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**Living in Two Worlds: How tourism has influenced the  
Balinese worldview of Tri Hita Karana**

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of  
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in  
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Gregory Stuart Parker  
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## Abstract

This thesis readdresses the scarcity of research that relates to the role and influence of tourism on the Balinese worldview of *Tri Hita Karana*. It achieves this principally through an ethnographic study of a specific Balinese community. Three specific objectives were fulfilled; (a) to develop a clearer understanding of the origin and evolution of the philosophy and how it has been applied in contemporary Bali (b) how the different pillars of this philosophy have been affected by the processes of tourism (c) to provide insight into the reasons why the application of the philosophy in a practical context is challenging.

Interviews were conducted with Balinese living within the tourist community of Nyuh Kuning. The interviews focused on their relationship and interaction with the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy and how tourism had influenced this. Recurrent themes from these interviews were identified, documented and analyzed.

Key conclusions drawn from the results imply; (a) that the processes of tourism have had both a positive and negative influence on the three different pillars of this worldview (b) the community continues to apply and reinforce the *Tri Hita Karana* in a spiritual and metaphorical sense but simultaneously struggles to maintain within a practical context a sense of harmony and balance with others and the natural environment (c) the understanding and application of the philosophy needs to be reexamined if it is to be effective in promoting balance and harmony in both the spiritual and material world.

This thesis proposes recommendations for this worldview to be applied in a more realistic and concrete framework that enables its guiding principles to adapt and absorb the ongoing processes of tourism.

Keywords: philosophy, worldview, spiritual, material, pillars, *Tri Hita Karana*, balance, harmony, tourism.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.0 Introduction to the Research**

Mention the concepts of balance and harmony and many westerners would respond by thinking dualistically. They would tend to incorporate opposing forces in their definition of these concepts and perceive them as mutually exclusive. They may also view them as subtractive in the sense that they can negate each other's influences. Balinese, on the other hand, believe these oppositions are not separate entities and instead think in terms of the dynamic balance between the two where the opposing dichotomies are interdependent on each other Eiseman (1990:3). Maintenance of this equilibrium between these disparate forces is central to their worldviews and in particular to their philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*.

The principles of this reformulated doctrine incorporate age-old concepts that focus on the harmonious relationships between the trilogy of God, community and nature. Horizontally, man should live harmoniously with others, other living creatures and the natural environment. Vertically man should live in accord with the Gods, be a constant worshipper of the Gods and pray for their blessing. Only in this way can true human happiness, peacefulness and prosperity can be achieved Agung ( 2008).

When a problem exists and an imbalance within this ideological framework occurs Balinese traditionally and symbolically aim to better organize and balance their lives around the rigid concepts and the opposing forces that create the imbalance Eiseman (1990:10). Through the performance of rituals and ceremonies, Balinese believe metaphorically that the state of balance and harmony can be reestablished.

However, within a practical milieu, Balinese culture and identity has also had to continually absorb and accommodate the strains of new concepts and global influences. The ability of Balinese to select and adapt continues to be confronted as they interact with the processes of tourism. As a result, a range of social, political, religious, economic, and environmental factors have emerged which have challenged their capabilities to maintain balance and harmony. These tensions

have influenced their interpretation and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy.

### **1.1 Rationale for the research**

Currently there is considerable literature and research that highlights and examines the impact and influence of the processes of tourism on Balinese identity and culture. However, qualitative research on the development of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy and the affect tourism has had on it is comparatively scarce. The research grounded in this thesis redresses this by principally investigating and examining Balinese's interaction with tourism within a specific village context and how it has impacted on their understanding and application of the doctrine in both a practical and symbolic setting.

### **1.2 Research Objectives**

The research for this thesis is driven by four key objectives. First, it aims to examine and determine if this philosophy was developed as a “reinvented tradition” and a reconstruction of the past (Allen and Palermo 2004:2). This includes identifying and analyzing the postcolonial discourse and historical factors that have influenced the development of this philosophy.

Second, it aims to document and scrutinize the disparity between the metaphorical interpretation and the practical day-to-day application of the three different pillars of the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine. This will also involve close examination of how the Balinese ensure balance and harmony is preserved both materially and spiritually in their lives.

Third, it aims to identify the major effects of increasing mass tourism on a Balinese tourist community. It will determine how and whether their understanding of these effects has influenced their interpretation and application of the concepts of *Tri Hita Karana*. This will include an analysis of the spiritual and material realms in which the Balinese are immersed, and how those influence their interpretation of the *Tri Hita Kana* worldview. Additionally, it will describe individual and collective processes that are used within a specific tourist community to deal with the duality that arises from trying to incorporate ideals from the spiritual and physical worlds.

Finally, it aims to draw conclusions on the degree of effectiveness with which Balinese have applied the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* to lived experience in a

modern realm. Recommendations on the future direction and form of this philosophy will also be highlighted and stated.

### **1.3 The Significance of the Thesis**

The significance of this research lies in its analysis of the influence and impact of the processes of tourism on a particular worldview within a specific tourist community, which is realized in three ways.

First, the maintenance of cultural integrity in response to the influences of tourism is a significant and relevant objective for Balinese. Throughout their colonial and postcolonial history, Balinese have responded and adapted to the forces of tourism and continue to do so. A range of scholars that included Geriya (1993), Mantra (1993), and Covarrubias (1936) believed that Balinese have a very strong cultural resilience and a unique way of adapting to internal and external pressures without losing their cultural integrity. Therefore, a key significance of this research lies in its ability to identify and analyze the factors that support or erode cultural resilience within the context of the *Tri Hita Karana* worldview.

Second, many scholarly observations have adopted an apolitical and ahistorical approach that has accentuated the “exotic “ aspects of Bali Bateson (1942), Mead (1977), and Belo (1970). This inward gaze has tended to reinforce the exemplary image of Bali as a peaceful, balanced, harmonious, and homogenous society. By contrast, this thesis articulates the realities of living in a culture that is controlled and sold to others. This includes the process of cultural transformation and articulation of tradition and modernity within a tourist community.

Third, is the significance of examining the multitude of contradictions that emerge from being Balinese in a modern world. Understanding the influence of tourism on a particular worldview involves understanding and analyzing the relationship between the paradoxes Balinese are engaged in. This involves contrasting dichotomies that include modern versus traditional, materialism versus spiritualism, hierarchy versus equality and tolerance versus tension.

### **1.4 Personal Context**

This thesis evolved from many years of observing Balinese culture and my interaction with local Balinese since I first visited the island in 1989. Like many outsiders, I had been captivated and intrigued by their cultural vibrancy, “exoticism” and worldviews. Even after I had visited the island numerous times, I

felt I had a very superficial understanding of what really occurs in their lived experiences and why these events took place.

However, with repeated visits, I sensed there was a real incongruity between the way Balinese experience their everyday life and the way it is portrayed through the lenses of outsiders. I wanted to develop a greater understanding of how Balinese actually experience their lives and in particular the way they interpret and represent themselves to outsiders. I also wanted to focus on how they relate to each other in relation to the large and small events that occur in their lives and not just the rituals or ceremonies that are accentuated by image-makers.

Having witnessed a range of economic and social changes over this period of time, I was also curious as to why their physical world was changing quickly, but their spiritual realm and religious responsibilities seemingly remained constant and strong. Also working and living in the tourist communities of Sanur and Ubud, I had the opportunity to experience and observe in greater depth the influence and impact of tourism on Balinese and their lived experiences. My positioning changed from that of a tourist to one of an expatriate resident.

During this period I was exposed to a range of Balinese worldview concepts. The one that intrigued me the most was the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. My initial interpretation of this doctrine was that it was idealized and “exotic,” but it also appeared to be one that could be applied realistically. However, once I began to research its history and the factors that had influenced its development, numerous questions emerged. Was this philosophy a reinvented tradition from an imagined past? If so why was it reinvented? Did it develop as part of a conscious need to create political capital in order to control Balinese thinking and discourse? Was this philosophy real to the Balinese in relation to their day-to-day lived experiences? Why did one pillar of the doctrine appear on the surface to be strong but the other two seemed more fragile and disconnected? How had tourism influenced this?

### **1.5 Historical Context**

The research for this thesis is situated within three key historical contexts. The genealogy of Hinduism in Bali, the colonialisation process, and the Green Revolution collectively have had significant impact on the formulation, development and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine.

As highlighted in the literature review in chapter two, the Balinese prior to the twentieth century lived their lives whereby they were not conceptually aware of possessing a religion or culture (Howe 2001:5). They also perceived themselves as not possessing an ethnic identity separate from others (Vickers 1989:7).

However, Indonesians of other religions criticized Balinese ritual and spirit worship, claiming they lacked a higher god. Unable to oppose these claims the Balinese became more reflexive and began questioning their own beliefs (Picard 1996:199). Conceptual categories such as religion, tradition and culture were also introduced to the Balinese by foreign influences. The Dutch imposed the distinctions between these concepts and, as a result, a process of conceptual differentiation occurred. Categories of religion and tradition were formalized and separated.

During the early stages of the postcolonial era the Indonesian Government further reinforced this historical reconstruction. They imposed the need to transform the traditional Balinese religion into a more monotheistic form of Hinduism, one that would be recognized by outsiders (Howe 2001:8).

The development of the Hindu religion was also influenced during this period by Balinese intellectuals and promoters of Balinese tourism in order to redefine Balinese identity. In the 1970s and 1980s, particularly through the work of Professor Doctor Ida Bagus Mantra, the Governor of Bali, a more tangible formulation and application of traditional Hindu values occurred. He focused on developing and reinforcing a Balinese identity that could be considered part of the Republic of Indonesia. He assumed an approach that promoted fortifying Balinese religion by returning to the past and its Indian origins, as well as presenting Balinese Hinduism to outsiders as a part of the umbrella of international Hinduism (Vickers 1989: 212). The reformulation of the *Tri Hita Karana* phrase and its underlying philosophy became part of this reconstruction of the past and the wider reconceptualising of Balinese religion particularly in relation to the national policy on religion.

In addition, the formative influence of the colonisation process had considerable influence on the formulation of the philosophy. More than four centuries of contact with the West, particularly with the Dutch, have strongly influenced Balinese thinking as well as their interaction with their environment.

During the Dutch colonial period (i.e. from 1900 in the south) the Balinese were pressured into thinking and responding to very different social forms and concepts. The colonial policy impacted considerably on Balinese social relations, class formation and political development (Vickers, 1989). As Robinson (1995:6) points out, the Dutch reinforced the concept that culture was apolitical and believed that Balinese culture and politics were totally segregated.

Also during this period, western anthropologists such as Mead (1936), Bateson (1942), and Covarrubias (1936) reinforced the notion of Bali as harmonious and apolitical. Their ethnographies promoted concepts of balance, harmony and happiness and suggested these were an intrinsic part of Balinese culture Robinson (1995:6). They also wanted to see traditions preserved and continued within the context of an eternal and exotic location Reichle (2010:31). This notion unreservedly reinforced the Dutch administration approach to conserving Balinese culture.

The post war period of Indonesian State intervention also significantly influenced the development and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. The Indonesian government realized that Balinese culture needed to be both preserved and exploited in order to improve the image and the foreign income of the country. Culture was perceived as a material possession that could be packaged as well as used as political capital. Culture actually became the capital from which Balinese made their living, and furthermore, became a commodity that was sold by outsiders to other outsiders. Tourists came to Bali to share in the experience of a reified and reduced version of Balinese culture Picard (1996).

Also as the culture was organized within a stable system of order it could more easily be controlled. As Santikarma points out

*“Culture was reduced by the state to a people’s art and craft, their colourful ancient rituals, and their potential for harmonious cooperation in the service of the nation”*

Santikarma (2001:33)

Acciaoli (2001:23) makes reference to this process on a wider national context and suggests that the Indonesian State promoted development that included certain groups and excluded or marginalized others. Couteau further adds to this argument and proposes that the Suharto’s New Order regime from its inception in 1966 focused its attention on discourse relating to

*“the economy, the process of nation building and the glorification of a highly revised past”*

Couteau (2005:206)

Bali was an integral part of this nation building and the promotion of *adat*<sup>1</sup>, and the Hindu Balinese religion became a vehicle for control and domination under the umbrella of ethnic self-importance. Couteau (2005:214) suggests the New Order deliberately extracted parts of the *adat* and religious traditions to create a culture that could be sold to overseas markets.

The advancement of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy also became part of this cultural diplomacy and political convenience. Adidharma (2008:v) acknowledges the doctrine has been used as political capital and over time has been so venerated through political discourse that the true understanding of the philosophy has become esoteric and difficult to apply in a practical context. Couteau further supports this notion and believes that

*“Tri Hita Karana has become a favourite mantra for local officials and public intellectuals...They constantly invoke harmony as being a given feature of Bali, as if it were an a-historical birthright of the island.”*

Couteau (2011:29)

The strong trauma of the violence that occurred in Bali in 1965 also had considerable impact on the collective psyche of the Balinese and their relationship with others. The origins of this hostility were considered part of the colonial transformation of Balinese society. Conflict developed between reformist groups, who challenged the old caste system and advocated land reform, and those who defended traditional aristocratic rule. This resulted, after the abortive coup attempt in Jakarta in 1965, in mass killings, which encompassed clan rivalries and conflicts with landowners and land reformers. Even though discussed and analyzed by academics, the massacre overshadowed Bali's collective recall. It created an economy of memory, hindered critical thinking and reluctance to question and express conflicts in public. As Vickers points out

*“the removal of so many people, combined with the fear of recurrence of such violence, has led to a kind of “pacified” Bali. “*

Vickers (1989:172)

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<sup>1</sup> Traditional custom and law

Finally, the Green Revolution initiated by the Indonesian government in the 1960s had a significant influence on the Balinese's relationship with their environment. Balinese farmers were encouraged to change to a new high yield variety of rice in order to increase production. This brought about immense changes in rice farming practices Vickers (1989: 202). However, in an effort to exploit rice as a cash crop, the Green Revolution impacted negatively on both the natural environment and the *subak*<sup>2</sup> of Bali. The government failed to differentiate between the symbolic and active roles of the water temple system or to recognize the self-sustainability of rural Balinese. They appropriated control of the rice farming from the temples. The consequences were twofold; the production of rice and the culture of rural societies was negatively affected. This was a direct result of the temples representing the centre of Balinese spiritual life and playing such a significant role in the social organization of rituals and daily life Lansing (1983). Ritual techniques needed in the rice paddies for spiritual connections to both land and water were also surrendered Ramseyer (2001:12).

Also the introduction of pesticides during this period severely damaged the rice paddy ecosystem. The chemicals destroyed many of the flora and fauna and contaminated the water table. This directly hindered Balinese farmers ability to maintain their harmony and connection with their natural world.

The agrarian practices used currently in the rice paddies are now more sustainable, however the current threat to the *subak* system comes from tourism and the selling and leasing of rice paddies to outsiders. As Sutawan (2004:1) points out, the feasibility of the *subak* is fragile due to changes brought about by the development of tourism. New values have permeated many aspects of Balinese life, which has impacted the significance of the *Tri Hita Karana* ideology.

## **1.6. Organization of Thesis**

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The introductory chapter outlines the research problem, purpose and rationale for researching the influence of tourism on the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. It also states the specific objectives of the research and provides relevant contextual background that has influenced the historical development of the doctrine.

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<sup>2</sup> Traditional water irrigation system for rice farming

The second chapter focuses on reviewing the literature, approaches, and findings that have been previously used in studying the influence of tourism on Balinese culture and, in particular the three pillars of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. This also includes key background information, concepts, and propositions that underpin the research. The chapter finishes by drawing conclusions on how and why tourism has affected this philosophy. This conclusion also identifies limitations in recent research and key questions for further research.

Chapter three then identifies and outlines the methodological process that was employed in order to arrive at the data that provided the foundation for the findings and conclusions. It documents the different types of data collected from Balinese informants as well as how the data was collected and organized. Consideration was given to the level of validity and reliability of all data. Limitations of collated data and methodology were also highlighted. The chapter concludes with discussing the techniques used to analyze the data and drawing generalizations and inferences relevant to the influence of tourism on the different pillars of the philosophy.

Chapter four then outlines the main findings that resulted from the collated data. These findings are based on recurring themes relating to how Balinese understand, interpret and apply the philosophy and how tourism has influenced this.

The conclusions and recommendation chapters then complete the thesis. These chapters focus on the main findings of the research and assess the research objectives. This involves mapping the relationship of the findings to key literature discussed in the literature review chapter. Recommendations are also highlighted on how the application of the philosophy can be adapted to address the ongoing practical challenges of living in a modern tourist society. The chapter ends by identifying and proposing specific areas for further research.

## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

#### 2.0 Introduction

Continual exposure and interaction with the outside world for over four centuries has pressured Balinese culture into absorbing and accommodating the strains of new concepts as well as external cultural influences. As part of their response to the challenges that have emerged from this hybridization process, Balinese have turned their gaze back to the past. Traditional worldviews are drawn upon and reconstructed in order to restore the balance in their material and spiritual life Allen and Palermo (2004:2).

The *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy represents an example of this. Central to this worldview is the guiding principle that focuses on the trilogy of God, community, and nature. Each of these worlds, or pillars, contains a specific body of knowledge, beliefs and practices that must be adhered to if one is to achieve harmony and balance between and within these worlds.

How did this philosophy evolve? Is it a “reinvented tradition” and if so why was it “reinvented”? Is it an authentic part of Balinese discourse, or has it been promoted more as vehicle for political capital? How have Balinese interpretations and understandings of the different pillars of this philosophy been affected by the impact of mass tourism? Why is there a disparity between the metaphorical interpretation and the practical day-to-day application of this cultural mandate to achieve balance and harmony.? What future direction and form will this worldview take?

This literature review will examine these key questions through a continuum of literary contributions. It will begin with a brief description of the history and formation of the philosophy. Secondly, it will review the relationship between tourism and Balinese culture and the theories that represent the impact tourism has had. Thirdly, it will review and analyze how tourism has impacted specifically on the three pillars of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. Finally, it will draw conclusions on the effects tourism has had on this worldview, identify gaps in current research, and highlight key questions for further research.

The parameters of this review focus primarily on recent qualitative research studies on the impact of tourism; however, it also includes key literature that

historically situates events that have shaped Balinese culture and Balinese perceptions of their cultural identity. This literature was selected as it represents a cross section of perspectives and theories of the impact tourism have had on Balinese and their *Tri Hita Karana* worldview.

The significance of this review is grounded in three key areas. In the first place, it highlights and documents the present state of the relationships between the Balinese and the three different pillars of the philosophy.

In addition, it also examines the multitude of contradictions that emerge from being Balinese in the modern world. Understanding the impact and influence of tourism on the development of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy involves analyzing the relationship between the paradoxes they are engaged in. It also provides a platform to investigate the processes that are used to address the duality that arises from living traditionally in a modern tourist society.

Lastly, the scope of this review is reasonably limited in that while literature on the influence of tourism on Balinese culture abounds, ethnographic studies to measure the influence of tourism specifically on the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy are comparatively scarce. There is a real need for this to be redressed by the research community. To this end, this literature review highlights specific themes that have arisen as a result of the impact of tourism on each pillar of the philosophy. These themes are a catalyst for future research.

### **2.1 The Background behind the Philosophy**

The phrase *Tri Hita Karana* is derived from the combination of the three Sanskrit words, *tri*, *hita* and *karana*<sup>3</sup>. This literally means the three causes of welfare or the three steps that ensure humans are prosperous and secure. It is a flexible set of universal values and practices designed to achieve prosperity, peace, and happiness through the harmonious interaction of people with fellow humans, the environment and god (Bali Tri Hita Karana, 2009). This relationship between the different pillars is symbolized in the shape of a cross whereby man is at the centre. The vertical line represents man's relationship with god and the horizontal line symbolizes his relationship with other humans and nature. The interdependent relationship between these three causes should not be separated, but perceived as one (Putra, 2009).

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<sup>3</sup> Tri means three; hita means prosperity and karana means causes or reasons.

As a doctrine it forms the life philosophy that controls and regulates all views and actions of Balinese. These beliefs are also transferred from generation to generation (Allen and Palermo, 2005, Picard 2006).

Fundamental to Hindu philosophy is the principle that both a disordering and organizing force exists everywhere in the universe (Eiseman 1988:11). If there is dissonance and disturbance between god, man, and his environment it is believed disease, chaos, and disharmony will emerge. Balinese also believe that all three elements of *Tri Hita Karana* influence their wellness and health. If these elements are not in balance and alignment, physical and mental illness and chaos in the family or community will result (Suryani and Jensen 1993:16).

In order to redress the disharmony, Balinese symbolically balance their lives around the forces that create the imbalance. The purpose is to generate a state of coexistence whereby evil is considered part of the whole and interdependent of the forces of good. Neither of these disparate forces dominates but invariably, tensions are created which are believed to be necessary in order to generate a stable world. A traditional example of this is the Barong Rangda dance, which enacts the confrontation between the Barong and Rangda characters. As Eiseman (1990:317) points out, this dance replicates and reinforces the Hindu Balinese notion of the balance between good and evil where the two opposing forces at the conclusion of the dance are neither victorious nor defeated.

This equilibrium fixing is carried out through ritual prayer and ceremonial offerings that serve to appease and revere both gods and ancestors (Hobart, 2003). However, the state of equilibrium that is created is only temporary and fragile, necessitating constant repetition and performance of religious ceremonies. While the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine places humans at the centre, it is governed by strict cosmological, religious and social guidelines. It directs one to act with respect in all relationships in order to maintain a balance of interconnection, reciprocity and harmony. As Agung suggests

*"In meeting his needs, man should balance them in such a way that the needs of those around him are not impaired. He should adhere to the way of the Tri Hita Karana, or the "Sacred Balance", which governs behavior to conform to propriety, reciprocity and interconnection, all of which mean honoring heritage and conservation. If*

*Balinese can truly live the way of the Tri Hita Karana, they will refrain from achieving their objectives at the expense of their tradition, culture and environment."*

Agung (2008)

However, Krishna (2009:11) challenges this interconnectedness, particularly the ability of man to maintain balance with god. He begs the question whether we can truly be on the same level as god in order to create a balanced relationship. He also queries the hierarchical relevance of delineating our relations with god as a vertical one while our relationship with nature and human beings is horizontal. Krishna (2009) further argues if we develop a pre-eminent relationship with god can we ignore obligations to the other two pillars? Is this what is happening in contemporary Bali?

Although *Tri Hita Karana* is based on an ancient Balinese cosmological concept, its inherent traits are not exclusive to the Balinese and are prevalent in different societies. Many traditional cultures have similar ideologies, and have perceived the universe and their role within it as made up by the same worlds that the *Tri Hita Karana* expounds. Different cultures around Indonesia have lived their lives by the principles of *Tri Hita Karana* (Krishna 2009:XII). African philosophies espouse similar principles that man is expected to be responsible for maintaining unity and balance between God, man, and nature; failure to do so results in misfortune (New World Encyclopedia, 2010).

This theme of harmony and balance also permeates American Indian spiritual philosophy (Waters, 2004). It is based upon the belief that all of nature depends on each other in a web of interrelationship, and that human well-being depends on maintaining harmony with all of creation.

The fundamental concept of the philosophy itself preceded the actual use of the phrase. As Putra (2009) points out, connections can be traced back to the Holy Hindu Scriptures of Bhagava-Gita (111.10). These scriptures propose that humans are the link in the natural order of *Prajapati* (Almighty God), *Praja* (human) and *Kamadalu* (nature).

In terms of the formulation of the phrase itself, there is some disagreement of its origin. Putra (2009) suggests the terminology was created around 1964 and evolved from the discourse amongst Hindu devotees within the Prajaniti Hindu organization concerning life prosperity. Krishna (2009), however, argues that the

*Tri Hita Karana* phrase first appeared in November 1966, at the Regional Conference of Balinese Hindus held at Dwijendra University in Denpasar. The purpose of the conference was to develop awareness amongst Hindus in relation to the nation building process, and work in unity towards a just and prosperous society. A society based on the interrelated principles of the official philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state, which is referred to as *Pancasila*. Couteau adds further discourse to this by suggesting the origin of the phrase resulted from a deliberate attempt to invoke the past. He believes the

*“Tri Hita Karana, like many other things is an invented tradition..... the philosophy itself is an invented tradition that was taken from an obscure manuscript (no one knows which one), it was bought to the fore in the late 1960s by a well known intellectual of the day, Gusti Ketut Kaler.”*

Couteau (2011:29)

From its inception, the *Tri Hita Karana* phrase and its underlying philosophy became part of a wider reconceptualising of Balinese religion that was taking place at this time, particularly in relation to the national policy on religion.

The doctrine in its present day context has also been adapted and applied to a range of contemporary organizations. Recently, it has been integrated into specific tourism awards for hotels across Bali. The *Tri Hita Karana* Tourism Awards are awarded to hotels in recognition of incorporating sustainable environmental principles and practices into their business, including the harmonious relationship between the hotels and community of surrounding residents. These awards have been criticized for their direct focus on hotels while not encompassing other sustainable environmental initiatives (Putra 2009).

The philosophy has also been mainstreamed and promoted through digital media. This includes websites such as <http://www.balitrihitakarana.com>, you tube videos <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9j1b ku4K4> and even Facebook sites such as [www.facebook.com/people/Tri-Hita-Karana](http://www.facebook.com/people/Tri-Hita-Karana).

*Yayasan Tri Hita Karana Bali* is another organization that has adopted the principles of the philosophy and draws its doctrine from the key concepts of traditional Balinese architecture. Its main purpose is to strengthen the harmony between people, nature, and spirituality through community development and education programs based on permaculture principles, Bali Advertiser (2010:63).

The philosophy itself has also been criticized for being idealized and mystified, and even as an instrument for creating political capital. As Adidharma (2008:v) points out, this life philosophy has been revered to the point that it has almost become obscure, and as result, has limited Balinese in their ability to understand the philosophy, or to transfer it into real life action. The concepts have been used for political convenience and need to be deconstructed and integrated into everyday experiences. He strongly believes there is a real need to re-examine its relevance within contemporary Balinese life.

## **2.2 The Relationship between Tourism and Balinese Culture**

Whenever a tourist spends money in Bali they are unwittingly contributing to the quandary; does their money support and reinforce Balinese culture or does it help to erode it? Many anthropologists have analyzed this conundrum, and have disagreed on the extent to which Balinese culture has been influenced and impacted by tourism. Early observers such as Covarrubias (1936) and Mead (1977) expressed concern that this interaction between tourism and Balinese culture would lead to cultural pollution and ultimately extinguishing Balinese culture. The culture itself was perceived as a living tradition, which ran the risk of being corrupted by tourists and commercialism. Balinese authorities were also concerned that this cultural mixing would lead to cultural corruption and a loss of identity. Fear of cultural demise actually promoted the appeal of the island to tourists as it was deemed as the last paradise (Boon 1974).

In his early research Picard (1983) and other contemporary authors (Francillon 1975 and Noronha 1976) bemoaned the changes that had occurred to Balinese culture. They believed that cultural tourism was a reduced form of authentic Balinese culture. On the other hand, McKean argued in 1973, and more recently in 1989, that far from being undermined by tourism, Balinese culture received added value from the development of cultural tourism. His research emphasized tourism as an agent of change as well as a conservative force, and he believed tourism had actually created cultural renaissance.

McKean (1973, 1989) also employed the term cultural involution, a phrase developed from Geertz's (1963) concept of "agricultural involution", to describe the process whereby the Balinese are encouraged to value and develop manifestations of their culture by tourists who are attracted by them. This theory

was based on the notion that tourist money had revived Balinese interest in their own traditions, while stimulating their artistic creativity. Also, the approbation of foreign visitors for the culture was believed to have reinforced the Balinese sense of cultural identity.

Other contemporary observers including Francillon (1975), Noronha, (1976) acknowledged that Balinese culture had evolved over centuries, but wanted to immobilize and freeze it into some idealized condition. In contrast McKean (1973, 1989) accepted the changes that had occurred, provided the culture remained true to its essence. In reality, Bali has continued to exhibit its resilience to the forces of tourism and has demonstrated an ongoing capacity for continuous self-renewal. Consequently, a growing number of observers acknowledge that their fears have been baseless.

Furthermore, Picard (2006:16) challenged both trains of thought and argued that tourism neither polluted the culture nor developed its renaissance, but simply contributed to preserving it. He suggests tourism should not be envisaged as an external force, but rather as a process changing Balinese society from within.

So why has their culture remained resilient and robust? Balinese society and culture is renowned for its dynamic resilience. It has remained distinctive as a result of the propensity of the Balinese to adopt only what is appropriate from foreign influences, and above all, transforming and incorporating each one according to the dictates of their own intent. Margaret Mead (1936) noted that Balinese, over the course of a few hundred years, appear to have learned how to use or ignore outside influences. What the Balinese believed was alien to them and could not be conceptualized was left alone. Other observers also have promoted this selective adaptation mechanism whereby the Balinese are able to filter foreign influences. Geriya (1993), Mantra (1993), and Covarrubias (1936) believe that Balinese culture is flexible and adaptive in nature. They also suggest that Balinese have taken advantage of the appeal of their culture to foreign visitors without sacrificing it.

Lietaer (2000) further supports this perspective, and challenges the generally accepted notion that massive tourism and a vibrant indigenous culture are mutually exclusive. He concludes Bali has proven to be an exception to this rule. Based on his qualitative research, he proposes that the key towards Bali's

exceptional cultural resilience results from a combination of two traditional tools: the first consists of specific local organizational structures, and the second of a dual currency system systematically used by those organizational structures.

He clearly acknowledges, however, that Balinese culture has changed under the pressures of tourism, and tourists have had a negative impact on the environmental, social or cultural fabric in Bali. But he counters that Balinese culture has not been destroyed by tourism and has been able to maintain a specifically Balinese social, cultural and religious environment. Gouyon (2005:16) also reinforces this exception and acknowledges the island is changing dramatically, but modernity is welcome and the people are able to keep tradition alive. Bali has a unique way of adapting to change without losing its core. She further adds the draw of their culture and the resilience of their multiple communal organizations enables the Balinese to create a partial sanctuary from outside influences. They act as a “cultural shock absorber” and buffer to a certain extent the pressures from various agents of cultural change Gouyon (2005).

Based on recent observations, Stephenson (2010:27) reinforces this cultural adaptive model and suggests all parties involved in the adaptation process should accept the different hybridizations of culture that emerge. He illustrates this by referring to the external changes that have taken place in the tourist area of Ubud. Some observers fear that this village (which was voted the best “city” in Asia for 2010) will become another “outpost of a cookie cutter world”. Stephenson (2010:28), however, contends that the touristic manifestations that have occurred, such as gamelan competing alongside reggae and salsa, should be seen as a symbol of cultural adaptation and vivacity and not cultural corrosion.

Rubinstein and Connor (1999) reiterate this adaptive notion and conclude from research also carried out in Ubud that Balinese are able to act globally but think locally as they reflect on their lives in terms of their relationships with the gods. Their experiences of continual exposure to outside forces create a conceptual preoccupation with the controlling of engagements between Balinese and foreigners.

Pitana (2000:55) builds on this notion and further suggests that the impact of tourism is preservative and not substantive. As a result, the impact does not cause structural alteration to the culture, but is integrated into the life of the community.

McKean (1973), in his earlier studies of the impact of tourism, proposed a similar theory. He concluded that tourism provides the Balinese with an opportunity to preserve their social fabric while revitalizing their cultural traditions.

However, in relation to this cultural reconstructing, a common dilemma has emerged. With the reduction of Balinese culture to a commodified object that is sold to tourists, how do Balinese differentiate between what to perform for tourists and themselves? (Picard 1996). This creates blurred boundaries and the risk of not being able to distinguish between Balinese values and those of outsiders. Picard (1996:44) feared that the Balinese could now no longer tell the difference, and he questions "whether the Balinese are actually in a position to discriminate between their cultural performances according to the audience for whom they are intended." This illustrates what Picard meant when he suggested "tourism" is being integrated into the process of "Balinese culture", rather than an outside object, which has an "impact".

Hanna (1972) had also argued earlier that Balinese culture had become a tourist commodity, and as a result, Balinese were confused about what is authentic, belonging to their culture versus what is part of the tourism package.

Vickers (1990) attempts to answer this quandary by suggesting that for many Balinese, their cultural core is connected to a narrowly defined sense of culture based around *Pariwisata Budaya*<sup>4</sup>. Any discourse about culture is based on what is perceived by an external 'other'. This is reduced to the likes of temples, ceremonies, rice fields and Balinese attired in traditional dress. Ramseyer (2001:10) supports this theory and concludes that Balinese working in the tourism sector have adopted this cultural concept that culture itself is comprised of dances, performances and temple celebrations which best coincides with their interests. This also creates an identity crisis as they are expected to conform to being Balinese, as well as representatives of Balinese-ness.

The likes of Noronha (1976:114) and Maurer (1979:97), however, challenge and counter this argument. They suggest that Balinese have learnt to distinguish their cultural performances in terms of the public for which they are intended. Balinese are able to draw the line between what can be sold and what must be protected.

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<sup>4</sup> Cultural tourism

Whatever the degree of differentiation that exists, for Balinese their perception of tourism has changed from one that is associated with the 'outside' to one that is both externally and internally bounded. With these barriers now becoming more blurred, how will this affect their adaptive process and invariably their interpretation of the *Tri Hita Karana*? Also to what degree has *Tri Hita Karana* become part of the package of what Balinese understand to be their culture?

### **2.3 The Balance with the Gods**

*"Tri Hita Karana is still stronger in the area of human to god. However, there is a shortage of attention to Tri Hita Karana when it comes to human and the environment and human to human."*

Yudantini (2003:68)

*Adat* and religion are at the top of the hierarchical ladder in terms of priorities for Balinese. Religious beliefs permeate almost every aspect of Balinese life (Loveard, 2010 and Wall 1996:64). Adherence to the calendar of rituals and ceremonies remains strong, and their commitment to ritual and holy duty has not weakened Wilpert (2001:7). However, external and internal influences resulting from tourism have both rearranged and reinforced Balinese relationships with the gods.

Firstly, terrorist bombings in Bali over the last decade have created a social climate whereby the Balinese have become more introspective. They have questioned and reevaluated their religious duties and worldview. The bombings though have not destabilized Balinese society and culture as some observers predicted, but paradoxically have reinforced it. As Wijaya (2005) points out, the Balinese tend to ignore extremist behavior and focus more on what can be done ceremonially to address the imbalance of their perceived universe. However, it also begs the question whether or not their response to the bombings was also driven by economic interest and the need to facilitate the return of tourists?

Secondly, as tourists have exhibited and maintained an ongoing interest in Balinese culture, they has strengthened and reinforced the importance that Balinese give to their religion. As Picard (1996:135) concludes, tourism played a role in producing a separate world of the sacred so that it could be presented to

tourists as a specific cultural attraction. Consequently, religion as an independent activity increased in its importance.

Conversely, the continual demand for cultural tourism and the resulting negative influences on tourist communities, such as the erosion of certain Balinese cultural morals and values, and the increase of meritocracy have motivated some Balinese to turn their gaze back to a cultural protection mode. As a result, they have focused their attention and energies on ensuring existing traditions and rituals are reinforced and maintained.

Additionally, there are clear indications that tourism has influenced the increase in the performance of religious rituals and ceremonies. Geertz (1959) argued from his observations in the 1950s that a shift occurred from orthopraxis<sup>5</sup> to orthodoxy.<sup>6</sup> Ramstedt's (2003) further research reinforced this, and concluded that the doctrine had become the central preoccupation of public Balinese practice, as Geertz observed, but in different versions. Loveday (2010), however, suggests from recent observations Balinese Hinduism still retains orthopraxy and orthodoxy in great quantities, and that one has not replaced the other. Picard (1996:44) argues, though, that the everyday practice in households and temples is characterized more by orthopraxy than by orthodoxy. He also suggests that the gap between the actual religious practice and normative definition of religion is narrowing.

Also, with the increase in the lavishness of ceremonies and rituals, tensions among some spiritual leaders have emerged. They are concerned that the understanding of the Hindu belief system and philosophy is being sacrificed for a greater emphasis on rituals and ceremonies Hatch (2010).

However, rising levels of education and increased formal instruction have reinforced orthodoxy and, as a result, a larger number of Balinese have a greater appreciation and understanding of the philosophical core of their religion. Whatever the ratio that currently exists between orthodoxy and orthopraxy in Balinese communities, they both exist in considerable quantities and one has not cancelled out the other.

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<sup>5</sup> Performance of rituals

<sup>6</sup> Attention to a core set of religious teachings

There is also the direct relationship between income derived from tourism and the reinforcement of their religious articulation. As McKean (1973) points out, money received from tourism allows Balinese to do what they have always done, and that is, to express their culture. It gives them the opportunity and time to devote themselves to their religious expression.

The religious landscape has also been diversified by the introduction of different religious forms such as the Sai Baba and Hare Krishna. These movements have adopted a more pure and simplistic Indian practice of Hinduism. This is in response to the perceived negative influences of tourism and the accompanying view of Balinese Hinduism being too ritualistic and without providing spiritual direction to the challenges of modernity Tisna (2001:174).

Some of these religious forms have common characteristics, while others are conflicting and opposing. Consequently, the religious field has enlarged with the inclusion of new concepts and dialogue. This has also resulted in the construction of competing identities and an increasing division between religious practice and other areas of Balinese social life Howe (2001:7).

These revised forms of Hinduism have also created conflict with conservative religious authorities that believe they are too “Indianised” and have caused an imbalance with established religious principles. Tisna (2001:177) counters this, and suggests these groups continue to observe some of the rituals of Balinese Hinduism in order to retain their sense of Balinese identity and to evade conflict with other members of the community.

With this greater diversification of the religious field, questions about the future direction of the Balinese sense of identity emerge. Will they try to redress this perceived imbalance by reinforcing an identity based on a specific form of Balinese Hinduism that is protective and restricted to certain ethnic and state limitations, or will they incorporate a more modern and global identity?

For many tourists who visit Bali, the impressions of Balinese religion are reasonably limited. There is a tendency to stereotype “Balinese culture” as a package of temples, rituals and ceremonies. However, Picard (2006) points out that since the 1990s, the emphasis in tourist promotions is more focused on resort tourism, which includes spas and yoga retreats. Cultural experiences are slowly being replaced with more generic tropical resort activities. Agung (2008) expands

on this notion and suggests Bali needs to offer tourists Bali itself, not a museum or a resort.

This predicament raises the issue of whether tourists in the future will engage in less cultural experiences as opposed to resort type activities. If this does eventuate, will this have a direct or indirect influence on the degree of importance Balinese place on their religion and how this is expressed? Also will Balinese attempt to ensure their ceremonies are more lavish and “colourful” in order to reinforce and retain the lure of cultural tourism?

#### **2.4 The Balance with other Humans**

*“Conflicts of interest amongst people of differing caste, ethnicity and social status are evident in contemporary Balinese society and challenge the need for Balinese to reposition a harmonious balance with other humans.”*

Tisna (2001:174)

To understand the nature of these relationships it is important to consider the historical contexts that have shaped these associations. Prior to the twentieth century, Balinese lived their lives whereby they were not cognizant of having a religion or culture (Howe 2001). They did not encounter societies different to their own. They also perceived themselves as not possessing an ethnic identity separate from others. Islam at this time was viewed as belonging to the same cultural realm as Bali (Vickers 1990:7).

Religions such as Christianity criticized Balinese ritual and spirit worship, claiming their religion lacked a higher god. With their inability to oppose these claims, Balinese began to question their own beliefs (Picard 1996:199). Simultaneously, conceptual categories such as religion, tradition and culture were introduced to the Balinese by foreign influences. The Dutch imposed the distinctions between these concepts, and as a result, categories of *agama*<sup>7</sup> and *adat* were formalized. They also had specific visions of what Balinese society should be and steadfastly reinforced the concept of Bali as a Hindu island that was encircled by Islamic influences (Picard 1996:18).

This reflexivity was intensified throughout the twentieth century as the Balinese were exposed to a range of external influences that had a significant and enduring impact on their society. These ranged from colonisation, Indonesian state

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<sup>7</sup> Religion

government intervention, and volatility to mass tourism and globalisation. Howe (2001:4) points out, Balinese were pressured into thinking and responding to external forces and were exposed to very different social forms and concepts. As a consequence, Balinese began to question their identity, which created the catalyst for Balinese perceptions to shift. They challenged what it meant to be Balinese and differentiated themselves more as Hindus as well as simultaneously distancing themselves from other religions and in particular Muslims. Invariably, this led to questioning their ethnic identity and creating a sense of otherness (Howe 2001:5).

Migration of Indonesians from outside of Bali has also reinforced this sense of otherness. Considerable changes in the demographic makeup of the island have occurred and resulted in tourist areas becoming more heterogeneous. Outside infiltration continues to grow with non-Balinese investing in the tourist infrastructure, or coming to work in different areas of the tourist service industry. Bali's tourism dollars lure people from other parts of Indonesia who hope to find work and create businesses that allow them to eventually retire comfortably in their hometowns. These ethnic others are becoming the 'domestic others'.

A poll published in the Bali Post (1999) about the concerns Balinese have in relation to the number of people migrating to Bali in search of employment concluded that 90% of Balinese polled believed *pendatang*<sup>8</sup> from other provinces of Indonesia should be issued 'visas' for entry into Bali.

With this increasing competition from ethnic others for physical and social spaces, an impending sense of insecurity and vulnerability has developed. Ramaseyer (2001:11) concludes, as a result of increasing diversity of the population in relation to ethnic and religious associations, many Balinese feel insecure over the control of their own destiny. Consequently, some Balinese use the reinforcement of their own culture as a defense mechanism to counter the influence of ethnical and religious minorities.

Pringle (2004:225) counters this argument and adopts a historical but somewhat limited perspective. He suggests that Balinese in their outward gaze are not overly concerned about being a Hindu island surrounded by a sea of Islam. They realize their Hindu culture is actually closer to the cultural forms of Islam evident in Java than observers might think.

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<sup>8</sup> Indonesians from outside of Bali

Balinese have, however, used different strategies to defend the island from perceived external "negative influences". Allen and Palermo (2004:2) suggested that Balinese traditional customs and values have been drawn upon at critical and influential moments in their history, such as the two recent Bali bombings. The rationale is that the renaissance of old principles will restore balance and order. Facing an uncertain future some Balinese return to the safe haven of the past, that of traditional values based on culture and religion.

A new term *ajeg Bali* emerged as part of this discourse. It focused on combining culture, identity and a reconstructed past. This catch phrase was strongly promoted through Bali mass media and a special edition of *Bali Post* (2004) suggested that problems have arisen in Balinese society as a result of the physical and spiritual exploitation caused by tourism. The solution lay in being *ajeg*, which implied making Bali strong, defending its traditions, customs and values, and recalling the responsibility of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy in order to redress the imbalance that has occurred. This discourse surrounding *ajeg Bali* also helped elevate the status of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy to its present level of all persuasiveness.

This notion of insecurity is also reinforced when something goes amiss within a Balinese community such as a robbery or a social conflict. There is a tendency to blame other ethnic groups and simultaneously strengthen the idea that Bali is an island under threat. As Howe (2005:3) points out, temple theft is seen as symbolic of stealing from Balinese culture as a whole. However, it is difficult to blame tourists because of the Balinese dependency on tourists for income, so as a result migrant workers become the target for their frustrations. Tisna reinforces this notion

*"We have been blaming and often justifiably much of the island's crime, prostitution and drug trafficking on the unstoppable influx of people coming from outside"*

Tisna (2001:15)

The combination of these factors has generated an imbalance in the way many Balinese perceive and treat outsiders. Lanus (2001:183) suggests *tamu*<sup>9</sup> are given preferential treatment as they symbolically represent income and livelihood. They are a key component of the "culture as a commodity" equation, whereas

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<sup>9</sup> Tourists

migrants, who are competing for tourist money, are considered a threat and a destabilizing influence.

There is also a sense that it is necessary to preserve the qualities of the culture, rather than allow it to erode due to external forces. Additionally, Balinese use their culture as a source of power, calling upon the unique proprietary nature of the culture to ensure that ethnic others are excluded from this Balinese branding that has developed. Santikarma reinforces this and suggests

*“Culture becomes a way of establishing boundaries between insiders and outsiders, as well as a tool for social control”*

Santikarma (2001:30)

Dwaikora (2001) believes that for Bali to develop appropriate levels of social harmony in the future, it needs to focus on creating a more syncretic and pluralistic society. Geriya (1993) argues that villages are already becoming more pluralistic. The transformation of local ownership and increasing acquisition of land by foreigners and other Indonesian ethnic groups has created changes in the physical and social structure of the village. Balinese villages have become more dynamic as shifts in social relations within the *banjar* have traversed ethnic, national and religious borders while widening social networks on a greater global scale.

In terms of Balinese maintaining a balanced relationship with other Balinese, there is a still-intact sense of commitment to others in their village. People unquestioningly help one another and there continues to be a deep sense of commitment to daily community rituals for the gods (Allen & Palermo, 2006). However, new challenges have emerged as a growing number of Balinese become increasingly affluent and influenced by a modern tourist economy.

Firstly, tensions have arisen out of an uneven distribution of increased income. Some Balinese believe that tourism has not benefited them to the same extent as others, and feel marginalized by the development that has occurred. Already divide exists between the newly affluent and the consistently poor. An expanding gap between ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’ is evident, and cultural dislocation is occurring as a result of external pressures to change dress, food, art, music, and technology. Vickers (1989:202) suggests that a growing middle class widens this division as they gain greater access to tourist dollars. These benefits are also

unevenly distributed as a majority of investments originate from Jakarta or overseas sources, which often leaves Balinese to deal with environmental problems created by others Vickers (1989:184-213).

The increasing wealth and greater disposable incomes of some Balinese families have also resulted in expanding their expenditure on rituals and religious ceremonies. This has boosted the local economy, encouraged competitive ceremonial displays and promoted a greater desire for higher status. This invariably puts undue stress on the women, who have ultimate responsibility in producing these.

Hatch (2010) also advocates the notion that there is an increased emphasis on a hierarchal society in recent years. He observes that the frequent and elaborate ceremonies and rituals act as an opportunity for Balinese to demonstrate their place in the hierarchal order. The size of their possessions is a key status issue. In which temple ceremonies play an integral role. Some Balinese opt for more lavish religious ceremonies, as it not only displays their pious commitment but also reinforces their perceived levels of prosperity to other communities and to tourists. Loveard (2010) also highlights the role of the government by suggesting the government is eager for foreign exchange and continually forces modern rituals on Balinese and pressurizes them to make their traditional ceremonies extra lavish in order to satisfy tourists.

Secondly, the economic impact of tourism on Balinese communities has encouraged the development of specific attitudes and behaviours, such as materialism and consumerism. It has also influenced conceptual thinking as Balinese move from an agrarian society based on strong kinship ties towards an urban one that focuses more on individualism. Western values of individualism and meritocracy are impacting Balinese as they become more materialistic and have greater exposure to global influences Agung (2008).

Traditionally within the *banjar*<sup>10</sup> system there is a high level of conformity and individualism is integrated into the collectivism of the *banjar*. However, economic forces have weakened this system and social conformity is being increasingly replaced with individualism. The socio-cultural impact of this among young Balinese has both weakened social ties and liberalized certain morals.

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<sup>10</sup> Community organization

Allan (2005:6) even goes so far as making the analogy that external observers describe modern Bali as a society addicted to the easy money of tourism. Like a junkie it needs increasing quantities of the tourist drug to satisfy its cravings. However, in the process it damages its health and alienates its friends and family.

This disenfranchisement is also reinforced by a caste system that hinders social equality. Different tourist communities are dominated by the Brahmana caste; Balinese from the other three castes do not have the same power, positioning and accessibility to reap the dividends of a growing tourist economy. Rini (2001:181) even suggests that Hinduism in Bali has become less humanistic and has been tainted by a caste system that negates human rights. Pringle (2004:229) reinforces this argument and stipulates that the caste system remains problematic. He further believes an alternative system of measuring personal status should be developed.

Also, as a result of these divisions, Balinese situated within the lower castes and dissatisfied with the domineering role of the nobility castes in religious matters and social life have resisted this supremacy. They have criticized the feudal caste system for the extravagant nature of the rituals and the propensity for upper caste members to guard certain sacrosanct knowledge Tisna (2001:175).

However, as Sumarta (2001) observes, caste distinctions are loosening due to *Bahasa Indonesia*<sup>11</sup> becoming widely used throughout different tourist areas. This has had a democratizing effect, and has blurred the distinct levels of Balinese speech used in “speaking up or down” to other castes. As a result, the relationships between the different castes are not as clearly delineated and defined as they once were.

Furthermore, Geriya (1993) argued that tourism has created a change in the determination of status. Where previously a person’s status was decided by birth caste, it is now more commonly based on achievement and the type of employment one has. Vickers (1989) reinforced this viewpoint with his argument that poverty in Bali had become connected to a lack of access to income derived from tourism.

In terms of the representation of the Balinese relationship with tourists, a range of scholars have questioned the exoticness and gracefulness that is

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<sup>11</sup> Indonesian language

perpetually promoted for the tourist gaze and endorsed by anthropologists such as Mead (1997) Lansing (1983) and Belo (1970). Tisna explains that there exists *“a shocking discrepancy between the exotic Bali image of glossy tourist brochures and a more than unpleasant reality of the present-day life in Bali”* .

Tisna (2000:10)

What are these ‘unpleasant realities’? Firstly, Lanus (2001:168) suggests tourism has perpetuated the spread of prostitution in Bali and has lured people from other parts of Bali and Indonesia. Balinese are caught between “a rock and hard place” in terms of how to deal with this problem. They want to uphold their Hindu morality, but simultaneously acknowledge the economic need for tourism. Lanus (2001:171) further suggests Balinese become indifferent to the issue, turn a blind eye, and accept it as part of the whole tourist package.

Secondly, Howe (2005:5) believes tourists are allured and captivated by the exoticism of the surface layer of cultural tourism experiences such as cremations and temple ceremonies. However, he further suggests, they are unaware of the tensions that exist below the surface in Balinese society. These conflicts include jealousies, dispute with relatives, domestic violence, unemployment, land use issues and marginalization.

Both Vickers (2003) and Wikan (1990) also argue the exotic image that is promoted distorts the underlying realities of being Balinese. Wikan (1990) dispels this idealized exoticism and paints a realistic picture which is rarely glimpsed by tourists, in which life is a constant struggle to protect oneself from evil magic, while maintaining one's personal appearance and attitudes to avoid being shamed or stigmatized. She presents ordinary Balinese struggling in their own way, divorced from the veneer of exoticism.

Wikan (1990) also challenges the stereotypical image of Balinese grace and serenity. Replacing the genuine peacefulness that is commonly portrayed to tourists, she concludes from her fieldwork that the Balinese present “‘a mask,’ one that is enforced by peer pressure and spiritual terror. What appear to be natural actions are actually contrived postures enforced by social and moral consent. She further challenges the fixed poise that is perpetuated to the outside world and believes it is a form of surveillance rather than a theatrical display.

Barth (1993), in his qualitative research in northern Bali, rejects mainstream anthropological generalizations of Bali as a cultural system of carefully articulated parts. Instead he presents a different model that highlights the disorganizing effects of individual action, the constant flux of interpretation, and the powerful interaction of social relationships as a cultural resource. Like Wikan, he presented similar pervasive 'concerns' that have impacted on Balinese orientation and the way they relate to each other. These included the recurrent pressure to manage and inhibit one's feelings and actions in order to support the community.

This management of ones' feelings is also reinforced by the psyche of not losing face. Balinese try to avoid saying anything that would embarrass others in public situations. Harmony and maintaining unity is the overriding goal, even to the detriment of not expressing your feelings or what you think is beneficial for the group (Hatch 2010:12). Both Bateson (1942) and Geertz (1975), in earlier observations, highlighted this desire to hide personal feelings and avoid open conflict.

Thirdly, this inner tension is accentuated by an identity quandary of what it means to be Balinese. That is succumbing to the pressure of conforming to the image of being Balinese, while continuing to be worthy representatives of Balinese-ness. Balinese appropriate the touristic vision of their culture while simultaneously trying to free themselves of its hold.

Finally, there exists an interesting paradox in stereotyping and promoting Bali as a peaceful and harmonious society. When one reflects on recent Balinese history, there were certain periods of time when Balinese society or sections of it were particularly violent and not at all harmonious Santikarma (2001), Vickers (1989) and Robinson (1995). However, this has not discouraged either Balinese or tourists to think otherwise. This situation begs the question of whether the pressure of presenting a polished and packaged culture to a global market overrides the ability of Balinese to express their tensions and conflicts ?

## **2.5 The Balance with the Environment**

*"The Balinese are the only tribe who have perfect harmony with nature and no other race gives the impression of living in such close touch with nature, creating a feeling of harmony between the people and its surrounding."*

(Covarrubias 1936:13)

Restraint and conservation are deeply embedded in Balinese cultural behaviour codes. Their relationship with their environment recognizes and reinforces the need to maintain the balance of the human setting that is made up of the traditional environments; the spiritual, social and physical. This is reflected in different milieus such as the division of their homes, traditional villages and the layout of the temple area Eiseman (1990:3-10). Within each of these environments there are areas specifically designated for spiritual, physical and social needs.

Cosmological teachings based on the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine also provide guidelines for the Balinese on how to use and manage the environment in sustainable ways Dwijendra (2003), Samadhi (2004). This is demonstrated by the *subak* system, which applies the principles of harmony and balance to daily activities of irrigating water for rice cultivation. The principle concept here is that man is part of nature and is ultimately responsible for its sustainability Sutawan (2004:1).

However, the idealized harmonious relationship between the Balinese and their environment that was promoted by the likes of Covarrubias (1936) and De Zoete and Walter Spies (1973) is highly questionable when one reflects on present day reality. As Pringle points out

*“If Bali’s cultural soul moved into the second millennium in remarkably good health, the same cannot be said for Bali’s physical body. The island is plagued with environmental problems of many kinds. “*

Pringle (2004:213)

Bali is at risk of a considerable loss of productive rice fields, challenging the basis of the island’s existence, and in the near future, a loss of water security. Environmental pressures such as beach erosion, land, air and water pollution also add to the disharmony. Inappropriate developments have also led to problems such as flash flooding and land use conflicts. Ever-increasing traffic problems cause environmental pollution and health and safety problems. Collectively, these factors dispel the image of an island that maintains a harmonious relationship with nature. It also highlights the contradictions that exist between the idealized worldview of *Tri Hita Karana* and the day-to-day environmental issues that Balinese experience.

Speirs (2005:13-14) extends this contradictory notion to the point where Bali is becoming the Bali outsiders want it to be. He suggests that in reality, Bali as the essence of exotic tropical travel is only available as a proliferation of developers who are either selling it off or digging it up, while still promoting the exotic Bali image that they are destroying. He envisions that in the future, there will be a multitude of villas owned by non-Balinese looking for the real Bali, and finding nothing but the trappings of the west that they left behind in the first place. Yet another paradox the Balinese have to deal with. So why is there a lack of conceptual transference from the sense of the sacred and place to the practical problem solving of environmental issues?

In response to this question there are differing viewpoints from both Western and Balinese scholars, as well as Balinese communities. These discourses also highlight the debate about the desirability of further growth in tourism and what this will look like in the future. Will Bali eventually become a giant theme park?

There is the belief that there is a lack of connection the Balinese make between the metaphysical and the physical. As a symbol oriented society there are ceremonies that are celebrated to respect the environment, however the issue that arises is that the Balinese are trapped within the metaphorical meaning of the ritual and are unaware of its underlying message. There is a sizeable gap in Balinese thinking between the ritual and metaphysical attentiveness (through offerings and ceremonies) and the actual physical necessities of environmental and social well being Wardana (2010).

Tisna (2001:23) tends to place more of the blame on the influences of external forces. He suggests the common connection to the indifference towards environmental issues is that Balinese have been tempted and have succumbed to the lures of materialism and consumerism. Consequently, they are increasingly exploitive in order to satisfy their demands with the direct result being that they lack sensitivity towards the natural environment.

The influence of the western notion of duality has also impacted on their relationship with the environment Tisna (2001:23). In the Western paradigm, man is considered separate from the natural world and is perceived to have control over the environment by changing it to suit his needs. This is in direct contrast to the Balinese notion that man is integral part of nature; he is responsible for its

sustainability and maintaining the balance amongst the spiritual, physical and social environments. However, consistent intrusion from national and western influences have clouded and undermined these local concepts. They have also disempowered Balinese in their control over development in Bali.

Supporting this viewpoint, Sutawan (2004:10) suggests that the viability and sustainability of the *subak* is under threat as a result of various influences brought about by the swift development of tourism. New values and concepts have infiltrated various aspects of Balinese agrarian life, which in turn has undermined and devalued the importance of *Tri Hita Karana*. This is clearly evident with the increasing number of *subak* organizations leasing their lands to foreigners.

Agung (2008) adopts a more internal stance and recognizes that the indifference towards environmental issues is heavily influenced by religious philosophy. He suggests Hinduism has a particular tendency towards resignation and simply letting situations take their due course. Consequently some Balinese believe environmental wrongs will eventually right themselves. Natih (2010) espouses a similar position and suggests systematic planning and action is vital for sustainable development. He emphasizes that Bali's coastal management lacks balance between environmental, cultural and economic aspects. To readdress this, Balinese need to be active rather than passive in revisiting and implementing *Tri Hita Karana* in a very realistic way.

Within a historical context it is also important to consider that tourist areas have undergone a transformation from a homogeneous agrarian society to a heterogeneous, commercial, and service orientated one in a reasonably short space of time. In this transition, the local concepts and traditional worldview relevant to an agrarian culture have not been transformed and translated quickly enough to meet the demands of modernization and a consumer orientated society.

This lack of transfer is evident in the disposal of plastic bags. Tourist communities have moved away from the traditional practice of obtaining and using local materials and have become reliant on resources from global sources. Balinese originally used biodegradable materials that included coconut palm or banana leaves for many of their day-to-day tasks that once obsolete, were thrown away. These would break down naturally. However, with increased consumerism and disposable income, the disposal of plastic bags and other consumer packaging

has become an ongoing environmental problem. Many of these bags are discarded onto the beach, in rivers, canals and rice paddy irrigation systems.

This transfer is also inhibited by a certain mindset whereby Balinese lack the awareness and education about environmental issues. They perceive such environmental necessities such as sanitation as a cost, not an investment, so they cannot comprehend why they should change their habits. They do not see the long-term value in these possible solutions Mungkasa (2010).

It would seem, therefore, that further investigations are needed in order to explain why there is such a disparity between the application of the guiding principles of *Tri Hita Karana* and the realities of dealing with increasing environmental issues. Can all levels of Balinese society develop a critical consciousness within the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy that will ensure they are able to recognize and address issues of maintaining the balance between themselves and their environment?

## **2.6 Conclusions and Needs for Additional Research**

The scope of this literature review has been limited in that qualitative research on the process of the “reinvention” and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* worldview is reasonably sparse. Clearly, additional research is needed and emphasis should focus on investigating this process and identifying the political influences on the evolution of the philosophy. Also research is necessary in determining the influence of increasing mass tourism on the three pillars of the philosophy. Furthermore, there is the need to establish how and whether the Balinese’s understanding of these effects has impacted on their concept of *Tri Hita Karana*?

Certain conclusions can however be drawn from the range of arguments presented in this review. Firstly, it has situated various analysis of the influence and impact of tourism on Balinese culture. There is a general consensus that Balinese culture has remained resilient through a range of adaptive processes and the culture itself has not been eroded. Tourism is now viewed more as part of an internal adaptive process as opposed to an external agent of change.

Secondly, there is major agreement that tourism has impacted negatively at some level on all pillars of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. It is also evident that differing opinions exist on what degree this has occurred. However, the Balinese

relationship with god has remained the most robust of the three and their relationship with other humans and their natural environment is more tenuous. This needs to be investigated in greater depth.

Thirdly, the evidence also demonstrates the limitations of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy as an evolving worldview. It has struggled to adapt to modernity and a more materialistic society. As a guiding philosophy, it requires some form of reexamination of its relevance and revitalization to ensure balance and harmony is maintained in all forms of material and spiritual development. Transference of practical solutions and action may need to be integrated with addressing challenges symbolically through rituals and ceremonies.

Finally on a macro level, additional research could also be carried out to investigate whether the findings from research on the influence of tourism on the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy is applicable to other societies that have similar worldviews. This would involve investigating and comparing how other societies facing similar challenges adapt and develop relevant levels of balance and harmony.

Chapter 3 will outline the methodology that was employed to determine the necessary data. This provided the foundation for the findings and conclusions drawn from this thesis.

## CHAPTER 3

### Methodology

#### 3.0 Introduction

In order to develop a relevant and significant understanding of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy and the influence tourism has had on this, Chapter 3 will describe the methods of research that were applied in order to establish this goal. The chapter is divided into seven sections: 1) Statement of Methodology; 2) The Subject Population; 3) Overview of Nyuh Kuning Community; 4) Description of the Research Design; 5) Validity; 6) Ethical Considerations and; 7) The Limitations of the Study.

#### 3.1 Statement of Methodology

The research for this thesis was based on a constructivist and grounded theory approach, within a qualitative research design. This methodology focused on three key areas.

1. The co-construction of knowledge and understanding between the members of the Nyuh Kuning community and me.
2. The grounded theory approach guiding the research process. As Strauss and Corbin (1998, 158) point out, “grounded theory is a general method for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed”. From the collated data that arose out of the interviewing process, I was able to establish patterns and consistencies. The patterns that emerged from this data became the themes that provided the basis for the grounded theory.
3. The adoption of an inductive form of inquiry led to a research process that moved from empirical observations and concepts within a specific tourist community to a general theoretical proposition of how the Balinese worldview of *Tri Hita Karana* has been impacted by tourism. The theoretical constructs are mainly reliant on personal perspectives and perceptions of informants from the Nyuh Kuning community. It is largely authenticated by information and perspectives provided by others rather than objective measurement of cultural change.

### 3.2 Subject Population

The informants that participated in this research were all Balinese Hindu. The majority of these are members of the Nyuh Kuning community in Ubud. They were identified and chosen as key participants, because they represented a wide range of positioning within this community as well as a diverse cross section sample of the community. This included different gender, age, caste, employment, socio-economic levels and community responsibilities. Some of these participants move in overlapping social circles while others do not. The concepts and ideals, which are articulated across these different social circles, will create a generality and a certain degree of validity that reflects their lived experiences.

The following is a brief background of each participant. Their real names are included as all participants granted permission for their names to be used in the ethnography. Made Suparsa is a male Balinese in his mid forties. He was originally a wood carver and is now a contractor overseeing the building of villas in the Nyuh Kuning area. He has lived in this village all his life. Ni Made Pujiani is a female Balinese in her late forties and originated from another village area of Ubud but moved to Nyuh Kuning village as her husband is from this community. She works as a domestic helper. Made Sadu is a male Balinese in his forties. He is an architect and owns a hardware store in the village. His family owns and oversees the Pendet museum in Nyuh Kuning. This museum houses many forms of Balinese sculpture. He is a very strong advocate of applying the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy to all levels of the community. Dr Wayan Windia is Made Sadu's brother who originally lived in Nyuh Kuning, but now resides in Denpasar. He is a professor of law at the University of Udayana in Denpasar. Wayan Surta is a male Balinese in his thirties. He is the *bendesa*<sup>12</sup> and has many responsibilities within the *banjar*. He is also a strong supporter of integrating the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* into the daily life of the village.

The other informants reside in different areas of Ubud and Denpasar. They were identified as potential participants as they represented contrasting perspectives and opinions on the interpretation and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. Wayan Chakra and Tri Suda Pala both work for the *Yayasan Tri*

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<sup>12</sup> Head of the village

*Hita Karana Bali* foundation, which focuses on setting up permaculture practices. They have integrated the key principles of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy and the key concepts of traditional Balinese architecture into the mission of their foundation. Degung Santikarma is a cultural anthropologist who studied at Udayana University in Denpasar and at Melbourne University in Australia. He has written many articles about the power of Balinese culture and how it can be used for both social control and ethnic discrimination.

### **3.3 Overview of Nyuh Kuning Community**

The following provides a brief overview and background of the Nyuh Kuning community. It focuses specifically on its demographics and economic history.

#### ***Demographic***

Located behind Monkey Forest<sup>13</sup> and to the south of the main town area of Ubud, Nyuh Kuning is a small but growing community. With its close proximity to the tourist centre of Ubud, its residential area has a number of hotels, home stays, restaurants, small coffee shops and galleries. The village also has a yoga centre, a natural birthing clinic, and an adoption centre.

The predominant demographic group of this community is Hindu Balinese. Many of these Balinese families are from the *Sudra* caste, which is the lowest caste in the Hindu Balinese caste system. There are also some Balinese who originate from the village that have married Balinese from other areas of Bali.

The remaining demographics comprise of tourists, who reside in the community for varying lengths of time, a small number of Indonesians from other parts of Indonesia and an increasing number of expatriates. The expatriates are predominately from a range of western countries and are either retired, work in the Ubud area or live in the community on a semi-permanent basis. Some of these expatriates are married to Balinese or other Indonesians from different ethnic groups.

#### ***Economic History***

Within a historical context, the Nyuh Kuning community has undergone a transformation from a homogeneous agrarian-based village, to a more heterogeneous, commercial, and service orientated one. The economics of the village prior to their immersion and engagement in a tourist-based economy was

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<sup>13</sup> Sacred forest area in central Ubud which is used predominately for ceremonies

significantly dictated by an agrarian culture. Their economic resources were centered on rice farming and self-sufficiency. However, as Ubud evolved as a key cultural centre of Bali, the village began to interact more fully with tourism. Particularly from the 1960s, the economy was driven more by the need to produce artifacts for tourists and develop tourist service orientated resources.

In recent times, the village has become more of an integral part of a modern tourist economy. The extent of this has fluctuated in the last two decades as a result of key external factors. The first was the Asian economic crisis in the late nineties that caused the Indonesian economy to contract and caused tourist businesses to struggle to survive.

Secondly, the catastrophic events of September 11, 2001 impacted considerably on the mindset and movement of travelers. The effect of this created a sense of fear amongst the traveling public, and greatly reduced the number of travelers visiting Bali.

The terrorist Bali bombings in 2000 coupled with the SARS epidemic were tipping points that decimated the tourist industry and created a total sense of insecurity. The local economy and the community struggled in the absence of tourists and their tourist dollars.

Within the space of two years following the terrorist attack, the tourist numbers recovered only to be jolted by a second terrorist bombing in October 2005. However, in the last two years tourist numbers have rebounded and are presently at record levels. This has had a positive economic effect on the community. The village has also recently benefited economically from the increased number of expatriates relocating to the community and renting or building homes.

### **3.4 Description of Research Design**

The following description outlines the different stages of the research design process.

#### ***Preparation***

The preparation stage involved reviewing the range of literature that presented opposing and conflicting viewpoints on the influence of tourism on Balinese culture, and more specifically the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. This also included analyzing the discourse related to the history, evolution, and purpose of

the philosophy. The themes that emerged from the literature review became the basis for both the unstructured and structured interview questions. Potential interview participants were then identified. This was based on the following key criteria. Firstly, they were Balinese who resided in the Nyuh Kuning community and represented different roles and responsibilities within the community. Secondly, they were Balinese from other areas of Ubud who had connections to the Nyuh Kuning village. Finally, each participant had a working knowledge and understanding of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy.

Prospective key informants were then given relevant information about the objectives of the research in order for them to make informed decisions about giving consent. In addition, a personal construct was created at the beginning of the research process. This involved challenging preconceptions and assumptions, as well as identifying biases in relation to cultural representation and change. The purpose of this was to ensure that the identified assumptions and biases did not influence the final interpretations of the collated data. The key preconceptions and biases that emerged were

- a) All Balinese in this community represent and reinforce the image promoted by the image-makers of a society that is always smiling, friendly, homogeneous and well- balanced.
- b) All Balinese families within this community live in cohesive and harmonious units.
- c) All aspects of tourism have a negative impact on the host culture.
- d) All cultural changes that have occurred in this community are a direct result of tourism.
- e) As the Balinese have a very strong focus on the spiritual world and are highly committed to their religious duties, they reject the trappings of materialism and consumerism.
- f) Balinese individually and collectively within this community are tolerant and accepting of all non-Balinese living in Nyuh Kuning.

a) There are no cultural variants within the Nyuh Kuning community.

A generalized construct drawn from relevant literature was also developed to determine further assumptions. This included acknowledging Nyuh Kuning as a relevant tourist community in the process of cultural change and one that is in a constant state of realignment. Global and local variants contribute to this conditioning. Similarly, both community and individual-level perceptions play a key role in this acknowledgement.

The research also assumes the significance of different time frames within the research process. Investigating a particular worldview and how it has evolved and changed, needs to incorporate a range of designated time period. As Schweizer (1998) suggests, fieldwork can be enhanced by engaging in generalizations across different time frames and identifying consistency as well as changes at specific points of time. Consequently, the research incorporated the time frames mentioned in the historical context section in the introduction chapter.

In further reference to these different time frames, analysis of how tourism influences and impacts on local cultures can become stereotyped by the notion, as Picard (1996: 104-110) suggests, of an intimidating and globalizing force creating cultural change as a result of its perceived superiority. This infers that isolated cultures, prior to contact with tourism, may have been fixed and complete societies. However, this research acknowledges that Bali was not a harmonious, static and united society prior to the introduction of tourism and colonialism. The island has a sanguine and violent history.

Following the documenting of key assumptions and preconceptions, a research plan was constructed. Key locations within the Nyuh Kuning area were documented in order to observe possible social situations and cultural activities for participant observation as well as planning interviews with informants. A variety of settings, both informal and formal were included in the research plan to observe Balinese positioned in a range of everyday experiences. It did not focus specifically on public and ritual events. As Abu Lughood (1986) suggests, cultural processes and templates alone do not fully determine and shape public interaction but impact also on individual's personal experiences. The designated time frame

for carrying out general observations, participant observations, and interviews was from July to December of 2010.

Finally, notes of my first impressions of the physical environment and social activities within the Nyuh Kuning area were recorded. This was a significant part of determining a baseline, as impressions blend quickly into day-to-day reality. They also provided a direct comparison to cumulative and on going observations. As first impressions tend to dominate later inferences and assertions, regular revision and reflection of these notes were carried out.

### ***Data Collection***

Primary data for this research was based on observations and informant responses to questioning. The data derived largely from general observations, participant observation, and semi structured, and structured interviews. By engaging in these multiple methods, more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities could be made. Data that may have impacted on any of the pillars of the philosophy but was not directly related to tourism, was not analysed for further interpretation. This included the influence of the national economy, the needs of the Indonesian government, and globalization forces. Also data was not included from tourists themselves, as they did not have the necessary knowledge of the philosophy or represent an emic perspective of the overall issues being investigated.

### ***General observations***

The research incorporated general observations of multiple sites within the Nyuh Kuning village area. These observations focused on how the Balinese integrate and apply the different pillars of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy into their daily lives, both spiritually and materially. These sites (see appendix three) included

- a) The field area where the older members of the community carry out their daily exercises.
- b) The village area where I reside.
- c) The *puri dalem*<sup>14</sup> where ceremonies are carried out.
- b) *Bumi Sehat*: the natural birthing clinic.

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<sup>14</sup> Village temple

- c) Observations of a cremation held in Monkey Forest.
- d) Communal activities that included cleaning up different areas of the village.
- e) The various restaurants, hotels and home stays within the village area.
- f) *Taman Hati* Yoga Centre.
- g) *Taman Hati* Adoption Centre.

### ***Participant Observations***

Participant observation was also used to collect information on the daily activities of the local community. Close consideration was given to patterns of culture of the local community in relationship to the influences of tourism. I kept detailed records of what occurred, including instances that characteristically are taken for granted. Also, constant monitoring of these observations and records was carried out, in order to identify evidence of personal bias or prejudice. This type of participant observation focused on maintaining a balance between my role as an insider versus that of an outsider. This involved participating in some activities but not fully in all the activities.

As a resident of this community over an extended length of time, I was able to participate in or observe a range of Balinese ceremonies and daily activities. These included

- a) Traditional birthday ceremony for a one-year-old Balinese child.
- b) Attending Balinese yoga classes.
- c) Attending various ceremonies at the temple.
- d) Visiting Balinese in their homes.
- e) Observing various cremations.

### ***Interviews***

For the structured interviews, a standardized interview format was used. The questions asked of the participants were structured and open-ended, with a focus on a constructionist viewpoint. They included a range of questions that centred on how the informants learnt the concepts of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy, their interpretation of it, and how tourism had impacted on the different pillars of the doctrine. The questions were designed to elicit each informant's perception about the process of cultural change and how this had impacted on their worldview.

These structured interviews also provided appropriate data for comparing different informants responses to the same questions, and provided information for developing key connections and mapping in relation to how their worldview has been influenced by tourism. The interviews also generated a large amount of data, which resulted in some of the information becoming extraneous. This was problematic in terms of generating comparable themes.

Consideration and flexibility were also given to the recursive nature of the interviews. What was documented in the interviews was also used to determine or define further questioning. Within this repositioning process, new questions emerged from the fieldwork and ultimately a different set of questions developed and materialized at the conclusion of the research.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face in the living room of my residence in Nyuh Kuning. This room had few distractions and ensured confidentiality. Prior to the interviews, explanations were given in relation to the purpose of the interview, the format, the expected time frame, and opportunities to ask questions before the interviews commenced. The data was recorded both as written notes and on a tape recorder. Once the interviews were completed, the tapes were transcribed verbatim. The researcher read over the transcripts several times and identified recurring themes that emerged from the transcript data. Issues that arose three or more times were documented as relevant themes. These issues were documented and corresponding quotes that were highlighted were then recorded under each of the theme headings.

The semi-structured interviews were informal and conversational interviews with open-ended questions. These occurred in various social situations with Balinese I had met while living in the Nyuh Kuning village.

As the interviews were conducted in English, which for the participants is their first language, difficulties and ambiguities in their conceptual understandings and meanings may have arisen. However, all informants were fluent enough in English to explain their thinking and background knowledge.

### ***Monitoring the Research Process***

In order to keep track of the research process, an audit trail and a reflection log were compiled. This involved

- a) Processing notes of methodological notes, and decision-making.

- b) Materials relating to intentions and reactions, these include personal notes about experiences with informants. These were kept to distinguish these specifically from the interviews. This helped to isolate personal biases, as well as to use personal experiences as analytically useful information.
- c) Instrument development information: this included revision of interview questions.

### ***Analysis and Interpretation***

This part of the process consisted of an on-going analysis of the collated field data and its overall meaning. It focused firstly on converting the data into a coherent, comprehensive and detailed description of the impact of tourism on the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. This description was analyzed and results that were significant and meaningful were identified. Upon completion of the interviewing process, questions were asked of nine participants. Ten themes arose from this data.

Through the process of interpretation, the results were assessed in order to understand their relevance, importance and significance to the context of the research. It also reconsidered the reliability and validity of all the data. This involved considering whether the conceptual interpretations of the variables are reasonably accurate and the overall understanding of the social setting, its context, and those involved in it are also precise.

The research adopted two key models in carrying out this interpretation stage. Firstly, it incorporated the editing analysis process as outlined by Miller and Crabtree (1992). This involved the interpretation of the qualitative data, reducing it to conceptual categories and relationships until it reveals subjective notions. These conceptual categories were explored to identify patterns, and themes and then evaluated for their significance and usefulness within the context of the research.

Secondly, observations of cultural patterns involving conceptual mapping were also implemented. This incorporated using the terms of Balinese themselves to relate symbols across different forms of behavior and in varied contexts of cultural change. These definitional mapping techniques link labels that Balinese use to describe cultural change and concepts that affect their worldview. This

concept mapping systemically traced terms from different viewpoints and developed constructs that account for these patterns.

### ***Explanation***

In this phase, an overall explanation was produced to communicate the data, findings, and broad, but meaningful understanding of the Balinese worldview situated in a modern context of a tourist based community. The links between the concrete data and the abstract concepts needed to be clear and comprehensive. My own possible biases and interpretive stance were taken into consideration. Also, cross-referencing was made between the personal construct developed at the beginning of the research process and the research findings. This was carried out to ensure that the identified preconceptions and biases did not influence the final interpretations of the collated data.

### ***Reflections of Research***

The reflective part of this phase involved reviewing key objectives and determining the success and levels of achievement related to these objectives. It also involved the implications of the findings in response to the hypothesis, key questions, and the possible applications of the research. Finally, it identified and highlighted possible directions for future research on tourist-based communities while introducing other unanswered questions that have arisen from the research.

### **3.5 Validity**

As this research adopts a constructivist approach, it values the diverse constructions of realities of its participants. To acquire valid and reliable data relevant to these multiple realities, consideration was given to three types of validity (Johnson,1997). However, the research acknowledges that the deconstruction of the concept of validity into separate types and relating them to certain stages of the research process does not necessarily guarantee complete validity.

The descriptive validity of the data focused on the factual accuracy of the fieldwork, as reported by the researcher. This included engaging in multiple methods of data collecting since the triangulation of data from the use of observations, interviews and recordings lead to more valid and reliable information.

To ensure the research was dependable, the researcher aimed to maintain the three standards of consistency, replication and transparency throughout the research process. This included providing a detailed description of the research methodology in order to ensure that replication would be possible for future researchers, and that transparency of the analysis was evident. An audit trail of the research process was also established to reinforce the dependability and confirmation of the analysis. The tools for this are mentioned in the Monitoring of the Research Process section of the Research Design

In addition, the interpretive validity focused on ensuring that the participants' viewpoint, thoughts, intentions, and experiences were accurately understood and reported by the researcher. Once tentative propositions and theoretical constructs were formed, informants were given opportunities to reflect, validate and evaluate findings to ensure accurate and fair representation. Attention was also given to the accuracy of the conceptual interpretations of the variables within the research. This involved developing a self-awareness and "critical self-reflection" by the researcher on potential biases and predispositions as these may affect the research process and conclusions. Additionally, consideration was given to achieving a balance between perceived importance and actual importance of the collated data. This revealed a difference in anticipated and real areas of research significance.

Lastly, the theoretical validity focused on ensuring the theoretical explanations developed from the research fitted the collated data. This involved fieldwork that focused on spending significant amounts of time studying research participants and their setting. This ensured greater consistency in the patterns of relationships and understanding why these relationships occur.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

In my positioning both as an expatriate and as a researcher, a range of key ethical issues needed to be considered and addressed during the research process. Prior to conducting the research for this thesis, I had been living in the Nyuh Kuning community of Ubud for a year. In that time, I had built up a certain rapport and relationship with a range of Balinese, who were eventually identified as informants. Consequently, I needed to be mindful not to abuse the trust and relations that I had established with these participants. My intentions and

expectations needed to be clear and honest. I also needed to guard against imposing preconceived generalizations and bias while conducting the interviews and participant observations. Unexpected responses were accepted and included in the collated data.

In addition, consideration was given to the process in gaining informed consent from the intended participants in the research project. I have a responsibility to provide prospective informants with appropriate and comprehensible information about the objectives of the research in order for them to make informed and competent decisions about giving consent. To ensure this was implemented I focused on three key questions.

1. Have I adequately explained the nature of my research?
2. Can I measure their comprehension of my research?
3. Are the subjects participating voluntarily?

Also as mentioned in the previous section, it is imperative to seek reactions and reflections from the informants in order to carry out validation of the final analysis. The feedback and discussion of the researcher's interpretations and conclusions with the actual participants produced further verification and insight.

Lastly, the issue of hierarchical power within the fieldwork needed to be acknowledged and accommodated. As a result of my multiple positioning as a male, Westerner and researcher, divisions of power and representation arose. Consequently, the research took into account this positioning and attempted to address the ways in which power and authority are performed and negotiated. It is also possible that my positioning as a male may significantly influence the interviewing of female Balinese. Their expected role in Balinese society is somewhat submissive and men dominate decision-making. Women have limited participation in community related matters and issues. Consequently, the female informants may have been hesitant in expressing true feelings and perspectives.

### **3.7 Limitations of the Research**

As this thesis relies on qualitative research methodology, there are several key limitations that impact on the quality of the data collected and the overall analysis. First, there are limitations in attempting to measure cultural change in a tourist community. As Wall points out

*“Vibrant cultures are not static and there are divergent opinions concerning changes in the outward manifestations of Balinese culture. Differences of opinion are difficult to resolve because of the problems involved in measuring and evaluating the significance of cultural changes.”*

(Wall1995b, 63-65)

This thesis recognizes this limitation and acknowledges that change processes within a tourist community, particularly at the internal and social level, are difficult to observe and measure.

Second, whilst analyzing cultural change within a specific worldview and explaining why it occurred, it is important to acknowledge that Balinese culture is historically situated and that any form of cultural change is unavoidable with or without the external factors identified in this research. As Vickers (1989:176) points out, in the course of history Bali has had to adapt, change its appearance and redefine its cultural identity in response to both internal and external conditions and factors. Historically, Balinese culture has provided and received a range of cultural influences. Consequently, this thesis recognizes and accepts that change is a characteristic of all cultures. Also, it acknowledges that cultural change within worldview concepts are not classified as either positive or negative but rather as an inherent feature of culture.

Third, participants may tend to express views that are consistent with social standards and expectations from their own community avoiding any attempt to present views negatively, or to present their true feelings. This social desirability bias may lead respondents to self-censor their actual views. The value of data could be questionable as it is dependent on the honesty of the informant, who may believe their responses should be based on what they think the interviewer wants to hear.

As the research methodology is also dependent on interpersonal exchanges with Balinese respondents, any number of variables may influence the quantity and quality of information given by respondents. These key variables include the language used in the interviews, the gender and caste of the informants and their degree of interaction with outsiders.

Additionally, the analysis and theory produced from this thesis may not generalize to other communities or settings. With a small number of informants

being interviewed, the final analysis is possibly unreliable. The insights of this research may also be considered restricted to a particular tourist community and to some extent other tourist communities in Bali. However, it will not be extendable to tourist communities outside Bali who are experiencing similar pressures on their worldview from tourism.

Finally, the data collected from observations within this research is generally limited to descriptions of Balinese interacting within small social groupings, which can limit the ability to generalize the results. Similarly, as only one Balinese woman was interviewed in the research process, her analytical construct cannot be projected to Balinese women in other tourist communities.

This chapter has provided an outline of the methodology that was used to generate and collate relevant data and key themes. The results of this collated data will be examined and discussed in Chapter Four. It will describe the meaning of the observations and findings, in light of previous findings made by other researchers. The discussion will also include presenting the principles, relationships and generalizations that have emerged from the results of the study.

## CHAPTER 4

### Findings

#### 4.0 Introduction

Chapter Four presents the findings from the research and is divided into five sections. The first discusses the origin and evolution of the philosophy. The second describes the interpretation and application of the philosophy. The remaining sections document the findings of the influence of tourism on the three different pillars of the philosophy.

#### 4.1 The Origin and Evolution of the Philosophy

Before discussing the origin and evolution of the philosophy, it is significant to acknowledge the importance Balinese place on their relationship with the past and their ancestors. All informants highlighted the need for maintaining a direct link to the past. They emphasized the importance of knowing about and learning from the past. Many participants stated that no matter where Balinese are situated, they have a very strong connection to their lineage and ancestry. This link with ancestors is reinforced through their religion and *adat*. However, this connection illustrates the contradiction that exists of symbolically making links to the past without actually knowing about Balinese history, as many informants were not familiar with either Balinese or local history.

The ancestors themselves are also perceived as spirits who have a special empathy for the family they are connected to. They can be relied upon to protect and aid the family in times of need. These spirits can create conditions for peace and prosperity or alternately cause tension and disharmony, depending on the respect families accord towards their ancestors. As Tri Pala suggests, being connected to the past keeps the Balinese grounded amidst all the day-to-day distractions and their worldview revolves around this. He also points out this link is significantly reinforced when Balinese attend cremations.

This connection to their ancestors is also motivated by a rigid belief in karma. If Balinese forget what their elders talk about or lose touch with their ancestral beliefs, they believe that karma will cause stress, disharmony and imbalance in their lives. A range of informants made reference to how superstition and the

concept of *karmapala*<sup>15</sup> dictates their daily actions and influences their interactions with the gods. They perceive it as part of their worldview and make no distinction between superstition and their relationship with the gods. It is part of the same realm. Degung further suggests, that karma is also used as a form of justice that overrides rational thinking.

In relation to their understanding of the actual origin of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy, the majority of informants made reference to connections to ancient concepts and believed the doctrine had existed for a long time. However, they were unsure of the exact origin of the phrase itself and the reasons why it was created. They assumed it had been established when the concepts were first created, and believed it had not been reconstructed as a reinvented practice.

However, Professor Windia, drawing from his academic background explains that the phrase was created by one of two Balinese in the late nineteen sixties and that there still exists some uncertainty about who actually developed the phrase first. He suggests, that either I Wayan Mata Surtya, a politician and Balinese intellectual, or I Gusti Kelut Kaler, an expert in Balinese customary law, were responsible for the origin of the phrase. Professor Windia suggests, it was more than likely I Gusti Kelut Kaler, as he was inspired by Hindu readings and teachings. He wanted to reformulate and reinvent the philosophy in such a way that was easier for Balinese to comprehend and make it more meaningful in its application.

Other informants from outside this community had differing perspectives on the origin and purpose of the phrase. Degung believes the phrase itself was created during the New Order Regime period, primarily as a discourse for outsiders as well as an instrument for cultural diplomacy. The language used in this discourse acts as political capital and the doctrine itself is used as a tool to control Balinese thought. He questions politicians and intellectual's promotion of the philosophy, and, in particular, their use of what he terms "strategic essentialism". He also suggests, the doctrine emphasizes harmony to the point where Balinese believe they have always been harmonious in relation to the gods, others and nature, and they will continue to do so. As a result, critical thought is suppressed. He firmly believes *Tri Hita Karana* is not a real and complete philosophy, as it does not accommodate critical thinking.

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<sup>15</sup> Balinese concept of karma

The actual concepts of the philosophy are learned from an early age and strengthened in the local school system. Many of the informants learnt the philosophy from their parents and elders and this was reinforced at school through religious classes. Made Sadu also points out, that children in the village learn the concepts through social situations. They are immersed in daily activities with their families that focus on maintaining some form of balance and harmony. However, many informants raised concern that with Balinese children becoming increasingly distracted and influenced by technology and global culture, the importance of learning and applying the principles of the philosophy was considered even more paramount. Professor Windia suggests, that Balinese who did not attend school but learnt the philosophy solely from their elders did not learn it in a systematic way. This resulted in some inconsistencies in its interpretation.

In terms of how the knowledge of the philosophy is disseminated, the elders learn both the theory and practice from Balinese priests. The majority of informants perceive the priests as the direct contact to the gods. The priests tend to be the ones who have access to read and interpret the *Lontar*<sup>16</sup>. They make references and connections from the *Lontar* to certain parts of the philosophy in various ceremonies. The leaders within the respective *banjars* also reinforce this knowledge. The informants further suggest the community is then expected to apply these concepts in their daily-lived experiences.

However, Professor Windia points out that as Balinese priests are revered and are seen to exclusively hold the knowledge of the philosophy, many Balinese will attempt to carry out its implementation without questioning its reasoning. This occurs even if it is not deemed logical within the realms of Balinese thinking.

The discourse surrounding the philosophy is also reinforced through other means. Ni Made Pujani highlights that the media; in particular Balinese Television and local newspapers such as the Bali Post make references to the philosophy and how it is being interpreted and applied. Also various Balinese based websites (as mentioned in the literature review) promote the idealized interpretation of the doctrine.

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<sup>16</sup> Sacred script written on palm leaves

Other informants made reference to local government officials visiting the *banjar* and applying the philosophy as a means to support and sustain village projects, particularly ones that involve their interaction with the environment. However, Professor Windia argues that at a state level, the government pays lip service to the philosophy when its representatives are in Bali. They use the doctrine as a vehicle to reinforce and promote the image of sustainable tourism and harmony in Bali. He further adds that the philosophy is not endorsed outside of the island.

#### **4.2 Interpretations and Application of the Philosophy**

There are many variables within the village context that influence and determine the interpretation and application of the doctrine. Firstly, as the range of informants represented different castes within Balinese Hinduism there was a shared belief that all Balinese, irrespective of their caste, interpret the philosophy in the same way. However, Tri Pala observes that Balinese from the *Brahmana*<sup>16</sup> caste are generally better educated and therefore focused more on the theoretical and conceptual side of the philosophy. In comparison, lower caste Balinese do not possess the theoretical knowledge to the same degree. They carry out more practical implications of the doctrine, as they tend to be farmers who have a closer connection and affinity to the environment, and practice the key principles of the philosophy in their daily farming methods.

In the Nyuh Kuning community, the majority of the Balinese are from the *Sudra*<sup>17</sup> caste. Some informants believed this caste distinction and its connection to their lineage had influenced their present day thinking in terms of subservience and indifference. This in turn impacts on their interpretation of the philosophy.

In terms of gender differentiation, Wayan Suta suggests that there is no variation in the way men and women interact with the philosophy. However, he highlights that as both men and women have clearly defined roles in maintaining harmony, as well as different levels of power and positioning in the village hierarchy, their interpretation and application of the philosophy does vary.

In reference to the actual interpretation and application of the philosophy, many informants conclude that it is a powerful philosophy, but challenging to

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<sup>16</sup> Highest caste in Balinese Hindu

<sup>17</sup> Lowest caste in Balinese Hindu

apply in a practical sense. Keeping a delicate balance between the physical and spiritual world and maintaining harmony within and across each pillar of the philosophy in day-to-day situations is deemed to be difficult. Degung suggests a possible explanation for this is that colonialisation is still so strong in Balinese thought that the application of philosophy has become esoteric and idealized. He believes that the concepts of balance and harmony are imported from external influences, and as a result, Balinese have difficulties interpreting this in a concrete context. He also questions that the application of the philosophy focuses more on reified discourse as opposed to a sense of practicality.

Degung further recommends the philosophy should be more aligned with the Balinese concept of *Desa Kala Patra*.<sup>18</sup> This refers to the synthesis of space, time and identity and is reflected in Balinese behavior, attitude, reactions, actions, speech and feelings. He suggests by reformulating and realigning the philosophy with these concepts would provide greater flexibility in applying the principles of the philosophy in more practical contexts. The emphasis would be on the doctrine coming to life not because it is discussed or taught but simply because it is practiced.

Other informants also made reference to the difficulties of understanding and applying the philosophy. They suggest that Balinese have a basic knowledge and awareness of the meaning of the philosophy. However, the doctrine is not an integral part of people's everyday thinking and discourse. Concerns were also raised to whether Balinese have the necessary understanding and strategies of how to apply the philosophy effectively in their daily-lived experiences. As Made Sadu succinctly suggests, "*Many Balinese talk the talk but don't walk the walk.*"

He further points out, that affluent Balinese have both the power and money within any given community, but do not have the necessary understanding to apply the philosophy in a practical context. Wayan Chakra also predicts that approximately fifteen percent of Balinese know how to apply the philosophy in a practical sense. In comparison, the majority of Balinese are able to apply the philosophy in a metaphorical sense. This limits the future growth and development of the doctrine and the ability of Balinese to adapt to it.

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<sup>18</sup> Balinese concept of time, place and situation

Other informants such as Professor Windia believe that economic influences are the key reasons why the philosophy is hard to implement at a practical level. Maintaining an appropriate degree of balance with other humans and the environment cannot be achieved if humans are consistently immersed and involved in a tourist-based economy. Concepts that emerge from these economic conditions such as exploitation, jealousy, competition, materialism and individualism erode the ability of Balinese to maintain and sustain balance in a practical context.

Some informants made the distinction between the village and the city environment and suggest it was easier to implement the philosophy in a village like Nyuh Kuning as compared to urban areas like Denpasar or Kuta. They believe this is a result of the stronger influence of the village *adat* and the *banjar* and that there were fewer distractions to detract the community from applying the philosophy appropriately.

In terms of interpretation and application of all three pillars of the doctrine, a range of informants raised the issue that an inordinate amount of time and energy is directed towards ceremonies and maintaining balance with the gods as opposed to the other two mainstays of the philosophy. They believe that all three pillars are important and one is not significantly more important than other. However, Wayan Suta who is the *bendesa* of the Nyuh Kuning village counters this notion and suggests that developing a balanced relationship with the gods is considered more important than their relationship with others and the environment. If the gods are appeased and a balanced relationship is developed with the deities then harmonious relationships with other humans and the environment will eventuate. This is another example of the religious resignation that occurs when rationalizing the hierarchal layering of the doctrine.

Professor Windia also argues that this priority towards the gods is also grounded in a strong sense of fear and superstition. Balinese are more afraid of their ancestors and the different Hindu gods than their relationship with other humans or the environment. Consequently, more time and focus is spent mollifying their ancestors and gods and creating a balanced relationship with them. He further suggests, that on a scale from one to ten whereby one is ranked the most important, maintaining a balanced relationship with the gods would be ranked

first. Their relationship with other humans would be rated as 5 and the relationship with the environment as 10. However, he is optimistic that the relationship with the environment will improve as outside concepts related to environmental sustainability influence Balinese thinking.

### **4.3 The Relationship between Man and God**

There is a considerable difference of opinion in relation to the degree Balinese develop and maintain balanced relationships with the gods. Firstly, many informants emphasize there is an over commitment to maintaining harmony with the gods as opposed to the other pillars of the doctrine. They believe that there is more of a focus on the idea of god itself, and the relationship between humans and the gods is blurred. Tourists wanting to see the reduced version of Balinese culture reinforce this as they seek out packaged forms of temples and ceremonies. This has influenced Balinese perspectives towards their own culture and obscure definitions of what their culture is and what it should be have emerged. Also, one informant expresses concern that some Balinese act a role that they have learned by heart. They are performing rites and ceremonies without fully understanding their symbolic meaning or the reasons why they are doing it.

The Balinese worldview of *Sekala*<sup>19</sup> and *Niskala*<sup>20</sup> has also reinforced and accentuated this commitment and devotion to appeasing the gods. Wayan Chakra points out that Balinese thinking distinguishes between *Sekala* and *Niskala*, and their reality is determined by a coincidence of both these realms. One does not exist without the other and the world is viewed as the product of the interaction of *Sekala* and *Niskala*. However, as a large proportion of Balinese orthopraxy and thinking is directed towards the concept of *Niskala*, Wayan Chakra believes the practical applications of the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine that focuses on *Sekala* has become limited and blurred.

Many informants also believe that tourism has changed the Balinese's conceptual understanding and value of money, which in turn has impacted on the external representations of ceremonies and offerings. In the past, village economies were less money based as they were reasonably self-sufficient and produced what was needed. However, as Bali has increasingly become more

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<sup>19</sup> The seen, the material world

<sup>20</sup> The unseen, the eternal

integrated into the modern economy and more affluent from tourist-generated income, all aspects of modern Balinese society is dependent on the exchange of money.

Wayan Chakra suggests this has strongly influenced how they practice their religion. With increased wealth and greater disposable incomes available to some families; there has been increased expenditure on ceremonies. This generates larger quantities of offerings, a more competitive environment, and a desire for higher social status. Certain ceremonies have become more lavish and reflect a focus on quantity as opposed to the quality of the ceremony.

A range of informants also concludes that this influence was placing pressure on other *banjars* to match the level of offerings. This invariably puts undue stress on the women who have the ultimate responsibility in producing the offerings for the different ceremonies.

This increased materialism is also reflected in the outward symbols of their religious roles. The men traditionally wear *krises*<sup>21</sup> for a range of ceremonies; these now sit alongside pouches that carry mobile phones. Sunglasses and fake brand T-shirts are also an added feature to the traditional apparel when attending *upacaras*,<sup>22</sup> particularly among the younger men. The material used by many woman for ceremonial attire is now of a higher and more expensive quality.

A flexible system within the community does exist for Balinese to carry out their religious obligations within the realms of what they can afford. The belief is that if the increasingly affluent members of the community want to produce and present greater quantities of offerings, the overall meaning and significance of the ceremonial process does not change. This support system, however, is more ideological and makes limited difference in practice, as the social pressure on other *banjars* to “keep up with the Joneses” is considerable. As Wayan Chakra suggests, this competition or pressure has created forms of jealousy where poorer *banjars*, those out of the “tourist zones,” felt discriminated against and somewhat marginalized, as they cannot compete with other villages. He further adds that creating larger and more elaborate ceremonies is also motivated by the desire to

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<sup>21</sup> Traditional dagger

<sup>22</sup> Religious ceremonies

display outward signs of wealth and reinforce their hierarchal status to other *banjars* as well as tourists.

Being part of a modern economy and strongly reliant on the tourist industry has also influenced Balinese understanding of physical space and time. Traditionally, time is perceived as being more qualitative than quantitative. *Dauhs*<sup>23</sup> are used to calculate daytime and vary in length from season to season and night to day. Their main function is to assist Balinese in achieving cosmic harmony. These *dauhs* have either a positive or negative value, which determine when certain ceremonies should occur. This traditional use of time is measured in accordance with the needs of the community and not the individual.

However, a range of informants believes that there is a shift to a more individualistic conceptual understanding of time. There is a tendency now to equate time to money and spend larger proportions of time making money. This has created less time to focus on ceremonial, family, or *banjar* obligations. As Wayan Chakra observes, there are now representatives in villages who are paid to attend meetings on behalf of other Balinese who are unable to attend due to other commitments or constraints.

Made Sadu also recognizes this greater pressure on collective time and suggests that with more and more Balinese focusing on increasing their income and creating power for themselves, there is a shift away from the collectivity of the village and the time spent with others. In addition, he believes it has encouraged development of certain attitudes and codes of behaviour such as individualism and materialism.

However, Ni Made argues the community has adapted to the need to reorganize and manage their time differently. One solution that has emerged is that the village worked collaboratively with other villages in order to share the workload required to prepare and produce offerings for ceremonies. She also emphasizes that time is always created in some form to prepare for or attend ceremonies.

This shift towards a modern consumerist culture has increasingly replaced the agrarian culture that originally defined the Nyuh Kuning area. There are more restaurants, villas, hotels, Internet cafes and chain stores in this community. This

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<sup>23</sup> Balinese units of time

has influenced the aspirations of the younger generation who have moved from traditional roles to working in the tourist service industry.

In response to these social and physical changes, a range of informants still strongly believe that tourism has not negatively influenced or pressured their relationship with the gods. They acknowledge that external physical changes have occurred such as the size or type of offerings or the “uniform” worn in ceremonies. But they emphasize that the importance and significance of the ceremonies has not been diffused. Also their pious commitment to giving offerings to appease the gods had not weakened and the process involved in maintaining harmonious relationships with deities has not been eroded. They also believe that the distractions of modernity and external influences were counterbalanced by maintaining an internal focus on their relationship with the gods.

So why has maintaining a balanced relationship with the gods remained strong? First, there is a fundamental but unyielding belief that no matter what tensions or adaptations emerge from the influences of tourism, by giving offerings to the gods, Balinese will always be able to maintain a balanced and cyclic relationship with the gods. As Wayan Suta points out, *“if we care for the gods and make them happy, we are happy and healthy. We can work, have money and give back to god with our offerings.”*

Also this relationship with the gods is reinforced through the need to feel secure in both the physical and spiritual world. By appeasing the spirits and maintaining balance with the gods, Balinese believe an effective transition into the afterlife will eventuate. Ni Made reinforces this notion, she suggests, *“we keep the balance with the gods so they can look after us”*

Second, the *banjar’s* influence on religious, social and cultural matters in the Nyuh Kuning community is considerable. As the most local level of community organization, the *banjar* governs daily life in immense detail as it is based on local law. This law is divinely ordained and, as a result, few Balinese would dare to question its importance or application. These high religious and cultural expectations ensure families are disciplined in their responsibilities of maintaining harmonious relationships with the gods. As Made Supersa emphasizes *“the banjar is very strong in our community and we must follow it. If there was no banjar it would be a different story and we would have problems.”*

Ni Made supports this point and observes there has been little change in the processes in the *banjar*, it remains strong and retains the same meaning.

There are also various social mechanisms in place to reinforce the role and influence of the *banjar*. Regular monthly meetings are held where members of the Nyuh Kuning community are involved in discourse about religious matters. There are also meetings to discuss and resolve conflicts that have arisen between Balinese, as well as outsiders who reside in the community.

Lastly, the demand from tourists to experience Balinese culture has continued to reinforce for Balinese the need to maintain their religion and culture simply because it sells. Without it there is no commodity to sell to outsiders. Degung makes the analogy that “*tourism is like mining as it is the gold that can be sold to others.*”

However, he also believes that because it sells and is an integral part of the Indonesian government’s discourse on cultural tourism, there is limited critical thought about tourism as an agent of change. It has created a sense of what he terms “*stupidification*” whereby Balinese are resigned to the processes of tourism and are reluctant to question either what cultural tourism is or the influence it has on their daily lives and worldviews.

#### **4.4 The Relationship between Man and the Community**

In this section the findings centre on the relationship between man and the community. This is divided into two main categories. The first looks at the relationship between Balinese themselves, which includes the relationship between Balinese men and women as well as between the younger and older generations. The second focuses on the relationship between Balinese and outsiders. This specifically targets tourists, expatriates and Javanese.

##### ***The Relationship between Balinese***

Despite the continual growth of tourist and expatriate numbers in recent years, the majority of informants from the Nyuh Kuning community strongly believe that their interpersonal relationships with other Balinese is healthy and harmonious. The influence of the processes of tourism has not eroded their relationships with each other. They suggest that this is a direct result of having key beliefs and social mechanisms in place within their community. These act as

buffers to absorb pressures that were perceived as negative, as well as reinforcing healthy social intercourse. What are these beliefs and mechanisms?

First, there is the inherent conviction that Balinese see themselves as part of the natural environment, in addition to a collective body of others. To the individual, the understanding is that they are basically the same as others in their village and there is not a need to accentuate their individual identity or differences. However, this understanding is slowly being challenged with greater incidences of meritocracy and individualism occurring. A range of informants consistently emphasizes the significance of being continually immersed in a modern tourist economy that has caused increased levels of selfishness and materialism.

In addition, there is a three-tiered social framework that focuses on the obligations and responsibilities firstly to the family, then to neighbours and finally the *banjar*. Both women and men have specific designated roles in fostering and maintaining harmony and balance within each of these social stratas. Some informants suggested though that certain roles, particularly within the family are becoming more blurred and are not so clearly delineated.

Also, the strong influence of the *banjar* dictates certain social interactions amongst the Balinese. It reinforces the need to conform and support others in communal harmony. Conversely, it also creates a sense of fear of social isolation. It acts as a localized form of punishment and, as Degung points out, individuals in the community who do not carry out social expectations and designated roles are excluded and ostracized. Invariably the rest of the community does not support them.

Part of this protocol also emphasizes and reinforces the philosophy of “*gotong- royong*” which literally means working together for the community. This ideology is clearly evident in daily experiences in the village, such as cleaning up the streets, preparing for ceremonies, *banjar* duties and working on the maintenance of different structures in the community. However, as Made Superasa points out this concept is increasingly changing as economic forces dictate. Villagers have to now pay for specific services that were originally provided by the community. This is another example of increasing individualization and capitalism within a collective setting.

Another aspect of this protocol is the vertical role that is expected of Balinese when interacting with Balinese of different castes. Even though within this caste system one can be assigned to a higher or lower position than others, one still has the same obligations and duties within one's caste. As Wayan Surta emphasizes, all Balinese are expected to respect the social status of other Balinese.

There are also physical structures within the community that encourage healthy socialization and positive relationships with other Balinese. These are distinct from the social interactions influenced by religious and *banjar* obligations. They include the regular exercises the older members of the community collectively carry out, the larger soccer field used by the younger village members, and a yoga centre (*Taman Hati*), which caters for Balinese, tourists and expatriates alike. The village also has a free natural birthing clinic (*Bumi Sehat*) and adoption centre.

Other villages are increasingly realizing the importance of learning from other Balinese communities and how they can foster positive internal relationships. Professor Windia points out, surrounding *banjars* are now more aware of what the Nyuh Kuning village is doing to promote healthy relationships with others and their environment.

Within the village setting are communal outside bathing areas. These are still frequented by various members of the community and act as a centre for social intercourse. The public arena also acts as a sounding board and release valve for Balinese to discuss personal topics or vent frustrations. In this social environment, Balinese prefer to talk in a more public, group-orientated situation. One informant suggests this is a result of the traditional communal nature of the village, as well as lack of physical space in a village environment. It is difficult to find a space to talk without someone close by listening to the conversation.

This collective physical behaviour is also manifested and reinforced by attending the various ceremonies that take place within the different village temples. At a surface level, the procession of the rituals appears to move smoothly without any aggravation. At a deeper level, as one informant points out, the close physical symbiosis of the group creates an inner calm and a sense of security within the group, which tends to diffuse any tension that may emerge.

In direct contrast to these mechanisms that aim to reinforce a sense of harmony and balance, a range of informants believe that certain negative social behaviours are becoming increasingly more evident. These influence and determine their relationship with other Balinese.

Jealousy has increasingly emerged as a result of the uneven distribution of income from tourism in the village. Balinese who are not gainfully employed in the tourist industry or have limited income feel marginalized and excluded from the access to tourist dollars. Degung points out that this situation creates levels of anxiety and jealousy amongst the community and some Balinese who are excluded develop a “why bother?” attitude.

Also, as mentioned in the previous section, being part of the modern tourist economy has created greater pressure on families to generate income for not only ceremonies but also education and consumer goods. Cars have replaced the motorbike as the current status symbol. As Made Supersa suggests, there is greater pressure now on Balinese to provide materially more for their families. They feel increasing pressure to balance their time with work, family and ceremonial commitments and responsibilities.

Ni Made further argues, that with more and more tourists and their dollars coming into the local economy, prices have increased. This inflation invariably impacts on Balinese who have limited financial resources and have to pay more for certain commodities. This particularly includes food items and ceremonial offerings. Some Balinese try to earn further income, which in turn places stress on their time and ability to maintain balanced relationship with others.

In spite of these pressures, there still remains a strong commitment to controlling one’s own impulses in order to support the common good of the group. Feelings and expressions are reinforced by the desire to not lose face in public as public humiliation is considered forbidden. Certain informants did, however, mention that some village members exhibit contradictory behaviours and emotions to suit the social situation. They display a “mask” of a smiling, harmonious face when immersed in social intercourse. However, once out of the public eye they revert to their hidden feelings and express negativity about other Balinese and their actions Wikan (1990).

Some informants believe this inner conflict is also caused by an uncertainty in their own identity, and the need to conform to the image of being Balinese. Part of this uncertainty may also be created by the influence of external concepts that have arisen from their interaction with non-Balinese.

Finally, a range of interpersonal conflicts at the village level reflects a certain degree of disharmony amongst different village members. Wayan Suta points out that a significant part of his role as village head involves mediating and resolving conflicts between Balinese themselves. These disputes include land issues, access to new dwellings, financial transactions and marriage problems. He concludes that the incidence of these issues has increased in recent years.

### ***The Roles of Woman***

The roles of women, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds in this community are also changing. They face pressures of maintaining a vital role within an increasingly consumerist and globalized community. Their principal role has been to foster harmony and balance within their families. However, economic necessity, the influence of the tourist economy, and a drive for greater wealth and prosperity has seen an increase in the number of women working outside the home. Made Suparsa suggests this emancipation has created clashes with traditional values, and has also placed further pressure on their time to complete religious duties and responsibilities. For every woman that is working, other women within the *banjar* are required to take on extra responsibilities in order to fulfill ceremonial obligations.

With the transition from a predominately agrarian based culture to one based more on a tourist and service related economy the division of labour between women and men has also become more blurred. Men are perceived as the ones who market and sell the Balinese culture to tourists, whereas the women are expected to sustain and maintain traditions. However, a range of informants suggests divisions of responsibility within families are changing and to some degree are becoming more equitable. Husbands are taking on an increasingly domestic role, as wives are more involved in family decision-making situations.

Women are also increasingly adopting the role of directly selling to tourists or working in manual labour roles. An illustration of this is the growing influence of expatriates who have relocated to the Nyuh Kuning community. The building of

villas for expatriates has created labour for women from the village as they carry materials to the building sites.

However, traditional gender roles are still reinforced through *banjar* responsibilities and religious obligations. Women are the ones who sweep the village compound and the streets. They also make and carry the offerings in the different ceremonies. The men, on the other hand, play in the *gamelan*<sup>24</sup> orchestras and are the *pecalang*<sup>25</sup> in ceremonies. They also hold positions of responsibility and leadership within the *banjar*, and are the decision makers for the village.

### ***The Younger Generation***

For many of the younger generation, religion and *adat* do not engage their imagination and interest as in previous generations. The agrarian culture that originally defined this area has very limited influence on the aspirations of this generation. For the teenage youth in the village, culture is more about a way of expressing their identity through non-traditional means. A range of the older informants believes this particular generation is increasingly having difficulties relating to their elders and is beginning to reject the rules and regulations of the *banjar*. They rationalize that it has no real meaning for them.

For teenagers, this identity is expressed through various means. This includes the abuse of alcohol, which is cheap and easily accessible in the community. Also, some teenage boys frequent the brothels in nearby communities. This creates conflict within the family and wider community, as the spread of AIDS is a real threat. If members within the village contract AIDS, they are marginalized, ostracized and are unable to be cremated in the village because of the way AIDS is perceived and stigmatized.

Wayan Surta expresses a real concern with these two issues. He points out that there are youth programs within the village, which encourage and acknowledge the achievements of both boys and girls. However, he believes the younger generation has difficulties relating and communicating with their elders. They do not value the traditions and cultural practices to the same degree as older generations. He further adds, that they are becoming increasingly distracted by global influences such as information technology.

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<sup>24</sup> Traditional Balinese percussion music that accompanies dances and ceremonies

<sup>25</sup> Village security

Other informants also bemoan the emergence of a 'lost generation'. They believe that values are changing and deteriorating amongst the younger generation. There is a sense of becoming more individualistic and struggling with what it means to be Balinese while simultaneously adopting global cultural influences. A range of informants observed that teenage boys in particular were developing an attitude of "I don't care" and were confused about the essence of Balinese identity.

### ***Changes to the social structure of Nyuh Kuning***

The social structure within the Nyuh Kuning village has also become more complex as the ancient stratification of caste and clan is now slowly being substituted by a class system. The upper and lower levels are comprised of more non-Balinese. Arrival of outsiders has created changes to the physical and social structure of the village. The community has become more heterogeneous, and social relations now cut across ethnic, national, and religious lines.

These changes have included an increasing number of Javanese buying up land, rental properties, or setting up tourist businesses. Some use their newly acquired wealth to bargain for traditional power and access to tourists. Also, a small number of *bakso*<sup>26</sup> peddlers are now an integral part of the social landscape. They serve the many Indonesian tourists who visit the Bali Classic Centre<sup>27</sup>. Expatriates who are seeking better lifestyles have now relocated from their home country to reside in the Nyuh Kuning area. This has further added to the social complexity of the village. It has also resulted in a greater demand for the building of villas, which are constructed by both Balinese and Javanese labourers.

However, within this social transformation many informants believe balanced relationships between different ethnic groups in the community could be maintained on the proviso that outsiders are aware of and accept the *adat*. As Wayan Surta points out

*"We accept outsiders into our community as new friends, however we still need to be careful and aware that not all outsiders have positive effects. As long as we know foreigners are good, follow our village laws, understand how our life is lived and they are not arrogant, they can join us"*

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<sup>26</sup> Javanese soup

<sup>27</sup> A centre for tourists to observe Balinese traditions

Made Suaparsa reinforces this notion, and suggests that the village is tolerant of outsiders no matter what their religion or ethnic background is. If outsiders do not demonstrate negative behaviour, and adapt to the social and cultural expectations of the village, they will be accepted. He further adds, that interaction with both tourists and expatriates alike have given Balinese the opportunity to think more openly and globally.

Additionally, if these new understandings are considered beneficial for the community, Balinese will duplicate or adapt these in their own form. This acceptance and adaptation is also motivated by economics. As one informant points out, the money that is spent by outsiders within the community can be used to produce more offerings for ceremonies. This in turn makes the community happy and simultaneously creates a more attractive village.

However, with increasing competition from outsiders for physical and social space a growing sense of suspicion, vulnerability and low-key ethnic prejudice and discrimination is evident from some informants. They believe that Javanese can be accepted into the community as long as they are 'harnessed' and do not create any form of communal tension. Professor Windia also suggests that controlling this situation is based on an exclusive approach whereby mechanisms are in place to limit their involvement in the community. This could include not being able to buy or rent houses in the village.

One informant further argues, on a more generalized level that the flow of "outsiders" into Balinese communities needs to be monitored and controlled if Bali is to avoid another form of colonialisation taking place in the future. This sense of insecurity is also reinforced as Balinese tend to blame Javanese if there is theft or a crime committed within the community. However, Made Superasa points out, though contrary to what is widely perceived, Balinese can be involved in thievery and other crimes.

In comparison, the expectations and relationships accorded to expatriates and tourists within the community are more flexible. This is a direct result of what this group symbolically represents. Tourists are one half of the "cultural tourism" package and without their participation there is no audience to sell the commodity of tourism to. This invariably impacts on their income and livelihood. Similarly, expatriates living in the community symbolize to Balinese a "walking dollar sign."

In their relocation to the Nyuh Kuning area they lease land, and build or rent houses. These transactions represent considerable sums of money for Balinese. Made Superasa, however, points out that as these expatriates live in the community for varying lengths of time, they communicate different concepts and ideas that can be beneficial to Balinese.

This flexibility of thinking to fit a particular place or purpose is also evident when Balinese discuss tourists and expatriates in a public arena. The 'mask' of maintaining harmonious relationships is disregarded at times and negative and derogative remarks about *bules*<sup>27</sup> are made. This is discussed in Balinese or Bahasa Indonesian in order to disguise the discourse from those they are talking about. This represents another example of the paradoxes of being Balinese, and what this means within a tourist community.

In summary, there is a distinct disconnect between what informants perceive as having a balanced relationship with other Balinese, and outsiders and the realities that exist in relating to others in a community that is becoming more affluent and heterogeneous. The community faces numerous challenges in balancing their relationships with others as they continue to absorb and adapt to a modern tourist economy, and the influences of non-Balinese within that economy.

#### **4.5 The Relationship between Man and the Environment**

In the Nyuh Kuning village there still exists a strong sense of the sacred and orientation towards place. The village's interaction and relationship with the environment continues to recognize and reinforce the three traditional environments; the spiritual, social and physical. This is reflected in their division of their homes and temples that incorporates areas specifically for spiritual, physical and social needs. Days are also set-aside in the religious calendar to honour plants, animals, and inanimate objects. However, there is a significant disconnect between this sense of the sacred and the practicalities of maintaining a balanced relationship with the natural environment. This section will centre on the current relationship this community has with their environment, summarize key findings and analyse why this disconnect is evident.

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<sup>27</sup> Foreigners

### ***The Physical Environment in Nyuh Kuning***

The physical environment of the village is generally well maintained and includes many trees, green areas and a communal garden. There is a strong emphasis by the *banjar* to keep the main streets of Jalan Nyuh Butan and Jalan Nyuh Kuning 1 and 2 clear of rubbish. Alongside these streets are also concrete containers for villagers to dispose of rubbish. These are designed for recycling and communal rubbish collection. Community clean ups are carried out regularly and resources are provided by the *banjar* for restoring traditional architecture. The village itself has received numerous awards for being the cleanest village in the Regency.<sup>28</sup>

Despite their environmental commitments to *adat* and *banjar* obligations, the Nyuh Kuning community has struggled to maintain a balanced relationship with its natural environment. Firstly, with a greatly increased volume of traffic on the roads, clustered traffic has worsened and become a serious problem for traffic flow. This has been exacerbated by both the increase in tourist buses visiting areas such as Monkey Forest and the new cars bought by Balinese from their increased disposable tourist income. The roads and particularly the small *gangs*<sup>29</sup> around Nyuh Kuning and the central Ubud area that were originally created for movement by villagers on foot, bicycles or carts contribute to this problem.

The northern end of Jalan Nyuh Kuning 1, which is adjacent to Monkey Forest and has considerable tourist foot traffic, is in disrepair. Some informants suggest this is a result of the businesses in this section of the village are predominately owned by *orang jawi*<sup>30</sup> and there are not clear expectations on what is expected with the *banjar* in terms of maintaining the road.

Also, increased levels of both air and noise pollution have resulted simply from the sheer number of vehicles, in particular tourist buses, trucks and two stroke motorbikes. Smoke from burning all forms of rubbish in the drains adjacent to the road or from the burning of the rice paddies aggravate air pollution levels at different times.

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<sup>28</sup> District of Bali

<sup>29</sup> Small, narrow roads

<sup>30</sup> Non Balinese from other areas of Indonesia

The *Ogoh Ogohs*<sup>31</sup> that are used to scare away the spirits as part of the tradition for Balinese New Year are burned at the conclusion of the ritual. These effigies were originally made of natural materials such as bamboo and were not toxic when burnt. However, the contemporary *Ogoh Ogohs* are made from foam and other toxic materials, which cause noxious fumes when set alight.

These are specific examples of the disconnect that occurs between the understanding of what happens in a metaphorical sense as opposed to the impact on the environment in a physical sense. Balinese believe smoke aids the appeasement of the gods, however, certain village members lack the knowledge or understanding of what physically occurs when non-biodegradable materials are burnt.

Also as mentioned previously (in the historical section of the introduction) the Indonesian government in the 1960s instigated and enforced a Green Revolution throughout Bali. This had a significant influence on the Balinese's relationship with their environment. The Balinese farmers were encouraged to change to a new high yield variety of rice in order to increase production. This brought about immense changes in rice farming practices, and in particular the use of petrochemical fertilizers and pesticides. As a result, the pesticides severely damaged the rice paddy ecosystem, and as Wayan Chakra points out, the chemicals used from this have destroyed many of the flora as well as contaminating the water table. This has hindered Balinese farmers' ability to maintain their harmony and connection with their natural world.

As this community has moved away from obtaining and using local materials for daily activities, it has also become reliant on resources and materials from global sources. This community originally used biodegradable material that included coconut palm or banana leaves for many of their day-to-day tasks. Once they were used they were thrown away and would eventually biodegrade naturally. However, as a result of increased consumerism, disposable income, and a growing demand for global products, there has been a proliferation of plastic bags and other consumer packaging. In the small *warungs*<sup>32</sup> in and around Nyuh

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<sup>31</sup> Demon effigies used in New Year ceremonies

<sup>32</sup> Small local restaurants and shops

Kuning, consumer goods are placed in plastic bags. Many of these bags end up discarded in the village dumping areas, rivers, and rice paddy irrigation systems.

Wayan Chakra further points out that the forest areas at the back of each village were traditionally used for dumping biodegradable rubbish. These areas were chosen based on the Balinese concepts of directionality. They represented *kelod*<sup>33</sup> and were the furthest area in the village from Mt Agung. As the forest area has been reduced, there are now fewer places for discarding rubbish. However, the practice of disposing of rubbish at the rear of the village compound has continued. The fundamental difference is that at present the rubbish is predominately plastic and non-biodegradable.

Wayan Surta, from his observations as head of the village, emphasizes there is now limited space within the village for the disposal of rubbish. The *banjar* has tried to encourage and educate community members about recycling their rubbish in order to reduce the volume. He further believes that the traditional habit of throwing rubbish onto the ground and leaving it there is difficult to break, and for many villages they do not understand the process or the purpose of recycling. Also, there is the simple frustration that some village members simply do not want to know.

As the village head, he has attempted to use the attraction of money as motivation to encourage the village as a collective to purchase a rubbish collection truck and set up a village-recycling depot. By winning the competitions for the cleanest *banjar*, the money can be directed towards a recycling project and allow the village to be more autonomous in their rubbish disposal. This would also alleviate the burden of paying outside disposal companies.

Officials representing government departments have also tried to educate the village about the issues of disposing of rubbish, but the follow-up to this initiative has been limited. The disposal of non-biodegradable rubbish is one of the most challenging issues facing the community.

### ***The Influence of Tourism on Land Development***

Tourism has also heavily influenced and changed the traditional Balinese orientation towards land. Originally, before Balinese started leasing and selling land in the Nyuh Kuning area, they considered land had no value except for its

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<sup>33</sup> Impure direction

agricultural use. However, with the increased demand and prices for land, some Balinese have succumbed to the temptation of short-term material gratification. There is a common desire for cars, motorbikes, and other consumer goods, capital needed for business ventures, or further education for their children. Some informants voice concern that once the land is sold, it is gone, and families wouldn't have a significant inheritance to pass on to their children.

This land development is also eroding the ecosystem of the area. There is greater pressure on the water table and various fauna are forced to relocate. Also, the traditional water irrigation system is being altered and impacted on. Made Pujiani acknowledges that constructing houses on or near rice paddies is changing the landscape of the community, and impacting on the physical environment. However, she firmly believes that this development does not impinge on the essence of Balinese culture. Simply because of their faith, she suggests, Balinese are able to carry out their religious obligations without any interference. This is another example of the resignation that occurs where faith in Hinduism overrides a need to address environmental problems or challenges in a practical manner.

Parallel to this land development, is also an increased demand for construction. This has strongly influenced and impacted on architectural designs in the Nyuh Kuning area, particularly in the development of new villas and restaurants. A shift away from traditional Balinese designs has occurred and a hybridized, modern contemporary architectural style has emerged. Both the exterior and interior of these buildings are built to encompass Balinese traditional architectural styles, satisfy the tourists demand for 'the Balinese feel' and conform to the comforts of Western culture.

Wayan Chakra points out that traditional Balinese architecture totally encapsulates and represents the philosophy behind *Tri Hita Karana*. There is a significant emphasis on developing harmony between the natural environment and traditional architecture. He illustrates this by pointing out that in the past trees that were cut down to make the pillars of a house and other natural materials used for construction were assembled using the dimensions taken from the human body. Through the *undagi*,<sup>34</sup> or priest, the building is then brought to life. However, as structures, designs, and materials have changed, the principles of traditional

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<sup>34</sup> Traditional architect

architecture have not been represented. This has resulted in a lack of harmony between the environment and the building structures as well as contributing to an imbalance in Balinese's relationship with their surroundings.

So why has this practical imbalance and disconnect with the environment occurred? First, this notion is grounded in the interaction this community has had with outside influences. Some informants believe they have been tempted and succumbed to the lures of materialism and consumerism. Consequently, they were becoming increasingly exploitive in order to satisfy their own materialistic demands, as opposed to being sensitive towards the natural environment.

Wayan Chakra believes this lack of sensitivity is connected to economic and cultural factors. He suggests the key reasons why plastic is such an environmental issue in the community is that it is so practical, cheap and valueless. If it was worth something and had material value, Balinese would not throw it away. He further adds that exposure to Western concepts has helped some Balinese to develop an understanding of how to recycle rubbish and grow food organically. But he believes that some villagers were skeptical and threatened by this, as these ideas had originated from *bules*. Also, they lack the knowledge or understanding to foresee the long-term benefits of these projects.

Other informants conclude that the indifference towards caring for the physical environment is strongly influenced by Hindu philosophy. There is an inherent belief in resignation and self-correction. Environmental problems will correct and realign themselves over extended periods of time.

Also, Nyuh Kuning has historically undergone a transformation from a homogeneous agrarian society to a more heterogeneous tourist dependent one. In this transition, the local concepts and traditional worldviews relevant to an agrarian culture have not been transformed and translated to the demands of modernization and a consumer orientated society.

Many informants felt that the majority of the community turns a blind eye to environmental issues and are oblivious to the present and future state of the area. This particularly included Balinese who lacked the education or the critical mindedness to question the changes in their physical environment. Tri Pala even suggests that some Balinese perceive it is not a problem. However, as Made

Suparsa highlights, more and more Balinese are becoming better educated and more aware of environmental problems. The challenge is that they are unsure of practical solutions and ways to implement the process.

#### **4.6 Summary**

This chapter has presented the findings of the interaction and relationships that the Nyuh Kuning community has with tourism, and how this has influenced their interpretation of the three different pillars of *the Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. Chapter 5 will provide discussion on conclusions that have been drawn from these findings and will also demonstrate how the research objectives have been fulfilled throughout the study. It will also document relevant connections between the conclusions drawn and recent literature research.

## CHAPTER 5

### Conclusions

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on the findings of the research. The first section will focus on the conclusions that are drawn from these findings. This will occur at both a generalized and individual level. The second section analyses the fulfillment of the research objectives. The final section makes pertinent links to the relevant research.

#### 5.1 The Philosophy and the Nyuh Kuning Community.

The ongoing interaction and relationship between the processes of tourism and the Nyuh Kuning community has become more integrated and mutually constituted. Tourism is increasingly assimilated into the cultural practices of the community. Individuals understanding of how this has influenced their understanding and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy varies depending on their positioning in this community, as well as their day-to-day interaction with these processes on both a spiritual and material level.

The philosophy's guiding principles of maintaining balance with the gods, humans and nature are a key driving force in Balinese cosmology and worldview. However, within the context of a specific Balinese village, this doctrine is experientially esoteric, impractical and possibly irrelevant for individuals to live by. Village members have a basic understanding of the concepts of the philosophy, and are able to interpret and apply the principles in a symbolic sense. This process is constantly practiced and reinforced through participation in ceremonies and rituals. It is also strengthened by the communal expectations of the *banjar*.

Collectively and individually, it is a significant challenge for village members to maintain a balanced relationship with their physical world. To create harmony within and across each pillar of the philosophy in a practical and concrete context remains a challenging obstacle. This is compounded by Balinese adopting and applying the philosophy almost as an alternative or replacement for actually thinking about practical realities.

This lack of transference can be attributed to three key reasons. Firstly, the overriding concepts of the philosophy itself for many Balinese are not an integral

part of their daily discourse or critical mindedness. Embodied concepts such as conflict have possibly more precedence and significance in their lived experiences.

Secondly, a greater collective consciousness is directed towards applying the philosophy metaphorically as opposed to employing it in a practical sense. This focus is also reinforced by the notion that if the equilibrium with the gods is maintained in a spiritual manner, then the disharmony in the material world will also realign.

Thirdly, the philosophy has been revered and mystified through political and public discourse. The essence and meaning of the concepts of harmony and balance have been over-emphasized and have become abstract and idealized. This has generated a degree of passivity and inactiveness, which has limited the understanding and transference of the doctrine to contemporary situations. Consequently, the “imbalance” between the figurative and the practical has hindered the development of the philosophy, as well as Balinese’s ability to adapt and apply the principles of the doctrine to the challenges of living in a modern tourist society.

## **5.2 The Relationship with the Gods**

The Nyuh Kuning community’s interaction and relationships with the gods has not weakened. There is no question of their spiritual dedication and devotion to their religion. Adherence to the calendar of ceremonies remains strong, and their commitment to ritual and holy duty has not receded. There still exists a collective obligation to religious rites at the family, *banjar*, and customary village levels.

However, it is evident that there is an over commitment to maintaining a balanced relationship with the gods in comparison to the two other pillars of this doctrine. This has devalued the importance and significance of these pillars, and weakened the ability of the philosophy as a whole to adapt to both external and internal influences. Of all the pillars of this philosophy, the relationship with the gods has remained the strongest, and the one that has integrated the processes of tourism most successfully.

Why has this occurred? Firstly, the community reflects on their lives in terms of their relationships with the gods. Their culture is inextricably linked to religion

and enmeshed in it. Consequently their commitment and devotion to religious rites and duties continually reinforces their culture.

In addition, the village is inextricably tied to socio-cultural institutions such as the *banjar*. These determine the way the members act and how they carry out their religious and social roles. They also function as a cushion and buffer, to a certain extent, the varying external pressures from tourism. They have a number of connectors to other strong traits of Balinese culture such as art or religious ceremonies, and are able to absorb the impact of these outside influences on its culture as a direct result of the number of links they have to other traits. These connectors provide some stability and a certain degree of cultural resilience.

With the continual exposure to outside influences, the community has also developed a conceptual preoccupation with controlling their interaction with outsiders. This has resulted in the ability to adapt, select and take advantage of opportunities that emerge from these interactions. The impact is additive in the sense that it is integrated into the life of the community, but at the same time, does not cause changes to the structure of the socio-cultural systems that exist.

Furthermore, the influence of tourism itself has, to a degree, strengthened the village's interaction and relationship with the gods. With the continual demand for cultural tourism and desire from tourists to seek alternatives to Western modernity, considerable effort is spent in maintaining and reinforcing the cultures' religious expectations to ensure the package of Balinese culture can be sold to tourists. Interestingly, this has created another paradox as certain tourists who visit Bali to pursue a more spiritual and less materialistic culture are juxtaposed with Balinese, who are selling their culture and are becoming more materialistic and consumer orientated.

### **5.3 The Relationship with Others**

The interaction between outsiders and the Nyuh Kuning community occurs in a milieu of interdependence and mutual expectations. Tourists expect aesthetic or cultural experiences, whereas for Balinese, it is an opportunity for economic gain. Expatriates expect a lifestyle that includes cultural experiences, whereas Balinese perceive it as an economic opportunity. Javanese expect to partake of the tourism cash cow alongside Balinese.

This process has caused an increasing transformation of the social structure of the Nyuh Kuning village. It has invariably influenced the relationships Balinese have with other Balinese as well as 'outsiders'. However, it is important to recognize that this transformation is not just directly attributed to tourism. Globalization, in its various forms, has also influenced the way Balinese relate to others.

The community is now more dynamic and heterogeneous. Social relationships are not strictly confined to the boundaries of the village or kinship groups. This has had significant consequences on Balinese social stratification and their relationship with "others". The increasing arrival of non-Balinese from other parts of Indonesia, drawn to the community by the lure of a tourist economy, has created a different social layering. It has also produced polarities that did not previously exist. For example, Hindu Balinese culture has to respond to increasing Muslim cultural influences. This has challenged the individual's preconceived notions of social harmony that have been promoted by *Tri Hita Karana* discourse.

The social structure has also become more complex as the traditional stratification of caste and clan is being increasingly substituted by a more prominent class system with the upper and lower levels being established by more non-Balinese. The networks of clan and caste, however, still retain a high degree of influence.

With the growing influx of expatriates residing in the community, Balinese have also had to respond and adapt to their presence and needs. There is a tendency for village members to exhibit a disinterested attitude towards expatriates, except for a mutual dependence on each other for economic gain. As the culture within the village is self-enclosed, expatriates are not easily absorbed into this framework. Increasing numbers of village members do, however, recognize the importance of being exposed to western concepts and ideas, and adapting these for their own purposes.

The economic and social impact on the community as a result of these transformations has also created the emergence of a range of attitudes and social tensions. There is a guarded sense of preserving the attributes of the Balinese culture as a defense against the 'infiltration of outsiders'. This separatism is

underlined by the fear of ethnic others capitalizing on the culture to suit their own materialistic needs and providing nothing in return.

Also, a perception that culture is a material possession that belongs only to one particular ethnic group has created a form of ethnic exclusivity. However, the fragmentation that currently exists from the intersection of traditional and modern influences has prevented the Balinese from reinforcing their identity based primarily on religion or ethnicity.

As the village has become increasingly part of a modern tourist economy, other attitudes have surfaced. With certain members of the community becoming more affluent from the influx of tourist and expatriate dollars, attitudes of jealousy, materialism, individualism, and meritocracy have emerged. Tensions have arisen out of an uneven distribution of increased income. Some feel that tourism has not benefited them to the same extent as others, and feel marginalized by the development that has occurred. An increasing divide exists between the newly affluent and others.

Status has also become more significant and predominates across the community. This is manifested through the purchasing of material goods such as cars. Also, certain cultural dislocation exists as some village members do not have access to technology that wealthier Balinese or outsiders have.

Despite these links with the modern economy and the pressures this places on their relationships with others, the Nyuh Kuning community continues to place importance on maintaining balanced relationships with each other. The traditional and social systems within the village are still defined by the principles of mutual trust, cooperation, solidarity and harmony. This creates a form of social capital that is used to benefit the village as a whole.

There is also an underlying determination to preserve existing principles, in light of the ongoing exposure to new concepts. This includes the desire to adapt to changes that are occurring within the village at a social and economic level, and still retain the influence over the community. Their historical experience of exposure to concepts derived from tourism, as well as interaction with outsiders, has aided the ability of the village to be resistant to the negative influences of tourism.

However, these systems are being increasingly challenged by the younger generation. Confusion and tension has arisen out of their need to determine what their Balinese identity is, particularly in light of the global influences they are exposed to. This is changing their perceptions and understanding of what Balinese culture is and what it should be. How this effects their interpretation and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy in the future could be investigated in further research.

#### **5.4 The Relationship with the Environment**

The pantheistic nature of Balinese religion in the past had significantly contributed to the preservation and sustainability of the environment in the Nyuh Kuning area. The village culture had managed to develop a reasonably high level of complexity without creating considerable pressure on its natural surroundings. The community, and in particular the farmers, lived in close symbiosis with their natural environment and organized their surroundings in accordance with the cosmology they had created. They used appropriate technology that had limited impact on the environment. This reflected their desire and awareness to maintain harmony and balance with the natural world. Within this setting, practically all materials and resources were biodegradable. As a result, the villages and the *subak* farming in Nyuh Kuning had limited impact on the natural environment.

However, in recent decades, this community has become an integral part of a modern tourist economy. This has seriously affected the balance the community attempts to maintain with their environment. As village members have become more materialistic, exploitive and reliant on resources from global sources, increasing environmental issues have emerged. This has challenged the traditional systems and infrastructure of the village. These issues include the disposal of rubbish and in particular plastic, the pollution of the rivers, and the disturbance of the *subak* system by the development of villas and houses.

So why has their sense of the sacred within their spiritual environment and their ability to “recycle” in the past not been translated to today’s environment? Why has the application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy not adapted to this?

Firstly, the difficulties in transference from the symbolic to the practical create a significant obstacle in resolving environmental conflicts. This is clearly illustrated by the contradictory actions of worshipping, giving offerings to, and

appeasing the god of water *Wisnu* while simultaneously discarding plastic bags into the river that flows through Nyuh Kuning.

As the community has transformed from a completely agrarian society to one that is more dependent on a modern tourist economy, local concepts and traditional worldviews specific to an agrarian culture have not been transferred to the demands of a consumer-orientated society. This lack of transference has hindered their ability to resolve environmental problems such as the disposing of waste and sustaining a healthy ecosystem. Conversely, the lack of transfer of traditional knowledge related to the natural environment from the older generation to the younger generation has also inhibited the capabilities of the community to create sustainable solutions based on their original ecological worldviews.

The villagers' conceptual understanding of time has also restricted their ability to think in terms of long-term, sustainable environmental practices. Influenced by agrarian principles and the cyclic nature of the Balinese calendar, their worldview of time has focused on the living for the here and now. Time is perceived more as the distance between the ceremonies and the cyclic nature of rituals, as opposed to thinking and planning long term. Consequently, these concepts have been difficult to translate to developing long-term environmental sustainability.

The lack of education and critical-mindedness about the impact of individual and communal actions on the environment has also hindered this transference. There are considerable misunderstandings of what physically happens to non-biodegradable waste or the change in the dynamics of an ecosystem and the cumulative affect it has on future environments. This attitude and lack of understanding is slowly changing within the village, as increasingly more members are becoming exposed to western concepts of sustainability and recycling. However, some members are reluctant to adopt western concepts and ideas to resolve environmental conflicts simply because they originate from outsiders.

Conversely, consistent intrusion from national and western influences has tended to cloud and undermine local concepts related to the natural environment. Some Balinese, as a result, are uncritical of these influences and emulate outsiders approach to exploitation as they become more materialistic and consumer driven.

Finally, the esoteric nature of the philosophy has impeded the process in adapting the *Tri Hita Karana* to address current environmental issues. As a doctrine, it has reinforced the concept of passivity, and a certain level of impotency to face reality and take concrete steps to preserve and protect their environment. There is a tendency to turn back to the idealized past and remain inactive. This indifference, as many informants suggest, is also influenced by Hindu philosophy, which emphasizes resignation, and the idea that imbalances, such as environmental tensions, are cyclic. Based on these beliefs, there is an acceptance that this disharmony will correct and realign itself.

### **5.5 Overall Conclusion**

As the processes of tourism continue to be integrated into the Nyuh Kuning village and affect change at varying levels, community members have had to adapt to a more economically driven, materialistic and pluralistic society. This has influenced their understanding and application of their worldview of *Tri Hita Karana*.

The community continues to very much apply and reinforce the doctrine in a spiritual and metaphorical sense. The political reformulation of the philosophy, however, has created a surrogate for critical-mindedness, resolution of conflicts, and taking action in a concrete context. Its esoteric nature makes it a powerful ideological vehicle, which in turn has resulted in many village members being complacent and inactive. Consequently, developing and maintaining any form of harmony and balance with other humans and the natural environment will remain challenging and unrealistic unless the practical is given as much attention and focus as the symbolic.

### **5.6 Fulfillment of Research Objectives**

Firstly, the research has supported the notion that the philosophy in its contemporary form has evolved and developed from the reinvention of an old age practice. There are clear indications that the creation of the phrase, the reinforcement of the old age concepts, and the reformulation of the philosophy have been used for political means. Politicians and intellectuals have drawn on a traditional worldview, reconstructed it, glorified it, and invariably used it as instrument to influence Balinese thinking.

Secondly, the research has established the degree of influence and impact tourism has had on the three different pillars of the philosophy. It has substantiated and analyzed why the balanced relationship with the gods has remained the most resilient to the impact of tourism. It has also clearly documented why maintaining balance with the environment is the most challenging, fragile and vulnerable.

Thirdly, the research has also determined the degree to which the philosophy is integrated into Balinese daily-lived experiences. However, this could be explored in greater depth with the different informants. It has clearly verified why there is a significant disparity between the metaphorical interpretation and the practical application of the philosophy.

However, the study has not discussed and analyzed the conflicting processes that arise when Balinese deal with the duality of living in two worlds, the modern and the traditional or the spiritual and the material. Further data could be collected on these processes and how they determine the Balinese definition of being modern. This could also include determining clearly defined links of how their sense of being modern is translated to the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy.

The research has also examined and presented how certain cultural mechanisms within this community are able to adapt and filter the influences of tourism that are placed on it. This provides relevant research for comparison to other tourist areas in Bali and Indonesia and how they adapt to and address these pressures, particularly where the demographic and social structure of the community may be very different.

Lastly, there are a multitude of contradictions that have emerged from the research, particularly in relation to being Balinese in a modern world. The research has identified the cause and effect of these contradictions, but it has not analyzed in any significant depth the relationship that exists between the paradoxes they are engaged in.

It has also highlighted the overriding dilemma that Balinese face, how to maintain their identity and balance between the traditional and modern worlds within the context of a tourist economy. Can Balinese achieve a middle ground or compromise between these paradoxes? Or can there ever be an appropriate level of balance? Also, individually and collectively, how prepared are they to question

this behaviour in order to reexamine their understanding and interpretation of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy?

### **5.7 Links to Recent Research**

Key conclusions drawn from this research support and reinforce a range of theories expressed by various scholars in the literature review section of this thesis. The research Allen and Palermo (2004) have carried out in investigating the reinvention of traditional Balinese worldviews correlates with the findings from this research that suggest the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy is reconstructed and reformulated from old principles. It also reinforces the notion why Balinese use certain strategies to draw and evoke the past in order to deal with both internal and external challenges.

The findings also concur with Krishna's (2009) analysis of the interconnected association between all the pillars of the philosophy. He challenges the reverence of Balinese relationship with the gods, and questions their ability to successfully maintain a balanced relationship with deities. The research findings also reconfirm this challenge and similarly question the predominant relationship with the gods to the detriment of the other two pillars.

In addition, the research supports the likes of Picard (2006), Rubinstein and Connor (1999) and Pitana (2000), as they have attempted to redefine the relationship between tourism and Balinese culture. They have promoted a cultural adaptive model whereby tourism has simply contributed to preserving the culture. Tourism is not perceived so much as an external force, but as an integral part of the internal process that is changing Balinese communities. Also, ongoing exposure to tourism has created a preoccupation with controlling and adapting their conceptual engagements with outsiders. The findings in this research underpin this notion and highlight a range of adaptations and synthesis that are occurring at the village level.

However, this adaptive process has also created tension and confusion as their understanding and interpretation of what is authentic culture, and what it means to be Balinese, is blurred. Vickers (2001) and Ramseyer (2001) have suggested that Balinese identity is defined by a limited cultural concept of conforming to what it is to be Balinese and the perceptions of external others. This is reinforced, as the findings have concluded, by the discourse that surrounds

Balinese culture and worldviews such as *Tri Hita Karana*. The key concepts of balance, harmony, and peacefulness within this worldview continue to be used esoterically and as a form of political capital.

Finally, the findings support the research that Wikan (1990) and Barth (1990) carried out in determining how the Balinese relate to others and present themselves in a public arena. They concluded that Balinese face constant tension to protect themselves from spiritual terror. The research findings confirm this. A strong sense of superstition and spiritual fear and how this has dictated daily activities emerged as a significant theme. It also highlighted the inherent fear of the gods to the point that other human activity was reliant on their harmonious relationship with the gods.

Wikan (1990) and Barth (1990) also concluded that continual peer pressure contributed to the tension of how Balinese present themselves to others. There is a recurrent need to inhibit ones' feelings in order to support the good of the community. The findings in this thesis reinforce this as they have demonstrated that the influences of the village social systems are still robust and determine the protocol for social conformity. The collective takes precedence over the individual. However, the research does also highlight the significance of increasing levels of individualism and meritocracy.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **Recommendations**

#### **6.0 Summary**

With the processes of tourism becoming increasingly integrated into Balinese culture and affecting change at varying levels of Balinese life, Balinese have had to adapt to modernity and a more materialistic and consumer-based society. This has influenced the values, ethos and application of the Balinese worldview of *Tri Hita Karana*. As a guiding philosophy, it requires some form of reexamination and revitalization to ensure that balance and harmony is promoted and maintained in all forms of material and spiritual development. Its application should involve practical solutions and action alongside addressing challenges symbolically through rituals and ceremonies within all three pillars of the philosophy.

#### **6.1 Recommendations**

The following are recommendations that incorporate suggestions made by a range of Balinese informants that could be included in the reexamination of the philosophy.

Firstly, the hierarchal model of the philosophy could be rethought and redesigned in the shape of a pyramid. The emphasis on each pillar could be reversed in that the bottom level, which represents the relationship with the environment, would have a greater base and focus. Humans would then be ranked second and the relationship with gods would be at the apex. This would help refocus the emphasis and attention on maintaining balance with the environment in a realistic sense.

This revitalization could also include revisiting the ecological basis of Balinese original worldview concepts, and focus on how these can be adapted and applied to present day issues. Age-old recycling concepts can be translated to contemporary environmental challenges. Indigenous knowledge could also be appreciated and ethno-ecological practices implemented as a means to utilize land and community resources in a sustainable manner. Collectively, tourist communities can then develop clearer concepts that address on-going environmental problems, as well as a common commitment to improving the quality of the environment. The island itself faces a threatening paradox as it is destroying what it is promoting.

A realistic environmental management system could also be set up, implemented and specifically connected to the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine. This would promote a balance between development and sustainability of the environment. For this to be effectively achieved, there is a need to reformulate and link Balinese Hindu philosophies to practical contexts. This would lead to strategies of integrating their spirituality with modern and practical methods of maintaining a healthy environment. Also, the wider community can be educated about environmental sustainability, as well as being involved in readdressing the environmental imbalance. An illustration of this could be tree planting as a planned action, which is carried out during religious ceremonial days. This would engender an attitude of nature discourse representing the manifestation of devotion to the gods.

Reforms could also consider revisiting how the philosophy was originally applied to traditional architecture. Principles based on Hinduism regarding organization of space could be applied. Laws could also be passed that enforce the *Tri Hita Karana* as a local government regulation for not only tourist-based dwellings but also industrial buildings. As the concepts of this philosophy have been previously related to architecture, the laws could ensure the construction of all buildings are in harmony with the environment.

Secondly, there is a need to socialize the concepts of the doctrine into a more current form, and create a more systematic and uniform understanding and application of the philosophy at a concrete level. This could involve developing a curriculum framework, which can be executed on two levels. One would be integrated into the Balinese school system whereby students are taught to be more critical-minded and action-orientated. The students would be engaged in practical situations that are related to building positive relationships with others, as well as creating and supporting a sustainable environment. These projects could focus on concepts such as sustainability, recycling, and pluralism. The second level would involve incorporating this curriculum framework into the *banjar* system. The village heads could work collaboratively with the priests to model and involve the community in implementing practical applications of the philosophy in their daily activities. This would have a knock-on effect, as other villages would see the

positive value and impact of these strategies and would try to emulate these success stories.

Thirdly, the communication and gap between the older and younger generation needs to be bridged. Balinese traditional knowledge and wisdom can be transferred to the younger generation to ensure they have a clearer picture of both the modern and traditional world, alongside an appreciation and understanding of their cultural heritage. This cultural competence can be developed through the acquisition of the Balinese language. If the younger generation is prepared to learn and use the language effectively, they can acquire a more in-depth understanding of concepts and standpoints of Balinese culture. In the future, they will become the political and academic elite who will make decisions in relation to social, cultural and political issues.

Conditions for social intercourse could also be developed whereby Balinese are immersed and engaged in developing critical thinking skills. From an analytical distance, they could become more confident at being self-diagnostic and question what is happening at different levels of their community in their interaction with the processes of tourism. What transpires from this questioning can generate possible adjustments and adaptations to how *Tri Hita Karana* can be applied in concrete situations.

There are an increasing number of Balinese being exposed to a range of external paradigms and thought processes. As a result, there is a greater acceptance that Westerners and other Indonesians are an integral component of their future, and that outsiders can contribute positively to Balinese identity. This external gaze provides opportunities to observe, compare and analyze what is happening at both a village level and as an island as a whole.

Fourthly, a process could be implemented to redefine the Balinese's sense of culture. This would not be limited to what tourists want to see, but would incorporate the hybridization of the modern and traditional. Also, this process could involve the reexamination of the practice of using culture as a system of control or exclusion. Sensitivity and acceptance is required in order to create some form of compromise. In essence, this involves developing a more anti dogmatic, and pluralistic cultural system that absorbs and incorporates a range of ethnic others. The focus within the principle of maintaining balanced relationships

with others would be to recognize and value all stakeholders in the community as opposed to accentuating divisions of differences.

Finally, Balinese women need to be included in any discourse related to the reexamination of the philosophy. The potential and insights of Balinese women has tended to be neglected and excluded from community decision-making. Pathways need to be available to allow them to contribute meaningfully to community issues and challenges. In their positioning as wives, mothers, and “guardians of culture,” they provide a wealth of knowledge, experiences and strategies that are integral to the process of realigning the *Tri Hita Karana* doctrine.

## **6.2 Limitations of the Study**

As this study has relied on qualitative research methodology and a small subject population, there are a range of key limitations that have restricted the quality of the data and the conclusions drawn.

There were inherent challenges in attempting to measure cultural change in a community that continually interacts with the processes of tourism. The changes that occur at an internal level are difficult to observe, record and measure as a result of the number of variables and the various agents of change. This included such factors as the degree of interaction participants have with tourism, and whether they perceived the changes or influences as positive and negative. Also, determining whether the changes were a direct result of tourism, globalization or other factors compounded this.

The study also acknowledges that Balinese culture is historically situated, and that any form of cultural change are inevitable whether Balinese have contact with the processes of tourism or not. As such, the evolution and the interpretation of the concepts of *Tri Hita Karana* would change even if the community that was being researched had no interaction with tourism.

Limitations also arose, as participants tended to express opinions that were consistent with social standards and expectations from their particular *banjar*. As mentioned in the conclusions section, there is a strong social desirability to not present negative viewpoints or true feelings. This raises questions about the reliability of data and the need for long-term participant observation. However, to balance this out, there was a range of informants from outside the Nyuh Kuning

community who were prepared to express critical viewpoints and challenge the ethos and application of the philosophy.

Finally, the conclusions and theory resulting from the research may not generalize to other Balinese communities or settings. With a small number of informants interviewed, the results could be deemed unreliable. The insights of this research are restricted to a particular tourist community and possibly other Balinese tourist communities. However, it is not extendable to tourist communities outside Bali who are experiencing pressures on their worldviews to adapt as a result of their interaction with tourism.

In light of these limitations, if the research was duplicated, the following recommendations could be incorporated. Firstly, a larger number and a wider cross-section of the community would be interviewed. This would involve interviewing more Balinese women as well as older members of the community. Also, it would be pertinent to gain the perspective of Balinese priests who have a traditional connection to the philosophy. The viewpoints of long term expatriates living in the community may also be considered as possible data, as well as a source in triangulating findings.

In addition, having an interpreter available at interviews would be beneficial to the data collecting process. They would be able to help clarify and highlight key conceptual understandings that may not be clearly expressed by informants attempting to use a second or third language. It would also be beneficial to have the interpreter as the same gender as the participant, in order to promote more equitable levels of social and cultural positioning.

Also, in the structured interviews there is a need to develop questions that focus more on:

- 1) The contradictions that exist in both the physical and spiritual realms and how Balinese assimilate these into their lived experiences.
- 2) Investigating in greater depth informants' interaction with both the spiritual and material worlds and how this impacts on their application of the philosophy.
- 3) The future development of the philosophy and its evolution.

Lastly, to add to the depth of the literature review and develop a richer overview of the history and evolution of the philosophy, it would be useful to read and translate historical text and research written in both *Bahasa Indonesian* and

Balinese language related to the doctrine. This would also involve networking with the Udayana University in Denpasar. Contacting and interviewing other researchers who have studied the influence of tourism on Balinese culture would also add to a more comprehensive understanding of the processes of tourism and how this has changed.

### **6.3 Further research**

The overall study in this thesis has highlighted a range of possible areas for further research. There is substantial literature and research that examines and analyses the influences of the processes of tourism on Balinese culture. However, qualitative studies on the evolution of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy and the affect tourism have had on the doctrine itself is comparatively sparse. Further evaluative research in these areas would add to the depth of understanding of the worldview itself, and how it has been applied within a modern tourist economy.

Secondly, the research has discussed and analyzed to a limited degree the processes of how Balinese deal with the duality that arises from living in both the spiritual and material realms. Further data could be collected on these processes and how they determine the Balinese definition of being modern. This could also involve establishing clearly defined links of how this sense of modern is translated to the understanding and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy.

Also, discussions in this research have examined and presented how certain cultural mechanisms within this community are able to absorb and integrate the pressures of tourism that are placed on it. This provides relevant research for comparison to other tourist areas in Bali and how they adapt to and address these pressures, particularly where the demographic and caste make-up of the community may be very different.

There is also a multitude of contradictions that has emerged from the research, particularly in relation to being Balinese in the modern world and how this impacts on the *Tri Hita Karana* worldview. These contradictions include the materialistic and the spiritual, the real and the unseen, or tolerance and tension with others. The analysis has identified the cause and effect of these contradictions, but it has not analysed in any significant depth the relationship that exists between the paradoxes they are engaged in. However, for Balinese these contradictions represent symbolically two opposing concepts that are kept in

balance and are united in a process that ensures harmony is maintained. Further research could investigate how these paradoxes are addressed within their material world.

The conclusions have also highlighted the overriding dilemma that Balinese face: how to preserve and maintain their identity while becoming an increasingly modern tourist society. Can Balinese achieve a middle ground or a compromise, particularly as more and more Balinese are influenced by increased individualistic and materialistic behaviour? Also, individually and collectively, how prepared are they to question this behaviour in order to reexamine their interpretation and application of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy?

In addition, the research has raised the challenge of how well Balinese can realign their understanding of the horizontal pillar of this worldview that focuses on living harmoniously with others. With ever-increasing levels of heterogeneous groups alongside growing conflicts of interest within various communities will Balinese be able to adapt and accommodate these differences? Also, can they adapt these tensions to global issues that include human rights and equality?

Fourthly, on a broader macro level, it would be significant to compare the influence of the processes of tourism on similar worldviews of other societies who are reliant on tourism, with the findings of this research. How do other societies attempt to maintain a balance with their spiritual world, other humans and their natural environment in light of their ongoing interaction with tourism?

Finally, it would be worthwhile comparing the conclusions from this research with similar studies carried out with the same village in the future. This would generate relevant data that tracks the changes that have occurred in how Balinese understand and apply the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. What would the younger generations' as well as the adults' relationship with the philosophy be? Have they realigned and rebalanced their focus on all three pillars? Have they become more critically and practically minded or has the philosophy remained an esoteric substitute for taking action?

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix A: Glossary**

*Adat: Tradition and custom law*

*Agama: Religion*

*Bakso: Javanese soup*

*Bahasa Indonesia: Indonesian Language*

*Bali Classic Centre: A centre to observe Balinese traditions*

*Banjar: Community organization*

*Bendesa: Head of the village*

*Brahmana: Highest caste in Balinese Hindu*

*Bules: Foreigners*

*Desa Kala Patra: Balinese concept of time, place and situation*

*Gamelan: Traditional Balinese percussion orchestra used to accompany ceremonies*

*Gangs: Small Roads*

*Hita: Sanskrit for welfare, prosperity*

*Karana: Sanskrit for causes or reasons*

*Karmapala: Balinese concept of Karma*

*Kelod: Impure direction*

*Krises: Traditional daggers*

*Lontar: Sacred script written on palm leaves*

*Monkey forest: Sacred forest in central Ubud that is used for religious ceremonies*

*Niskala: The unseen, the eternal*

*Ogoh Ogohs: Demon Effigies*

*Orang Jawi: Indonesians who originate for outside of Bali*

*Orthodoxy: Attention to a core set of religious teachings*

*Orthopraxis: Performance of rituals*

*Pariwisata Budaya: Cultural tourism*

*Pecalang: Village security*

*Pendatang :Outsiders*

*Puri Dalem: Temple area*

*Regency: District of Bali*

*Sekala: The seen, the material*

*Subak: Water irrigation system for rice farming*

*Sudra: Lowest caste in Balinese Hindu*

*Tamu: Tourists*

*Tri: Sanskrit for three*

*Undagi: A traditional architect*

*Upacaras: Religious ceremonies*

*Warungs: Small roadside shops and restaurants*

**Appendix B:**  
**Interview Questions**

1. What is your background?
2. What is your understanding of THK? What does it mean to you?
3. How do you use it in your daily life? Is this philosophy real to Balinese in relation to their day-to-day experiences? Why?
4. How did you learn about the philosophy?
5. Do you know the origin of the philosophy? How has the philosophy evolved/changed?
6. Do you think it is a reinvented tradition, why?
7. How do your children learn about THK?
8. Has the philosophy changed? Have peoples understanding of it changed? If so why?
9. Has your understanding of THK changed over time, how?
10. How do you/ your family keep balance with the gods?  
Has this changed? How?
11. How do you/family/banjar keep balance with others in the village?  
What has influenced you most in doing this?  
How has this changed? What do you think will happen in the future with more outsiders coming into the village?

12. How do you/family/banjar keep balance with nature/ the environment?  
What influences you the most about this? Has your relationship with your environment changed? Why?
13. Why do you think the village face a range of problems to do with the environment? What will happen in the future?
14. How has tourism affected your religious duties? What have been the positive and negative impacts of this? Do you think this will change in the future? Why?
15. How has tourism changed the way you relate to foreigners?  
Why do you think this is the case? Will this change in the future? Why?  
How has it impacted on your relationship with other Balinese/Indonesian?
16. What are the main influences that you think tourism has had on the natural environment? Why do you think this has occurred? What will happen in the future?
17. What do you think are the main challenges the Nyuh Kuning village faces in the future, why?
18. What is the most challenging pillar of THK to maintain, why?
19. How do you think tourism has influenced the children in the village?
20. How do you think others in the village have adapted/changed as they interact with tourism?
21. What future direction/form do you think the THK will take?
22. Any other comments about the philosophy?