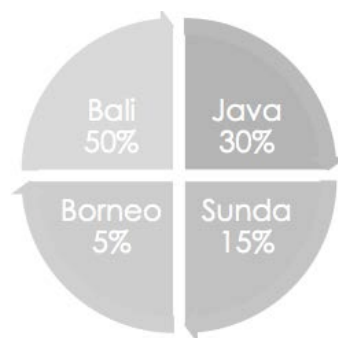
Appendix I

Questions
1. Are you from Balinese origin? Apakah Anda berasal dari Bali?
2. Has tourism changed Bali? Apakah turisme telah merubah Bali?
3. If yes, in what ways? Jika benar, dengan jalan apa?
4. What is according to you the biggest change? Perubahan apa menurut anda yang paling besar?
5. Do you think tourism has affected the Balinese culture? Apakah menurut kamu turisme berpengaruh pada budaya bali?
6. Do you think the government should intervene? Apakah menurut kamu pemerintah harus ikut terlibat?

Table 1: Interview questions

Information Data Interviewees		
Name	From	Profession
Abdul Kalim	Mojokerto (East Java)	Shop owner (clothing)
Antet Sanjaya	Bandung (West Java)	Surf teacher
Ganif Saputra	Semarang (Central Java)	Security guard
Hadi Wiyono	Banyuwangi (East Java)	Servant
Ketut Sukadana	Den Pasar (Bali)	Housekeeping
Lidya Romihila	Sumba (East Nusa Tenggara)	Receptionist
Maria Milang	Flores (East Nusa Tenggara)	Shop owner (clothing)
Nengah Dani	Singaraja (Bali)	Masseuse
Nengah Restiti	Den Pasar (Bali)	Shop owner (laundry)
Nyoman Duarsa	Den Pasar (Bali)	Housekeeping
Nyoman Widiani	Den Pasar (Bali)	Driver
Nyoman Wisna	Badung (Bali)	Servant
Putu Eka	Tabanan (Bali)	Housekeeping
Putu Ngurah	Tabanan (Bali)	Driver
Roni Siokan	Kupang (East Nusa Tenggara)	Security guard
Sitomi	Solo (Central Java)	'Beach boy'
Usman	Malang (East-Java)	'Beach boy'
Wayan Edi Juliana	Tabanan (Bali)	Security guard
Wayan Suwarna	Badung (Bali)	Shop owner (clothing)
Wiwid Soemantri	Pontianak (West Borneo)	Receptionist

Table 2: Information Data Interviewees



Graph 1: Pie chart origin interviewees

Results

Upon asking to participate in the interview, many were willing to cooperate. From the interview it appears that the majority of the interviewees come from Bali, followed by Java and the Lesser Sunda Islands. In addition, all of the interviewees moved to the greater urban areas of Bali to find a job and are now employed in the tourism sector.

First of all, all of them agreed that tourism has changed Bali. Besides the Balinese, many have lived here for years and seen the island change throughout the years. Changes were considered necessary to keep up with the needs of the tourism industry. One of the interviewees found the construction in the near area of Kuta quite extravagant. Ketut Sukadana (housekeeping) said that many hotels, restaurants and shops had to close their doors due to fierce competition, only to build new ones instead. He made it quite clear that the availability of (new) land continues to be geared towards the tourism industry. From own observation, I can quite agree with him on this. Walking at Jalan Legian, the main street of Kuta, I was quite astonished by the arrival of a large number of new accommodations in just three years time. *Was all of this indeed necessary?* The site now seems overcrowded than ever before. In addition, the interviewees mentioned the increase of migrants to the island, the changing composition of the population and how they have lived in harmony after many years. Upon asking about the bombings, many became reluctant and wished not to speak of the matter (*politely laughing it off*). My acquaintance Wiwid Soemantri (receptionist) later explained to me that the bombings were still a sensitive topic among the Balinese residents. According to Putu Ngurah (driver) the arrival of migrants have also tightened the competition among drivers.

Second, upon asking if there were any cultural changes due to tourism I could immediately distinguish two groups: the Balinese and the non-Balinese. The former were more inclined to recount in detail, as they were the ones most affected, while the latter were more modest, as they were the ones least affected. The Balinese felt tourism has put pressure on cultural aspects, often referring to the use of temples for tourism purposes. However, none of the Balinese did encounter any problems here as most of them lived outside the tourist areas and only performed ceremonies at the community temple or family temple. In addition, many Balinese stated they took the day off on Balinese holidays. Upon asking non-Balinese the same question, the majority merely mentioned the increasing use of religious sites (such as temples, caves and buildings) as tourist attractions. From their answers, I could conclude that both Balinese and non-Balinese mainly link culture with religion. Upon asking if the Balinese felt restricted in performing their daily rituals, many stated that religion has always been strong among the Balinese and they were still able to perform their rituals and ceremonies. Taking that as a no, I turned to my acquaintance/driver Nyoman Widiana (driver) who clarified the situation. He explained the Balinese live in accordance of the *Tri Hita Karana*, the life philosophy of the Hindu culture, which would enable them to perform their religious daily occasions.

Third, upon asking if the government should intervene many said yes. The interviewees mentioned the unique culture to be the main attraction of the island and find it the task of government to guard Balinese culture. Wayan Edi Juliana (security guard) told me they have no problems with Muslims coming to the island, as long as they respect each other's religion. Quite remarkably, in the past the Balinese have requested the prohibition to construct any more mosques, in order to preserve traditional Balinese landscape. Wayan also said the proposition was indirectly a way of coming back to the Muslims, as the latter often forbid the construction of Balinese temples in Jakarta.

From the interview I could conclude that the interviewees were very sober in thinking, primarily in perspective how tourism has affected the island. I guess the residents having lived in Bali for many years, actually witnessing and observing the changes from up close might experience these changes differently. Tourism has been increasing and yes, the environment is changing for better or worse, but it is –looking at status quo- something that would happen anyway. As long they can live their lives (and everything that comes along with it) they seem to be fine.

Appendix II

Cities of Fieldwork

Commercial cities

	Kuta	Seminyak ²⁵
Nickname	'Surfers Paradise'/'Las Vegas'	'Beverly Hills'
Regency/District	Badung – Kuta District	Badung – Kuta District
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Shopping paradise- Surf Hotspot- Nightlife Entertainment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Luxury accommodations- Mixed Tourist/Residential Area- Expats

Cultural cities

	Batuan	Ubud
Nickname	'Village of Fat Buddha'	'Cultural Center of Arts'
Regency/District	Gianyar – Sukawati District	Gianyar – Ubud District
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Artwork- Traditional Dance- Temples	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Natural Environment- Traditional Dance- Royal Palace

Table 3: Cities of Fieldwork

²⁵ Unfortunately no literature available on Seminyak or able to make any comparisons

Appendix III

Number of Foreign Visitors to Indonesia and Revenues 1969-1996

Year	Number of Visitors	% Growth	Revenues (in US\$ mln.)	% Growth
1968	52.400	-	-	-
1969	86.100	64.00	10.80	-
1970	129.319	50.20	16.20	50.00
1971	178.781	38.25	22.60	39.51
1972	221.195	23.72	27.60	22.12
1973	270.303	22.20	33.80	48.19
1974	313.452	15.96	54.40	33.00
1975	366.293	16.86	62.30	14.52
1976	401.237	9.54	70.60	13.32
1977	433.393	8.01	81.30	15.16
1978	468.614	8.10	94.30	15.99
1979	501.430	7.00	188.00	99.36
1980	561.170	11.92	289.00	53.72
1981	600.151	6.94	309.10	6.96
1982	592.046	-1.35	358.80	16.08
1983	638.855	7.91	439.50	22.49
1984	700.910	9.71	519.70	18.25
1985	749.351	6.91	325.30	1.08
1986	825.035	10.10	590.50	12.41
1987	1.060.347	28.52	954.30	41.86
1988	1.326.800	22.70	1.060.80	22.69
1989	1.625.965	24.97	1.284.00	24.98
1990	2.177.466	33.92	2.105.30	63.89
1991	2.964.000	18.02	2.522.00	19.80
1992	3.205.000	19.23	3.278.20	29.98
1993	3.403.138	11.06	3.987.60	21.64
1994	4.006.312	17.72	4.785.30	20.00
1995	4.324.229	7.94	5.228.30	9.26
1996	5.034.472	-	-	--

Table 4: Number of Foreign Visitors to Indonesia and Revenues 1969-1996. Source: Dahles 2001, p. 235

ASEAN Tourist Arrivals (in thousands of visitors)

	1980	1985	1990	1993
Indonesia	500	700	2,100	3,400
Malaysia	2,200	2,900	6,100	6,300
Philippines	1,000	800	1,200	1,400
Singapore	2,600	3,000	5,300	6,400
Thailand	1,900	2,500	5,300	5,500
ASEAN	8,200	9,900	20,000	23,000

Table 5: ASEAN Tourist Arrivals (in thousands of visitors). Source: Picard 1996, p.50

Appendix IV

Progress of International Visitor by Nationality from 2006-2010

NATIONALITY	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Brunei Darussalam	11,154	11,594	10,536	13,668	35,874
Malaysia	699,124	799,990	1,009,722	1,041,053	1,171,737
Philippines	187,711	192,868	195,675	196,429	171,181
Singapore	1,164,082	1,160,200	1,197,267	1,138,071	1,206,360
Thailand	66,864	71,753	66,012	93,381	111,645
Vietnam	17,154	16,392	19,710	20,785	24,929
Myanmar	20,538	14,413	17,487	18,128	15,582
Lao PDR	826	956	786	969	1,932
Cambodia	4,098	1,987	1,959	1,975	5,265
Hong Kong	72,033	63,774	58,260	63,801	73,658
I n d i a	94,258	123,465	155,391	156,545	159,373
Japan	432,989	517,356	559,888	488,320	416,151
South Korea	298,228	337,246	331,409	260,314	296,060
Pakistan	7,101	6,822	7,273	5,880	5,772
Bangladesh	7,407	6,390	6,155	6,347	5,557
Sri Lanka	8,309	6,591	6,774	6,715	6,195
T a i w a n	226,611	218,268	218,146	204,794	214,192
C h i n a	182,341	269,216	354,641	444,598	511,188
Orther Asia	63,544	184,915	202,808	142,951	274,881
TOTAL ASIA	3,564,372	4,004,196	4,419,899	4,304,724	4,707,532
Saudi Arabia	27,821	32,164	42,647	73,000	94,440
Bahrain	213	615	891	746	832
Kuwait	3,717	2,567	2,160	5,875	2,729
Egypt	2,493	2,616	3,744	3,316	3,650
Uni Arab Emirates	2,442	1,889	2,960	3,871	4,970
Yaman	4,995	4,324	3,831	3,522	5,597
Qatar	1,440	823	1,155	6,579	5,076
Other Middle East	8,358	12,034	16,003	17,026	25,708
TOTAL MIDDLE EAST	51,479	57,032	73,391	113,935	143,002
Austria	16,692	16,275	16,855	17,399	16,889
Belgium	21,869	20,567	22,854	25,781	24,493
Denmark	12,382	13,909	18,434	20,062	17,565
France	108,697	114,094	129,446	165,656	160,913
Germany	106,916	111,512	142,767	133,032	144,411
Italia	40,992	39,135	40,006	38,028	39,211
Netherland	93,147	111,882	141,202	154,932	158,957
Spain	29,325	28,738	30,278	28,200	30,574
Portugese	10,303	12,222	11,368	11,331	11,629
Sweden	20,478	20,821	21,806	22,166	24,603
Switzerland	31,920	30,425	34,024	39,510	35,334
UK	137,655	148,756	184,604	183,262	192,335
Finland	9,397	8,517	9,819	15,591	11,566
Norway	14,121	14,799	16,468	16,261	16,226
Other West Europe	49,341	37,472	22,956	12,243	18,020
Russia	43,167	51,687	74,483	77,018	83,836
Other East Europe	35,658	62,888	72,484	67,933	61,981
TOTAL EUROPE	782,060	843,699	989,854	1,028,405	1,048,543

USA	129,152	138,266	174,547	165,098	177,677
Canada	43,077	40,466	45,408	43,948	48,349
Central America	10,889	22,757	9,618	4,587	881
South America	12,920	19,241	20,395	24,037	21,364
Other America	-	-	-	-	7,194
TOTAL AMERICA	196,038	220,730	249,968	237,670	255,465
Australia	208,205	287,103	418,899	571,541	769,585
New Zealand	31,508	39,635	36,291	37,704	45,335
Other Oceania	9,790	17,877	13,114	3,114	4,890
TOTAL OCEANIA	249,503	344,615	468,304	612,359	819,810
South Africa	11,632	13,888	14,958	12,999	14,287
Other Africa	16,267	21,599	18,123	13,638	14,305
TOTAL AFRICA	27,899	35,487	33,081	26,637	28,592
TOTAL	4,871,351	5,505,759	6,234,497	6,323,730	7,002,944

Table 6: *Progress of International Visitor by Nationality, Year 2006-2010*. Source: Bali Tourism Board