

# **Busses, bulldozers and rice paddies**

*The influence of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions and perceptions on authenticity*

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**Wonder is the beginning of Wisdom – Dalai Lama**



*Balinese women praying at a ceremony in a temple – Jukut Paku*

## Acknowledgements

Exactly a year after I started to get in touch with local Balinese people via the internet to research the possibilities of doing fieldwork in Bali, I proudly present the reader this thesis. I feel blessed that many things went well during my search for honest people who were willing to help me, even when things got more difficult.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Terimah kasih semua' means 'thank you all' in Bahasa Indonesia.

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# Maps

## Map I | Bali



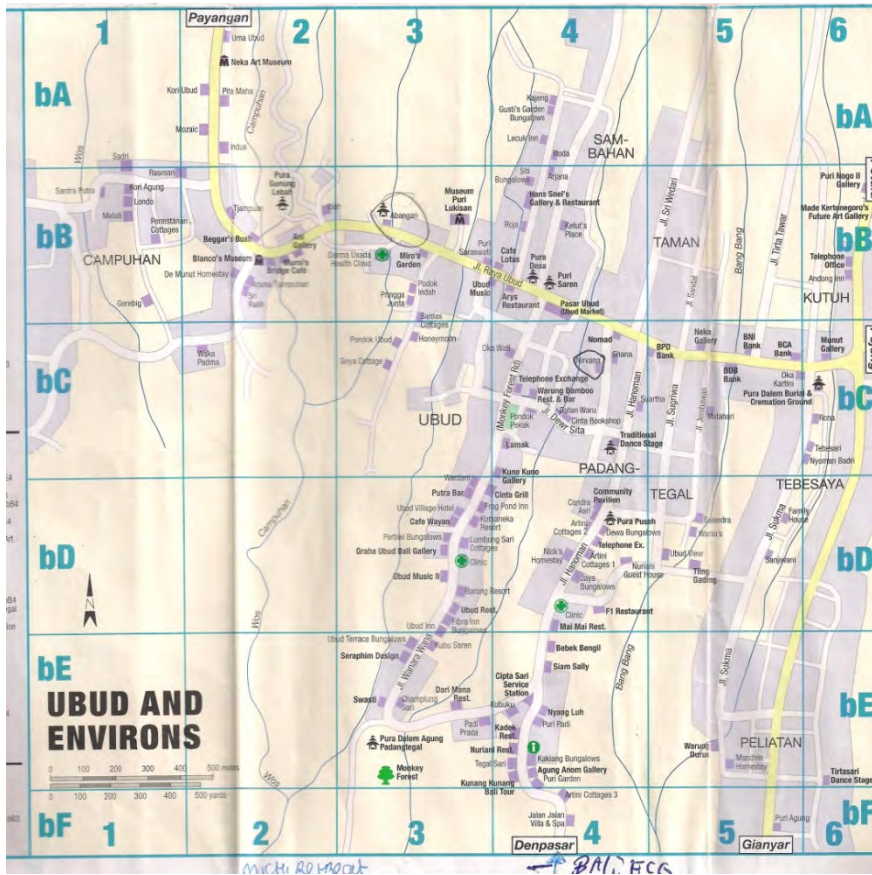
(Georgiou, Alexia. *Insight Guides. Bali & Lombok*. Singapore: Apa Publications 2011, page 0-1)

## Map II | Bali – Ubud and surroundings



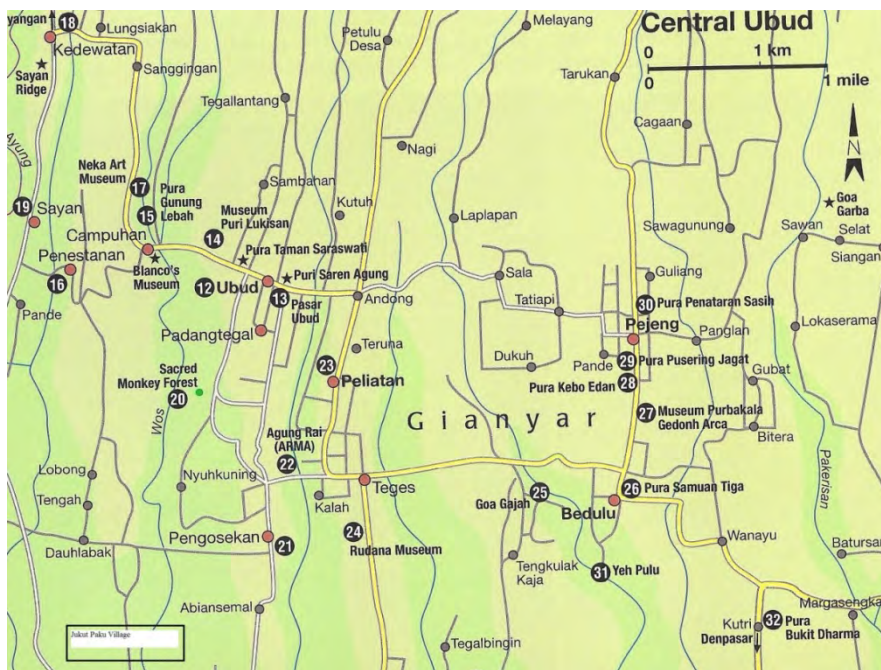
(Georgiou, Alexia. *Insight Guides. Bali & Lombok*. Singapore: Apa Publications 2011, page 122)

Map III | Bali – Ubud detailed map



(Georgiou, Alexia. *Insight Guides. Bali & Lombok*. Singapore: Apa Publications 2011, additional map)

Map IV | Bali – Ubud and Jukut Paku (left below)



(Georgiou, Alexia. *Insight Guides. Bali & Lombok*. Singapore: Apa Publications 2011, page 128)



## Glossary

ADAT. Customary, according to traditional cultural values as opposed to civil law (Eiseman 1990), traditional social order.

BANJAR. Village community.

BARONG. A mask and costume representing a mythical, supernatural creature, the most common *barong* has a costume that looks like a Chinese lion (*barong ket*) and is animated by two men, one manipulating the mark, the other the hind end (Eiseman 1990). When performed in a profane way, for tourists, this dance has a staged form of trance. When performed in the sacred way, within a temple for villagers, this dance involves getting into trance (see glossary: *trance*).

BATIK. Traditional painting on silk or cotton, mostly with repeating patterns.

CANANG. A common, small, everyday offering in the shape of a shallow square tray containing fruit, flowers and other material (Eiseman 1990).

CANDI BENTAR. Split gate without a top, often at the entrance to the outer courtyard of a temple.

CASTE. Various meanings, the most usual of which refers to birth-dictated station: the castes in Bali are, in order of greatest to least privilege, Brahmana, Ksatriya, Wesya and Sudra (Eiseman 1990).

DESA. Village.

DESA ADAT. Community responsible for all rituals in village temples.

EMPUL. Big spring water.

FRANGIPANI. Balinese flower.

GAMELAN. A general word for any of the many types of Balinese orchestral groups (Eiseman 1990), performed within temple ceremonies but also within tourist performances.

GUNUNG AGUNG. The highest mountain in Bali, located in the East central part of the island; elevation 3,142 meters (Eiseman 1990), a place that is visited by Balinese people because of its sacredness and by tourists because of its fame and image in travel books and magazines.

KAJA AND KELOD. The cardinal directions on Bali: mountain ward and seaward; since Bali's mountains are approximately in the island's center, *kaja* and *kelod* vary according to where in Bali one is.

PURA. Temple.

SARONG. Ceremonial cloth to cover human legs, statues or shrines, used by men and women, often made of *batik* (see glossary: *batik*).

THIRTHA. Water.

TRANCE. A supernatural phenomenon that is simply caused by a spirit of some unknown and undetermined sort entering the person in trance and causing the behaviors that are seen at the moment of trance (Eiseman 1990:159).

## Introduction

Walking through Ubud's busy streets, one almost stumbles on *canang*, Bali's everyday offerings for the Hindu gods, spirits and ancestors. A woman is blessing her family by putting *canang* in front of her compound and performing an everyday ritual, dressed in traditional temple clothes. A *sarong* covers her legs and hips, on top a belt on her waist, all in vivid colors and matching patterns. She should perform this everyday ritual in this way and no other. Though, while she performs her sacred ritual in traditional clothes, tourists in short pants and T-shirts are walking by. Some tourists' flip-flops kick the neighbors' *canang* in front of the praying woman, while other tourists carefully watch their steps, avoiding to step on the religious artifacts for which they came to Bali.

Here, the difference between cultural tourists and mass tourists become visible: they have a different interest in the host country. The cultural tourist is interested in experiencing Bali's everyday life, religious and cultural tradition and the mass tourist is just on holiday in a tropical country. Cultural tourists frequently visit today's 'cultural' Ubud, a still with tourists expanding town on touristic overloaded Bali. Not only Bali seems to have a huge industry when it comes to tourism. Tourism is one of the biggest industries in today's world. Dennison Nash and Valene L. Smith (1991:12) state that tourism is an important social fact in peoples life, because tourism makes people and cultures interact. The touristic zone is a creative space, a site where cultures can influence one another and a site for the invention of culture to meet tourists' desire to see and experience the authentic culture of the host destination (Bruner 2005:193). Tourism fits easily into anthropological concerns as anthropologists are interested in everything human and research about cultural contact and culture change (Nash 1996:11). The presence of *canang* in Balinese everyday life and visibility of religious culture for cultural tourists in Ubud and Jukut Paku, shape perceptions on authenticity for cultural tourists and Balinese people and have certain positive and negative influences on Balinese traditions and everyday life. Therefore, the question that this thesis aim to answer, is: '*How to explain and describe the influence of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions and perceptions on authenticity of today's everyday life in Ubud and Jukut Paku, Bali?*'.

To introduce this thesis and its discussion on the influence of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions and everyday life and perceptions on authenticity, the back cover of the thesis shows a photo of a riverbed of river Wos in Jukut Paku, which flows from the sacred mount Agung through Ubud and Jukut Paku. At the photo, river Wos literally drags the negative and positive influences of (cultural) tourism from touristic Ubud into traditional Jukut Paku. Left below, between huge rocks, a lot of rubbish can be seen: garbage coming from hotels and Ubud market. At the same time, nature's beauty is exposed and rice paddies fill the photo right above. Attempts are made to put these particular rice paddies at the list of World Heritage Sites, which further along river Wos already is accomplished.

This thesis aims to contribute to the theoretical as well as the social debate within the anthropology of tourism, and covers cultural tourism through concepts like authenticity and intercultural communication. The thesis will outline these concepts by getting deeper insight in traditional, everyday culture and touristic culture, which in the end will be compared to conclude about the influence from one to the other. There seems to be a lack of information within the research to (staged) authenticity, as MacCannell (1973:600). The thesis contributes to the study of tourism by anthropologists. Besides a theoretical debate, a social debate and the applied side of anthropological research in tourism, which has a variety of services to offer agencies involved in the tourists process, is also existing in this research. Research about tourists and guests relationships can provide recommendations about the best way to promote adaptation on both sides (Nash and Smith 1991:20). It seems that authenticity becomes visible via cultural tourism; tourists travel to get an authentic experience. Hosts who work in the tourist industry, like tour guides, can carry out this authenticity by managing tourist behavior and communication with tourists. These people play an important role in the imagination and experience of tourists who participate in cultural tourism. This role is often underestimated in applied anthropological research about tourism. It is therefore useful to determine what cultural tourists and Balinese people consider authentic.

A fieldwork period that took place from February until April 2012 in Ubud and Jukut Paku, is where all empirical data are gathered. The research is being done in two villages in order to make a comparison between touristic life in Ubud and more traditional life in Jukut Paku. The local Balinese people from Jukut Paku are part of the research population, as well as Balinese people working in the tourist industry in Ubud and cultural tourists from Europe, South-East Asia, Australia and the United States. All informants are interviewed in an informal or formal way. Besides, information is gathered during observation during daily life in Jukut Paku and Ubud, participant observation in a compound and hotel in Jukut Paku, at Ubud market and during various cultural (cycling) tours. In addition to the interviews, cultural tourists were given questionnaires to explicitly reveal more about their perceptions on authenticity.

Information about the anthropology of tourism, cultural tourism, intercultural communication and authenticity will be given in chapter one. Chapter two interferes these concepts within the context of Bali. Balinese traditions and everyday life in Ubud and Jukut Paku, which is called 'traditional life', are outlined in chapter three. The subsequent chapter is about 'touristic life': cultural tourism and intercultural communication between hosts and guests. After that, chapter five shows the negative and positive influences of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions and everyday life. Chapter six discusses perceptions on authenticity from out of perspectives of Balinese people and cultural tourists. The thesis concludes with an explanation about the changes of Balinese tradition and everyday life in Ubud and Jukut Paku.

## Chapter 1 Theoretical orientation *The Anthropology of Tourism*

### 1.1 Anthropology of tourism

Anthropology is a discipline within social sciences that is most famous for its holistic view by studying indigenous societies and cultures. In order to do so, anthropologists have to travel to destinations and become a member of that other culture and society. Although most anthropologists deny the idea of being a tourist during research in the field, at least in the first phase of the research they tend to be tourists (Harkin 1995:651). However some anthropologists try to cover this role as tourists, some of them see the importance of acknowledging it and even made this a subject to study. With tourism as the largest industry in the world now, that seems quite reasonable (Howe 2005:131). At first, the idea of tourism as an external force impacting on a host society was most common. Later, Michel Picard (1996 in Howe 2005:131) says that ‘we should view tourism as an integral component of that society that should be studied by anthropologists in order to get a holistic view.’ The anthropology of tourism was born.

The anthropology of tourism studies the relationship between hosts – the societies receiving the tourists – and guests – the tourists themselves (Yamashita 2004:6) and is concerned with what happens in the contact zone between hosts and guests (Yamashita 2004:73). As can be read in the introduction, tourism fits easily into anthropological concerns. Tourism can be viewed as not an entirely banal pleasure-seeking, but as a profound, widely shared human desire to know ‘others’. To get to know these ‘others’, hosts and guests have to be in contact with each other. This contact shows that tourism is a thoroughly mediated activity. The mediators in tourism are those who act as go-betweens or culture brokers, they are the agents who interpret and negotiate between hosts and guests. Mediators in tourism include tour guides, governments, tour operators, travel agents and international organizations (Cole 2008:30). All these mediators mostly connected to the host destination play a crucial role in contact with and shaping images for tourists. Tourism consists of various forms, like mass tourism and sustainable tourism. This thesis will focus on cultural tourism.

### 1.2 Cultural tourism

Cultural tourism promises the visitor the opportunity to see at least some portions of the indigenous culture and can be defined in what it is that tourists do and see in the host society (Smith 1989:10). This form of tourism includes religious and artistic presentations, visits to certain sites, and craft production (Nash 1996:135). All of this is done to give the tourist an unforgettable experience and memory about the culture. Cultural tourism recreates in performance idealized colonial images and other representations of the past and the original (Bruner 2005:76). It includes the picturesque or local

color, a vestige of a vanishing life-style that lies within human memory with its old style houses, homespun fabrics and hand rather than machine-made crafts (Smith 1989:4). This form of tourism provides that hospitality, the arts and performances become commoditized as 'products', like paying to take photographs or sales of souvenirs to tourists (Cole 2007:945). Host-guest stresses may be maximal because the rural peasant areas are often readily accessible from tourist resorts, and large number of visitors come for the very purpose of observing and photographing the lives of peasants who become object of study (Smith 1989:4).

Souvenirs can be used in cultural tourism to maintain the memory of the experience for the tourist. The tourists have become patrons for particular cultural or ethnic expressions. Certain activities have become far more widespread in the past decade, and a kind of revitalization of folk arts is found in many villages (Smith 1989:131). Dance dramas and other art forms are places where tour guides take their tourists to experience cultural tourism (Bruner 2005:199). When speaking of cultural tourism, it can be said that tourists are not paying for the product but rather for the experience that comes along with the product. George Sanders calls this 'experiential consumption' (Sanders 2012:7). All of this is done to give the tourist an unforgettable experience and memory about the culture. Religious and cultural tradition can be seen as two tools of measurement to determine what is considered central within cultural tourism. Therefore, these two traditions will be used to make a comparison between the two villages and touristic and cultural life, that are central themes within this thesis.

### *Religious and cultural tradition*

As said, the thesis will make a comparison between two villages on Bali. These villages cover a perspective on traditional life and touristic life, as can be read in chapter two. The differences between the villages clearly consider (cultural) tourism, since these differences would not have been found when one randomly would have picked two other villages. History shaped the two villages in such a way that cohesion between the two and traditional- and touristic life is obvious. The villages developed along two lines: one without tourism and one with tourism. Therefore, these two were chosen to reveal the connection between cultural tourism, perceptions on authenticity and changing Balinese everyday life. A distinction between traditional- and touristic life is necessary to give a valid framework to show the influences of cultural tourism on Balinese society and to start the discussion on authenticity. By doing so, it can be determined whether what tourists get to see is part of traditional culture or invented culture. Duval (2004:72, in Feifan Xie 2011:37) shows for example that when tradition is invented, the differences between the sacred and the profane become moot. Therefore it is useful to research what can be considered as religious and traditional culture, as well from a perspective out of traditional as touristic life. Traditional culture is considered to exist within everyday life. Dean MacCannell (1973:598) explains that in the everyday, one can 'peek into a back region', which will be explained in paragraph 1.4 about authenticity. Therefore everyday life will be an

important subject within this thesis, outlined within traditional and religious culture. Besides a comparison between traditional and touristic life will be made, to eventually contribute to the discussion about influences of cultural tourism and perspectives on authenticity.

### 1.3 Intercultural communication between hosts and guests

Before continuing with a theoretical overview within the debate on authenticity, it is necessary to state something about intercultural communication between hosts and guests. As said, tourism can be viewed as a widely shared human desire to know ‘others’. To get to know these ‘others’, hosts and guests have to be in contact with each other (Cole 2008:30). Hosts who are at the frontlines of these moments of (intercultural) interaction are tour guides. This interaction could be called intercultural communication. Before we go any further, it is important to state what is meant by intercultural communication between hosts –the tour guides – and guests – the tourists. Alan Durant and Ifan Shepherd (2009) split the term intercultural communication in inter, culture and communication and in this way they define what the term is about. Intercultural communication relies on an idea of culture and bearers of culture. Such bearers could be aspects of a culture, such as clothing, eating, observance and secular rituals. In order to understand cultural interaction and limiting misunderstandings, one has to gain insights in these culture bearers (Durant&Shepherd 2009:156).

Obviously, tour guides tell a particular story about a country, sights or events to the tourists. They represent a culture and try to communicate this to another culture and could therefore be seen as mediators between cultures. The statements of Stoma Cole (2008), Noel B. Salazar (2004) and Alan Durant and Ifan Shepherd (2009) can be interwoven in the idea that tour guides form a window through which tourists get a view to the country, sight or event. A qualified language speaking tour guide must have plenty of cultural knowledge about his native country and of the country the guest comes from. The most important ability to become acquainted with two particular cultures is being good at making comparisons. Only with this profound cultural knowledge a tour guide is able to be good at communication with guests (Feifan Xie 2009:26). In this way it could be said that for tour guides, culture and language are two interrelated concepts. Therefore, intercultural communication as a skill for tour guides is an inescapable feature of tourism. Michael Agar (2002:16) writes about the connection between language and culture. To understand language, one has to understand that: ‘... differences in language go well beyond what you find in the grammar and the dictionary.’ (Agar 2002:16). Without culture you cannot communicate and the obstacle of language(difference), by communication in a *lingua franca* such as English, you come closer to what a culture is about and begin to understand what the person of the other culture is talking about (Agar 2002:20). Intercultural communication thus works both ways: without cultural knowledge one cannot make clear what one means, no matter what language, but without common language culture also is not translatable.

Tour guides are the mediators between cultures and use a *lingua franca* such as English via intercultural communication to express and explain ‘their’ culture. By doing so, tour guides can

overcome the boundaries concerning language, because most of the time tourists do not speak a native language of the host destination and therefore cannot communicate. This can be overcome by talking in a *lingua franca* to say what a culture is about. Frames, which contain expectations and are dynamic, can be used within *linguaculture* (Agar 2006:60). It is the moment where language and culture meet; where the tour guide translates his culture into the language and culture familiar to the tourists (Agar 2006:158). Besides it can be said that tours to villages by tour guides are always a multilingual experience. The tourists receive explanations and instructions from the guide in an Indonesian version of English, with occasionally the use of an Indonesian word, for example to indicate a certain local craft, food or plant (Salazar 2004:640). Here you can see where the *linguacultural* action is: the Indonesian culture is portrayed in an Indonesian word for craft, food or plant and explained to the tourists via the *lingua franca* English.

But most problems with language, the problems that come up when you try to use it to communicate, are not about sentences and parts of speech. Confrontations can encounter between different worlds of meaning: the worlds of hosts and guests (Agar 2002:16). Furthermore, hosts as tour guides can operate as information providers to tourists to minimize the impacts of cultural tourism to the host destination (Nash 1996:135). It may be clear that one cannot communicate without culture, because culture determines in what way you communicate and just as Alan Durant and Ifan Shepherd (2009:156) state: ‘in order to understand cultural interaction and limiting misunderstandings, one has to gain insight in the other culture’ (Agar 2002:20). Through intercultural communication, guests needs can be fulfilled by hosts and vice versa. As Edward M. Bruner (2005:195) says: ‘Tour guides are insiders and outsiders of a culture and are able to observe and record tourists’ reactions, behaviors and interpretations.’ This means that they are the ones who can easily feel what tourists want to see and that they want to discover the difference between their own culture and the culture of the host destination, where souvenirs and photographs of a tour can serve as devices to stories and memories (Bruner 1989:441). These needs mostly rely on expectations about the destination and the willingness to experience something ‘unique’, ‘original’ and ‘unforgettable’, which both are key terms within the debate about perceptions on authenticity.

#### **1.4 Authenticity**

Part of this unforgettable, original and unique experience lies in the essence of the tourist experience as described by Edward M. Bruner (2005:71), Michael Harkin (1995:653) and Dean MacCannell (1973:593): a quest for authenticity. Dean MacCannell (1973:593) therefore describes that ‘tourists present themselves at spaces of social, historical and cultural importance.’ Nevertheless, it is possible that what the tourists see and experience in these spaces of importance is not authentic in fact, because it might be a staged form of what is taking place among the local people, ‘behind the scenes’; a form of staged authenticity (MacCannell 1973:597). Can this form of authenticity be regarded as not authentic? Yes and no, because culture always changes and so authenticity has a dynamic character.

Besides, as Feifan Xie (2011:37) points out, defining authenticity has proved to be 'problematic if not pointless' because it is used in daily discourse and can be interpreted in many ways. MacCannell (1973), Xie Feifan (2011), Bruner (2005), Harkin (1995) and other authors state that authenticity occurs in many forms and is dynamic, changeable and difficult to define. Therefore this thesis will speak of perceptions on authenticity to uncover what I call the thin 'authenticity-frontier'. I consider the authenticity-frontier a thin line that can be found in societies which main economy is based on (cultural) tourism, a frontier where tension can be seen because on the one hand authenticity is being sold for tourist dollars and on the other hand everyday life is taking place. To be able to determine this frontier, it is necessary to make an analytical division between ritual (sacred) and performance (profane). A division can be made between performances put on specifically for tourists versus rituals, essentially performances for the gods and ancestors, that tourists happen to observe (Cole 2008:26 and Bowie 2006:145). The performances are a way in which tourists consume other cultures, a device for creating authenticity (Yamashita 2004:38). The tourists come in search of the image of a country as 'authentic' and 'traditional' culture. Travel agents and hosts try to meet this search of the tourists and most of them try to sell their destination as 'paradise'.

It can be said that 'paradise' is being 'staged' for example in accommodation, clothing and food (Yamashita 2004:73). According to Shinji Yamashita (2004:74), the result of staging tourism is 'the creation of a culture that might be called 'touristic culture'. Authenticity within this 'touristic culture' can be found in cultural and social activities and within everyday life and customs, which in this thesis will be called 'touristic life' in order to make a comparison with 'traditional life' (Yamashita 2004:104). Therefore I thus consider 'traditional life' as traditional culture, which exists within everyday life. Dean MacCannell (1973:590) also writes about staged authenticity and makes a structural division of social establishments in 'front' and 'back' regions. The front is the place where hosts and guests meet and interact, the back where hosts retire between performances and relax and prepare. A back region appears to be mostly closed to audiences. Touristic life can be seen as a front region, while traditional life can be considered a back region. When tourists participate within a cultural tour, they usually do this because the tour organizes access to areas that are ordinarily closed to outsiders. Mostly, these tours are called 'educational', because the tour reveals social organization and the inner workings of the place (MacCannell 1973:595). As said, it is also possible that the spaces tourists visit, whether or not during a cultural, educational tour, are a third region added to MacCannells (1973) front- and back regions: staged back region, a 'kind of living museum, a new kind of social space that gives the tourist a view of details of the inner operation of (for example) a public or domestic institution' (MacCannell 1973:596). This is exactly where the thin authenticity-frontier becomes visible, because it is here that question marks can be placed among what is staged and what is 'authentic'. The perspective of Marijn Kraak (2010:43) can be added to this, who states there is something as 'assumed authenticity': 'precisely these parts are exposed that Westerners can imagine.'



*Souvenirs: memory and experience*

Taking photographs is how the tourists authenticate their own experiences. Experience is converted into an image, a souvenir (Yamashita 2004:134). On the surface, determining the authenticity of cultural elements and performances seems such a simple thing. It would appear that the anthropologist can simply observe what is presented to the tourist, compare it with the traditional models, and offer a judgment. But such a rendering is based on anthropological views of culture that regard culture as something solid. That kind of views should have long ago passed away because all cultures continually change and within a culture, one has to deal with diversity (Smith 1989:183).

The continually changing character of culture makes authenticity something fluid. In this way, for example souvenirs can be seen as an expression what guests expect to be authentic and what hosts regard and adapt as authentic in order to sell the souvenirs. Therefore souvenirs might change overtime. Souvenirs are in a way 'evidence of travel' that are often shared with family and friends and bring back memory of the experience. Valene L. Smith (1989:33) describes this as follows: 'The connection between symbol and things comes from the fact that the symbol helps give the 'thing' its identity. The symbol is the word, picture or artifact. It helps covert given reality into experienced reality, and is therefore an indispensable part of all experience.' The chosen style of tourism, like cultural tourism, can be seen in the souvenirs. The implementation of authenticity into souvenirs can be a powerful marketing tool for tourism as tourists seek real and meaningful experiences in their travel (Feifan Xie 2011:1). As Philip Feifan Xie (2011:38) puts it: 'Culture has been transformed into an army of semiotics, labels and markers that need to be certified as authentic. Without these markers, cultural tourism could not be experienced as authentic'. Ethnicity is a part of culture markers so it has to be mentioned here in the work of a tour guide and the marking of intercultural communication. Ethnicity can be part of cultural tourism and so the pursuit of authenticity is to reify the past in terms a tourists longs to see and ethnicity of a group is being 'sold' for tourist dollars. It seems to be that excursions, handicrafts, arts, feasts and rituals are events/happenings that make tourists think or experience something authentic and that this is something solid that can be served to tourists year after year. Nevertheless, it appears to be important to keep in mind that authenticity is something fluid because it relies on the tourist experience. Especially in the case of Bali, where cultural tourism seems to be based on an 'invented, hybrid culture' in the first place (Yamashita 2004:37), this debate about authenticity is ongoing which can be read in the next chapter.

## Chapter 2: Contextual orientation

### 2.1 Traditional and religious culture in Ubud and Jukut Paku, Bali

Bali has been a Dutch colony from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century until Sukarno declared the Republic of Indonesia in 1950 (Howe 2005:29)<sup>2</sup>. The colonial project the Dutch set in motion in Bali – what came to be called the ‘Balinization of Bali’ – amounted to a reconstruction of what the Dutch thought Balinese society must once have been (Howe 2005:18). For the Dutch, the Balinese resembled in a way to their selves. The dams and canals on Bali reminded the Dutch of their homeland, and could thus be seen as ‘little Holland’ (Howe 2005:21).

Although Indonesia is independent since 1950, the colonial period has had a long-term legacy to Bali as evidenced by the current economy of tourism (Howe 2005:8). The colonization of Bali by the Dutch has implemented cultural tourism on Bali as we will see in paragraph 2.2. Ubud is Bali’s inland center for cultural tourists (Howe 2005:8) and can thus be considered a village where touristic life is visible. Jukut Paku, a village some seven kilometers outside of touristic Ubud, can be considered a village where traditional life is visible when looked at cultural and religious traditions. Since most Balinese are Hindu, with a minority of Muslims, Christians and Buddhists, Bali’s cultural tourism is based on Balinese Hinduism (Yamashita 2004:11).

The population of Bali nowadays is around three million. The area of the island is 5,561 square kilometers and it is one of the provinces of the Republic of Indonesia, to the east of Java (Yamashita 2004:7). Bali is also known as the ‘island of the Gods’, which attracted many anthropologists and tourists in search of the authentic Bali over the years (Yamashita 2004:8). As Shinji Yamashita states (2004:25): ‘Paradise was not simply discovered there: it was created.’, because it was through ‘contact with Western modernity that the people of Bali became conscious of their own culture and even ‘invented’ their cultural tradition’ (Yamashita 2004:10). The next paragraph will further discuss this statement.

### 2.1 Cultural tourism and authenticity in Bali

The economy of Bali was traditionally based on wet rice agriculture and fishing. But from the 1920s, under the Dutch colonial regime, Bali became known among Europeans and Americans as a tourist destination. It was portrayed as the ‘last paradise’, and now the tourist industry occupies a very important place in its economy (Yamashita 2004:7).

Balinese tourism became something that could be ‘served’ to Western tourists. Anthropologist Margaret Mead and artist Walter Spies are important figures in shaping the image of Bali as a tourist

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<sup>2</sup> A historical overview can be found in Appendix I.

destination, a 'paradise'. They were also implicated in the process of the 'Balization' of Bali, which has to do with the 'invention' of Bali's cultural tradition that will be further outlined in *religious and cultural tradition* (Vickers 1997:167). Bali is a prime example of cultural tourism. Bali even has its own definition of cultural tourism according to provincial laws dating from 1991<sup>3</sup>. Hinduism is the basis of Balinese culture and Balinese Hinduism is at the center of Bali's cultural tourism, which can be seen in many of the tourist objects in Bali as Hindu temples Tanah Lot and Tirta Empul and the like (Yamashita 2004:58). Further, temple festivals or household shrines and rituals based on Hinduism are important resources in Balinese tourism.

The artistic village of Ubud is the island inland centre of cultural tourism where artists make souvenirs, traditional *gamelan* and *wayang* are played and tourists can attend a cremation and other specific Hindu rituals (Howe 2005:8). An important part of Balinese Hindu rituals are everyday offerings called *canang*, that can be found in household shrines, in front of *candi bentar* (split gates) and doors (Eiseman 1990:220)<sup>4</sup>. As said in the introduction, this thesis is based on fieldwork in Ubud and Jukut Paku. In Ubud, the Balinese link the faith of their culture and religion to that of tourism in a way that guests tourist attractions are staged and part of the front region (MacCannel 1973) only for their benefits and inviting the guests to participate in 'authentic' cultural performances as temple festivals and cremations: the staged back region and sometimes back region (Picard 2008:160). Temples can be found on every corner of the village of Ubud (Bakker 2001:27). All these characteristics of Ubud, like the arts, temples and festivals can be mentioned as 'authentic' by hosts and guests. Also, the tour guide might show these particular characteristics to the tourists. The language of contact between hosts and guests, an Indonesian form of English, is one of the markers of interaction (Salazar 2004:639). Interaction thus mostly takes place during cultural tours or, for example, on Ubud market or other touristic spots. Here the thin 'authenticity-frontier' becomes visible, which uncovers traditional and touristic life and the tension between them: the front, back and staged back regions. In order to make it possible to debate about this frontier, a comparison between religious and traditional culture within Ubud (touristic life) and Jukut Paku (traditional life) is made.

### *Religious and traditional culture*

Having said that Bali's culture partly is 'invented', it may be obvious that cultural tourism participated in this process. Cultural tourism also made Balinese knowledge about their own religion grow: tourists want to know more about Balinese Hinduism and so hosts started to study the background of their customs. The other side of this is that because of tourism, religion is being commercialized. Some

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<sup>3</sup> 'The local culture of Bali is based on the spirit of the Hindu religions, and forms part of the national culture of Indonesia. It is also an enormous potential resource. In order to promote and develop it, tourism and culture should be linked to each other in ways appropriate to both of them, and the harmonious balance between them preserved. Cultural tourism is the type of tourism which can be used to promote this.' (Yamashita 2004:55) Also found in (Picard 2008:160) and (Vickers 1997:263).

<sup>4</sup> A photo of a household shrine can be found in Appendix IX, a photo of a *candi bentar* in Appendix VIII.

dances and rituals have been performed because tourists were willing to pay money in order to see them. This seems to lead to a countermovement. Nowadays more and more distinction is made between the sacred and the profane and Balinese think it is inappropriate that commercialized motives lead to religious rituals and dances, though it stays permitted to perform profane dances for tourists (Bakker 2001:109). Here Dean MacCannel's (1973) back and front regions within perceptions on authenticity become visible. The sacred dances and rituals are part of the back region, the profane, 'commercialized' rituals and dances part of the front region that tourists get to see. Sacred dances, like the *barong* dance, mostly involve trance and as Fred B. Eiseman (1990:146) says: 'Although trance is not uncommon in Bali, it is not something the short term visitor is likely to see. The tourist dance performances do not include authentic trance.' These touristic dances could thus be considered to perform a staged trance, a form of staged authenticity. Religious and traditional cultures can be the instruments of measurement to uncover the 'authenticity-frontier'. In Bali, with its 'invented tradition', the 'tradition' in dances and performances was thus newly created in the encounter between Bali and the West in beginning 1930s (Yamashita 2004:34). Nowadays, performing arts are one of Balinese cultural tourists' major attractions (Yamashita 2004:79). But could these performing arts be called traditional? Yamashita (2004:37) argues that it could better be called a 'hybrid culture', 'newly created under colonial conditions and transformed into the 'real' Balinese culture in the context of tourism.' The partly 'invented' Balinese religious and traditional culture still attracts many cultural tourists and so the interaction between hosts and guests has its influences on Balinese society. Valene L. Smith (1989:120) argues that socioeconomic change is taking place in Bali but that this goes 'hand in hand with the conservation of traditional culture'. Shinji Yamashita (2004:109) shares this vision noting that the 'influence of the development of tourism on the local society can be seen as either good or bad', and states that tourism stimulates traditional culture, which may result in 'the creation of new culture'. Besides, 'tourism heightens the self-awareness of the local people in tourist areas and strengthens their identity.' Furthermore, Balinese will abide *adat*, the traditional social order (Howe 2005:64). As Leo Howe (Howe 2005:135) states: 'Balinese continue what they have always done – perform to their gods and ancestors, only now they do it for tourists too!'

## Chapter 3 *Balinese traditions and everyday life: traditional life*

### 3.1 A typical Balinese day in Ubud and Jukut Paku: family and community

It is about seven AM when the wind is freshening the Balinese morning air that fills itself with sunlight. As is the sun, the Balinese people of Ubud and Jukut Paku are rising. The women start cooking rice for the day's first meal and everyone drinks their first cup of Bali coffee, a special coffee that finishes with coffee grounds. Besides cooking, the women start cleaning with typical Balinese brooms with which they sweep the floor, while men get on their motorbikes and drive to work. Streets are getting filled with motorbikes and trucks loaded with people traveling either to their work in the rice paddies or in the tourism industry. Most inhabitants of Jukut Paku travel to the rice paddies or to the market in Ubud to sell their goods, wood carved and painted souvenirs or groceries and Ubud's people stay there to work mainly in tourism industry. While the smell of oil and gasoline fills the air, incense used within daily offerings dominates these smells even more. Some days are more special and involve specially made offerings, but they are all made to respect the gods, spirits and ancestors. As Howe (2005:8) says, the village of Ubud can be considered the islands inland centre of cultural tourism, an artistic village visited everyday by loads of tourists. This shows the presence of tourists in everyday life in Ubud and, because the villagers of Jukut Paku mainly work in Ubud it underlines Nash's and Smith's statement that tourism is an important social fact in peoples life (1991:12).

As could be read in chapter one, Dean MacCannel (1973:590) speaks in terms of 'front' and 'back' regions considering social establishments within societies where tourism is present. The front is the meeting place of hosts and guests, the back is this place where the hosts retire between performances to relax and to prepare. A back region, closed to audiences and outsiders, is exactly what can be found in Jukut Paku and in some back roads in Ubud. Everyday life in the back region can be considered traditional life, in which family and community play an important role. The importance can be seen in this quote:

'Daily Balinese life involves community life. The community is very important in Bali, a village has his own system and local government and families live in compounds behind the walls with one entrance door as you can see everywhere in the streets. In a compound sometimes live like five families, so it is very busy there.'

Kaba. Balinese informant February 27 2012

Language is another important aspect of traditional Balinese culture. Besides Bahasa Indonesia, Balinese is a language that is very different from Bahasa Indonesia and also a very difficult one to learn. There are hardly any books about the language and it has many forms: high and low Balinese. This has to do with the Balinese cast system. Someone from a low cast who speaks to one from a high cast speaks in high Balinese, while the higher person speaks back in low Balinese. There are six levels in this system which makes it extremely difficult for outsiders to learn. These six levels of speaking make Balinese language highly sensitive for cultural misunderstandings. Therefore, most of the time people choose to speak the middle level in order to avoid insulting a person. Although officially abolished, the caste system still remains within everyday life and speaking. Meanwhile, other things have changed.

### *1980s-2012: a lot has changed*

All Balinese spoken to who are older than thirty speak about the way Bali was like ten and twenty years ago. As will be seen in the part about touristic life, also tourists who went to Bali this long ago tend to speak about this era. The exact changes due to cultural tourism will be described in chapter five. Jukut Paku and Ubud were both small quiet towns with hardly any cars, just some motorbikes and mainly bicycles. Roads were not paved but consisted of natural, dusty paths, which made it slippery and sometimes inaccessible rainy season. When Balinese describe Bali some decades ago they mostly referred to Lembongan island, a small island belonging to Bali where only recently tourism began to emerge. Here one can find these dusty paths, traditional bamboo houses and an economy mainly based on fishing and seaweed<sup>5</sup>. But even on this island modernity strikes down, leading to better roads for new motorbikes and cars. Signs of 'free WIFI' begin to cover the island, as is common in Ubud for a much longer time. In the 1980s Ubud was the only town in midst Bali that had some electricity and gained one television, where people from Ubud and surroundings came and look at. Nowadays, households are exclusive when *not* having a television. Even the poorest households possess a television and satellite connection, which then is often connected to a bamboo pole. Modernity, as television, satellite and internet, is a vast change with some twenty years ago and the generation Balinese growing up now is facing other challenges than previous generations, as do their parents. Children tend to only looking at television or playing computer games. They even imitate the wrestling games they see on television and start fighting, which leads to many injuries among children. Teenagers are captures by the hype of *Facebook* and other social networks and are tempted by the endless possibilities of the world wide web. Children and teenagers are Bali's future and so by many Balinese regarded as important to keep traditions alive. Balinese parents rather would see their children learning how to play *gamelan* or participating in a *barong* dance, instead of knowing

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<sup>5</sup> Photos of Lembongan island's seaweed economy and bamboo houses can be found in Appendix VII.

how to use a *Blackberry*. Therefore, some Balinese start initiatives of all kinds of programs that create a sense of tradition for children. It may be obvious that family and community play a crucial role within Balinese society, which will be described below.

### *Family and community*

The importance of family is immediately clear when one looks at Balinese housing, as well in Ubud as in Jukut Paku. Every family lives in a compound, behind a wall with one entrance: a *candi bentar* (split gate). Behind this gate an overflow of smells derived from incense and boiled vegetables and cooked animals welcomes the visitor. All buildings found behind the *candi bentar* are placed within the Balinese direction system, which involves a sense of orientation within *kaja* (towards the mountains) and *kelod* (towards the sea), based on good and bad spirits. First one sees the Hindu family temple. Beyond there are buildings for every family member and separate rooms for washing, cooking, eating and making crafts. Household shrines filled with offerings are also found, as are stray chickens, roosters, cats and dogs. The size of a compound depends on the family. A compound can exist of fifty people, but usually houses ten or twenty Balinese. People belonging to a compound also belong to a *desa*: a village or town. All compounds together are called *banjar*, the village community. Sense of community is very important for Balinese society and central in social activities. A remarkable example comes from a story told by a Balinese man:

‘When Bali allowed the First European missionaries in 1910 and onwards they did not succeed very well. Rumor has it that the first Balinese man who became a Christian was emitted from his family and social life. The Christian faith could not offer him what he was missing in terms of this social life, so he committed suicide.’

Putu, Balinese informant February 21 2012

This example clearly shows the strength of Balinese community and family, which is interwoven with religion, culture and everyday life. The Balinese attach a lot of value to traditions because they believe it will bring bad luck for their families and communities when they do not obey *adat* (traditional social order). Most people in Ubud and Jukut Paku describe everyday life as doing offerings, praying, going to the temple, to the *banjar*, to work, cleaning, cooking and spending time with their family. Observations also made this structure visible. In a traditional village as Jukut Paku it is even more visible, because it is so small scaled. A meeting of the *banjar* for instance, would in Jukut Paku be done alongside of the road where in Ubud it will take place behind walls to keep it more private: within the back regions as Dean MacCannel (1973) would say. Because of the interference between

family, community, culture religion and everyday life, religion is an important pile within Balinese society.

### 3.2 Religious and cultural tradition

Under Dutch colonial rule Hinduism became the main religion of Bali (Yamashita 2004:28). This was in the 1930s and it is still the main religion on Bali, which can be seen within everyday life in both villages. Balinese Hinduism is completely interwoven with everyday life in Bali. It can be considered more a way of life than a religion. It is not to be recognized as Hinduism in India. Approximately eight hundred years ago it came to Bali and then developed as a separate religion with animism and ancestor worship and was during Dutch colonial rule implemented as ‘official religion’ of Bali. Many villagers from Ubud and Jukut Paku clearly showed that Balinese life cannot be seen separately from religion: these two are interwoven. Every day people pray, sing mantras, have ceremonies, temples seem to be everywhere and even in elementary school children get lessons in Hindu religion. Balinese people consider religion and family life as two important aspects of Balinese religious tradition. One Balinese man puts this in a very clear way:

[ *‘Religion is really in our bodies. Everything here is based on religion.’*  
 Najahar, Balinese informant March 8 2012 ]

The importance of religion in everyday life becomes visible within *canang*: everyday offerings for the gods, spirits and ancestors. *Canang* should be made out of specific patterns, an example showed in figure two and are made of banana- or coconut leaf and decorated with incense, flowers and food.

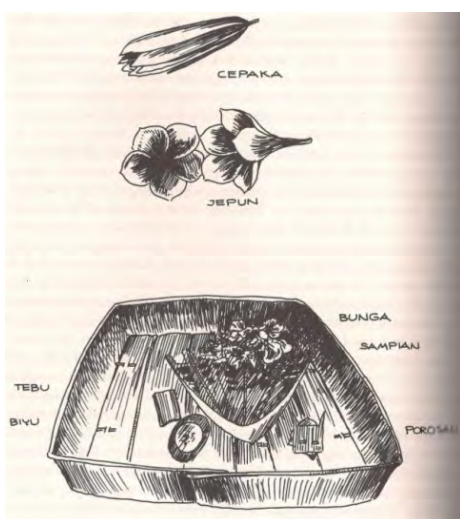


Figure 1: *canang* (Eiseman 1990:220)

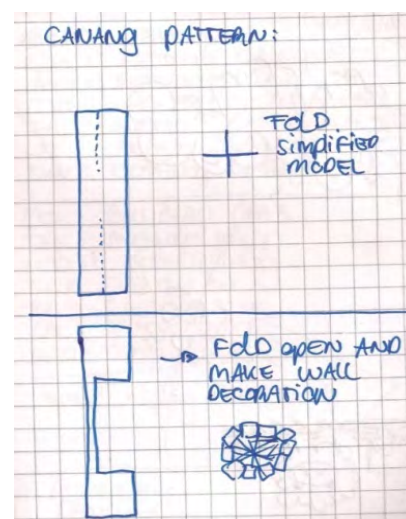


Figure 2: *canang* pattern (fieldnote 2012)



Religion, art and tradition are combined to be one during rituals. Human, nature and the sacred (gods, spirits and ancestors) interwove with one another and determine how a ceremony looks like and is performed. The combination human-nature-sacred shows the difference between tourist performances and performances/ceremonies in local villages. This is in line with Coles argument that ‘a division can be made between performances put on specially for tourists and rituals, essentially performances for the gods and ancestors’ (Cole 2008). Besides human-nature-sacred, another threefold can be found that declares why rituals sometimes are performed differently for tourists as for locals: place-event-people. It all depends whether the event is sacred or profane, is taking place in a sacred (temple) or profane (hotel) place among villagers or tourists. Place-event-people can be linked to Dean MacCannell’s (1973) back and front regions. The back region is the place where religion is performed in the sacred form among villagers, the front where it is performed in the profane form, for touristic audiences (MacCannell 1973:590). As said before, another important feature about Balinese society is that religion, tradition and art are combined to be one during rituals which for instance can be seen in offerings. Baskets with fruit need to be beautiful, like a piece of art, but they also have to be done in a proper way in order to suite the ritual and a good offerings for the gods. Art is one of the ways cultural tradition becomes visible.

Obviously, cultural tradition flows from everyday life within family and community through religious tradition into art forms such as woodcarving, dance and painting, but also playing chess and gambling at rooster fights, which in turn all are interwoven with religion. Besides, performing arts are Balinese cultural tourisms’ major attraction (Yamashita 2004:79). Speaking of the conservation of this cultural tradition, Valene L. Smith (1989:120) says that ‘although socioeconomic change is taking place in Bali, it goes hand-in-hand with the conservation of traditional culture.’ This could be because more and more Balinese make a distinction between sacred and profane and what they show tourists, which will be further discussed in chapter five. Traditional culture is central in discussions, touristic and governmental campaigns in today’s Bali as can be read in the following piece.

‘In Bali we are especially proud that while global influences and development create change and complexity, our traditional culture is strong and healthy, allowing us to provide this special forum for the world, while maintaining a sense of true Balinese identity.’

Bali Spirit Festival Magazine (March 28-April 01 2012, page 3)

Bali’s government claims that ‘our traditional culture is strong and healthy and is maintained during global influences that create ‘change and complexity’. But when looking at what is said before, it seems that Bali does ‘suffer’ from the change and complexity modernity and globalization brings

along. It creates new challenges for parent, children and teenagers and as can be read in further chapters, will have all kinds of influences on people, land and culture. Besides, as Shinji Yamashita (2004:37) states, 'what is called traditional performance on Bali could well be called a hybrid culture, newly created under colonial conditions'. It is therefore questionable what can be called a 'traditional culture and sense of true Balinese identity.'

This chapter discussed Balinese traditions and everyday life based on traditional life. It seems that religious and cultural tradition are the core parts of Balinese Hindu society in villages as Ubud and Jukat Paku. Balinese will cling performing their tradition, whether or not invented, because they believe otherwise something bad will happen to them or to Bali. It is for this clinging that tourists keep visiting. The next chapter will therefore cover cultural tourism and touristic life.

## Chapter 4 *Hosts and guests: touristic life*

### 4.1 Cultural tourism in Ubud and Jukut Paku

Religion and cultural traditions are the main pillars of Balinese society, in as well traditional villages as Jukut Paku and more touristic villages as Ubud. Religion and cultural traditions also seem to be the most important reasons for tourists to visit Bali and in particular Ubud, since Ubud is Bali's inland center for cultural tourism (Howe 2005:8). Most tourists visit Ubud because it is relaxing, the Balinese are friendly and the Balinese Hindu religion and traditional culture can be experienced. Besides cultural tourism, spiritual tourism which involves practicing yoga and meditation is present in Ubud. Spiritual tourism makes tourists explore their spirituality and bring them back to body and mind. This is closely linked to Bali's religious tradition as can be seen on a leaflet about a 'Spiritual Tour' in Appendix V.

All in all, cultural tourists seem to visit Bali to experience 'authentic' Balinese life. As described by Edward M. Bruner (2005:71), Michael Harkin (1995:653) and Dean MacCannell (1973:593) they have a 'quest for authenticity'. This is where the tension between traditional and touristic life, the tension between what is a back, front and staged back region: the authenticity-frontier, becomes visible. The back regions are these places which are filled with everyday activities, 'real life' on Bali. This 'real, everyday life' seems to be what cultural tourists are looking for. When speaking to cultural tourists whether they did or did not experienced Balinese everyday life, including religious and cultural tradition, most of them said they had not. These answers reveal what tourists consider as Balinese everyday life and so what is located on the 'authenticity-frontier'. Tourists who did feel like they experienced everyday life, often said they lived in a compound among Balinese villagers and participated in temple visits, weddings and cremations. Being friends with Balinese people can give another 'peek' into the back regions of the host society:

'Because of my friendship with some Balinese people I was invited to a Balinese birthday, their compound and got taught how to play *gamelan*.'

K., male Dutch cultural tourist, April 5 2012

It thus seems that traditional life is only experienced by cultural tourists when having Balinese friends or family or when they are invited to participate or visit ceremonies. Evidently, most cultural tourists feel they did not experience Balinese everyday life. It might be said that it is difficult for a (cultural)

tourist to really experience everyday life because of the religious element, which might feel tourists intrusive or Balinese uncomfortable. Most cultural tourists seem to realize that one has to spend time with a Balinese family and live in a compound to experience everyday life, though some feel they touched the Bali spirit and culture because of temple visits on their own or going to a dance performance. For some, the cultural gap between the guests ‘Western’ culture and the hosts Balinese culture is too wide. Balinese everyday life continues within massive streams of (cultural) tourists who take pictures of them and try to interact, but a lot of Bali’s daily life happens in the back regions which are mostly not visible for guests. In the case of Bali, exceptions can be made because religious tradition is pretty visible to tourists. They see priests and Balinese in traditional temple clothing, everyday offerings (*canang*) can be found everywhere and are allowed to visit temples. It might be these images and experiences that give cultural tourists an idea that they have ‘touched’ Balinese culture. A cultural tourist described this as follows.

‘Life flows and a tourist is just on the fringe.’  
female Australian tourist, March 17 2012

#### *Souvenirs: memories to take home*

So, cultural tourists want to experience that ‘authentic’ life of the host country they visit. These experiences are memories captured in the brains of guests. To make these experiences touchable, cultural tourists take photos and buy souvenirs, which are literally memories to take home. In this way, experience is converted into an image, a souvenir (Yamashita 2004:134). Valene L. Smith states that souvenirs are in a way ‘evidence of travel’, which can be bought at Ubud market. It seems that tourism provides that the arts and performances become commoditized as ‘products’, as souvenirs to sell to tourists, as Stroma Cole says (2007:945). When looking at what is sold at this market, it is obvious that Balinese adjust to the ‘needs’ of tourists and commoditize arts as ‘products’, which will be further discussed in chapter six. On the picture in figure three, an example can be seen of interaction between traditional and touristic life. At the place of the arrow, a painting of an *angry bird* can be seen: an image out of a ‘Western’ computer game. This is placed alongside paintings with a *lotus* and *sawas*: traditional Balinese paintings. As well the *angry birds* as the traditional paintings are made for (cultural) tourists to take their travel memory back home.



Figure 3: *angry birds*, *lotus* and *sawas* paintings at Ubud market (field photo 2012)

Ubud market is a place where touristic life interferes with traditional life, where (cultural) tourists buy souvenirs and indigenous Balinese buy their groceries. Besides Ubud market, dance performances for tourists are another place where touristic life become visible and as stated before, Balinese Hinduism is at the center of cultural tourism (Yamashita 2004:58). As Nash (1996) states, ‘cultural tourism is about religious and artistic presentations, visits to cultural and historical sites, and craft production’. Many of the tourist places consist of Hindu temples and here even special rules for tourists entering a temple are created. This can be seen in for example a protocol for tourists entering a temple and signs put in temples to state what is allowed<sup>6</sup>. In all these places where hosts and guests meet, like temples, dance performances and the market, intercultural communication takes place.

#### 4.2 Intercultural communication

Tourists from Japan, the Netherlands, China, Taiwan, Australia, Germany, United Kingdom and many other countries saunter through Ubud market, which consist of three floors and countless shops where Balinese people sell all sorts of souvenirs. It is about thirty degrees, the sun is burning at the plastic sheets that cover the woodcarvings, plastic *frangipani* flowers, *batiks* and paintings. The Chinese woman who does not speak English, does not understand what the saleswoman try to say. The English tourists repeat the same sentence over and over again, asking ‘I am sorry, could you repeat that?’. The Balinese market women try to speak in their best English, but all most ever learned is ‘Yes, you buy?’ and ‘Yes, how much?’. Some do speak better English, which seems to be in their favor receiving more customers that actually buy a souvenir because they can interact in a decent way. Foregoing illustrates the importance of language within intercultural communication. The intercultural communication between hosts and guests mostly occurs in the English *lingua franca* and sometimes, when tourists are capable of speaking, in Bahasa Indonesia. As said, most cultural tourists say they only ‘touched’ Balinese culture and experience difficulties according to interact with Balinese villagers when they have no Balinese friends or family. This is verified Ake, by a Balinese villager out of touristic Ubud.

‘Balinese culture and foreign culture are like water and oil: they try to come together but they cannot. The cultural differences are to big because Bali has a strong Hindu culture which you have to been grown up in otherwise it is very hard to get into.’

Ake., Balinese informant March 26 2012

<sup>6</sup> Examples can be seen in Appendix II and Appendix III.

Expats and tourists seem to have similar experiences, they experience many misunderstandings and cultural differences that can complicate intercultural interaction. Hosts and guests cultures try to come together, but just as Ake says, cannot. The difference that arouse during intercultural communication seem to be too big. Balinese people have a short time thinking, they hardly think in the long run whether 'Western' guests almost always think in the long run and have a more conceptual thinking. May it be clear that these cultural differences are okay, but it is reasonable to determine because hosts and guests inevitably meet one another and interact. Cultural tours are places where intercultural interaction is most clear, because cultural tours promises guests to 'meet' the local people<sup>7</sup>.

### *Cultural touring*

The conceptual, long term thinking of guests is in sharp contrast with the short term thinking of hosts is, which is clearly visible during attempts of humorous quotes. Nearly every cultural (cycling) tour has a stop in a coffee plantation close to one of Bali's volcanoes, mount Batur. These plantations also grow fruit and spices. Every cultural tour the same story is being told, including the same jokes. A highly educated and in English well-spoken Balinese tour guide tries to implement some jokes into his story. He speaks about dragon fruit and how guests could take this into their countries, but they are not allowed to do so because it is illegal to import. Unfortunately for the guide, time after time guests could not laugh about it. Here cultural misunderstanding arises, which tend to lie in a different sense of humor. So however good the *lingua franca* may be and hosts and guests are able to understand each other in terms of language, culture – and so humor – seems rather hard to translate. Micheal Agar's (2002:60) *languaculture* seems to connect with these findings: at the moment where language and culture meet, the tour guide translates his culture into the language and culture familiar to the tourists. Intercultural communication is at its best when the *lingua franca* in which hosts and guests communicate is good enough<sup>8</sup>. By communication in a common language one comes closer to what a culture is about (Agar 2002:158).

It seems that most cultural tours hire guides that are qualified enough, since hardly any tourist said the language skills of the guides where insufficient. Some tourists state that it is often their own lack of interest when they do not understand what the guide says, because of they are tired or bored. Others find Balinese culture so different from their own that they have a lot information to 'digest'. Because cultural tours take guests into rural areas and bring them into contact with local hosts, host-guest stresses may be maximal (Smith 1989:4). Many small groups of tourists observe and photograph the Balinese villagers daily life or work in the rice paddies. Balinese tour guides are as well insiders as outsiders of Bali's culture and are able to observe tourists' reactions, behaviors and interpretations

<sup>7</sup> An example can be seen on a leaflet of Bali Eco Cycling Tours in Appendix IV.

<sup>8</sup> On Lembongan island, where tourism is upcoming and villagers only recently started to learn English, intercultural misunderstandings arise because English that is not very good. Examples can be seen in Appendix VI.

(Bruner 2005:195). Also, when speaking about preserving and respecting local culture, Balinese tour guides can offer appropriate information to minimize the impacts of cultural tourism to the host destination (Nash 1996:135). It appears that tour guides of cultural tours feel responsible about Balinese environment, people and culture and therefore take this informative role Dennison Nash (1996:135) speaks about. When host and guest cultures interact they can change each other, which can have negative and positive influences. These influences of cultural tourism on Balinese everyday life and traditions will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5 *Influence of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions & everyday life*

Turning of the main road that leads from touristic Ubud to more rural, traditional Jukut Paku, one used to enter a small, badly paved road full of holes. The road is about one kilometers to the centre of Jukut Paku, where only two small-scaled hotels are situated and hardly any tourists can be found. Since this year, one has to ride very careful and slowly when entering the road that leads to the village. Danger exists of facing some large bulldozers, big trucks loaded with soil and cars of project developers. They are all building on a new market: the new market of Ubud that will lead many tourists to this small, because of the bulldozers nowadays relatively quiet village. When the new market is finished, large busses filled with groups of tourists will enter Jukut Paku while the village's roads are not big enough yet and thus will be broadened. Because of all the changes the new Ubud market seems to bring along, it seems to be causing extreme pressure in terms of hosts-guests stresses on local villagers, which can be negative as positive. Most villagers of Jukut Paku do not like the new market. They want their village to remain a quiet place and not becoming a 'new Ubud'.

‘I don't like it [the new market] at all. It will be so busy when it's finished. I don't want my village to change. It just has to stay the same, just quiet.’

Made, Balinese informant March 6 2012

The thought of the new market in Jukut Paku mostly raises negative ideas among adult villagers, although some see the potential possibilities of gaining money in tourism at the market, because Jukut Paku is a poor village compared to Ubud. Younger villagers seem to have a more positive attitude towards the market and hope there will be more things to do and economic benefits. Only future will tell what these changes will bring when the project is finished within a year or two.

While driving from Jukut Paku to Ubud, many Balinese told that years ago there was one restaurant to be seen during the ten minutes drive and now everything is build for tourists. Influences of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions and everyday life are present, because culture is dynamic, changes and cultures influence one another (Smith 1989:183). Shinji Yamashita (2004:109) states that 'things are not so clear-cut that the influence of the development of tourism on the local society can be seen as either good or bad.' This seems to be in contrast with the findings of this research, which clearly show good and bad influences of the development of tourism on local Balinese society. To argue this, it is useful to determine what could be considered negative and negative influences of cultural tourism.



## 5.1 Negative influences

‘Look at Henry Ford. He wanted an affordable car for everybody. This tactic is now applied in tourism. But what happens? This leads to consumerism and mass production and turns it into something self-sustaining. And so tourism becomes a form of mass consumerism, accessible for everyone in the Western world. Now is the time to consider its problems, and I hope we are not too late!’

Prof, informant April 6 2012

Anno 2012, Bali is facing negative influences from cultural tourism. It all started with the first tourists who came to from Europe, Mexico, Japan and the US to Bali. Bali was an agricultural society with rice as main product, but with an increasing amount of tourists in the 1950s and 1960s the people who used to work on rice paddies, start to work in the tourist industry. They worked for instance as hotel maids, cleaners and drivers. In the 1980s and 1990s they started off as tour guides, all with hardly any education about tourism. Nowadays this still seems to be the case with many Balinese working in the tourist industry, although there are more and more Balinese who get educated on Bali school of hospitality and tourism. Because Balinese people hold on to their social structure and religion, modernity is interwoven with tradition. Almost all Balinese men wear ‘Western’ looking, big sunglasses when visiting their temple in traditional clothes.

All people who visit Bali and Bali’s villages need to be transported to get there. This used to me mostly done by small-sized busses and cars, but since a couple of years huge touring cars are taking over Bali’s roads, causing major traffic jams. Traffic jams used to be unknown on Bali, and now can be regarded as one of tourism’s negative influences. In Ubud, there is a real problem with traffic. The touring cars come to Ubud and only spent their money on point A and point B, between these two there is only pollution and no economic benefit. If the Balinese want tourism to have environmental and economic benefits, they have to cooperate with government, tourist organizations and tourists. Besides the smell of gasoline and traffic jams, rubbish can be found alongside roads and in rivers. The descriptions about Bali as ‘paradise’ given in magazines and by travel agencies seems to be in contrast with what is seen in Bali now when speaking to Balinese villagers and walking through Ubud. The tourists get to see different things, a Bali that is not ‘paradise’ any more.

Hotels are being built on the rice paddies. Ironic enough, these hotels are built on the places that tourists seem to visit Bali for: the rice paddies, culture and nature’s beauty. This seems to lead to a disappearance of rice paddies. Balinese government is still talking about possibilities to put limitations to the hotel building industry and perseveration of nature and culture, which in some traditional villages is already being done. Ubud used to be just rice paddies, dusty roads and some houses, but now it is a crowded town. Balinese who own land rent their land to project developers who

built hotels and restaurants on every available spot in Ubud and on roads leading to more traditional villages among Ubud, like Jukut Paku. The money gained from the land is just for that one Balinese person who owns the land, the village only feels the impacts of tourism and starts to get even poorer. Jukut Paku is a good example of this: tourists come to Ubud and sometimes to their village, so crafts- and salesmen raise their prices because they know tourists are able to pay it. At the same time, the loans of the villagers remain the same so they cannot afford to buy certain goods anymore, which before tourism they could buy.

Balinese Hindu people working at shops, restaurants and hotels sometimes have to compete with non-Hindu colleagues. Balinese ceremonial calendar is very busy and people have to visit every ceremony. If they cannot participate, they have to pay money. This again shows the strength of the *banjar* and religious life in Ubud and Jukut Paku. However, some employers do not give time off for Balinese to visit their Hindu ceremony, whereas they hire non-Hindu Balinese or Indonesians who do not have such a busy calendar. Because tourist flows never stop (Nash and Smith 1991:12), employers have to keep working. Another ironic paradox thus appears: Balinese Hindu people sometimes cannot practice their religious tradition that cultural tourists want to see and experience, because they have to earn money by serving plates to and cleaning rooms of the same cultural tourists.

Commercialism and earning money within the tourism industry seems to go head to head with preservation of traditional Balinese values and *adat*, the traditional social order. Traditional villages as Jukut Paku and touristic villages as Ubud all face some negative influences of tourism, which many Balinese seem to realize more and more. That is why a provincial law which states a definition of cultural tourism is very important for Bali<sup>9</sup>. Valene L. Smith (1989:120) argument that socioeconomic change in Bali goes hand-in-hand with the conservation of traditional culture it still true, though Balinese traditional culture seems to have more difficulties preserving with all modernity youngsters face. There should be a harmonious balance between tourism, modernity and culture and negative influences on Balinese traditions and everyday life thus need to be banned. Therefore, some rituals are performed exclusively within back regions away from tourism and most Balinese try to focus on the positive influences of tourism.

## 5.2 Positive influences

Everyday life on Bali also faces positive influences, though it seems that a touristic village like Ubud faces more positive influences than a traditional village like Jukut Paku, where economic benefits from tourism seem to be further away. Cultural tourists should ask themselves if they are conscious

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<sup>9</sup> 'The local culture of Bali is based on the spirit of the Hindu religions, and forms part of the national culture of Indonesia. It is also an enormous potential resource. In order to promote and develop it, tourism and culture should be linked to each other in ways appropriate to both of them, and the harmonious balance between them preserved. Cultural tourism is the type of tourism which can be used to promote this.' (Yamashita 2004:55) Also found in (Picard 2008:160) and (Vickers 1997:263).

tourists and should not take big busses but local transport. Local economies are stimulated when (cultural) tourists try to support the local culture, go to a local food store and *warung*. It even seems to be a win-win situation, because local means there where culture is inside and so cultural tourists get to see what they are searching for and local villagers gain economic benefits. Some cultural (cycling) tours try to increase the positive influences of cultural tourism on Bali<sup>10</sup>. The local villages that are visited during such tours receive money. Question remains whether it is a positive influence that everyday a minimum of ten groups of cultural tourists is peeking into traditional family life in a compound and whether this equals the amount of money villagers receive. Balinese tour guides who work at such cultural (cycling) tours think tourism's influence in this way might be positive, but then again: they do not live in the villages being visited so many times a day.

‘We [tour guides from a cultural cycling tour] learn from the guests knowledge and start projects in the villages we visit, for example to educate people about garbage.’

Nawanu. Balinese informant March 9 2012

A positive influence resulting from cultural tourism thus are educational projects for villagers which in the end will have positive influence on Bali's nature and environment. As stated before, Bali has a provincial law since 1991<sup>11</sup> protects local culture and religious tradition. Also, just as Freek L. Bakker (2001:109) says, because cultural tourists are interested in Balinese Hindu religion many Balinese know more about their religion than would have been the case when tourism would not have been Bali's main source of income. Yet a constant flow of negative and positive influences alternate each other, which can be seen within the commercialization of religion. Some dances and rituals have been performed in front of paying guests (Bakker 2001:109): a negative influence of cultural tourism because according to Balinese Hinduism dances and rituals have to be sacred. But these profane performances lead to a countermovement and an obvious distinction between the sacred and the profane. It is still permitted to perform non-profane dances for tourists, but always must be a sacred element involved to honor the gods. It is just as Leo Howe (2005:135) says: ‘Balinese continue what they have always done –perform to their gods and ancestors, only now they do it for tourists too.’ And so positive influences on Balinese traditions and everyday life stimulate cultural tradition which heightens self-awareness of local Balinese, as well in traditional Juktu Paku as in touristic Ubud (Yamashita 2004:109).

All negative and positive influences arise from intercultural interaction between hosts and guests and create certain perceptions on authenticity. What is considered ‘authentic’, can possibly result from these influences and will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>10</sup> An example of what such a tour shows to cultural tourists can be found in Appendix IV.

<sup>11</sup> ‘The local culture of Bali is based on the spirit of the Hindu religions, and forms part of the national culture of Indonesia. It is also an enormous potential resource. In order to promote and develop it, tourism and culture should be linked to each other in ways appropriate to both of them, and the harmonious balance between them preserved. Cultural tourism is the type of tourism which can be used to promote this.’ (Yamashita 2004:55) Also found in (Picard 2008:160) and (Vickers 1997:263).

## Chapter 6 *Perceptions on authenticity*

### 6.1 Perception on authenticity from cultural tourists

A Dutch man and woman who considered themselves cultural tourists wanted to see and experience Balinese culture, so they hired a Balinese tour guide to show them traditional Bali. The tourists thought about authentic Bali in terms of religion and spirituality and were in search of temples and rituals. Everywhere a temple was seen, the tour guide pulled over and pictures of temples and Balinese people were taken. At the end of the day the couple went back to their hotel and while riding they bumped into a ceremony that was going on. The man and woman got into their *sarongs* and, after the tour guide asked the community for permission, participated during the ritual. The cultural tourists came out of the temple, smiling as wide as human nature allows: it was the best authentic experience they had ever had.

Obviously, these cultural tourists had the quest for authenticity and authentic experience, just as Edward M. Bruner (2005:71), Michael Harkin (1995:653) and Dean MacCannell (1973:593) describe. But what is it that cultural tourists consider as an ‘authentic experience’, what is it that they come to Ubud for? Cultural tourists mainly are in the front regions of the host society, the place where hosts and guests meet and interact (MacCannell 173:590). Many cultural tourists said they love Bali because it is a cultural niche, full of smiling people with a great sense of community and spirituality. Spirituality seems to be a homing topic for cultural tourists in Ubud. Cultural tourists participate in spiritual, sacred tours<sup>12</sup> and temple visits are placed high on their ‘to-see-lists’, which easily fits in Shinji Yamashita’s (2004:58) finding that Balinese Hinduism is at the center of Bali’s cultural tourism. Cultural tourists present themselves at spaces of social and cultural importance, as mount Agung, temples and Ubud market (MacCannell (1973:593). Balinese see an increase of cultural tourists to Ubud since the Hollywood film *Eat Pray Love* (2012), that portrays Ubud as Bali’s main center for spiritual healing, came to the movie theaters. Many cultural tourists visiting and staying in Ubud seem to be there mainly to visit the now famous Balinese spiritual healer Ketut, to get a glimpse of the rice paddies, practice yoga and meditation and to be treated in one of Ubud’s massage- and healing spots.

‘Bali is a magical island of manifestation, beauty and mysteries, full of life and gods, spirits and energies. It is a perfect place to experience the spiritual mirror, whatever attitudes and behaviors you bring to it, the island will reflect it back to you.’

A., cultural tourist and expat April 14 2012

<sup>12</sup> A leaflet of such a tour can be found in Appendix V.

Apparently spirituality, Balinese Hindu religion and community and everyday life are seen as authentic to Bali, because these come closest to what Balinese people do themselves. These authenticity markers are labeled and sold as products: they are commoditized, for instance in cultural tours<sup>13</sup> (Cole 2007:945). This is consistent with George Sander's (2012:7) 'experiential consumption': cultural tourists seem to be paying for the experiences that come along with the products. Besides products that can be seen as 'experiences', products that are tangible can be found. These products are also known as souvenirs. Cultural tourists consider batiks, carvings, paintings and *sarongs* as authentic souvenirs, mostly because these products seem to be locally made or also used by local Balinese. Some cultural tourists state that all souvenirs were authentic to Bali because they were all connected to Balinese religion, traditions and culture. A painting that a tourists bought, portrays a Balinese dance and thus is regarded authentic Balinese. As can be read in the next paragraphs, this is a different perspective on Balinese authenticity than from the local point of view

Souvenirs that lack authenticity through the eyes of cultural tourists are for instance copies of African and Australian art, boomerang and fisherman's trousers. Some tourists find everything that is being sold on popular tourist destinations inauthentic products. But in a way, even the inauthentic products have got a certain autonomy and therefore a certain authenticity, as will be discussed in paragraph 6.2. Though souvenirs can be seen as 'evidence of travel' (Smith 1989:33) and the implementation of authenticity into souvenirs can be a powerful marketing tool for tourism as tourists seek real and meaningful experiences in their travel (Feifan Xie 2011:1), it seems that the majority of cultural tourists rather like to experience their travel to participate in 'authentic' Balinese life than to buy an 'authentic' souvenir. Experiential consumption thus seems to cover an important part of cultural tourism and shapes perceptions on authenticity not only from cultural tourists, but also from Balinese people.

## **6.2 Perception on authenticity from Balinese people**

Obviously, Balinese villagers are the ones who stand most close to the experience of authenticity as cultural tourists speak of: they are the ones that live Bali's everyday life, participate in community and family life and religious and cultural traditions. In order to complete the discussion about perceptions on authenticity though, it is important to show views on authenticity from Balinese people. Balinese people live in what Dean MacCannell (1973:590) calls back regions, those places where hosts retire between performances and everyday life takes place.

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<sup>13</sup> This can be read in leaflets which can be found in Appendix IV and Appendix V.

‘Balinese culture is everywhere you look.[...] Why do people choose to come to Bali? Because they want to experience Balinese traditional life. From the minute you arrive at the airport, you see Balinese culture. That is why Bali is so unique and people choose to be here.’

Ake, Balinese informant February 27 2012

Balinese people seem to be aware of the obvious presence of their culture and religion for tourists and even name this as the main reason for tourists to visit the island. Though many things only occur in back regions during daily life, parts are also visible for tourists, especially considering art. As said in chapter three, Balinese Hinduism prescribes certain rules for rituals performed for the gods. Therefore, religion, tradition and art are combined during rituals. Place-event-people can be linked to Dean MacCannell’s (1973) back and front regions. The back region is the place where religion is performed in the sacred form among villagers, the front where it is performed in the profane form, for touristic audiences (MacCannell 1973:590). In Ubud, the tension is visible within the ‘authenticity-frontier’: authenticity is being sold for tourist dollars and on the other hand everyday life is taking place.

As can be read in chapter five, during some cultural (cycling) tours a Balinese village and compounds within this village are visited. On average, these visits occur ten times a day with a maximum of twelve tourists per group. These compounds and villages show cultural tourists authentic Bali: they promise to show Balinese original, daily life. The tour says that the tourist will ‘experience a Bali other tourists never see’<sup>14</sup>, but to which extent is this so when every day a minimum of a hundred cultural tourists visit the exact same compounds and villages? The tours are only done during daytime, so perhaps the villagers behave differently during nighttime when the tourists are gone. When this is the case, villagers are showing cultural tourists a so called staged back region, a kind of ‘living museum’ (MacCannell 1973:596). Dean MacCannell (1973:595) shows that cultural tours are mostly called ‘educational’, because they reveal social organization and the inner workings of the place. When one looks at the leaflet in Appendix IV, it is clearly stated that it is about an ‘educational’ tour which promises the tourist to ‘experience and feel the spirit of rural Bali.’

When walking through Ubud market, one sees hundreds of the same pieces of woodcarving. It seems that although there are many pieces the same, cultural tourists still buy these souvenirs and describe these as authentic Balinese. These carvings are made by Balinese but will never be bought by Balinese. The dividing line within perceptions on authenticity considering woodcarving and other, multiple available souvenirs is big compared to the dividing line within religious tradition, of what products also can be bought at the market. Though cultural tourists consider religious tradition as most authentic to Bali and wanting to experience this, they hardly ever buy the offering baskets and incense

<sup>14</sup> This can be read on the leaflet of Bali Eco Cycling Tours in Appendix IV.

at Ubud market, which are bought by many Balinese. In contrast to the cultural tourists who consider spirituality as authentic to Bali, Balinese people out of Ubud and Jukut Paku do not one time speak about spirituality. Community, family life and religion are immediately considered as part of daily life, and in this thesis so regarded as authentic.

Balinese people out of touristic Ubud as well as from more traditional regarded religion as most authentic to Balinese everyday life, culture and traditions. People from both villages referred to the *barong* dance as the ultimate example of the interference of religion, culture and tradition. Paragraph 6.3 will further discuss this, because the *barong* dance clearly shows the appearance of as well authenticity as staged authenticity, performed in both back- and front regions. Cultural tourists who visit Ubud seem to describe Balinese dance as authentic. However, it appears that it is a different form of dance than performed in a village temple. This has to do with place-event-people, which can be read in chapter three. As though it looks for tourists as traditional, it is not really traditional. Balinese people do attach a lot of value to the preservation of their religious and cultural tradition because when they believe that abundance of traditions will lead to bad luck for their families and communities. Therefore, every dance performed for tourists can be described as a form of staged authenticity, which seems to be done to make Balinese culture more ‘digestible’ for tourists.

### 6.3 Making Bali more ‘digestible’

Do they [tourists] really get to see every part of Balinese culture? No, of course not. Tourists get to see something totally different, something upgraded. We know what they want to see, and so we adjust to that and make more money. Tourists want to experience Balinese culture, but they want this in a comfortable way. If they want to see real traditional Bali, they need to stay way less comfortable. And we know that they don't want to so we create Balinese culture for them in a place like here in Ubud: we make Balinese culture more digestible.

Ake, Balinese informant March 4 2012

**B**alinese culture seems to be made more ‘digestible’ so (cultural) tourists can enjoy Bali in the most comfortable way and will spend as much money as possible. This is not surprisingly, since the form of cultural tourism tends to commoditize culture as Stroma Cole (2007:945) states. Besides, Bali has a tradition of invented culture since the 1930s as can be read in chapter two, which include partly invented dances and performances in order to suite tourists needs (Yamashita 2004:34). By making a distinction between the sacred and the profane, the ‘authenticity-frontier’ can be determined and so it can be stated if what tourists see is belonging to Balinese traditional life or touristic life. Touristic life

can be found in Ubud and involves everything that can be called staged authenticity (Yamashita 2004:74). Balinese seem to realize what (cultural) tourists want to see and experience, so they adjust their goods – like souvenirs – and services – like the *barong* dance – to this. It all depends on place-people-event: where the dance is performed, for whom it is performed and for which event. In general, Fred B. Eiseman's (1990:146) findings can be used that tourist *barong* dances do not include trance. These touristic dances could thus be considered to perform a staged trance, a form of staged authenticity because trance might be too shocking for tourists, so this is turned into a more 'digestible' performance.

Leaflets illustrate how Bali is 'made authentic' for cultural tourists. Feifan Xie (2011) 'The implementation of authenticity into souvenirs can be a powerful marketing tool for tourism as tourists seek real and meaningful experiences in their travel'. Balinese people seem to use this marketing tool to sell cultural tours. Leaflets of cultural tours implement words as *original*, *authentic* and *experience* and take guests to places that guests consider authentic: daily life, small villages where they can interact with local people, rice paddies and village temples<sup>15</sup>. The perspective of Marijn Kraak (2010:43) can be added to this, who states there is something as 'assumed authenticity': 'precisely these parts are exposed that Westerners can imagine.' These parts that make Bali more 'digestible' for tourists. Within the living museum, the staged back regions, the authenticity-frontier becomes visible because it is here that question marks can be placed among what is staged and what is daily life.

The tension of the 'authenticity-frontier' can be found in the staged back regions and the differences and similarities of Balinese people and cultural tourists' perceptions on authenticity, as can be read in previous paragraphs. The perspective of Kraak (2010:43) can be added to this, who states there is something as 'assumed authenticity': 'precisely these parts are exposed that Westerners can imagine.' Within the living museum, the staged back regions, the authenticity-frontier becomes visible because it is here that question marks can be placed among what is staged and what is daily life.

Having said everything about cultural tourism, intercultural communication, Balinese traditions and everyday life and perceptions on authenticity, the last thing that follows is the conclusion.

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<sup>15</sup> This leaflet can be found in Appendix IV.



## Conclusion

The central question this thesis aimed to answer, is: *'How to explain and describe the influence of cultural tourism on Balinese traditions and perceptions on authenticity of today's everyday life in Ubud and Jukut Paku, Bali?'.* To summarize what is stated in this thesis, the main issues cultural tourism, perceptions on authenticity and intercultural communication are outlined, so the thesis can contribute to discussions within the anthropology of tourism. Balinese traditions and everyday life seem to be based on traditional life. Obviously, religious and cultural tradition are the core parts of Balinese Hindu society in villages as Ubud and Jukut Paku. Balinese will cling performing their tradition, whether or not invented, because they believe otherwise something bad will happen to them or to Bali. It is for this clinging that tourists keep visiting. A traditional village as Jukut Paku only seems to suffer from the negative influences tourism has. Rubbish comes along with the river floating from Ubud through Jukut Paku, large touring cars will bring tourists to the new Ubud market in their village. Just few villagers consider tourism in their village as something positive. Ubud, as a bigger town with many initiatives and awareness about people, nature and environment raising from local Balinese, expats and tourists, seem to gain more positive influences of cultural tourism. But before, it had to suffer also the negative influences and still a lot has to change to get this done. It might be interesting for future research to determine whether there are cultural differences within perceptions on authenticity, something that here could not be researched due to lack of time. Besides, increasingly tourism is having negative effects for the poor. Because of tourism, all daily need items have been getting higher: the vicious circle of poverty. Future research could focus around the theme of economic benefits from (cultural) tourism to contribute to another dimension of the anthropology of tourism.

Dean MacCannell's (1973:590) back and front regions enabled these findings to write about perceptions on authenticity and defining the 'authenticity-frontier'. Balinese people in Ubud and people from Jukut Paku working in the tourist industry seem to realize that their everyday Balinese culture is too hard to understand for tourists. Edward M. Bruner (2005:193) states that the touristic zone is a creative space, a site where cultures can influence one another and a site for the invention of culture to meet tourists' desire to see and experience the authentic culture of the host destination. This is exactly what Balinese people in touristic Ubud do: they make Balinese culture more 'digestible' for tourists, so what tourists see is an invented culture part of touristic life. What they see are staged back regions which differ from traditional life seen in back regions. Besides, the Balinese people have a certain place-event-people protocol that determines whether a performance or ritual is sacred or profane and thus part of a back or front region.

Souvenirs are another part of perceptions on authenticity within cultural tourism on Bali.

Valene L. Smith states that souvenirs are in a way ‘evidence of travel’, which can be bought at Ubud market. It seems that tourism provides that the arts and performances become commoditized as ‘products’, as souvenirs to sell to tourists, as Stroma Cole says (2007:945). Products sold to tourists can also be experiences, as Sanders shows. When speaking of cultural tourism, it can be said that tourists are not paying for the product but rather for the experience that comes along with the product. George Sanders calls this ‘experiential consumption’ (Sanders 2012:7). Experiential consumption in Ubud is applied to cultural tours, tours where guests can experience and be educated about Balinese back regions. It is here where intercultural communication occurs. Micheal Agar’s (2002:60) *languaculture* seems to connect with these findings: at the moment where language and culture meet during cultural tours, the tour guide translates his culture into the language and culture familiar to the tourists. By communication in a common language one comes closer to what a culture is about (Agar 2002:158). Though the findings also show that the differences arising during intercultural communication between Balinese culture and guests’ culture are too big. Future research could outline why these differences exist and give recommendations how the different cultures can accomplish better understanding.

Meanwhile, just as Leo Howe (2005:135) says: ‘Balinese continue what they have always done –perform to their gods and ancestors, only now they do it for tourists too.’ And so positive influences on Balinese traditions and everyday life stimulate cultural tradition which heightens self-awareness of local Balinese, as well in traditional Juktu Paku as in touristic Ubud (Yamashita 2004:109). Valene L. Smith (1989:120) argument that socioeconomic change in Bali goes hand-in-hand with the conservation of traditional culture it still true, though Balinese traditional culture seems to have more difficulties preserving with all modernity youngsters face. There should be a harmonious balance between tourism, modernity and culture and negative influences on Balinese traditions and everyday life thus need to be banned. Therefore, some rituals are performed exclusively within back regions away from tourism and most Balinese try to focus on the positive influences of tourism. It would be interesting to see whether perceptions on authenticity diversify between cultural tourists from different ethnicities. Due to lack of time it was not possible to interfere the ethnicity element within this thesis, but it would be interesting for future research to determine because then hosts and guests can even better adjust adaptation and intercultural communication can be better (Nash and Smith 1991:20).

Touristic life seems to influence traditional life in so far that Bali has Dean MacCannell’s (1973:596) description of a staged back region: a place that gives the tourist a view of details of the inner operation of Balinese society. The thesis shows that this is exactly where the thin ‘authenticity-frontier’ becomes visible and can be showed what is staged and what is part of daily life. To conclude it can be said that today’s everyday life in touristic Ubud and more traditional Jukut Paku is influenced by cultural tourism, which has negative and positive influences on Balinese traditions and shapes perceptions of authenticity for Balinese people and cultural tourists. The cultural tourists’ quest for

authenticity will not be completed, unless the cultural tourist has a Balinese friend or relative who brings the tourist to Balinese everyday life that takes place in the back regions. It might look sometimes that tourists get a glimpse or more of Bali's every day 'authentic' life, but most of this is staged, especially within touristic Ubud. In a traditional village as Jukut Paku, more traditional life can be seen. But most of this traditional life stays behind the *candi bentar*, the split gate: the entrance to a family compound and temple. Besides, there are positive and negative influences on Balinese traditions and today's everyday life. A traditional village as Jukut Paku gets a market which entails masses of tourists and busses. A touristic village as Ubud sees many environmental impacts. Ubud's surroundings, famous for their rice fields of which some are protected, see their fields vanishing, which uncovers the paradox that the 'authenticity-frontier' stands for. The environmental impact and price the Balinese pay for tourism in this way seems more higher than in terms of loosing or gaining 'authenticity'. Bali's policy on cultural tourism will probably protect Balinese religious and cultural traditions. The question remains what the youngsters will do with all the exposure to 'Western' influences and ongoing globalization. Only time and future research can determine whether Bali is able to face nowadays problems and possibilities caused by (cultural) tourism.

15.441 words

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## **Appendix**

## Appendix | I

Historical overview (Georgiou, Alexia. *Insight Guides. Bali & Lombok*. Singapore: Apa Publications 2011, page 22-23).

### DECISIVE DATES



#### Prehistoric years

##### 2500–1500 BC

Migrants from southern China and mainland South-east Asia reach the archipelago and mix with aboriginal peoples.

##### 500 BC–AD 300

Bronze-age culture in Bali.

#### Indianised kingdoms

##### AD 78

Indian influences sweep the Indonesian archipelago.

##### AD 400

Hindu kingdoms emerge in west Java and east Kalimantan (Borneo).

##### AD 670

Chinese pilgrim records visit to the Buddhist island of Bali.

##### AD 882–914

Buddhist dynasty issues bronze inscriptions in Old Balinese.

##### AD 910

Political centre moves to central Java; rise of Buddhist kingdoms in Bali.

#### Javanese influences

##### AD 989

Marriage of Buddhist Balinese king with Hindu Javanese princess leads to union; court inscriptions in Old Javanese.

##### 1011

Airlangga succeeds to the throne in Java; his brother Anak Wungsu rules Bali.

##### 1049

Civil war breaks out in Java; Bali becomes autonomous.

##### 13th–15th centuries

Islamic sultanates in Sumatra and Malaysia control trade.

##### 1284

Singasari kingdom retakes Bali.

##### 1292

Singasari attacked by Kublai Khan; Bali becomes independent.

##### 1293

Birth of Majapahit kingdom.

##### 1343

Majapahit invasion of Bali.

##### 1383

Gelgel kingdom founded.

##### Early 16th century

Islam spreads to Java; Hindu-Javanese priests,

aristocracy and artisans move to Gelgel, leading to Golden Age in Bali.

##### 1515–28

Majapahit kingdom collapses; Bali becomes independent.

#### Colonial era

##### 1596

Dutch ships arrive in Java.

##### 1597

Dutch ships arrive in Bali.

##### 1602

Dutch East Indies Company (voc) founded.

##### 1641

voc takes over trade in the region.

##### 1651

Civil war in Bali ends Gelgel rule.

##### 1700

Bali breaks up into rival kingdoms that extend power to east Java and Lombok.

##### 1799

voc bankrupted due to fighting wars against Javanese sultanates; Dutch government rules archipelago as a colony.

##### 1811–16

English rule the archipelago under Stamford Raffles. Colony returned to Holland after peace treaty signed.

##### 1839

Danish trader Mads Lange

opens trading port at Kuta.

##### 1849

North Bali conquered through Dutch military force.

##### 1894–96

Karangasem dynasty in Lombok and East Bali submits to the Dutch.

##### 1898

Dutch crush threats to Gianyar from other kingdoms and take control.

##### 1906–8

Dutch defeat royal families of Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung.

##### 1917

Huge earthquake hits Bali.

##### 1920s–30s

New artistic developments.

#### World War II and independence

##### 1942–5

Japanese Occupation during World War II; declaration of Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945.

##### 1945–9

Dutch create State of Eastern Indonesia; after war of independence, the UN recognises Indonesia, and Bali becomes a province.

##### 1963

Gunung Agung erupts, killing thousands.

##### 1965

After failed alleged

Communist coup against Sukarno, 500,000 people are massacred, over 100,000 on Bali.

##### 1966

General Suharto formally replaces Sukarno as president. Modern period.

##### 1970–1

Bali receives 15,000 visitors. Mass-tourism programme launched.

##### 1976

Nearly 500,000 tourists visit Bali.

##### 1986

Nusa Dua luxury resorts open.

##### 1997

Indonesia severely affected by Asian economic crisis.

##### 1998

Riots in Jakarta leave over 500 dead; President Suharto resigns.

##### 1999

Rioting when Megawati Sukarnoputri, favoured candidate for president, is not selected. Many visitors and residents of other islands

seek refuge on Bali as regional conflicts erupt.

##### 2001

Megawati replaces President Abdurrahman Wahid, who resigns over corruption charges.

##### 2002

Terrorist bombs in Kuta kill more than 200 people, mostly foreign tourists. Visitors stay away; many Balinese lose jobs.

##### 2003

Sars outbreak and war in Iraq reduce visitor numbers.

##### 2004

President Megawati loses re-election bid to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono after heavily contested polls run twice.

##### 2005

On 1 October, three terrorist suicide bombs explode, one in Kuta Square and two on Jimbaran beach. Twenty die.

##### 2009

A record year for tourism, with 2,229,945 foreign visitors to Bali.

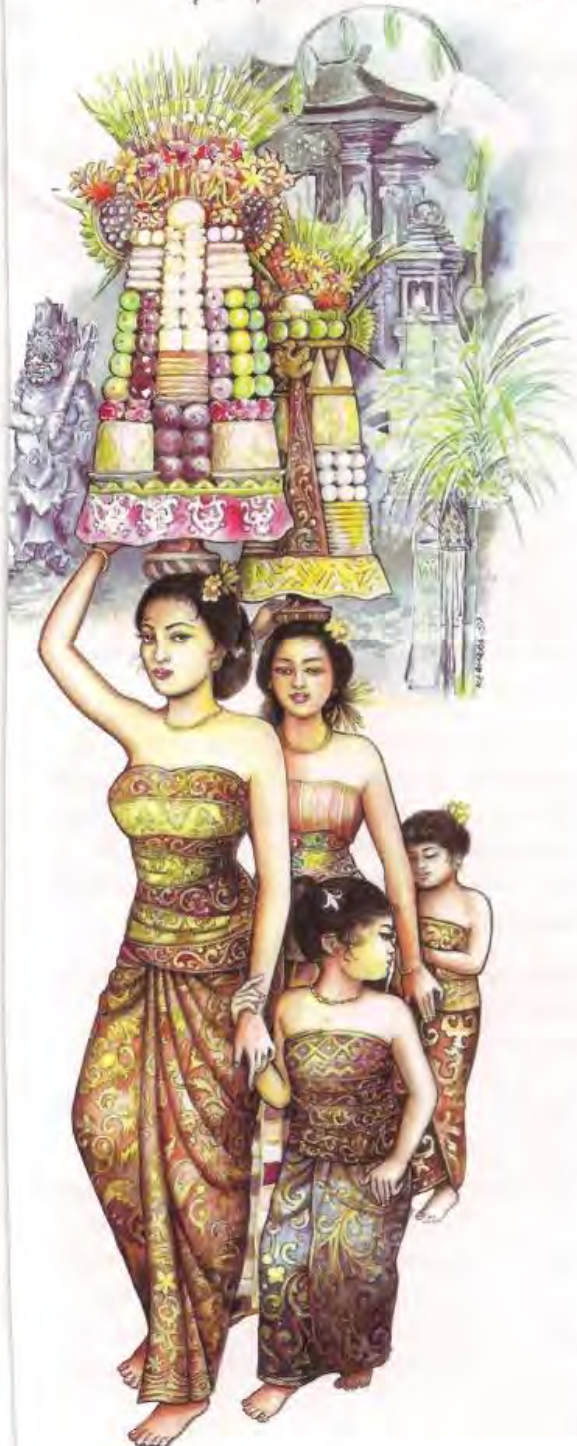


Left: a young Balinese woman, c. 1940.

Right: recent petrol hikes added to Balinese woes.

## PURA PROTOCOL

*tips for how to visit one of Bali's fabulous temples*



As visitors to Bali we like to know how to visit a temple graciously. Here are a few guidelines to help make a visit more enjoyable. Enjoy!

The Balinese are quite open and generally welcome visitors. You can enter most temples freely. Wear a sash around the waist and preferably a sarong. Big temples can hire a sarong at the front gate but it is nice to have your own. You can buy a sash and sarong at Ubud market or Sukawati where the choice is limitless.

When there is a ceremony on, the Balinese believe the gods have descended to the temple for the duration. All prayer and dance is performed for the benefit of the gods rather than the tourists. Be respectful.

Women who are menstruating must wait outside.

Priests (Pedanda) are well respected and the most important person at the ceremony. They occupy the highest position. Show respect and don't try to climb on scaffolding or steps higher than the officiating priest to get a better view or photo.

If you visit a holy spring like Pura Tirtha Empul and decide to try bathing, keep your clothes on and leave the shampoo behind. It is not a bath, but an immersion in holy water, for a spiritual cleansing.

Expect to pay a small donation before entering a temple. These donations are put to good use, and help with the upkeep of the grounds and the temple itself.



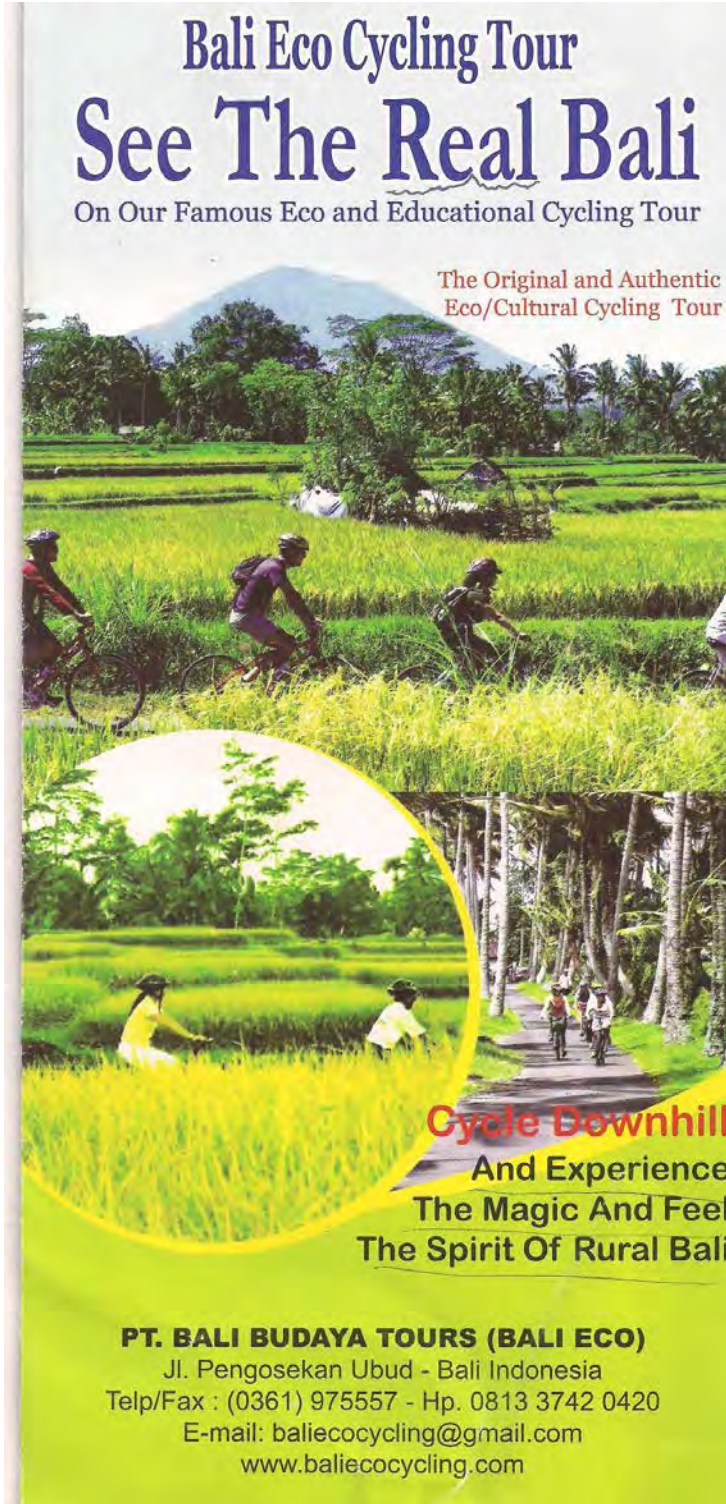
### Appendix | III

Photos of rules for temple guests, field photos (Pura Tirtha Empul, Bali) February – March 2012.



## Appendix | IV

Leaflet Bali Eco Cycling Tour Ubud, February – March – April 2012.



**Bali Eco Cycling Tour**  
**See The Real Bali**  
On Our Famous Eco and Educational Cycling Tour

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**Cycle Downhill**  
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[www.baliecocycling.com](http://www.baliecocycling.com)



**Our Cycling Tour** is promoted in the lonely planet and all other guide books



Join us on our famous Eco and Educational Cycling Tour and experience the magic and feel the spirit of rural Bali as we cycle through small villages and the stunning heartland of Bali.

The original and authentic eco/educational cycling tour, (nowadays many companies copy us, claim to be us and use our text) this tour was designed to take the visitor to Bali away from the tourist areas and show them the Bali they want to see - 'The Real Bali' and that's what we have been doing for more than ten years. Our tour is promoted in every guide book on Bali/Indonesia (the Lonely Planet Guide Books on Bali, Indonesia and Best of Bali, The Rough Guide Books, The Natural Guide to Bali and numerous French, German and Dutch guide books. And for good reason: we do it from the heart! We recently were invited to present at the Global Eco/Cultural Tourism Conference and were the only representative chosen from Indonesia.

"This is not just best tour in Bali, But the best I've experienced anywhere in the world"  
Tim, Bunbury, Australia



We begin our tour by driving to the spectacular beauty of Penelokan (Kintamani), nestled high on a volcanic crater rim where we breakfast overlooking the smouldering volcano, Mt. Batur and the crater lake, enjoying the most stunning views in Bali. We keep our groups small...maximum 8 to 10 persons, unless requested or during peak season (Max 12).

After breakfast we're off on our mountain bikes through the heartland of Bali, traveling downhill on nontouristed, minor villages roads and secret back roads (with no traffic), experiencing typical Balinese daily life and enjoying the beautiful Balinese countryside to Ubud. We ride through lush forested areas, plantations full of Balinese staples and cash crops (cloves, coffee, cocoa, vanilla, tapioca, taro, local vegetables and exotic tropical fruits), through timeless small villages and lush rice paddy panoramas. And throngs of adorable Balinese children will be there calling out 'hellos' and wanting 'high fives' on the way down! If we chance upon a ceremony (and we often do) you will be invited to witness the events and our guides will offer explanations. We show you a Bali other visitors never see and our experienced English speaking guides will explain the amazing Balinese culture, their unique religion and the relationship the Balinese have with their beautiful island.

We have numerous stops on away, including a visit to a Balinese home/compound, (where you will see how the Balinese live outside the tourist areas), a Balinese plantation (where we learn of the many uses of local plants and traditional herbal remedies, the process of making coffee, including the famous coffee luwak and you get to sample these coffees, local herbal teas and exotic local fruits).





We also visit a village temple, an enormous Banyan tree and go for a short walk in the rice paddies to see villagers planting/harvesting rice (you can join in, we want you to interact with the locals) and we see traditional craftsmen at work en route. We are the only company that offers optional extra flat and uphill riding for a cycling workout for our more athletic guests.

Lunch, served in our restaurant, set in the serene surrounds of rice paddies, is a delectable Balinese feast, including the famous smoked duck/chicken (many guests describe our lunch as the best meal they have had in Bali. It is not a cheap buffet). We also cater for vegetarians and can accommodate children with special meals. A Balinese family concern with Western family ties, we can proudly offer western standards of safety, hygiene and sanitation. Those standards are the norm and we are extremely proud of them.


"Our tour was amazing...guides were fantastic, knowledgeable and ensured a wonderful day...lunch was by far the best meal we had in Bali. We highly recommend this tour." Tina and David Weeks, Santa Barbara, California.

We also offer other interesting adventure and cultural orientated tours. To view them please visit our website: [www.baliecocycling.com](http://www.baliecocycling.com)





**Appendix | V**

Leaflet Sacred Ubud Tours, February – March – April 2012.





**SACRED UBUD  
TOURS™**

**Experience . . . the Beauty and Power of Balinese spirituality through its sacred landscape, people and culture; See the ancient and mystical places that make Bali a transformative global energy center; Feel the spirituality for yourself.**



**We will show you Bali's unique spiritual culture and offer you to . . .**

- Perform water rituals at Sacred Springs
- Meditate at Royal Spirit-Houses, Sacred Temples and Caves
- Absorb the shamanic energy of holy Volcanoes and Lakes
- Learn about Balinese spiritual culture and ceremonies
- Participate in sacred ceremonies (as available)
- Receive a water blessing from a Balinese priest (Pedanda)
- And a consultation with a traditional Balinese healer (Balian)



**More than just another tour —  
A spiritual experience . . .  
0821-44-799-708**



***Your Guides:***  
Are knowledgeable  
Americans and  
Balinese cultural  
leaders. The overall  
tour and every site visit  
includes in-depth  
cultural and spiritual  
context.

***All Tours include:***

- Full-English guides
- Special educational materials, presentations and demonstrations
- A tour photo journal
- Temple dress and site fees;
- Full transport
- Price: Rp. 350K and up; discounts for groups



CALL OR CHECK WEBSITE  
FOR MORE DETAILS!

**Divine Light Ministries**

[www.divinelightministries.com](http://www.divinelightministries.com)

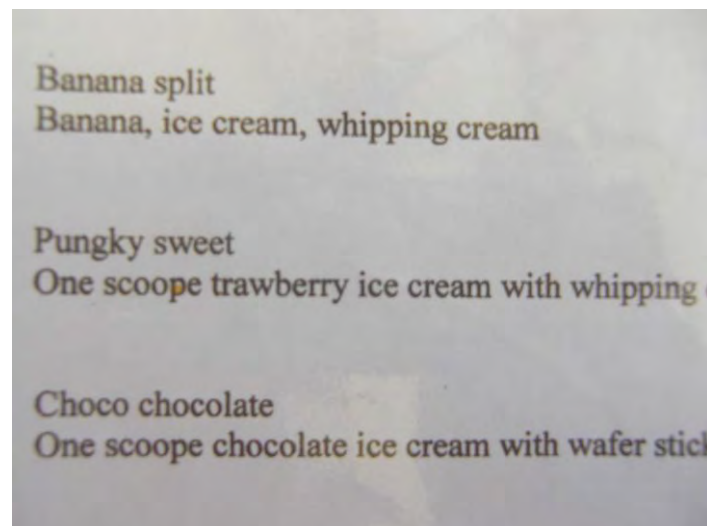
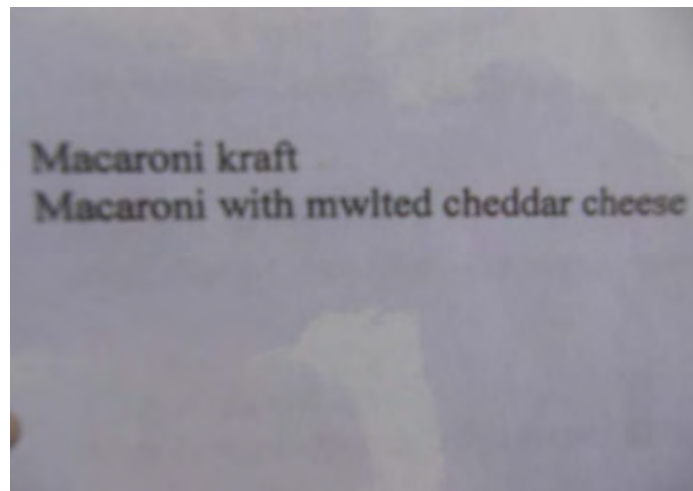
**0821-4454-6356**

Our goal is the preservation, understanding and appreciation of the unique culture and spirituality of Bali within the landscape, arts and context of its sacred history.



## Appendix | VI

'Balinese English on Lembongan island', field photos February – March – April 2012.



## Appendix | VII

‘Lembongan island main economy: seaweed and fishing’ and ‘Lembongan island bamboo huts and unpaved roads’ field photos February – March – April 2012.





## Appendix | VIII

‘Man and his son entering a Balinese temple through the *candi bentar* – split gate’, North Bali, field photo March 2012.



**Appendix | IX**

‘Balinese household shrine, filled with (everyday) offerings’, Jukut Paku, Bali, field photos February 2012



