

GLOBAL PROCESS AND THE SEARCH OF IDENTITY: A NOTE ON CULTURAL TOURISM IN BALI*

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IKHTISAR

Turisme telah menjadi penopang ekonomi di Bali. Dan ia juga telah menjadi penggerak utama perubahan sosial selama beberapa dekade ini. Turisme telah menjadi bagian dari kehidupan di kebudayaan Bali. Di samping dampak terhadap ekonomi, peneliti-peneliti lain telah membuktikan bahwa turisme membawa dampak pada penduduk setempat, antara lain komodisasi seni dan dampak budaya lain; prafarisasi sangsi agama, upacara-upacara keagamaan atau objek keagamaan, efek konsumsi, pelacuran, tindak kejahatan, pengguna obat terlarang dan sebagainya. Namun demikian, penulis mengamati sisi lain yaitu keberagaman pada orang Bali malah semakin meningkat pada masa terakhir ini. Dengan semakin meningkatnya terhadap turisme, maka memperkuat rasa "kebalian" orang Bali.

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism, particularly international tourism, has become one of the primary world economic activities and is growing world-wide with a constantly high rate of growth. International tourism has recorded a steady growth since the 1960s. In 1950, the total number of international tourists was only 25 million, while in 1995 it was calculated to reach 567.4 millions, an increase over 22 times in a period of 45 years. It is projected that the growth will sustain at the rate of 4.1 per cent per annum until the year 2010. This means, in the year 2000, there will be 702 million international tourists, and in 2010 the figure will become 1,018 million (Table 1). The high growth rate of tourist results also in the high growth rate of tourism income enjoyed by the receiving countries. In 1995, the total receipts, excluding airfare, was US\$ 372.6 billion, and it is estimated that the figure will become 621 billion and 1.5 trillion in the year of 2000 and 2010 respectively (WTO 1996). This development trend, augmented by the development of world economy, world peace, and international cooperation, led the WTO to estimate that by the year 2000 -- only four years to go -- tourism will become a first world industry and a first driving force in global development.

Table 1.
International Arrivals in 1995 and Forecasting for the Year of 2000
and 2010 by Region (in Millions)

Region	1995	2000	2010	Average Annual growth Rate (1990-2010)
Europe	337.2	397	525	3.1
East Asia/Pacific	84.0	122	229	7.6
Americas	111.9	138	195	3.7
Africa	18.7	25	37	4.6
Middle East	11.1	14	21	4.9
South Asia	4.4	6	11	6.7
World	567.4	702	1,018	4.1

Source: WTO (1996).

International tourism forces the local people and their culture to 'go international,' hand in hand with the globalisation of economy. Through the process of global integration, those people who previously remained behind their frontier are now invited to be part of the great multi-cultural world. They are "salvaged, recast in the forges of development and thrust on to the world stage, and ... become tourist societies" (Lanfant, Allock et al. 1995:ix).

One of the general theme of debates in tourism development is its negative impact on local societies. It is widely believed that tourism is very potent in bringing about social disruption, associated with the use of tradition as tourist attraction. This is more so when the type of tourism developed is the so-called cultural tourism -- such as that of Bali's. In this case, the host communities are squeezed between two opposing forces, that on one hand they have to maintain their tradition as viable and marketable commodity, while on the other hand the consumption of the tradition itself by foreign tourists means opening the tradition to the modern world (Williams 1995 ; Crick 1989; Francillon 1977; Picard 1990).

The internationalization or globalisation of culture leads one to question the identity of the local societies. It is widely acknowledged that "transformations of self-identity and globalisation ... are two poles of the dialectic of the local and the global in conditions of high-modernity" (Giddens 1991: 32). There has been a widely accepted assumption that global contact would lead to the fact that "the most firmly anchored identities are weakened, torn from their moorings and broken up, ... tradition and memory are misplaced" (Lanfant 1995: 8).

As the only Hindu society in the ocean of Islam, and has been in intensive contact with international tourism for quite a long time, there is no question that Balinese culture has been internationalized. As a logical consequence, Balinese identity is constantly put to the test.

TOURISM IN BALI

Tourism in Bali has a long history. At least it can be traced back to the 1920s, when the Dutch company, the KPM (*Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschappij*) regularly sailed connecting Batavia, Makassar, Surabaya, and Bali. In fact, the effort to bring tourist to visit Bali had been launched once Bali was fully controlled by the Dutch colonial government (1908).¹ In 1913 --only 5 years after the defeat of Bali-- the Dutch tourism office in Jakarta (*VTV, Vereeniging Toeristen Verkeer*) issued a tourist-guide-book which included Bali. Since then, Bali was mentioned nearly in every tourism publication concerning Indonesia, promoted as 'the enchanted island,' 'the natural paradise,' 'the blessed island,' 'the lotus island,' 'the island of gods,' 'the land of art and religion,' 'the island of temples and dances,' etc. (Hanna 1976; Vickers 1989; Lansing 1995).² By 1930, the KPM had been able to unload 100 tourists per month in Bali, and in 1940 this figure became 250.

The development was however stagnant due to the war (WW II) and the following world economic depression. After the independence, the Indonesian government was still unable to soon restore the

¹ Willard Hanna (1976) even argues that the first tourist came to Bali, named Heer van Kol, arrived in Bali on 4 July 1902. He was considered a 'tourist' because his visit to Bali had nothing to do with job or economic purposes, but merely for enjoyment.

² The image of Bali as a paradise, which later became the magnet to attract tourists, cannot be detached from the Dutch effort, augmented by several academic publications such as Friederich's (1849) *Culture and Civilization of Bali*; Gregor Krause's (1920) *Bali in 1912*; Covarrubias' (1937) *Island of Bali*; Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead's articles in *The Yale Review* (1940) and *The American Scholar* (1942), and others. Bali was also promoted and 'advertised' by Walter Spies, Rudolf Bonnet, Le Mayeur, Vicki Baum, Hickman Powell, and lots more. Equally important was also the first films on Bali (1926-27), *Cremation*, *Sang Hyang* and *Kecak Dance*, and *Calonarang* (Vickers 1989).

development of Balinese tourism. This failure was associated with several factors, such as the lack of tourism facilities, domestic problems, the independence war with NICA, world security, and world economy.

As a matter of fact, the Soekarno's government realized that tourism should be the primary economic activities for Bali because, in the lack of natural resources such as mines and forest, Bali has 'everything' to attract tourists, ie. the 'multiple S': scenery, sun, sea, [white] sand, and socio-cultural uniqueness. To develop tourism, the government constructed the first international hotel, the *Bali Beach* (1964) and rehabilitated the *Ngurah Rai* airport. Nevertheless, the development of tourism was very slow, associated with the internal stability and security. This was augmented by the 'anti-Western' politics of Soekarno -- while the sources of tourists were mostly Western countries. The worst situation was experienced in the 1960s, particularly during the 1965 political turmoil. The number of tourists visiting Bali decreased from 35,915 in 1964 to 29,367 in 1965 (a decrease of 18,25%), and became 19,311 in 1966, another decrease of 34.25% (Pallaco 1971).

The New Order switched the political orientation 180 degrees, from anti-Western to pro-Western, and employed the open door policy for foreign capital -- in contrast to the self-reliance concept of Soekarno's era. Tourism development gained its high position in the Indonesian five-year development plan, particularly in the case of Bali. There was even a plan to use Bali as a 'showcase' of Indonesian tourism development, in the sense that Bali would be used for image making of Indonesian tourism. To do so, the government of Indonesia invited an expert team to give recommendations for tourism development for Bali in 1969. The team came up with a recommendation that a tourism master plan must be made for Bali. Following this recommendation, a master plan was made in 1971.³

³ This project was jointly funded by IBRD, UNDP, and the government of Indonesia, and the planning was carried out by a France consulting firm, SCETO. The master plan, which was ratified in 1972 by a presidential decree, suggested that the type of tourism resort that should be developed

Table 2
The Number of Direct Arrivals in Bali

Year	Number of direct arrivals	Annual growth	Growth by PELITA
1969	11.278		
1970	24.340	115.8	
1971	34.313	41.0	Pelita I: 52.1%
1972	47.004	37.0	
1973	53.803	14.5	
1974	57.456	0.6	
1975	75.790	31.9	Pelita II: 21.2%
1976	115.220	52.0	
1977	119.095	3.4	
1978	133.225	11.9	
1979	120.084	-9.8	Pelita III: 5.6%
1980	146.644	22.1	
1981	158.926	8.4	
1982	152.364	-4.1	
1983	170.505	11.9	
1984	189.460	11.1	Pelita IV: 16.3%
1985	211.244	11.5	
1986	243.354	15.2	
1987	309.294	17.1	
1988	360.415	16.5	
1989	436.358	21.1	Pelita V: 19.9%
1990	490.729	12.5	
1991	555.939	13.3	
1992	738.533	32.8	
1993	885.516	19.9	

Source: Bappeda Bali (1994), BPS (various issues), and Diparda (1995).

in Bali was 'enclave tourist resort', to minimize the direct contact between tourists and the local societies, and hence -- it was meant -- to minimize the 'negative impact' of tourism on Balinese culture. This concept produced the establishment of a high-class enclave resort, the *Nusa Dua Resort*.

By the development of tourism facilities, added by several other factors -- such as the betterment of the world economy, political stability, and the development of air transport system -- the number of tourists visiting Bali increases continuously, as can be seen from the direct arrivals (Table 2).⁴

Table 3.
Accommodation Facilities in Bali

Year	Starred Hotel (<i>Bintang</i>)		Nonstarred- Hotel (<i>Melati</i>)		Homestay (<i>Pondok Wisata</i>)		Total	
	Unit	Room	Unit	Room	Unit	Room	Unit	Room
1985	30	3729	201	4174	361	2322	592	10225
1986	33	4115	216	4571	370	2380	619	11066
1987	33	4670	215	4740	375	2413	622	11823
1988	33	4758	393	6471	209	926	635	12155
1989	33	4785	427	7103	216	957	676	12845
1990	45	6586	475	9883	377	1663	857	18134
1991	64	11056	608	11236	348	1481	1020	24223
1992	73	12183	657	11671	435	1790	1165	25644
1993	81	12360	680	12247	471	1956	1232	26563
1994	88	14004	722	13000	498	2073	1308	29077

Source: Diparda Bali (1995).

⁴ Aside from the direct arrivals -- the visitors directly come to Bali from abroad-- there are also indirect arrivals, who come to Bali through other airports or seaports (Jakarta, Medan, Biak, etc.). It is very difficult to get data on the indirect arrivals because their entrance is not recorded by the local immigration office. A rough estimate claims that the indirect arrivals would be of no much less than the direct ones. The data on 'tourist' arrivals must be taken with care, because all foreigners disembarking in Bali are considered 'tourists,' regardless whether they are executives, businessmen, diplomats, etc. Nonetheless, since these kinds of visitors are relatively small in number, the figure would represent the trend of tourist direct arrivals. Furthermore, whatever their motivation in visiting Bali, they are to some extent similar to 'tourists' for they would invariably 'consume' Balinese culture.

The continuous growth of tourism in Bali has resulted in the increasing role of the sector in the economy of Bali. For the last two decades or so, tourism has become a generator and motor of economic development, as well as one of the prime movers in social change (Erawan 1993; Nehen 1994; Pitana 1992). Tourism had led the economy of the island to grow constantly high, ie. 7.32%, 7.28%, 13.1%, 8.6%, and 8.8% respectively in the period of Pelita I, II, III, IV, and V (Bappeda Bali 1994). Statistical data also show that the number of labour absorbed in the sector continuously increasing, both in absolute and in relative terms. Labour absorption in associated activities, such as trade, hotel, and crafts increased from 23.76% in 1971 to 34.34% in 1990. The sharp increase of labour absorption in activities related to tourism, particularly accommodation, is very apparent with the sharp increasing number of hotel rooms in Bali for the last decade (Table 3).

The type of tourism developed in Bali is loosely known as cultural tourism,⁵ to say that the main 'capital' to attract tourists is Balinese culture. Apparently, Balinese culture is put in a paradoxical sense, that tourists can 'consume' aspects of Balinese culture --dances, cultural heritage, and the daily life of the Balinese-- but at the same time tourism should conserve the culture. This idea was adopted by the provincial government through the provincial regulation No. 3/1974 (and ratified to become No.3/1991). The regulation states that tourism development in Bali is based on Balinese culture, itself is based on Hindu religion. Relationship between tourism and Balinese culture should be mutualistic, so that both would increase in harmony, balance, and suit to each other, or what is known as 'interactive-dynamic-progressive' relationship. The motto put forward is "tourism for Bali," and not "Bali for tourism."

⁵ For typology of tourism, see Smith (1977), Cohen (1972, 1984), and Wall (1993).

BALINESE IDENTITY: A Continuity in Changes Revitalization of Dying Arts

Despite of economic benefit they enjoy, Balinese are evidently at present under the pressure of their success in tourism development. Many observers -- some of them are Balinese-- have commented that Balinese tradition is undergoing a self-destruction, which will lead to the Balinese being uprooted from their identity, the Balineseness (Bagus, 1975, 1978; Naya Sujana, 1994).

In my observation, however, such a comment is too pessimistic in evaluating the strength of Balinese socio-cultural networks. In this context, we have to bear in mind that change is inevitable, or even expected to occur in any society, including Bali. The Balinese themselves do not want to be 'preserved' in a static terms, to be a 'timeless society,' or worse, to be a 'human zoo.' As stated by Luis Turner (1973), "It is doubtful that the Balinese will appreciate being 'preserved' to salve the consciences of the World's sentimentalists." Balinese realized that they have to adapt themselves to the changing world, while at the same time they feel that they are compelled to maintain the continuity of their identity.

So some degrees, there are effective strategies employed by the Balinese to accommodate the two opposing demands. An interesting case in this context can be seen, for example, in the making of a borderline between sacred and profane arts. Sacred and profane dichotomy did not exist in Balinese art tradition since arts were invariably associated with religious rituals (see, eg. de Boer and Bandem, De Zoete and Spies, and McPhee). By the advent of tourism, which 'cultural tourism,' they inevitably have to show their arts as entertainment. In the effort to maintain the religious function of the performing arts, for example, the Balinese have developed a guideline dividing the arts that can be performed for tourists. The performing arts are divided into three, ie. *tari wali* ('ritualistic,' sacred dance), *tari bebali* ('Balinese dance' semisacred), and *balih-balihan* ('performance,' profane). Only the profane can be intentionally performed for tourist consumption. For outsiders -- and sometimes also for Balinese themselves alike -- the

border is not very clear, because the distinguishing symbols of the categories are sometimes very subtle.⁶

In contrary to some commentators, I observe that the development of tourism to some extent has led to the revitalization of some cultural aspects, because tourism gives chances for Balinese to show their arts. Groups of *gamelan* orchestra and dances have been reestablished by customary villages (*desa adat*), not only for tourists, but also for the villagers' needs.

An example for this can be seen in *Desa Adat Ubud*,⁷ a village that has been in contact with tourism since the Balinese tourism was in its infancy. In the late 1960s, villagers from a number of hamlet (*banjar*) within the *desa adat* organized a *gamelan* orchestra and dance group (*seka*), named *Sadha Budaya*, to be performed for tourists. The group performed nightly in the village hall, which result in a great amount of funds was mobilized, and substantially augmented the income of individual members, who were mostly small farmers. Although the income came from tourism activities, they believed that the income came from the gods residing in their village temples, while the tourists were merely a channel. For this consideration the group donated a certain percentage of its income for the temples, which substantially decreased the financial burden on maintenance and ceremonies that must be carried out by the village members. The success of this group

⁶ The subtlety of the symbols distinguishing the 'sacred' and the 'profane' can also be found in other material objects. For example in the case of *penjor* (decorated bamboo pole), its sacredness would soon cease merely by taking out some of its elements, such as the chewing-betel. Likewise, a sacred offering, called *canangsari*, although everything remains the same, will no longer sacred if there is no chewing betel in it.

⁷ It is noteworthy that there are two kind of 'village' in Bali. The first, which is concerned with the religious and customary affairs of the society is called *desa adat*, while the second, which is mainly concerned with the implementation of government administration, is called *desa dinas* or *kelurahan* --and fernacularly better known as merely *desa*. The two kinds of the villages may and may not be coincide to each other in terms of geographic areas and population (cf. Warren 1993).

inspired the establishment of other similar groups, both in Ubud itself and other villages. In fact, some members of Ubud group were often invited as trainers in other villages.

In another village, in Bangli, there was once a romantic dance called *joged bangli*. In the performance, the dancers -- invariably young girls-- invited spectators to join in dancing. It was not uncommon that the invited spectators-dancers showed vulgar sexual gestures, which are considered improper to be shown in public. This dance had long been neglected -- or better, abandoned -- by the villagers because it was considered inferior and out of date (*ketinggalan zaman*). However, in 1991 a travel agent introduced a program named village tourism, and found that the *joged bangli* dance would be one of the possibilities of tourist attraction, to be included in the program. He asked the villagers to revitalize the dance. After a period of doubt, try out, and modifications, the dance proved to be an interesting attraction for tourists.

Similar examples in fact can be extended endlessly, to indicate that tourism does not make Balinese arts dying. My fieldwork data strengthen the hypothesis put forward by McKean more than twenty years ago, who said that:

...the traditions of Bali will prosper in direct proportion to the success of tourist industry. Far from destroying, ruining, or 'spoiling' the culture of Bali... the advent of income of tourists is likely to fortify and foster the arts (McKean 1973, cited in Wood 1980).

Tourism industry, as the examples above suggest, does not also destroy the attachment of the Balinese to their traditional organisation, where Balinese culture roots, ie. *desa adat* and *banjar*. In fact, as (Noronha 1979: 201-201) states,

... the income gained from a tourist performance and sale of crafts is channeled back to strengthen the religious and temporal bonds that are the source of strength for the Balinese: the banjar and the village temples.

Commoditisation and Authenticity

Tourism inevitably leads the process of commoditisation of local culture (Greenwood 1978), that local culture loses its traditional meanings, replaced by its economic values. Cultural elements have been packed, ready for sale, of no difference from that of fast-food (Wood 1980). Bali is not an exception in this case. Mass production of handicrafts is apparently directed to tourism market. Temple festivals have been advertised in tourism brochures. Sacred symbols have been produced for sale. This may lead to some, particularly the purist, to comment that the present Balinese arts are no longer authentic, but merely touristic or plastic arts.

There is no simple answer to agree or dispute such a comment. First of all, the concept of 'authenticity' itself is very vague and questionable. At the very extreme, no art is 'authentic.' Every art, even in the most remote parts of the world, to some extent must have been influenced by others'. As a socially constructed concept, "authenticity is not a property inherent in the object. Neither is an essence" (Lanfant 1995: 18). This is to say that authenticity is very subjective, and its social connotation is negotiable (Cohen 1988). A souvenir may be very authentic for some, while for some others it is not. For some, authenticity means that an art is made by an artist, without copying from others'. If this definition is followed, it would be very difficult to find an 'authentic' work in Bali, even well before the 'tourism era,' since most art works were anonymous and become 'public,' not a private copyright. Copying one's models was (and is) a common practice, and the artists whose works were copied generally felt proud that their models were copied.

Others are of the opinion that to be authentic, an art must be produced by local artists, with local materials. Still for some others, authenticity means that an art must be produced in the context of its traditional functions. Accordingly, a statue representing a god made by a Balinese, using local material, would not be considered authentic merely because it was produced not for religious purpose, but for sale to tourist.

Putting aside the debate of theoretical and sociological meanings of the authenticity, I found that several Balinese artists (painters or sculpturers) self-consciously distinguish their works, between 'art for sale' and 'art for art.' Many painters, I know, maintain two studios: one studio to produce tourist paintings, and the other to produce 'artistic painting.'⁶ Some of them refuse to sell their 'artistic paintings' even at a high price. This indicates that the mass production of touristic arts does not wipe out the desire of Balinese artists to produce high quality works away from economic questions. There is also a tendency to use the best quality works for religious purposes.

New forms of arts emerged in the last few decades in Bali --and continue to emerge at the present. In the field of performing art, there are *drama gong* (an opera, with *gamelan-gong* music accompaniment), *sendratari* (a genre of Balinese ballet-dance-drama with a special narrator), and a number of short dances (*tari lepas*) such as *oleg tamulilingan* (bumble-bee dance), *manuk rawa* (paradise-bird dance), *kijang kencana* (golden-deer dance), and *belibis* (wild-duck dance). In music, there have been a lot of innovations, such as *gong kebyar* (dynamic *gamelan*) and *bleganjur* (*gamelan* for procession). In visual arts, one can find a naturalistic styles, such as bamboo, trees, banana, orchid, and coconut, which were practically inexistence before the 1970s (previously the visual arts products mainly represented actors of legends or myths). These newly innovated arts are created mostly for Balinese audience, although some of them are also performed for tourists. It is true that the market is flooded with touristic arts, "but this does not mean that excellent art is unavailable or dying out" (Noronha 1979: 192).

⁶ This does not mean that all touristic arts are of low quality. On the contrary, quite a number of tourist galleries collected only the high quality arts for sale (eg. Neka's and Tilem's galleries).

Religiosity and the Reconstruction of *Warga*

Religiosity is a very delicate concept, and consequently, difficult to judge. Amidst this difficulty, religion-sociologists have developed indicators to assess the level of one's religiosity, which I follow. These include the (1) ritual involvement, (2) ideological involvement, (3) intellectual involvement, (4) religious experience, and (5) daily actions that coherent with the religious teachings (Glock and Stark 1963).

In terms of religious involvement, apparently most, if not all, Balinese are intensively involved in a variety of ritual activities, ranging from day to day rituals through yearly to centennial rituals. Chanting daily praying (*tri sandhya*) are getting more popular since the 1970s than it was before. Needless to say that temples are flooded by faithful during the ceremonies. Despite the movement to simplify the costly ritual ceremonies such as *ngaben* (cremation ceremony), which has been successful, other individual and public ceremonies tend to be more extravaganza.

Ideological aspects of religiosity among Balinese is also arguably high. It is hard to find a Balinese who do not believe in religious dogmas such as *samsara* (reincarnation), *karmaphala* ('as you sow, you harvest'), or the existence of *sorga* (heaven) and *neraka* (hell). Despite the nature of Balinese Hindu which is orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy (Geertz 1973), currently the effort of knowing religious teachings through written sources is very evident among Balinese Hindus. Reading and citing translated holy books, such as *Rg Veda*, *Atharva Veda*, *Sarasamuccaya*, *Bhagavadgitha*, and *Upanishads* are fashioned at the moment, not only for particular groups, but also for the mass. This clearly shows that seen from intellectual aspect, the Balinese is no less religious than before. Their religiosity is even increasing.

In terms of religious experience, that one experiences some thing out of his/her intellectual capacity to analyze, religiosity among Balinese is also apparently high. Discussions of spectacular experiences or miracles can be heard every day. Various themes of the discussions include that one was cured after visiting a certain temples -- while years of treatment by medical doctors gave no result; that one has found an old temple which was later proved to be his ancestral temple; that one

believes that his life was saved from an accident because of the god's help; etc. Aside from spectacular experiences that happened unintentionally, there are also groups who intentionally seek religious experience through *tirta yatra* (pilgrimage to temples) and practice *yoga-semadi* (meditation) there. If previously (before the 1980s) only few Balinese performed this religious activity, at present groups to perform this can be found everywhere.

From the above indicators, the level of religiosity among Balinese is arguably high, and I am in the opinion that for the general public, it is even higher than before. Previously religious ideology, reading religious books, performing pilgrimage, and practicing *yoga-semadi* were only in the hand of a small portion of society, while at present these are widespread. Behaviors, which are closely related to religion, also exhibit a high rate of religiosity. It is not so difficult to mobilize funds at present day Bali for temple renovation. Funding for temple ceremonies are also not a great problem, since Balinese would be very keen to do so. To cite an example, there was a centennial ritual in Besakih temple (called *Ekabhavana* ritual), March-April 1996. The organizing committee estimated that the budget needed for the ritual would be around 400 million *rupiah*, a great amount of money in Balinese standard. The committee invited donations from society, which was responded positively. At the end of the ritual, the donation collected in the temple alone reached Rp 472,255,650. This excludes donations collected in Denpasar or other cities from several kinds of organizations, which added another some 500 million *rupiah*.⁹

Paying homage to ancestors is one of the five basic tenets of Hindu. The high and increasing level of religiosity among Balinese is also manifest in the mass movement to search ancestral temples. This movement, tracing its genesis in the late 1960s and early 1970s,

⁹ Nonetheless, despite the high level of religiosity from the above indicators, the secular life does not reflect this high religiosity. To mention just a few, corruption is high; discipline is low; criminal is increasing; social permissiveness is loosening; etc., which are in contrary to religious teachings.

continues to the present day. Even more, the ancestral networks are strengthened through the establishment of the kinship-like based organisation, called *warga*. Dozens of *warga* have established their formal organisation for a variety of motivations, and religious motives are clearly one of them. Some of those who had no unified ancestral temples have 'reinvented' and 'reclaimed' a certain shrine as their very ancestral temples. To mention a few, *Warga Sentanan Dalem Tarukan* constructed a new splendid ancestral temple in the middle of a ricefield in Gianyar (1995/1996); while *Warga Brahmana Siwa* reconstructed a public shrine in Besakih complex (1993/1994), and claims the shrine to be its ancestral.

It is interesting to observe that there are now 'competitions' among *warga* to have their ancestral temple a high status, both from physical appearance and spiritual meanings. Religiosity, augmented by several factors, has led the Balinese to reconstruct their social organisation, to put more value on the importance of *warga*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Tourism, with its inevitable internationalization of local culture, has been perceived in ambiguity. On one hand, it is perceived as a means to increase the standard of living of the host society, and also potentially strengthens the local culture and ethnic identity. On the other hand, tourism is feared to be a disaster for the local culture and identity, because components of the environment where the roots of identity rest would be disturbed.

In the case of Bali, the advent of tourism undeniably has led the process of commoditization of Balinese culture, that cultural elements have been valued in terms of money, out of their traditional context. Nonetheless, as I have tried to show in this paper, the Balinese are not uprooted from their culture or identity of Balineseness. While tourism has been deeply absorbed into the daily life of Bali, while Balinese society has undergone the process of 'touristification' (Picard 1990), and while tourism has been part of 'Balinese culture,' so to speak, the religious and cultural identities prevail, if not being strengthened.

Similar finding has also been reported from other tourist destination area. De-Vidas (1995), from his study in Andean Cordillera, reports that tourism is a new opportunity for survival and revaluation for a formerly marginalized minority ethnic group in a national society. He argues that the development of tourism leads to a continual process of destructuring and restructuring of the medium of ethnic identity, which result in the group assuring its continuity. Lanfant (1995) also clearly concludes this phenomenon, that

... societies have now discovered in the international tourism a means of survival and even advancement. Tradition has been re-evaluated, integrated into the mechanisms of economic production and incorporated into the cultural systems of modern society" (Lanfant 1995: 37).

My standpoint that the identity of Balineseness is not being destroyed might be different from the perspective of the romanticists or the primordialists (Eickelman and Piscatory 1990), who freeze the idea of 'identity' in a fixed traits, that "Bali must look like Bali" or "may Bali stay true to herself," which Balinese themselves do not want to. Rather, I see identity as a fluid concept, which is open to the process of mirroring, reflexivity, reevaluation, reinterpretation, or reconstruction, for short, or that "identity is always in formulation, a constant site of struggle for those involved" (ix) (Lanfant, Allock et al. 1995).

My discussion with Balinese informants suggest that Balineseness cannot be extracted in one or two fixed traits. The idea of the identity of the Balineseness should be made 'broad enough and supple,' to give enough room for the Balinese to adapt to the changing worlds, or in their own words, to follows the -- vague and ambiguous -- concept of "continuity in changes." For this standpoint, most my informants agreed that faithful in Hindu religion and solidarity to *desa adat* are enough to define Balineseness. As discussed above, the religiosity of the Balinese (Hindus) is apparently high. One can easily observe that religious aroma permeates in all aspects of Balinese life. Likewise, the *desa adat* is still strong to attract the solidarity of its members. No one would voluntarily dismiss from *desa adat* membership, unless there are very

strong reasons. Even the modern Balinese who live in other cities (Denpasar, Jakarta, Surabaya, etc.) tend to maintain their membership in their *desa adat* of origin. To sum up, internationalization of Bali (and Balinese culture) does not destroy the Balineseness. Foreign influences are not taken wholesome to replace the traditional; it is not substitutive, but additive (Lansing 1974).

The ability of the Balinese to absorb foreign cultural elements without losing their identity is not a novel finding. Covarrubias (1937) had already observed that adaptability is one character of Balinese culture, which in turn enabled it to absorb foreign cultural elements without being uprooted from Balineseness. Taking example from the arts, he asserted that the Balinese "creates new styles constantly, to inject new life steadily into their culture, which at the same time never loses its Balinese characteristics" (1937: 255). Similarly, Unud and Francillon (1975: 722) wrote:

From one crisis to the next it has been able to keep its balance; more, it has been capable of making the best of most crises. The history of Balinese culture is that of syncretism; it has shown great power of resistance and adaptation to change. Indeed, the first contacts on record show that imported items were not taken up wholesale, but were nevertheless assimilated.

The power of Balinese culture in resistance and adaptation at the same time is, one may argue, associated with suppleness of Balinese. Strong opposition to anything -- including foreign influence -- is regarded 'non-Balinese' in Balinese tradition. Thus De Zoete and Spies (1973: 2) wrote, "with suppleness in mind ... had enabled them to take what they want of the alien civilizations which have been reaching them for centuries and leave the rest." By this, the Balinese continually reshape and reshape their identity, to produce a new carving of identity, while the thread with the old traditions is still very clear.

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