Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU)

Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies
Major in Asia Pacific Studies

A Dissertation on

Change and Innovation of Balinese Arts

in the Context of Cultural Tourism

by

Yusri Abdillah

Supervisor: Malcolm Cooper

**As Partial Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Asia Pacific Studies**

Beppu - Oita, Japan, 2012

文化観光におけるバリ芸術の変容と革新

立命館アジア太平洋大学大学院

アジア太平洋研究科　　アジア太平洋学専攻

ユスリ　アブディラ

別府市大分県日本

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

Tourism has partly transformed the orientation of Balinese culture from religion to economics. This is particularly so in Balinese arts as the most prominent forms of Balinese cultural products. While in the days before the coming of tourism to the island, art tended to change within the context of religion, contemporary change occurs in the garb of tourism, and therefore, develops in a more dynamic and secular environment. This study is going to look at the process of innovation in the Balinese art products in the context of cultural tourism.

As Balinese culture and the arts develop in these contemporary ways, crucial questions addressing their authenticity emerge. Although it is acknowledged that culture is a dynamic entity and therefore no pristine culture exists, these questions are important in maintaining a balance in Balinese cultural development. This study takes a closer look at Balinese cultural and artistic development by examining four major Balinese arts: shadow puppet performance, traditional dance, painting and woodcarving and sculpture. Ubud was chosen as the main research location because of its fame as the main arts center of Bali. Ubud was still a good representation of the process of art innovation in Bali.

The main body of this dissertation begins with a general description of Bali as a hub of Indonesian tourism, its economic transformation and environment, and social problems including conflict of identity to which these developments give rise. A description of Ubud as the art center of Bali shows how the village maintains its tradition in the arts and utilizes them to create a brand for tourism in the region. The last two chapters of the dissertation review recent changes and innovation in the Balinese arts that flourish in Ubud, showing how these arts are changing constantly and innovating in response to the tourist boom, using both new technology and the input of ideas and expertise from outside.

要　約

　　観光産業はバリの文化を宗教的志向から経済的志向へと部分的に変化させて来た。
それはバリの最も重要な文化の形であるバリ美術において顕著である。この島に観光の波
がやって来る以前、美術は宗教面において変化してきたものだが、現在は観光によって変
化が起こり、そのためよりダイナミックに、世俗的な状況で発展している。この研究は、
カルチャーツーリズムの中でのバリ美術の革新に焦点を当てるものである。

　　バリの文化と美術がこのような現代的な発展を遂げるにつれて、その真性を問う重要な
疑問も出現している。文化とは動的な存在であり、原初のまま変化しない文化など存在し
ないことは広く認知されているが、このような疑問はバリ文化がバランスを保ちながら発
展するために重要である。この研究ではバリの文化と芸術の発達をより深く考察するため
に、特に重要な 4 つのバリ美術に焦点を当てる。すなわち、影絵、伝統舞踊、絵画・版画、
および彫刻である。主要な研究対象地域として、バリ美術の中心地として有名なウブドゥ
村を選んだ。ウブドゥは依然としてバリ美術革新過程の良きモデルであった。

　　本論文の主要部分はインドネシア観光の中核であるバリの概説、経済の変化と環境、お
よびこのような発展がもたらしたアイデンティティーの対立を含めた社会問題の記述から
始まる。バリ美術の中心としてのウブドゥについての記述は、この村が美術の伝統をどの
ように維持し、かつ地域の観光ブランド形成に利用してきたかを示している。本論文最後
の二章では、ウブドゥに花開いたバリ美術の最近の変化と革新について論評し、これらの
美術が新しい技術や外部からの意見・専門的知識を取り入れながらどのように変化し続け、
観光ブームに呼応して革新を遂げてきたかを示す。

Chapter 1

Introduction

Art products are perhaps the most prominent Balinese cultural products that have made Bali Island famous all over the world as a cultural tourism destination[1]. Together with the religious traditions and festivals, they make the island distinctive for the tourists who visit. The Balinese have adapted elements of other cultures, particularly in terms of artwork, but have still been able to maintain their cultural identity to a large extent over time as they have a long tradition in the arts. Such an ability means that the traditional arts in Bali have been experiencing dynamic development without necessarily losing their distinctive values and links with the past. In contemporary Bali, the islanders clearly have to develop these kinds of cultural products so as to benefit from the tourism-related industries and their changing fashions. This thesis is going to look at the development of cultural tourism in Bali, particularly the ability of the Balinese to produce new art products for the tourist market without losing what they see as their cultural authenticity or their Balinese identity. Specifically, the study focuses on the process of change and innovation in the arts at Ubud, known as the main arts center in Bali. As this study examines the process of innovation in the context of tourism, the point of view adopted in this thesis is derived from business administration. However, since the

---

[1] To the Balinese, the word "art" was known only from the mid-1920s when Balinese writers began to write in Malay (Putra, 2011), a language later used by Indonesians as the national language. A discussion of the definition of art in the Balinese context is presented in chapter five of this dissertation.

study is a case study focusing on society, other disciplines, including anthropology have necessarily been drawn on to shed light on the innovation process in the tourism context.

1.1. Background to the Study: Cultural tourism and the issues of authenticity

The debate over the advantages and disadvantages of developing cultural tourism has continued during the past decade since it is widely viewed as a rapidly growing sector of the tourism business, rather than just a market niche (Girard, 2008). While there are those who are still skeptical of the positive contribution of tourism to cultural transformation based on the negative perceptions of the hosts (e.g. Faulkenberry *et al*., 2000; Tosun, 2002), there is also a growing awareness of the advantages of tourism for culture and society, for instance the role of tourism in the revival of local tradition (Cooper *et al*., 2008; Schouten, 2007). In the case of Bali, it is clear that tourism has contributed to cultural development and the reinforcement of Balinese identity through the improvement of the host economy (Yamashita, 2003; Picard, 1997).

The next section of this chapter begins with a brief discussion of cultural tourism and its boundaries. It then continues by relating it to the concept of sustainability. The debate over authenticity and innovation in cultural products, and their role in marketing, is addressed next, by describing the situation in the culture and tourism sectors on the island of Bali.

1.1.1. Defining cultural tourism

There are many definitions of cultural tourism, seeing it from a variety of different perspectives. Following a proposal by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), McKercher and du Cross (2002) suggest that these definitions can

be grouped into four categories: "tourism-derived," "motivational," "experiential" and "operational". Tourism-derived definitions see cultural tourism within the context of the tourist market: as a kind of special interest tourism, as involving relations between people and cultural heritage, or as developing and marketing cultural sites for tourists (McKercher & du Cross, 2002:4). This definition emphasizes the tourists' interest in culture and cultural events as the basis of cultural tourism. This definition, nevertheless, is very broad, and includes lower level concepts such as heritage tourism, arts tourism, ethnic tourism, and indigenous tourism (Smith, 2003).

Motivational definitions focus on why people move, for instance to study, perform, or participate in festivals or pilgrimage (McKercher & du Cross, 2002:4). This implies the idea that travelers are "pushed" by their own desires or motives for particular types of experience, and/or "pulled" by the attractions which particular sites have to offer (Gnoth, 1997). This is the basis of the definition of cultural tourism offered by the company Lord Cultural Resources, which sees cultural tourism as "visits by persons outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in historical, artistic, scientific, or lifestyle/heritage offering of the community, region, group, or institution" (Silberberg, 1994:2; Lord, 1999:3). Whatever their motivation, the fact remains that tourists are involved in some way in the culture of their destination. Push and pull factors should not be seen as mutually exclusive, since they operate at the same time.

The last types of definition discussed by ICOMOS are experiential and operational. Experiential definitions are closely linked to motivation, as they focus

on the unique experiences of the tourists as they consume other cultures (McKercher & du Cross, 2002:4-5). Cultural tourists arguably seek to understand other cultures through experiencing the customs, traditions, architecture, and other cultural features of a particular destination. In other words, they search for what makes a destination culturally unique and different from their everyday lives. It is therefore possible to see cultural tourists lying on a continuum between "allocentric" tourists, interested in things that are different, and "psychocentric" tourists, mainly interested in comfort, and therefore enjoying aspects of the destination that they find familiar.

Finally, operational definitions define cultural tourism in terms of the activities which the tourism experience has to offer, including museums, historic buildings, performances, cultural festivals and so on. McKercher and du Cross define cultural tourism operationally as "participation in any one of an almost limitless array of activities or experiences" (2002:5). They therefore argue that the "participation" is preferable to just "visiting" a certain destination or attraction. This definition emphasizes the cultural resources that a destination can sell to the tourist market.

In order to describe which cultural resources are most marketable, Swarbrooke (1999:307) classifies them into 14 main types, including arts, architecture, and festivals, and distinguishes between different types of cultural tourism in different areas. Urban areas offer different attractions from rural areas, and mountain areas offer different attractions from coastal areas. Similarly, Christou (2005) differentiates between cultural attractions in developed and less developed areas. Developed areas often offer Western-style performing arts such as orchestral and theatrical performances, while the less developed areas present celebrations of

indigenous culture, including religious and other traditional cultural performances.

1.1.2. Cultural tourism and the issue of sustainability

The sustainability of tourism is one of the central issues in recent tourism development. Sustainability allows tourist destinations to maximize the present value of their tourist industries, while at the same time providing continued opportunities for future generations. An ideal form of tourism, as Swarbrooke (1999:13) noted, should be one that is "economically viable, but does not destroy the resources on which the future of tourism will depend, notably the physical environment, and the social fabric of the host community". This implies that a destination's competitiveness is linked to the preservation of the resources on which this competitiveness is based. Grundey (2008) argues that sustainable tourism implies a competitive system of tourism. At the practical level, implementing a tourism strategy, positioning the tourism products appropriately within the entire tourism system, and making them competitive allow a destination to make its tourism more sustainable. Thus, it can be argued that competitiveness is likely to be the key to attaining sustainability in tourism development.

Focusing on the way to develop the competitiveness of a tourism destination in a sustainable environment, Hassan (2000) has proposed a competitiveness model that examines the relationship between the stakeholders' need to create and adopt value-added tourism products to sustain local resources, while maintaining market position relative to other competitors. In this regard, he underlines the importance of maintaining the local culture and promoting images of its value, heritage, and traditional way of life, as well as indigenous culture. This means that

competitiveness should not merely be viewed from the economic perspective; rather it should cover areas such as social, technological, cultural, political, and environmental competitiveness (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003).

Cultural tourism can be seen as sustainable, as long as the culture itself survives. However, in a capitalist world, cultural products are unlikely to survive unless they can find a place in the market. So unless there are exceptional reasons, e.g. financial support from the government for political reasons, it seems that the cultural commercialization of a destination is inevitable. As Bruner argues:

> Except in those few countries… [W]herever ethnographers go or have gone, tourists have already been or are sure to follow and wherever tourism establishes itself, our traditional anthropological subject matter, the people and cultures of the world, become commercialized, marketed, and sold to an eager audience of international tourists (Bruner, 2005:191).

As mentioned earlier, cultural tourism is increasingly considered as the most suitable type of tourism in terms of sustainability and competitiveness due to the dynamic nature of human life and culture. This form of tourism takes "culture" as its basic resource, one which cannot be exhausted, but one which cannot even be preserved without change. Indeed, the establishment of tourism may make culture more spectacular, as in the case of Bali. However, it is worth noting that there is also the potential of "cultural pollution" in cases where cultural tourism is not managed carefully. As a strategy for developing the tourism industry, the number of cultural tourists is currently growing fast, which means that a larger share of the tourism market can be captured, with "quality tourists" as the particular target market. The strategy is linked to the rising ages in developed countries. An increasing share of the market is "silver" tourism (over 60) – which provides an alternative market.

According to this strategy, it is also important to look for domestic tourists from other parts of Indonesia. A survey conducted by the Bali province tourism office in 2008 showed that the domestic tourists visiting Bali were dominated by those from 26 to 55 years old, accounting for about 53% in the low season tourism and 31% in the high season. In contrast, the young domestic tourists aged from 16 to 25 tended to visit the island in the high season, accounting for 61.5% in the high season and 39.7% in the low season. The domestic silver segment will be an important market in the next few decades since those above 56 years only accounted for about 4.1% of total domestic tourists in 2008. These domestic tourists are a potential opportunity as 36% of them have visited Bali up to five times and 98% of the overall respondents planned to revisit Bali in the future (see Wiranatha & Pujaastawa, 2009 for the characteristics of domestic tourists visiting Bali).

While it is the nature of the business that an increase of demand is always followed by an increase in competition, cultural tourism has sometimes ended in fierce rivalry between products, not only because of the threat of the growth of new destinations, but also from other types of leisure activity that also use forms of culture as their object. Swarbrooke (1999) illustrates how technologies such as the internet are promoting virtual leisure *vis-à-vis* real-time leisure, for instance by competing with the day-trip sector of the cultural tourist market. Instead of going places, people stay at home surfing the web. On the other hand, technology also facilitates innovation and development in the cultural products of a destination, and therefore, contributes to the dynamism of the market.

Another interesting issue that is frequently discussed and difficult to avoid is

that of authenticity (McKercher & du Cross, 2002; Chhabra, 2010). It is common in cultural tourism for some tourists to be less knowledgeable about the places they visit, and their history, and therefore they need to experience "authenticity" to feel satisfied with their trip (McKercher & du Cross, 2002). Nevertheless, they often disregard the real authentic attractions while they visit a site. It seems that for tourists, the meaning of authenticity lies in the place itself, regardless of how the hosts present it (McKercher & du Cross, 2002; Schouten, 2007). Once a tourist sets foot in a particular destination, every cultural attraction, no matter how it is staged, is considered as "authentic". At this point, tourism forms a bridge between the needs of tourists to consume local culture, and the creativity of the host in producing marketable cultural products.

1.1.3. Culture as a capital for Bali tourism industry

Among many challenges faced by tourism destinations, understanding the tourist motivation to visit is probably the most critical issue in the destination competitiveness debate. This motivation is related to various factors such as psychology, economy, perception, and experience as well as information and recommendations from others. Regarding the appeal of a destination, Ritchie and Crouch (2003) point to culture and social characteristics as the second most important attraction of a region after natural beauty and climate. From their study, one can distinguish three elements of cultural tourism that attract visitors: namely things that are animate, inanimate, and related to daily life. In the case of Bali, the cultural elements that attract tourists are the handicrafts, traditional ways of life, food, architecture, farming, religion and customs. However, it is important to keep

in mind that the way tourists consume a given destination and its culture depends largely on their own cultural background (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). Thus, it is crucial to consider the process of cultural transformation and the way in which new forms of culture are continuously produced to meet the needs of the tourists and of successful tourism development.

Currently, cultural tourism is a popular form of tourism. Tourists visit and interact directly with indigenous people to learn about and experience local life, together with its traditions, dancing, and rituals. Some people think that this form of tourism will erode the indigenous culture, since there is constant interaction between the local people and tourists, leading to a process of acculturation. Nonetheless, if it is managed carefully, this type of tourism has the potential to benefit local communities (Smith, 2003). The dilemma for culture-based tourism in Bali has been clearly recognized since the time of its original development. When Bali was introduced commercially as a tourism destination in the 1920s, there were some critics who worried about the future of Balinese culture, and the same question regarding its future still exists. However, Bali's culture is still alive and continues to attract tourists from over the world. With regard to this debate, Picard (1996) has asserted that it is essential to consider the impact of tourism development in the early stages of planning, given the possible negative impact of tourism on cultural identity and heritage. Since the culture, as manifested by the arts and crafts products, is viewed as a tourism resource that assures the sustainability of the industry, a way to preserve and develop it in an innovative way must be guaranteed.

In another sense, cultural tourism has increasingly become a sustainable and

competitive basis for tourism in communities with a rich cultural heritage or artistic traditions. This form of tourism takes the local culture as its basic resource, which raises the issue of what exactly *is* culture. Anthropologists have defined it in many different ways (for a summary see Barnard and Spencer, 1996). In his classic definition from the 19th century, Tylor (1871:1) defined it thus: "Culture or civilization taken in its wide ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." In other words culture is learned. Similarly, Goodenough (cited in Geertz, 1973:11) defines it as consisting of "whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to" society's members; in other words, he sees it as a system of rules. Finally, Geertz (1973:5) himself focuses on the meaning of culture for the people who have it: "Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance … I take culture to be those webs." In the case of Bali, culture clearly includes its artistic traditions – though the rules and significance of these may change over time, as the culture is transmitted between the generations. The incorporation of culture into the tourism industry clearly changes rules, practice and meanings. In other words, culture, rather than being an unchanging element of society, adapts and changes over time in line with the dynamics of social change and the local environment. This is in line with Yamashita's discussion of Balinese culture (2003:4). He describes culture as a "hybrid entity which is consciously manipulated, reconstructed, and consumed," and this has happened in Bali. Following Pieterse (1995:61, cited in Yamashita 2003:4), he also differentiates between "territorial" and "translocal" culture. Balinese culture

is an example of territorial culture, parochial and homogeneous, which can be studied within a specific region. However, even though it has been subject to the tourist gaze and adapted for the tourist market, Yamashita does not see it as destroyed. Rather he suggests we should see it in terms of a "narrative of emergence" (Yamashita, 2003:9). Ethnic cultures like that on Bali exist within the modern world system, and come into being in "interaction with modern Western civilization." There is no pristine condition or lost primordial world of Balinese culture (Yamashita, 2003:10). When living and working conditions in a society change, as for example from peasantry to craftsmanship due to the demand from the tourist market, the customary forms of agricultural tradition may be eliminated, and new forms of touristic culture arise. Nevertheless, the appearance of such new forms of tradition should not be seen as a process of cultural destruction. Indeed, the establishment of tourism may help reconstruct existing culture into an even more spectacular form. Culture, therefore, is seen here as part of the social fabric, where arts are produced to fulfill the market needs, and therefore it should be considered as a dynamic entity. This definition harks back to the eighteenth century when economists acknowledged that the values of cultural products such as artworks were determined by the demand side of the market (Goodwin, 2006).

1.1.4. Balinese arts as the cultural product to offer to tourists

Balinese arts cannot be divorced from tourism development in Bali since they are a unique attraction for the tourists who visit the island. An American tourist I met coincidentally in Ubud Market, and who had come to Bali for the first time, expressed his feeling of wonder to see the amazing arts flourishing in Ubud. Another

tourist, a Nepali, felt that Ubud was an incredible art center where cultural art products were produced using local resources. In this way, the people of Ubud continue to produce Balinese performance, arts and crafts, to serve the traditional as well as the contemporary market.

However, it is difficult to define Balinese art in the context of tourism since the word "art", as I discuss in chapter five, did not originally exist in the Balinese language. Hughes (2000:13) defines the arts as something that "usually refers to works and activities such as classical music, ballet, plays, opera as well as paintings and sculpture." Contemporary Balinese arts can therefore be defined in this dissertation as a set of cultural products which are the result of continuous development of the Balinese traditional forms of art. In other words, they are based on the old forms and traditions, yet use technology, market demand and contemporary fashion as the means to develop new ones. Although contemporary Balinese arts are influenced by Western arts through interaction in tourism, there is a considerable difference between contemporary Balinese and Western arts. Stallabrass (2004) describes contemporary Western arts as existing in a "zone of freedom" in terms of the way the art is produced and consumed[2]. What both traditions have in common, however, is that currently they are both associated with big money (cf. Steinberg, 1972 cited in Stallabrass, 2004:100).

Contemporary Balinese arts serve different markets including the religious,

---

[2] Stallabrass noted that "contemporary art seems to exist in a zone of freedom, set apart from the mundane and functional character of conventions. In that zone there flourishes a strange mix of carnival novelty, barbaric transgression of morals, and offences against many systems of belief, alongside quieter contemplation and intellectual play" (2004:1).

connoisseur and tourist markets. Therefore, the arts are also mass-produced as crafts and souvenirs for tourists. It is interesting to note in this case that it is not only the traditional art products that are salable as tourist commodities. Many of the Balinese today produce arts and crafts based on foreigners' designs to be sold on the international market[3]. In this way, tourism becomes a medium for Balinese to develop their skills in producing a range of artwork for sale throughout the world.

1.1.5. Cultural innovation and authenticity: The case of Bali

The charm of Bali has long attracted researchers and writers to study and describe the island from various perspectives. At the end of the twentieth century, there were already around 9,000 publications on the island (cf. Nordholt, 1997), many of them related to tourism. This shows the attraction of the island and its culture. Surprisingly, there has been little attention devoted to the process of art development in Bali, particularly in terms of the processes of change and innovation during the period of tourism growth in the island. This study discusses these processes in the context of tourism development in the island.

The success of Bali Island in brightening up its tourism while, at the same time maintaining its vivid culture, is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the Balinese have learned how to keep their culture alive, both in relation to the front and back stage, despite warnings that Balinese culture is dying due to the speed of tourism's

---

[3] During my field research, I visited a Balinese community in Denpasar where some of the housewives worked at home to produce colorful stones for jewelry and crafts, ordered by Hungarians to be sold in Canada. Another case was silversmiths in the village of Celuk who produced silver jewelry and crafts to particular designs ordered by foreigners. Interestingly I also found that some of these silver-made products were imported from Java. There is a village called Gesang on the slope of Mount Semeru in East Java where many people of the village worked as silversmiths. They produced jewelrys and crafts ordered by silver wholesalers in Bali to be exported from Bali.

expansion[4]. Picard (1996) noted that the more the Balinese are criticized, the more resistant they become to the negative effects of tourism. Secondly, they have realized that their cultural products as well as their expertise in artwork are marketable. This encourages them to develop new forms of artwork based on the traditional ones, while continuously adjusting to the preferences of the tourist market by producing other types of cultural products based on models from elsewhere. But the presence of tourism has allowed the local people of Bali to adjust their cultural products to the needs of the tourists for tourist experiences, and the reward has been an economic advantage.

Since the Island of Bali is presented as unique in cultural tourism studies, this has led to a growing body of research, particularly on the benefits of cultural tourism for local development. This study looks into innovation in Balinese art products and their ability to respond to market change and demand. While traditionally the term "innovation" is used to link newness in the market with technological advance and discovery, in this research innovation is linked into Balinese art products, and therefore, embraces creativity. Hence, the current research applies the contemporary concept of innovation that links technological innovation and creativity (cf. Chan & Mann, 2011)[5]. In a broader context, the study examines cultural innovation taking

---

[4] Cohen (2000) uses the term "front and back stage" to express the difference between normal daily life, the back stage, which is considered as authentic, and the theatrical performance, the front stage, which is adapted to the preferences of audiences.

[5] Creativity refers to activities and/or ideas to create something that meets one or more of these characteristic: original, simple, surprising, elegant, and/or changing convention (Goldenberg & Mazursky, 2002). It also a matter of how information to develop things that meet such characteristic is acquired. Further, Goldenberg & Mazursky mentioned that "creativity is considered the ultimate of human qualities, one of the key measures of intelligence that separate us from the rest of the animal kingdom" (Goldenberg & Mazursky, 2002:29)

place in Balinese society in the guise of the tourism industry. Such an examination is important as an antithesis to the image of Bali as a living museum. The discussion of cultural innovation is based on the theory of the emergence of modern human culture proposed by Shennan (2001), noting the characteristic features of the transition in society, from the technology of stone tool production to the appearance of musical instruments and complex forms of art.

For more than half a century, Bali has been developing into a major hub for tourism in Indonesia. The island started to become noticed by the international tourism industry in the 1920s, when it was seen as a "living museum" of ancient Javanese culture. The notion of Bali as a living museum arose in the first quarter of the twentieth century, promoted by the Oriental scholars who worked for the Dutch administration. This notion reflected the views of nineteenth century European scholars such as Van Hoevell, a Dutch preacher, parliamentarian, humanitarian and scientist, who was interested in the peoples of the Dutch East Indies; and Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore and the author of the History of Java, written in 1817. They realized that the vivid culture and traditions of ancient Java, the legacy of the Majapahit kingdom, were kept alive among the Balinese due to the strength of Hinduism on the island, which kept out the wave of Islamization which swept through the rest of the archipelago (Vickers, 1989). In particular, Raffles (1817) also believed that the Sanskrit that was well-preserved in Bali was one of the oldest branches of this very ancient Indo-European language, the source of many other European and Asian languages and cultures.

The image of Bali as a living museum suited Dutch political interests, as they

tried to repair the image of the island after the bloody conquest of the last three Balinese kingdoms of Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung in 1906 and 1908. As part of this restoration, the Dutch asked the Balinese to become "real" Balinese, and convinced them that they really should become artists (Picard, 1996). As a result, the island, formerly the "island of the gods," also acquired the nickname of the "island of artists". This led the Balinese to revive their ancestral arts and cultures, and eventually these, combined with its natural beauty, created the image of Bali as the ultimate paradise. This in turn became the cornerstone of the island's tourism industry. For example, Vickers (1989) has depicted Bali as a mixture of India and Tahiti, a graceful blend of Eastern mystery and culture coupled with the loveliness of the Pacific.

The rush of tourists in the last three decades has led to an enormous debate about Balinese culture and its sustainability with a variety of views. As the manifestation of its culture, the arts and crafts of Bali have become a focal point of this debate. As Picard (1996) nevertheless noted, the debate is mostly about the resilience of Balinese culture in the face of the tourism industry, and particularly, the question of whether Balinese arts and crafts still maintain their authenticity. This question has been frequently asked, but is as yet unanswered. Because of the growth of the tourism industry, the question of ethnic cultures and their sustainability also arises in other Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand (Cohen, 2000). Because of the importance of cultural tourism in Bali, it is necessary to maintain the "traditional" nature of Balinese society as well as the culture it has produced. Such a formula provides a mutual trade-off between tourism and the local culture, in which

tourists spend their dollars to experience the "authentic" local cultural products, and the local people use the money to sustain their culture.

However, the image of being a living museum with a mostly authentic culture has been a burden for the Balinese to maintain. In Bali, there has been a long process of acculturation with influences from the outside world, including India, China, and Java as its nearest neighbor. For example, if one looks carefully at the carvings, there are stylistic influences (*patal*) from Java, China, and even Egypt according to some authorities. In other words, at one level they are not pure Balinese crafts at all. However, this does not mean that the style was just imported by the Balinese from outside, or that it was simply based on their relationships with foreigners. Rather, the arts are the result of Balinese creativity, producing designs which do not exist in China or India (Sulistyawati, 2008a).

As an example, the *sendratari* (dance-drama) based on the Ramayana, which is one of the "compulsory" attractions for the tourists, is adapted from a form imported from Java in the 1960s (Howe, 2005). Another example is the performance of *wayang kulit* (shadow puppets), which is changing along with the advance of technology in the modern world. Covarrubias (1986) mentions stone reliefs found in temple decorations in northern Bali that depict a long-bearded Arab driving a car and two fat Dutchmen drinking beer. Such reliefs point to contradictions and change in the Balinese value system (Schouten, 2007).

1.2. The research problem

The discussion over the benefits of tourism to the local community has led to both theoretical and practical debates, and a growing body of work on the concept of

sustainability in tourism. At the level of theory, researchers emphasize the importance of careful planning for balancing economic benefits with preservation of the environment and Balinese culture. The tourism industry should not present local people merely as the objects of tourism, but rather empower them as subjects of tourism development. In the development of cultural tourism, the economic advantages should be in line with the preservation of the indigenous culture. However, at the practical level, researchers, and in particular anthropologists, have shown that culture is constantly changing and developing over time. They criticize the preservation of indigenous culture as a strategy by the tourism industry to attract and satisfy the romanticism of the tourist, and therefore isolate the local people from the modern world.

Since culture, as manifested in art and craft products, is viewed as a resource that assures the sustainability of the tourism industry, ways to preserve and develop it in innovative ways must be guaranteed. The continuation of cultural development in Balinese society, therefore, gives rise to the question of whether the changes and innovations take place merely in order to accommodate the needs of the tourists. Although tourists are the main source of earnings for Balinese cultural development, it could be argued that too much of a focus on the tourists' needs might harm the sustainability of Balinese arts and crafts. The research problem therefore becomes *whether to use the arts or tourism as the main strategy in developing Balinese cultural products.*

1.3. The research objectives and questions

The research problem will be examined by looking at the changes and innovations in

Balinese arts and the cultural activities that flourish in Ubud. Particularly, this study is going to take a closer look at the process of innovation in the main attractions of cultural tourism in Ubud, including Balinese dance, shadow puppet theater (*wayang*) performances, painting and carving, as well as its implications for the tourism industry in Bali. The objectives of this research are therefore summarized as follows:

1. To describe the current development of cultural tourism in Bali, particularly in Ubud;

2. To analyze the direction of the development of arts and crafts in Ubud;

3. To examine the processes of change and innovation in Balinese art products in terms of authenticity;

4. To examine whether a focus on the tourist market exists underlying the processes of change and innovation in arts and crafts in Ubud;

5. To take a closer look to the learning process among artists and craftsmen in Ubud.

It is obvious that the development of the Balinese arts is a continuous process of change taking place over a long time under specific circumstances. Over time, when the island was being Indianised from the fifth century onward (cf. Pringle, 2004), Balinese arts were presumably under the influence of Indian culture i.e. Hinduism. When the Dutch ruled the island and began to develop it as a tourist destination in the early 20th century, the Balinese started to produce art to fulfill the needs of tourists, although this did not seem to change the way their cultural art production. As Pringle says:

> The three most important features of Balinese history, it could be argued, were the development of irrigated rice agriculture, the adoption of Indian religion and

civilisation, and the growth of tourism. But of these three, it is the Hindu religion in its distinctive local variation which famously defines Bali today (2004:41).

The Balinese, furthermore, showed their culture to be alive rather than a museum piece through this kind of developmental process. Therefore, the main question to be addressed in this thesis becomes this: *How is the process of change and innovation in Balinese art products in Ubud taking place in the context of cultural tourism?*

In order to examine this process, the following specific research questions are important, related to the change and innovation process in the Balinese performing and visual arts in Ubud, as well as their impact on tourism development:

1. How is the current development of cultural tourism in Bali taking place, particularly in Ubud?

2. What is the direction of the development of arts and crafts in Ubud?

3. To what extent are changes and innovations currently taking place, and how do the Balinese address the authenticity issue in Bali's cultural tourism?

4. Does a market orientation underlie the process of change and innovation in the arts and crafts in Ubud?

5. How does the learning process among artists and craftsmen in Ubud take place?

1.4. The significance and limitations of the study

Many studies of culture and tourism deal with the post-World War II period, since this provides many opportunities for the study of societal and cultural change (Smith, 2003). However, it should be noted that the changes in Balinese culture have continued for centuries, reflecting the openness of Balinese society to the outside

world. This makes it difficult to define the "authentic" Balinese culture. The orthodox view of "authentic" Balinese culture, derived from the earlier tourist gaze, sees Bali as the place where ancient Javanese culture, especially that of the golden period of the Majapahit kingdom in the thirteenth century, is well-preserved. This view has provided the island as with one of the main images with which it is associated in the tourism industry, that of the "ultimate paradise."

There are two main reasons why it is important to study cultural tourism in developing countries like Indonesia. Firstly, it is increasingly seen as an important part of tourism, and one which is compatible with the concept of sustainability. Secondly, as a fast-growing and relatively new segment of the tourist market, it provides wide opportunities for regions to develop economically. In particular, cultural tourism is important for the Balinese, both to keep their culture alive on the one hand, while on the other hand keeping the industry sustainable in order to protect their livelihoods and foster regional development.

The results of this research will contribute to the existing body of knowledge about cultural tourism development in developing countries, as an industry which relies on religious and traditional cultural attractions. While much of the previous research focuses on the assessment of the impact of tourism on the local culture, this study emphasizes the importance of innovation, and of constant changes in culture and cultural products to keep the culture itself alive, within the process of change and innovation in the Balinese arts in the context of tourism in the island, focusing on the period from 1920s until recently. It presents a case study of artistic development in Ubud, and will also contribute to the existing Ubud literature.

Nonetheless, since the study is a case study, it is very contextual and situational in nature, and therefore it requires care in transferring the findings to apply to other parts of Indonesia.

1.5. The research method

Recently there has been increasing interest in research in cultural tourism compared with other forms of tourism such as ecotourism, as well as in tourism in general, with qualitative methods as the most prominent approach, focusing on the sustainable tourism discourse. This argument concurs with that of Lu and Nepal (2009), who conducted content analysis research on the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* for the 15-year period from 1993 to 2007, divided into three sections, of which each section consists of a five-year analysis. From the 341 papers reviewed, the results from the type of tourism studies showed the following:

> During the early stage (1993–1997), 58% of the papers covered nature-based tourism and ecotourism, 30% covered general tourism and 12% covered other types of tourism such as cultural tourism and urban tourism (Figure 2). During the mid-period (1998–2002), more than 50% of the papers focused on general tourism while only 38% focused on naturebased tourism and ecotourism and 12% on cultural/heritage tourism and alternative forms of tourism. Most recently (2003–2007), tourism in general has remained the key focus of research (46%). Nature-based tourism and ecotourism are still important (36%) though to a lesser degree, while interests in cultural/heritage tourism, alternative tourism and urban tourism have surged (18%). (Lu & Nepal, 2009:9).

Meanwhile, results on the methodological discourse showed that 139 papers, about 41% of total papers reviewed, were applying a qualitative method, followed by 125 papers (37%) that were quantitative and 21 papers (6%) that applied a mixed approach. The rest of the papers, around 16%, were theoretical papers (Lu & Nepal, 2009:11). The study also revealed increasing interest during the period 2003 to 2007

in the study of tourism in the Asia and South Pacific regions (Lu & Nepal, 2009:9).

This research focuses on cultural tourism development in Bali that has mainly been manifested in the form of art tourism. Innovation and marketing of the Balinese cultural product is increasingly becoming a subject of debate because of the concern about the sustainability of culture as the main resource for tourism in the island. To examine the problem, there are two propositions in this study as guides to analysis throughout the body of this dissertation. Firstly, Balinese artisans are always making efforts to pursue innovation in the art and cultural products they produce in order to follow the preferences of the tourist market. In this sense, they are manufacturing and selling what is salable in the market. Secondly, in the cultural tourism context, authenticity becomes a crucial issue considering the image of Bali as a living museum. In this framework, a change to the Balinese cultural product that is highly market-oriented is deemed harmful to the sustainability of culture, and eventually cultural tourism.

1.5.1. A case study of Ubud

In order to address the objectives of the study, I employ a case study approach and intensively examine the development of arts and crafts in Ubud. A case study can be defined in terms of demographic and geographic entities such as communities, countries, or events (Veal, 2011:343). According to Gerring (2007:37), the "case study approach is most usefully defined as an intensive study of a single unit or small number of units (the cases), for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)." This study, therefore, is conducted at the level of a community to examine a particular process of change and innovation in

particular circumstances, those of the Balinese arts in Ubud in the context of tourism. Although it is possible to extend the findings of this research to the wider Balinese population, particularly other regions in Southern Bali with conditions similar to Ubud, each region has its own strategies to develop tourism autonomously.

My curiosity about Bali dates back to 1986 when I visited the island for the first time for a short trip. Bali, in my first impressions, was a society that was very different from my own society, Java. In Bali, I saw topless women everywhere but not in the modern urban areas, but young and old women working in the construction sector as laborers. In Java, contrarily, topless men used to work on these kinds of job. In Kuta, there were also topless women but in a different context: tourists sunbathing. In this context, a trade-off between foreign and domestic tourists took place. Whilst the foreign holidaymakers were interested to see the exotic beauty of the local bare breasts that they had seen in many publications about Bali from the 1930s, the domestic Indonesian tourists, especially young men, were fascinated to see the topless Westerners in Kuta that they heard of by word of mouth.

The distance between the islands of Bali and Java is less than five kilometers, the two being separated by the Bali strait, but, once I arrived in Bali in Gilimanuk Harbor, I felt the very different atmosphere of the island. There seemed to be a kind of magical atmosphere which people cannot feel in Java or other places in Indonesia. According to many non-Balinese who have lived in Bali for years, this is probably caused by the way the Balinese worship their gods and ancestral spirits to bless their land. This different atmosphere, nevertheless, remained the same when I revisited the island two decades later for a conference in Nusa Dua and the next

two years for short trips, although the scenery had changed significantly. The local topless women had disappeared, and the tourists in Kuta wore bikinis: only a few of them took off their tops while sunbathing.

1.5.2. The fieldwork and data collection

My subsequent trip to Bali was a two-month fieldwork trip in August to September 2009. This became the first of two fieldwork trips I made for the current research. Prior to the fieldwork, preliminary research on Bali cultural tourism and innovation was conducted through a review of the existing literature as well as collecting secondary data using the internet. This is crucially important in order to distinguish this from other research and therefore, be able to increase the body of knowledge on tourism and culture, particularly that in Bali and Indonesia. In addition, a literature review was conducted to develop a theoretical framework for the study.

During the fieldwork, the general framework of qualitative research included activities such as gaining entry to the field, sampling, data collection, and data analysis. While these were going on, the interdisciplinary literature review carried on simultaneously, to assist in viewing the problem from a broader perspective. Gaining entry involves establishing good rapport with respondents, while at the same time gaining information about other appropriate respondents. In this fieldwork, I first contacted respondents who were connected to the tourist industry. They were a Javanese, who worked for 15 years as a freelance tourist guide, a Javanese, who worked for 10 years as the food supplier to hotels and restaurant, and a Balinese, who had previously worked as manager in a four-star hotel for years and was working as a tourism consultant. While two of the Javanese respondents linked

me to some Balinese tourist guides and painters, through the Balinese tourism consultant I contacted two Balinese academicians who taught in a tourism academy at Denpasar. On many occasions, I was involved in the daily activities of the Javanese tourist guides and visited another Javanese respondent at least twice a week to get any information I needed through an informal meeting. Formal in-depth interviews were carried out with the Balinese consultants and academicians twice during the field research. In order to guide the interviews, I proposed a set of 14 questions, though I let the interview process carry on naturally in order to obtain deeper information. In this way, I tried to expand each of these 14 questions. I refrained from the uses of a recorder for the interview to make the answers as natural as possible. In this approach, I used to note each of the respondent's answers and explanations in keyword form and expand these into transcripts on the same day as the interview. The formal in-depth interviews were conducted twice in order to examine the consistency of a respondent's answers and explanations. In the second interview, I modified the questions, or even proposed new questions, yet in the middle of their explanation, I slipped in some questions similar to the first interviews. The gap between the first and the second interviews was about one to two weeks. In short, the technique applied aimed to examine the validity and reliability of the data obtained.

The second field trip was made in mid-2010. Between these two field trips, I presented the research framework I had established as well as the results of the first field trip in conferences and seminars for achieving feedback before I conducted the second field trip. The feedback focused the research on the Balinese cultural

products that are offered to serve tourist demands. As a result, four Balinese cultural products were identified on which the subsequent field research focused: the Balinese arts of shadow puppet theater, dance, painting and carving.

Because of the primary objective of this research is to provide a comprehensive description of the Balinese arts in a wide context of cultural and tourism development, the current study is descriptive in nature and an exploratory analysis that relies on qualitative data. As exploratory research, this study can provide significant insights into the current processes of change and innovation in the Balinese arts in Ubud in the context of tourism. A case study approach, therefore, is appropriate to address this objective (cf. Smith, 2010; Veal, 2011; Yin , 2009).

To understand the dynamics of Balinese culture in the garb of contemporary tourism, the arts were investigated in terms of their innovativeness and the degree to which they depend on the market. Data were collected between June and September 2010, given that those were the peak months for tourist visits to Bali during the period. This period also coincided with the Bali Art Festival XXXII, an annual event exploring Balinese art and culture and held from mid-June until mid-July. In the peak tourist season, more resources are devoted to serving the tourists, and it is therefore easier to observe and investigate change and innovation in cultural products than at other times of the year. This included observation of behavior and interaction in the painting market through visits to two big museums and numerous studios, visits to the studios of carvers and sculptors, and observation of two live *wayang* shows and performances on CDs available in the market. In the case of traditional dance and drama performances, change and innovation were observed

using the multimedia resources available from the Bali Art Fiesta seminar.

The primary data obtained in the second fieldwork trip came mainly from unstructured in-depth interviews with experts on Bali's culture and tourism, including an observer of Balinese culture, an expert on Bali's art, and the secretary-general of Bali Tourism Board. I also carried out semi-structured interviews with professional guides and cottage owners in Ubud as well as government officials from the tourism and culture offices in the provincial government.

The process of gaining primary data used a similar approach to that by which the first fieldwork was conducted. However, the number of questions for the in-depth interviews was expanded to 26 to provide more information on Balinese arts development and management, particularly in Ubud. The previous 14 questions were still used and applied to the new respondents to examine the validity of the answers and explanations, and as with the first period of fieldwork, the reliability was checked by double interviews. Other primary data were provided through many short interviews with different parties, including craftsmen, painters and tourists. The interviews with these parties aimed to supplement the information gained from in-depth and semi-structured interviews.

The secondary data were obtained from a review of local publications and theses, local newspaper clippings, and government documentation available in the Culture Office library, Udayana University library, the National Library of Denpasar and the library of the Indonesian Art Institute at Denpasar. Another source of secondary data, which is important to this study, was from a local TV channel, which broadcasts on issues of tourism and culture in Bali on a daily basis.

1.6. Future research

Tourism is a field that incorporates many industries and stakeholders. Research on Bali has mainly been carried out through an observational approach with limited direct access to the formal private sector institutions such as hotels, restaurants and travel agents. While this study emphasizes the observation, description and explanation of the cultural tourism phenomenon in Bali, and to some extent makes predictions about its future, I also experienced limited access to these institutions and failed to obtain some of the expected information during the field research. Not only was getting questionnaires returned frustrating, it was also difficult to get opportunities to interview informants from the formal private sector, and interviews tended to be less than 30 minutes. The private sector is a vital element in the success of tourism in Bali and its sustainability. At times when tourism policy in Bali was administered at the provincial level, there was a synergy between provincial government as the policy maker, the private sector which marketed tourism, and academicians as advisors. This thesis, however, has drawn mainly on the perspectives of the government and the academicians, with very little input from the point of view of the institutions in the private sector.

This research has indicated that some forms of cultural attraction provided by Balinese artists were commissioned by the private sector to satisfy tourists and provide them with an experience. Therefore, future research should explore Balinese culture and arts issues from the perspective of the private sector, gaining access in order to gather data and information about their views on innovation and the marketing of Balinese cultural products for tourist consumption. According to

Altinay (2009:367), "…research access has important implications for the type of data collected, sampling and data collection techniques." One of the problems in accessing this sector is the value of the informants' time. Therefore, a way to convince them to spend their time helping the research is necessary.

1.7. Organization of the dissertation

In order to provide a comprehensive account of Bali, the remaining chapters of this dissertation analyze cultural tourism development in developing regions, based on a case study of Ubud in Bali. The content of each of these chapters is as follows.

Chapter I Introduction

The first chapter of this dissertation has provided a concise description of tourism in Bali and the debate over cultural sustainability in the island. The chapter has explained why Bali is an important case for cultural tourism studies not only in Indonesia but also in Southeast Asia, as well as stating the aims, the problems, the method and the significance of the current study. The chapter has also briefly addressed issues concerning cultural tourism and the debate on authenticity, the issues of sustainability and innovation in Balinese culture, and the emergence of Bali as one of the capitals for tourism in the region.

Chapter II   Balinese Culture and Tourism Development

This chapter discusses the history of tourism in Bali Island from economic and political perspectives and its contribution to the development of society on the island. The chapter begins with the history of Balinese economic transformation from agriculture to tourism. Agriculture has been for centuries the main form of subsistence for the Balinese, not only providing the essential economic support in

the past but also developing and shaping the unique Balinese culture. When tourism hit the island, Balinese culture then became the subject of debates over whether the society would be able to sustain its culture with the growth of tourism. This chapter further discusses the gap between cultural tourism and touristic culture, in which issues of identity, creativity and authenticity come to the fore in the debate about Balinese culture and tourism. A brief explanation of tourism management in four main resorts in Bali, i.e. Kuta, Nusa Dua, Sanur and Ubud, is presented to examine the wealth distribution on the island and the implementation of sustainable tourism.

Chapter III   Cultural Tourism in Bali

This chapter discusses relevant theory and literature on tourism in general and Bali in particular. More specifically, this chapter describes cultural tourism, and innovation in culture as well as marketing strategy in order to encourage sustainability in tourism development. An explanation of Bali, its tourism development and cultural activities, is given in this chapter.

Chapter IV   Ubud as the Art Center of Bali Cultural Tourism

The aim of this chapter is to introduce Ubud, a place that people variously describe as Bali's "global village", the "art center" of Bali, the "spirit" of Bali, an "artists' village", and the "heart" of Bali. I consider Ubud as important in describing Bali as an international tourist destination for at least for various reasons: the place represents a different brand compared to other resorts in Bali, due to the influence of the local royal family. The chapter discusses first the definition of Ubud as a cultural, administrative and tourism entity. The definition is important for describing tourism development in Ubud in a wider context. For example, the discussion of Ubud as

embodying the spirit of Bali may refer to the customary village of Ubud. However, when Ubud is referred to in a tourism context, it may include other villages nearby which are also involved in the arts industry. The chapter further discusses the synergy between the customary village and administrative village in managing the development of art and cultural tourism in Ubud under the direction of higher levels of government, namely the Ubud district and regency of Gianyar. Through this synergy, the Ubud authorities identify tourism resources, adapt them to the image of Ubud as an arts and cultural tourist destination, and offer them for sale on the tourism market as a unique brand.

Chapter V   Change and Innovation in the Balinese Intangible Arts

Chapter five of this dissertation reviews the Balinese performing arts categorized as intangible cultural products. In particular, the chapter examines Balinese dance and puppetry as the most prominent performing arts in the island. These performing arts are presented everywhere throughout the island, not only for entertainment purposes but also as an expression of Balinese devotion, or even a part of the worship of the gods. More closely, the chapter examines the development of the arts in terms of changes and innovations resulting from the rapid growth of tourism in the island. The performing arts flourishing in Bali face challenges within three different markets: the local market for entertainment, the market related to Balinese religion, and the market for tourism. As for local entertainment, the market is always enthusiastically awaiting new forms of Balinese traditional performance using new technology such as multimedia during the show. In the religious market, the arts face the challenge of maintaining their original form, as it is currently becoming

difficult to find artists to continue the tradition since the work is not economically advantageous. The tourist market is a growing market looking for "authentic" rather than commercialized art. Therefore, it has to create a secular version of the main performing arts to satisfy the demand from this emerging new market. The chapter further discusses the nature, development, change, innovation and education in the performing arts of the Balinese shadow puppet theater and traditional dances.

Chapter VI   Change and Innovation in the Balinese Tangible Arts

This chapter discusses of the nature, development, change and innovation in Balinese painting and carving. Carving in this case refers to sculpture, including wooden carvings. These arts are acknowledged as the most prominent tangible cultural products flourishing in Ubud. Since tourism is categorized as a service industry that is intangible in nature, the perceived quality of the tourism experience depends on the ability of the sector to make it more tangible to the tourists consuming it. In order to record and deepen their experience of visiting a place, tourists buy local products as souvenirs. In case of Bali, particularly Ubud, painting and carving have become appropriate choices for tourists, and they are widely available in various price ranges. From the host perspective, the presence of tourism is another way to attain recognition of their skill to produce artwork while selling it in the same time to the tourist market to improve the economy. As products aimed at a particular market niche, Balinese painting and carving have to continuously develop in innovative ways, keeping abreast of changes in market demand. This chapter charts the development of Balinese painting and carving in Ubud through the examination of their history and tradition together with current training and

education in the sector. It also discusses marketing for the tourist market and the demand for authentic local products.

Chapter VII   Conclusion

The conclusion reviews the whole dissertation, presents the main findings, provides final comments, and discusses the outlook for further research, based on the discussions in the previous chapters.

Chapter 2

Balinese Culture and Tourism Development

This chapter provides a background to the research problem of *whether to use the arts or tourism as the main strategy in developing Balinese cultural products* from the historical perspective of tourism development in Bali. More specifically, this chapter answer the first research question about the current development of cultural tourism in Bali in general from the perspectives of economy, politics and tourism management.

2.1. Introduction

The island of Bali is a long-established destination in the international tourism industry. Since it was promoted internationally for the first time in 1920s by the Dutch, and again in the 1970s by Indonesia, Bali has become one of the most attractive destinations in the world and has been enjoying rapid growth in tourism over the last four decades. During this period, the island of Bali has acquired a range of images based on the tourist gaze.

Bali has been extensively discussed in the western literature ever since the Dutch conquered the island in the early twentieth century. Prior to the conquest, it was known as a troublesome place: vessels close to its coastline were attacked by pirates, warfare between kingdoms trying to dominate the island was common, and the slave trade flourished. Given that it was not apparently important for European trade, the Dutch invasion of Bali was political, to secure their domination over the East Indies, rather than for economic motives.

However, the image of the island is inseparable from Dutch political strategy to counter international criticism of the final conquests of the kingdoms of Badung in 1906 and Klungkung in 1908. These became famous as the *puputan* wars, which led to protests from the public, particularly in the Netherlands, due to the weird nature of the warfare, in which the ruling families died walking directly into Dutch gunfire (Picard, 1996; Shavid, 2003). In order to restore its reputation, the Dutch then implemented colonial policies in Bali which were different from other places in the East Indies. The Dutch controlled local political movements by encouraging the Balinese to redevelop their arts and cultures, as "real Balinese". The policy called for Western scholars and artists to visit Bali and learn about Balinese life. This became the cornerstone of tourism in the island.

2.2. Tourism and the Balinese economy

Tourism is increasingly becoming an economic device used by many developing countries to boost their development (Chen & Chiou-Wei, 2009). More importantly, due to its nature, tourism involves the local community, encompasses a mixture of businesses, and therefore, is suitable for encouraging local development, especially in an era of decentralization in Indonesia, which promotes the spirit of "localism". The significance of tourism as a machine of economic growth is understandable when we look at the evidence that some of the more developed countries are, in fact, attracting more tourists than any of the less developed countries. The United States is the most visited country in North America, as is France in Europe, and China is emerging as the main tourist site in the Asia Pacific region. In addition, tourism is one of the most important economic sectors in the new millennium, closely linked to

technology, transportation, and telecommunications. Economically, the receipts from international tourist activities show the rapid growth in this sector, rising from US$ 310 billion in 1995 to US$ 856 billion in 2007 (UNWTO, 2008). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) reported in 2008 that tourism generated 9.63% of global capital investment, and accounted directly for around 3.26%, and indirectly for 9.59%, of total world economic activities. Although the financial crisis that occurred at the end of 2008 was followed by a 4% decline in tourism up to the end of 2009, the sector still employed over 235 million people across the world, providing about 8.2% of total world employment and generating not less than 9.4% of world GDP. Moreover, the number of international tourist arrivals in 2010 rebounded from the economic crisis and reached 935 million (UNWTO, 2011). Given these figures, it is reasonable to suppose, together with industry optimists, that tourism will continue to grow at between 4% and 5% per year, and that the number of international tourists will reach around 1.6 billion by 2020.

As shown in Table 2.1, the worldwide export earnings from the international tourism industry in 1999 and 2007 exceeded other major industries such as automotive products or fuel. It has also been acknowledged that tourism activities have an ability to circulate foreign exchange in such a way as to help balance the world economy, by moving money from rich to poor countries. Tourism has therefore become a vital industry for many developed and developing countries in building their national economies. Considering the size of the industry, it is capable of encouraging employment, boosting private sector growth, and generating infrastructure development in many countries in the long term. As a response to such

Table 2.1 Worldwide export earnings of the top ten industries in 1999 and 2007

Industry	Export Earning 1999	Share	Export Earning 2007
	(US $ Billion)	(%)	(US $ Billion)
International tourism	555	8.1	2,118
Automotive product	549	8.0	1,183
Chemicals	526	7.6	1,483
Food	437	6.3	1,128
Fuels	401	5.8	2,038
Computer and office equipment	394	5.7	Na
Textile and clothing	334	4.8	583
Telecommunication equipment	289	4.2	Na
Mining products (other than fuels)	155	2.3	621
Iron and steel products	126	1.8	474
Total worldwide export of good and service (including other industry)	6,980	100	Na

Source: UNWTO (2001, 2008), WTO (2008), WTTC (2008)

advantages, new tourist destinations are emerging, enlivening the existing competition in the global tourism industry.

For Indonesia, tourism has a significant role in its economic development. A report released by the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism (IMCT)[6] in 2010 showed that the tourism industry ranked second until 2004, after oil and gas, and ranked third in 2009, when it contributed around USD 6.2 billion in export earnings, and made up about 9.6% of Indonesia's total exports. This figure was below that of the two neighboring countries, Malaysia and Singapore, with receipts of around USD 15.77 billion and USD 9.18 billion respectively in the same year (World Economic Forum, 2011).

---

[6] On 19 October 2011, the Tourism Affairs office of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was merged with the Ministry of Trade, forming the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, while the Culture Affairs office was returned to the Ministry of Education and Culture

Given its many ethnic groups and cultures, one way in which Indonesia has developed its tourism industry is by relating culture to tourism, through strategic planning by the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism (IMCT). It is clear that marketing and innovation are the major instruments through which the IMCT can effectively achieve this goal (cf. Drucker, 1986). However, there is still disagreement on how to implement this kind of strategic plan. In the IMCT's strategic planning for 2004-2009 for instance, there were 477 projects related to tourism marketing, whilst only 90 dealt with cultural development and innovation. This demonstrates a short-term rather than a long-term focus. While the results of marketing programs are clearly measurable, the results of a cultural development program can only be seen in the long term and are therefore difficult to measure quantitatively. However, it is important to note in this case that the IMCT's 2004-2009 marketing budget is devoted mostly to the island of Bali, to help recover its reputation as a peaceful island following the crisis created by the terrorist bombs in 2002.

The island of Bali itself has been pioneering international tourism development in Indonesia since the Dutch first promoted it in the 1920s. A few Western tourists arrived directly from Batavia or Singapore by ships that were on their way back to Bali after carrying commodities from Bali such as coffee, copra and pigs. The tourists helped offset the lack of freight and provided the shipping lines with an income from Batavia or Singapore to Bali. The average number of tourist arrivals during the pre-war colonial period was usually less than 2,000 per year, though the number may have been higher as there was insufficient statistical data about Balinese tourism development until half a century later.

Starting in 1970, after the political crises and violence of the late 1960s, the tourism sector in Bali developed on a much larger scale, and accordingly, the number of international tourist arrivals increased from only 3,000 in 1965 to around 100,000 in 1975. This expansion continued following the growth in world tourism, reaching 350,000 tourists in 1990 and leaping to around 1.2 million tourists in 1995. The number of international tourists arriving in Bali in 2000 was 1.42 million, though it fell drastically by more than 30% after October 2002 due to the bombs which exploded in Kuta, one of the main tourist areas in Bali, killing 202 people. This was followed by the spread of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) throughout Southeast Asia in 2003. However, after this the numbers of tourists rebounded and have continued to rise. In 2010, 2.5 million visitors came directly to Bali from overseas in addition to domestic flight arrivals. Together with domestic tourists, the total number of tourists stood at around 4.4 million, a growth of 20% compared to the previous year. In the Balinese economy, tourism has now replaced agriculture, including *sawah* or wet rice cultivation, the main economic activity for thousands of years, as the largest sector of the economy.

Table 2.2 shows the structure of the Balinese economy. In 2007, the tourism industry, including the trade (covering retail of crafts such as wood and silver products), hotel, and restaurant sectors, contributed around 29% of the economic activity, compared with about 20% for agriculture. Instead of spending all their time cultivating rice fields, Balinese farmers these days also work as craftsmen, to meet the demand from the tourist industry. It is worth noting that agriculture in Bali is mainly for subsistence, and contributes little to the tourist industry, which imports

Table 2.2 Structure of Bali's Economy (2007)

Sectors	GDP (IDR Million)	Share (%)
Agriculture	8,216,473	19.41
Mining excluding oil & gas	281,093	0.66
Industry excluding oil & gas	3,804,928	8.99
Electricity, gas, and water	846,067	2.00
Building	1,877,521	4.43
Trading, hotel, and restaurant	12,242,743	28.98
Transportation	5,219,099	12.33
Finance	3,108,105	7.34
Other services	6,713,395	15.86
Total	42,336,424	100.00

Source: Adopted from Bali Tourism Satellite Account (2007)

most of the food it requires from Java or overseas.

In line with the expansion of the tourism industry, it is also interesting to note that the demand for "alternative tourism", types of tourism that place more emphasis on natural and cultural resources as their central concern (Fennel, 2008), has increased faster than the demand for tourism in general in the last decade. According to Hassan (2000), interest in ecotourism was growing at between 25% and 30% per year whilst the demand for cultural tourism was increasing by 10% to 15% per year. These percentages show the advantages of alternative tourism compared with the 4% growth of tourism in general. In the case of Bali, this may be linked to the rise in the percentage of Asian tourists, especially Chinese, compared with the drop in the number of Australian and Western tourists after the Bali bombing (Erviani, 2007). The composition of the tourists from the main countries and regions of origin can be seen in table 2.3.

The table shows that Europe, Australia and Japan are the main markets for tourism in Bali. In 2002, the number of Australians visiting Bali declined due to the

bombs that exploded at Kuta in October 2002. This was the first major setback to Bali's tourism after decades of development. Even in the riots following the collapse of the Suharto regime in the late 1990s, Bali was not seriously impacted by the political situation. Many of the Indonesian Chinese, particularly from Java rushed to Bali, as they considered Bali was the only secure place for them in the country, and the Balinese welcomed them. The drop continued in 2003 because the Australian government still issued a travel warning for Bali. This was compounded by the spread of SARS throughout Southeast Asia. Aware of the impact that would occur, both the government and the tourism community, including the private sector, launched many programs to help tourism recover in Bali soon after the 2002 bombs. The government made trips to some of the tourist source countries to restore goodwill towards tourism to Bali. Airlines such as Garuda Indonesia and Singapore Airlines developed links with hotels to provide cheap tour packages to Bali. There were also many exhibitions and seminars held by the tourism industry and academics with the same objective, restoring the image of Bali as a tourist paradise. As a result, tourists from Australia rebounded in 2004.

However, the killing of 20 people in a second bomb in Jimbaran in 2005 became the next setback for the tourism sector in Bali. Although the victims were fewer, the impact was more severe in terms of the tourism economy. Tourists did not believe any more in the security of Bali. The campaign to proclaim Bali as a safe place for tourists was intensified after the second bombing. The central government gave a 60 billion rupiah fund to the Bali provincial government to help it recover. The private sector such as Garuda Indonesia launched 10,000 free roundtrip tickets

to Bali, consisting of 5,000 tickets available for domestic and 5,000 for international flights.

While the European and Japanese tourist numbers did not fluctuate as much as those from Australia, the growth was significant after 2006. It is also interesting to look at the growth of Chinese tourists visiting Bali. The number of Chinese visiting Bali after 2005 almost doubled each year until 2008. However, Balinese consider Chinese tourists as "*turis tas kresek*" literally meaning "plastic bag tourists" indicating tourists with very low budgets for travel.

Since Bali is renowned as a cultural tourism destination, the growth of alternative tourism has encouraged the Balinese artisans to produce more innovative cultural products for tourist consumption and switch their orientation from religion to the tourist market. More importantly, as cultural tourism is no longer considered a niche market (Smith, 2003), the increase in demand provides an opportunity for Bali to gain a bigger market share in the industry. Given this emerging market, the production of traditional products alone is no longer sufficient, and therefore in order to innovate in the Balinese art and craft industries, it is necessary to be aware of market demand as well.

The development of contemporary Balinese culture has therefore been inseparable from tourism. Even though there is no clear definition of what tourists are, nonetheless, it could be said that tourism in Bali started from the sixth century. An ancient Chinese manuscript from the Tang Dynasty dated 618 A.D. related that Chinese pilgrims and traders sailed to the south, and found a place between Maluku and Java that had similar customs to those of the Javanese (Ardana, 2008). In modern times, the Balinese continue to engage with tourism, but in a more

commercialized way. Balinese culture continues to develop and is produced to serve both local needs and the tourist demand. While the first of these objectives is to fulfill socio-cultural needs, the second provides economic benefits for the local people. The Balinese, in turn, reinvest the dollars they get from tourism in the foundation of their culture, Hinduism.

Tourism contributes to Balinese life through several economic activities, as is reflected in the annual report issued by the Bali Statistics Agency. For a decade from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the Balinese economy grew significantly, supported by a tourism sector that was growing faster than agriculture, the main economic sector for the Balinese for centuries, following the growth in visits by foreign tourists to the island during this period (see figure 2.1a). Initially, the framework of development in Bali designed by the Indonesian central government in 1970s placed tourism as the second priority after agriculture. The reputation as a paradise for foreign tourists gained by the island in the 1930s and the support of the Suharto regime for maintaining this reputation allowed the Island of Bali to develop its tourism sector faster than planned. As a result, as can be seen in figure 2.1b, the number of direct tourist arrivals in Bali has been exceeding those of the country's capital of Jakarta since 1997. Of course, a political crisis in Indonesia followed by a riot in Jakarta in 1997 made that city less attractive for tourists to visit[7]. On the other side, the economic crisis in the country in 1997-98 had little impact on the tourism sector in Bali. To some extent, depreciation of the Indonesian currency helped this sector, as the prices in Bali became cheaper than other destinations with other

---

[7] Many of the ethnic Chinese rushed to Bali as they considered the island safer for them.

currencies. The tourists then continued to visit Bali instead of Jakarta due to safety considerations.

The largest sectors of tourism contributing to the Bali economy are in the formal sector like hotels, restaurants and travel agents. In 2008, there were 1,715 hotels in Bali consisting of 150 starred hotels with 20,240 rooms available and 1,565 non-starred hotels providing 19,849 rooms, of which about 90 percent were scattered in southern Bali. In the same year, the number of restaurants in the island reached 1,655, providing more than 80,000 seats, and the number of registered travel bureaux and agents rose to 572 companies. The picture is that these main sectors of the tourism economy have grown very fast since the Indonesian central government approved the development of the tourism sector in Bali for the first time in the 1970s. The hotel industry, for example, grew by up to 800% during the first decade of development, increasing from about 500 rooms in 1970 to more than 4,000 rooms available in 1980 (see Picard, 1996:57). The number continued to grow, so that in 1994 there were 86 starred hotels with 13,945 rooms and 1,088 non-starred hotels with 16,327 rooms available, despite an occupancy rate lower than 70%. There was also a government ban in 1991 on hotelier investors constructing new hotels in southern Bali due to uncontrolled growth and fierce competition (cf. Picard, 1996).

Despite the increase in foreign tourist visits after the recovery from the Bali bombing in 2002, there was a decrease in the room occupancy rate, which came down to 59% for the starred hotels and 32% for non-starred hotels in 2009. This was supposedly associated with some tourists' tendency to stay in cheap illegal accommodation in villas or lodging houses that proliferated in the new housing areas.

Table 2.3 Number and percentages of tourists from main regions to Bali, 2001-2008

Country / Region	2001 Arrivals	%	2002 Arrivals	%	2003 Arrivals	%	2004 Arrivals	%	2005 Arrivals	%	2006 Arrivals	%	2007 Arrivals	%	2008 Arrivals	%
Australia	283,857	17.60	183,389	14.26	107,386	10.81	267,338	18.15	249,520	18.05	132,789	10.51	205,205	12.29	313,111	15.72
The US	68,359	5.03	49,719	3.86	35,962	3.62	50,455	3.42	51,982	3.74	46,804	3.86	56,652	3.39	68,619	3.44
Europe	430,214	31.70	392,262	30.51	295,340	29.73	316,419	21.49	396,964	26.00	350,340	27.74	425,583	25.50	523,578	26.28
Japan	296,282	21.83	301,452	23.44	228,013	22.95	325,849	22.13	310,139	22.36	256,268	20.29	352,038	21.09	359,827	18.06
China	1,898	0.14	-n.a-	-n.a-	-n.a-	-n.a-	21,649	1.47	17,136	1.23	40,710	3.22	84,278	5.05	131,319	6.59
Southeast Asia	64,664	4.02	70,146	5.45	97,432	9.81	128,450	8.72	114,823	8.58	129,539	10.26	168,160	10.07	205,861	10.48
Taiwan	154,575	11.39	168,756	13.12	131,720	13.26	183,649	12.47	128,194	9.23	142,033	11.24	138,880	8.32	130,449	6.54
Overall tourist arrivals	1,356,774	100.00	1,285,642	100.00	993,185	100.00	1,472,191	100.00	1,388,984	100.00	1,262,537	100.00	1,668,531	100.00	1,992,299	100.00

Source: Bali in Figure 2006 & 2009

Figure 2.1a Direct Foreign Tourist Arrivals
to Bali, 1924-2011
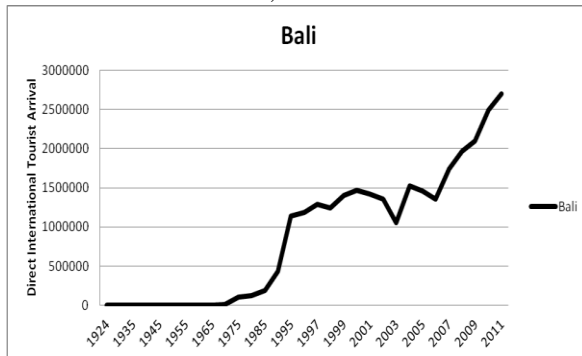
Bali

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik Bali (2011)

Figure 2.1b Comparison Tourist Arrivals to the
capital city of Jakarta, 1997-2008
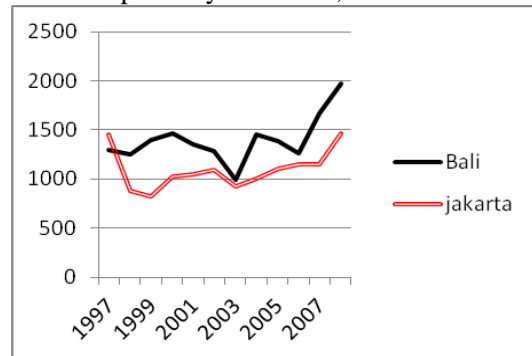
Source: Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia (2010)

On the other hand, the less formal sector such as craft or other cultural industries may contribute less to the formal economy, but provide more direct benefit to the local society. However, despite its importance to the local economy, it is quite difficult to examine this economic sector within a macroscopic development framework. These sectors are usually owned by the local people, featuring more labor-intensive businesses and are not run on scientific management principles. Moreover, the sector also involves a micro-level of business such as street vending that is difficult to organize formally. Unlike capital-intensive businesses, which commonly recruit employees based on high skill and/or particular qualification requirements, local businesses hire workers from among family members or the neighborhood. In this system, skill and qualifications do not appear the main consideration for a job, but instead, on-the-job training becomes necessary.

The presence of tourism on the island has partly led the main local livelihood moving from agriculture to craftsmanship and trade to meet the demands of tourism. This is particularly true in southern Bali where tourism activities are centered. A shortage of land due to the rapid growth of population as well as the progress of

47

tourism has often been blamed as a cause of this transformation through which Balinese are being forced to change from their traditional farming to serving the tourists (cf. Poffenberger & Zurbuchen, 1980). Such an argument may be right to some extent, but it is important to note in the Balinese case that this transformation is purely based on free will rather than compulsion[8]. This is because tourism provides a greater opportunity for a better livelihood. Some of the Balinese continue their traditional farming while undertaking craftsmanship as a side job, although the side job sometimes provides a better income. In this pattern, the Balinese families work their farmland in the morning and go home before noon to work on the side job, or they let relatives farm their land and split the harvest based on agreements made between the parties involved. Some others, for reasons of professionalism, decide to fully engage in craftwork, focusing on the tourist and export markets (Picard, 1996).

The economic value of tourism has grown faster in comparison with agriculture from the 1990s and this trend has persisted until recently. Tourism sector enterprises

Table 2.4a. The economy of agriculture and tourism in Bali, 1994-2001 (in million rupiahs)

Origin sectors	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Agriculture	**1,537,318**	**1,485,560**	**1,668,020**	**1,913,137**	**3,152,330**	**3,211,018**	**3,403,269**	**4,420,566**
Food crops	776,924	839,941	928,936	1,058,355	1,815,146	1,865,344	137,250	2,332,849
Estate crops	102,604	102,084	114,127	133,691	156,579	111,553	964,555	387,271
Livestock	337,104	366,967	420,286	521,940	883,424	898,799	1,145	1,118,101
Forestry	159	180	191	665	984	1,061	367,214	1,253
Fishery	140,527	176,388	204,479	198,486	295,796	334,261	367,214	581,091
Tourism	**1,954,148**	**2,260,405**	**2,654,032**	**3,018,903**	**4,124,181**	**4,542,147**	**5,479,792**	**6,044,396**
Trade	668,535	759,622	886,631	1,056,750	1,566,354	1,678,727	1,999,575	2,256,873
Hotel	787,754	929,465	1,097,401	1,172,628	1,487,005	1,675,874	2,135,612	2,268,281
Restaurant	497,859	571,317	670,000	789,525	1,070,822	1,187,546	1,344,606	1,519,241

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (1996-2010)

---

[8] In many cases, Balinese sold their land in tourist area as the land price as well as the land tax has soared. They then bought larger areas of peripheral land which were far from tourist areas or even bought new land in Java at a lower price.

Table 2.4b. The economy of agriculture and tourism in Bali, 2002-2009 (in million rupiahs)

Origin sectors	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Agriculture	**5,235,587**	**5,666,836**	**6,011,427**	**6,887,174**	**7,631,721**	**8,216,473**	**9,118,369**	**10,487,154**
Food crops	2,549,398	2,770,398	3,004,403	3,391,277	3,608,716	3,944,284	4,320,650	4,770,331
Estate crops	497,520	498,805	516,613	592,102	651,836	707,442	788,104	946,230
Livestock	1,392,890	1,435,696	1,468,573	1,792,733	1,988,967	2,182,548	2,441,377	2,957,511
Forestry	1,438	1,562	1,605	1,765	2,282	2,282	2,610	2,880
Fishery	794,342	960,375	1,020,232	1,109,297	1,379,919	1,379,919	1,565,627	1,810,202
Tourism	**6,817,628**	**7,439,345**	**8,452,945**	**9,968,548**	**10,797,664**	**12,242,743**	**14,472,978**	**17,271,573**
Trade	2,568,615	2,824,587	3,227,656	3,789,835	4,152,515	4,546,989	5,163,336	6,159,350
Hotel	2,428,482	2,536,820	2,833,374	3,356,277	3,544,984	4,147,235	5,037,756	5,978,882
Restaurant	1,820,531	2,077,938	2,391,915	2,822,437	3,100,165	3,548,519	4,271,886	5,133,341

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (1996-2010)

including trading, hotels and restaurant sectors represents more than half of the value generated by small industries, which also includes arts such as woodcarving, painting, silverware and batik. As shown in table 2.4a, the value of tourism in 1994 exceeded agriculture by around 27%, and stood at 58% higher in 1997 before it fell down to only 31% higher in 1998 under the impact of Indonesia's economy and political crises. In 2009, the value of tourism was 64% higher than that of agriculture, and it made up approximately 30% of Bali's total GDP, compared to 18% for agriculture (table 2.4b).

The growth of both the agriculture and tourism sectors in Bali, in fact, is a consequence of a change in the economy by which cash is more widely used in modern transactions. This became apparent after the central government introduced a "sustainable" development program called *Repelita* (*Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun*) or Five-Year Development Plan, starting in 1969. Soon after replacing President Sukarno, General Suharto introduced his "New Order" paradigm, which was politically different from the previous regime which he named the "Old Order."

He formalized the technocrat team in the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) in order to recover from the economic crises and accelerate national development. The agency acted to establish national development programs, and the first *Repelita* was successfully implemented from 1969 to 1974 with the assistance of the IMF and World Bank. Funded largely by foreign loans, particularly from donor countries associated with the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) formed in 1966, the first *Repelita* focused on agricultural revitalization in order to achieve food self-sufficiency and included support for the development of tourism as one of the major sources of foreign exchange.

Traditionally, the Balinese subsisted on rice cropping which was administered through a decentralized communal management system called *subak*, involving religious institutions chaired by the Balinese Hindu priests. The overall farming activities from planting to harvesting followed a fixed cycle based on the Balinese calendar, and they applied natural methods. Similar to the peasantry throughout the Southeast Asian region, traditional agriculture in Bali tended to provide sustenance for the local society rather than being oriented to exports (cf. Elson, 1997). The farm labor was paid for with rice; the good quality grains were kept as seed for the next planting cycle; and there was little pressure to intensify production for export. However, as Nordholt (1981) noted, there was an export of rice from Bali to Java and Singapore in 1825 because of surplus rice production in the island, but the trade was limited only to the Balinese rajas together with the Chinese and Buginese traders, and accounted for little of the rice producing land on Bali. The late

nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were considered the age of the peasantry in Southeast Asia (Elson, 1997).

However, the capitalized farming system imposed by the Dutch and the green revolution in Indonesia introduced by the central government in the 1970s, which the New Order regime continued to promote, brought about significant change in the life and livelihoods of the Balinese peasantry. The new agricultural system was market-driven and converted farming from subsistence to cash cropping in order to fulfill the demand from the export market. The temple-based water distribution system that the Balinese had adopted for centuries was replaced by a centralized irrigation bureaucratic model, with a tax collection system applied to the farmers. The most obvious impact of this new agricultural system was that people became more cash oriented because labor was no more paid for with the harvest, and the cash system created made it possible for the traders to buy the agricultural products before the harvest, a system called *ijon* (literally green, means immature). The *ijon* system often plunged the peasants into prolonged debt.

The green revolution continued the agriculture capitalization model with a massive capital investment in order to pursue the goal of national food self-sufficiency that was set in the first Five-Year Development Plan. Because the green revolution was a national program, it was implemented on a national scale, using a quantitative standard that neglected the local ways of farming and the religious rites accompanying them. It was, then, noticeable that the *subak* system was being radically transformed using a capital-intensive model. The seed for planting that previously been provided from the last harvest was replaced by superior seed

provided by the government agents and which had to be bought in cash. The water distribution that in the past was managed communally was replaced by the dams, their construction funded by foreign loan. More importantly, harmful pesticides became more popular than natural pest control since they provided quick solutions, which in turn has had an impact on the ecology. The green revolution, for sure, had success in increasing rice cash crop during its early implementation. However, the ecological damage caused by pesticide overuse, rice cultivation as the only crop and the green revolution assumption that agriculture was a technical process, as Lansing (2007) has noted, have become reasons for the gradual decline in Balinese rice productivity.

It is not coincidental that tourism came to life again in Bali at the same time that traditional agriculture in the island switched to cash cropping through the green revolution program after its absence for three decades due to political instability in Indonesia. While the first *Repelita* embodied tourism as a focus of national development, the central government recognized the Island of Bali as the main place to develop tourism in the country for the first time. The island had the foundations to develop tourism that the Dutch had established over several decades. In addition, there was the tourism infrastructure constructed in the Sukarno era, like the Bali Beach Hotel and the start of the international airport at Ngurah Rai. The green revolution failure in Bali was indicated by the slow growth of the economy. Finally, the decrease in rice production per capita in the early 1990s induced the Balinese to make more money from tourism revival. Although the Balinese belief system, as mentioned in the Veda, values farming as noble work, the speed of the development of tourism on the island has been attracting Balinese to enter the industry, which

offers various types of jobs. As a result, many villagers are migrating to tourism centers looking for easier jobs, such as security guards, cleaners, drivers and the like in order to gain a fixed income, abandoning the village farmland. Furthermore, the commercialization of Balinese culture in line with tourist demand is inevitable, generating a debate which has continued until very recently.

2.3. Debates on the sustainability of Balinese culture

The essence of developmental philosophy in Bali places culture as the central issue along with economic development as a means to improve social welfare. Tourism development and its synergy with the agriculture and handicraft sectors are thus seen as the economic development model for the island. With this, even as economic development is promoted, local tradition is maintained through cultural innovation in harmony with modern life. This reflects the Balinese faith that their culture is neither static nor ancient, but a living culture in a dynamic modern world. Culture development, therefore, reflects the available social and cultural capital, while economic development reflects the financial capital that supports the culture. Cultural capital in this context includes the philosophy of life, with Hinduism and the local wisdom as its essence, which ensures creativity to continue to produce the cultural products. The social capital arises from the institutions that exist within society and administer Balinese life such as the customary village (*desa pakraman*), the hamlet (*banjar*) and the system of *subak*, all manifesting a principal of voluntary mutual aid (*gotong royong*) and orderliness within society. Financial capital on the other hand, meets the modern needs of the Balinese to obtain economic prosperity and a better standard of living, which develop along with the growth of the tourism industry.

The Balinese see their culture as the primary capital available to develop the tourism industry, supported by the natural beauty of the island. This view has been voiced since 1968 and the first provincial government meeting to define the nature of tourism in Bali. Following this event, another seminar involving Balinese stakeholders was held in 1971 to strengthen the commitment to cultural tourism, as well as an assessment of its effects in terms of "cultural pollution." There were no less than five important seminars conducted between 1977 and 1979, one of them initiated by the central government, to discuss the best formula for cultural tourism in Bali. An official policy on cultural tourism development in Bali was finally launched in 1991, through the implementation of Provincial Regulation number 3, 1991. The regulation stated that cultural tourism in Bali should be developed in an environmentally friendly way, based on the Balinese concept of *trihita karana*, the three sources of happiness (Dalem, 2010). Culture in this sense covers humanity and all of its activities. This framework for tourism development aimed to capitalize on the local culture by selling its cultural products and experiences to the tourists.

In support of the unique culture that Balinese possess, it is widely accepted that they are warm-hearted, have a high tolerance of others, and welcome outsiders to come to the island. In short, always to be friendly is customary among the Balinese (Wikan, 1990). This characteristic is the most important form of social capital for cultural tourism, to make the visitors feel at home, and allow them to experience the local culture. To examine how important this condition is for tourism development, one can compare Bali with its nearest neighbor, Lombok Island, which one might predict could become a second paradise in Indonesia. The landscape of Lombok is

as beautiful as Bali and the culture is unique. Yet, historically, even though many Westerners visited both islands, only Bali was seen as exotic by the West. The West was interested enough in it to construct a complex images of the island, starting more than three centuries ago (cf. Vickers, 1989). Until very recently, nevertheless, tourism development in Lombok remained insignificant. Bali is still in the expansion stage in terms of the tourism life cycle, and the government probably has paid less attention to tourism in Lombok. Apart from these concerns, however, I assume that this is perhaps caused by the less open-mindedness of the people on Lombok to strangers, particularly the tourists. The fear of loss of tradition and cultural degradation has become the barrier to developing tourism in Lombok, as is also the case in West Sumatra. The local people of Lombok and West Sumatra are worried that tourism might disrupt their religious life since Muslims are majority in these regions, even though many people in Lombok are Balinese.

In Balinese society, there are almost no such barriers since the presence of tourists is seen as elevating the economy, and therefore supporting the vibrant culture as well as the religious ceremonies. The local society welcomes changes and innovation (cf. Putra, 2011) even while consistently keeping its tradition alive. This is particularly clear in the case of Balinese traditional fine arts. The traditional arts of Balinese are complex, religious in nature, and relatively difficult to understand for outsiders. However, since there are demands from the tourism industry for their art products and skills, Balinese, on the one hand, welcome innovation and adapt to these new economic markets. On the other hand, they continue to maintain the old traditions firmly among themselves. Of this amazing ability, Howe (2005:135) states

that "…Balinese are capable of distinguishing between performances for themselves and their gods and those staged specifically for tourists, that they know the boundary between what they can sell to tourists and what they must safeguard from commercial exploitation, and so avoid the problems of the commodification of culture." In short, the Balinese are conservative in relation to protecting and educating the family and the younger generation to continue the ancestral traditions – but they are liberal in association with outsiders.

However, the effects of materialism coming together with tourism may impede educating the next generation about Balinese tradition. As the Balinese welcome modifying their cultural product for tourist consumption, there are more and more new genres of art to be produced as modifications of the original ones. In order to fulfill their desire for a "modern" Western-style life, the Balinese youth prefer to learn the new genres rather than the original ones. The new genres have also been disseminated quickly and become popular through television programs linking cultural development and tourism. At the same time, the original art genres are becoming less popular among the younger generation, as they are rarely encountered, and therefore, require extra effort, particularly from government to preserve them[9].

Therefore, it is more appropriate to talk about art commercialization rather than cultural capitalization. Art is produced to promote a sense of beauty, though there also has to be a market to distribute it to the connoisseurs. When the market becomes the main concern, is it still art? Balinese, in fact, manufacture art based on

---

[9] Currenty the Bali provincial government launched projects for inventorying original Balinesetraditional and sacred dances that were almost disappearing. Documentations have been made not only by recorded them as documenter movie but also encourage academic society to make such documentations and contesting their outcome with each other for a prize.

the demands of the market without eliminating the issue of beauty. A modification to Balinese dance, presenting a short performance in comparison with an original one that normally lasts longer than three or four hours, is actually a response to tourist market demand. The presentation of the new product, nevertheless, does not dispense with the sense of beauty as the new dance performers today still consider important *taksu*, the inner desire to perform. In addition, the shift from the wooden banana trees that were very popular in Bali in the 1980s to the bird sculptures that are popular now can be explained by the Balinese craftsman's reaction to the tourists' need to enjoy a simple "authentic" carving rather than that a complicated one.

2.4. Identity, creativity, authenticity: Cultural tourism and touristic culture

Examining identity in Balinese society, similar to society everywhere in a global world, is very much to enter a complex terrain of paradoxes. In a connected world, identity is claimed locally, as people attempt to show the existence, quality and uniqueness of their culture, in the face of the progress of global popular culture. The Balinese zest to express their cultural identity, then, appears two-fold. Firstly, there is their status as part of Indonesia, as a Hindu minority in the biggest Muslim country in the world. Balinese present themselves as the last fortress of Hindu ideology within the Muslim majority country (Picard, 1996). Since Indonesian independence in 1945, the nation's official philosophy of *Pacasila* (five moral principles) states as its first principle the nation's belief in the one and only God, and this is supposed to cover all ethnic and religious groups throughout the country. Accordingly, the Balinese Hindus at first struggled to be officially recognized, as the Balinese Hindus worshipped many gods and ancestral spirits (cf. Yamashita, 2003).

The second way in which they expressed their cultural identity was by adopting tourism as an important sector in the Balinese economy. The post-war period was marked by the increasing use of former military airports for civil and commercial aviation. As a result, remote areas became easier to reach and new tourist destinations emerged. As the number of Western travelers increased, there has been rivalry between destinations to attract these tourists. Hence, a guarantee of authenticity is required as the tourists seek for something different, far away from their daily lives. Accordingly, tourism promotion demands uniqueness, and cultural identity that can be used display the specific character of a destination (Lanfant, 1995).

However, complete authenticity is a myth since culture constantly changes, either because the dynamics of society produce new ideas and technology, or because other cultures diffuse as a result of the movement of customs or ideas from one place to another. One the one hand, culture continues to change internally as the elements composing it develop dynamically to serve the needs of the society (cf. Munck & Korotayev, 2000). This dynamic change applies to the elements such as language, religion and belief, social institutions and cultural products as these evolve and adapt to the increasing maturity of a society. On the other hand, there is no single isolated society without any connection to other societies. Factors such as the economy, politics and religious missions have long linked societies. This corresponds to the statement of the anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss:

> Men have doubtless developed differentiated cultures as a result of geographical distance, the special features of their environment, or their ignorance of the rest of mankind; but this would be strictly and absolutely true only if every culture or society had been born and had developed without the slightest contact with any others. (1952:10).

It goes without saying that Balinese life and culture, in line with Lévi-Strauss's statement, have constantly been established and changed through perpetual contact with outside society. The arts, furthermore, have become the most dynamic element of Balinese culture since this cultural product directly touches on the Balinese economy through tourism. This means that Balinese arts develop along with the demand for "authenticity" from the tourists. It is evident that a majority of tourists do not see how the arts products offered to them have been modified from "tradition". Balinese traditional carving for instance, which the tourists perceive as authentic, and therefore consider as high quality art, has also been influenced by Chinese styles of carving. Yet, its original characteristics remain dominant so that the tourists, unless they are experts in oriental art, cannot distinguish this. The complex style of *Barong* carving was very popular in the 1970s to 80s as "authentic" Balinese carving. However, currently Balinese craftsmen produce work in a minimalist style in response to the market requirement for simple carving and sculpture, and the tourists continue to consider this new genre of artwork as "authentic."

In this context, the tourists' perceptions of authenticity are different from those of the Balinese. Tourists who visit for a short period remain far away from the harsher realities of the destination (cf. Urry, 1990). Tourists visiting the Island of Bali consider buildings with prism-shaped roof tiles, stone carved ornaments and red brick walls as authentic Balinese buildings. On the other hand, the Balinese view of an authentic house refers to the traditional houses in very remote areas, visited by ethnographers but probably beyond the reach of tourists. As soon as the ethnographers bring to light the shape of traditional Balinese houses, there is a new

demand from the tourism industry to use this discovery as a tourist attraction[10]. As a result, a traditional settlement in the upland village of Penglipuran, in Bangli regency has been reconstructed to suit the tourists' need for amenities, without removing its original architectural essence which is seen as "authenticity."

The "traditional" settlement project in Penglipuran village shows how tourism brings together cultural and economic benefits for the local people. For sure, this project neither reflects the overall landscape of Bali, nor people's lives in the village of Penglipuran. The village is one of the oldest Balinese villages inhabited by the Bali Aga ethnic group, an ethnic group that is considered to be aboriginal, pre-dating the Majapahit Kingdom. At the time when the project was approved in 1992, not only the architecture and infrastructure had to be prepared, but also the local people of the village and the neighboring area had to be trained to welcome the tourists. Even in this development, some architectural features such as the traditional house gate or *angkul-angkul* were adopted from southern Bali since they were considered to be more familiar to the tourists. In short, there have been changes to the original architecture, landscape and social system which is now staged for the tourists. Although this spatial transformation has been criticized as "cultural pollution" of the indigenous society, nevertheless, this critique is not accepted unanimously. There is a contrary school of thought like that of Michel Picard, who said:

> It should be clear by now that tourism had neither polluted Balinese culture, nor brought about its renaissance, but rendered the Balinese self-conscious of their

---

[10] The anthropologists Margaret Meads and Gregory Bateson, for instance, visited and worked in Bayung Gede village, formerly spelled Bajoeng Gede, a small settlement in Kintamani, because of its relatively small in population size and its distance from the Indic influence (Jacknis, 1988). Currently, Bayung Gede is visited by many tourists and it is not surprising anymore to see a *warung* (small grocery shop) owner in the village speak in English.

Figure 2.2a Traditional Balinese house   Figure 2.2b Common urban style building in Bali

Source: Field research   Source: Field research

culture: thanks to tourism the Balinese realize they posses something valuable called "culture." And as it grew valuable in Balinese eyes, their culture became distant and concrete, turning into an object detachable from themselves, which could be represented and copied, marketed and exchanged, at will." (Picard, 1995:60-61).

Similar to Picard's statement is that of Mason, who mentions Bali as a good example of the impact of tourism in developing countries:

> The Indonesian island of Bali provides a good example of both the gains and problems that can arise from tourism development in a destination located in a developing country. Since tourism began to grow in importance in the 1960s, a significant number of jobs have been created. These have been in the relatively obvious categories of hotel workers and bar staff, but also in perhaps less obvious areas such as boat hire, cycle hire and repair, car and motorcycle hire, food and drink selling and souvenir making and selling. Tourism is also said to have revived the arts and crafts activities of painting and wood carving, as well as the introduction of new arts activities, including batique making. (Picard 2003:36).

Picard's statement clearly depicts what has occurred in Penglipuran as well as throughout the entire island, as a reflection of the rise of cultural tourism and touristic culture. Tourists ask for authenticity given that they seek something different from their daily lives by travelling to remote places far from their own homes. The hosts see these demands and move to serve them by promoting the cultural uniqueness they have. Identity, therefore, becomes an effective promotional

61

Figure 2.3 Frameworks to investigate identity, creativity and authenticity

```
                    ┌──────────────────────┬──────────────────────┐
                    ↓                       ↓                      ↓
                Identity               Creativity             Authenticity
                    │                       │                      │
                    ↓                       ↓                      ↓
         Featuring the unique of    Capability to develop     Tourism industry
          culture and tradition  ←→ innovative cultural  ←→     requirement
                                        product
```
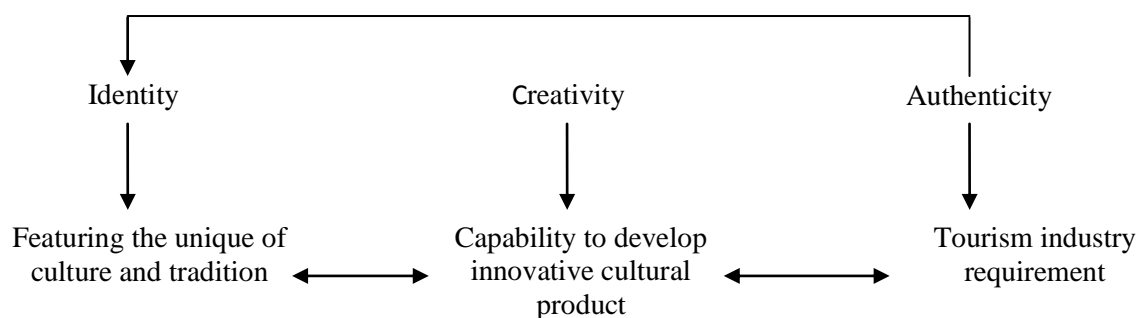
Source: The author

tool to distinguish their culture from others. In the case of tourism in Bali, the Balinese attempt ambivalently to keep tourism and culture in balance, by distinguishing culture for spectators from that for themselves. Furthermore, cultural products, particularly the artworks, continue to be manufactured for two different markets. Creativity plays an important role in the creation of innovative cultural products in both markets. The Balinese as a society are remarkably blessed with mastery in art and craftsmanship since they have been engaged in this work for centuries. The presence of tourism in the island has, in turn, has revived the Balinese consciousness of their ability to produce something that is both economically advantageous and at the same time beneficial to their culture.

Authenticity, furthermore, is necessary but not sufficient to make the tourism products valuable to tourists. In the craft market as for instance, the product to be sold should fit both the tourists' imagination and impressions. It is a common tradition that Balinese welcome their guest by presenting dance in the same way they welcome their gods. This tradition fulfills the tourists' imagination of visiting paradise. However, in order to provide a more in-depth impression of a welcome,

the dancers now also give garlands of flowers to the guests. This is very much a Hawaiian way to welcome guests, which was not recognized in the Balinese tradition (cf. Couteau, 2005). On the other side, the fact that cultural enrichment takes place should not affect its identity as "Balinese." Silverware and silk products are good examples of the use of the Bali label and trademark. The handmade silver jewelry manufactured in the village of Celuk in Sukawati district, renowned as part of the Ubud tourist area, is currently produced based on foreign designs. The traditional Balinese designs are less salable in the tourist market, but the tourists still consider the goods as originating from Bali. The silk products are similar. The Balinese, in point of fact, do not produce silk by themselves. Yet, silk is one of the commodities traded in Ubud. The silk cloth is imported mainly from China and Thailand, but the finished product is manufactured in Bali and labeled as Bali-made. The design comes from foreign designers who have a better understanding of the market, but without eliminating the elements of Balinese style. On the other hand, the traditional authentic Balinese *ikat* cloth receives little attention from the tourists, given that its price is too high as a souvenir, and its rigid and coarse texture make it inconvenient for use. Therefore, the production of traditional *ikat* is mostly directed to the local market for ceremonial purposes.

No less interesting are the famous wooden and stone carvings of Mas and Batubulan villages. The most salable wooden carvings for furniture are those imported from Java, particularly Jepara town in Central Java. Jepara carvings are a refined minimalist style of furniture products which are suitable for the currently popular minimalist house design. The price of a Jepara carving is a tenth of that of a

Balinese style carving which is aesthetically complex and costly in terms of labor. When the tourists buy furniture in Bali, they consider it as originally made by Balinese, and therefore, as an authentic Balinese product. In the case of the stone carvings displayed along the main road in the village of Batubulan, most are manufactured in Java. The main market is Australians, who proudly put their "Bali statues" in their Bali style gardens. There are also the sandstone products for wall decoration manufactured in Java and exported to the Middle East. The products are designed by foreigners, but use Bali for branding.

2.5. Destination management

Similar to agricultural development, the massive tourism development in Bali was initiated by the central government without any local involvement in the planning. It is clear that the economic motive to generate foreign exchange was the main purpose of this development. As a part of planning process, the central government hired the Société Centrale pour I'Equipment Touristique Outre-Mer (SCETO), a French tourism consultancy team, none of whom knew Bali and the Balinese, to survey the benefits and impact of developing tourism in Bali. In order to maximize tourism receipts and minimize the impact of tourism on the local society, SCETO then suggested that the Indonesian government should develop an enclave tourist resort, and the Nusa Dua coastal area was the most appropriate place according to their survey (see Picard, 1996:45-48). At the time of planning, Nusa Dua was an area of rural bush land with little cultural importance, which presumably had intentionally been left uninhabited, as Balinese culture sees the coast as an area dominated by

demons. This made it possible to develop a luxurious private tourist area that was relatively isolated from the local culture and life.

Historically, tourist resort development in Bali displaying a community-based tourism concept began for the first time at Sanur. Although limited tourist accommodation had been established before Indonesia's independence and the construction of the Bali Beach Hotel in 1964 had become the cornerstone of tourism, it is considered that the development by the local community was initiated in the late 1960s in response to the scramble to expand tourism. As Picard (1996) has documented, tourism development in Sanur was separate from the master plan proposed by the SCETO, and the government allowed the private sector to participate thoroughly. The first obvious impact was the growth of rampant capitalist tourist accommodation management with little benefit for the local society. The local authority of Sanur village, which administers three cultural villages called Sanur, Intaran and Penyaringan, implemented a community-based tourism project. Yayasan Pembangunan Sanur (YPS), a foundation established by Sanur in 1966 whose members were local community leaders consisting of the village headman, castle representatives, cultural representatives and the religious leader, carried out the project in 1971. The foundation was born out of concern for the local society at a time when political and ideological crises threatened the harmony of Balinese life. Empowering the local people, the project offered tourism services like canoe rental and a restaurant, as well as traditional art performances and exhibitions of painting and sculpture (Picard, 1996). In addition, the foundation also pressured tourist entrepreneurs who run hotels and restaurants in the Sanur area to hire local people as

40% of their workforce. It also contributed to local development not only through tax payments, but also through empowering voluntary village art associations (*seka kesenian*). During its development, tourism in Sanur grew slowly during the 1990s due to obsolete facilities, little innovation, and of course, the rapid growth of Kuta and Nusa Dua as the rising tourist destinations in the island. In response to this problem, YPS launched a new tourism program called the Sanur Village Festival, an annual festival that started in 2006, besides encouraging tourist entrepreneurs to reform their businesses. Since Bali tourism organizations were aggressively promoting tour packages to domestic travelers, Sanur became the first place for groups of domestic tourists from Java to visit by bus, usually arriving in Sanur at dawn. These groups, most of them Javanese Moslems, carry out their morning prayers once they arrive in Sanur where there is a mosque, big enough in term of size, with a mixture of Islamic and Hindu architecture. The mosque is located about five minutes on foot from Sanur beach. Before continuing to visit other places in Bali, the tourists enjoy the sunrise on the beach, watching a fishing boat, which is

Figure 2.4 Fishing boats attraction in Sanur Beach
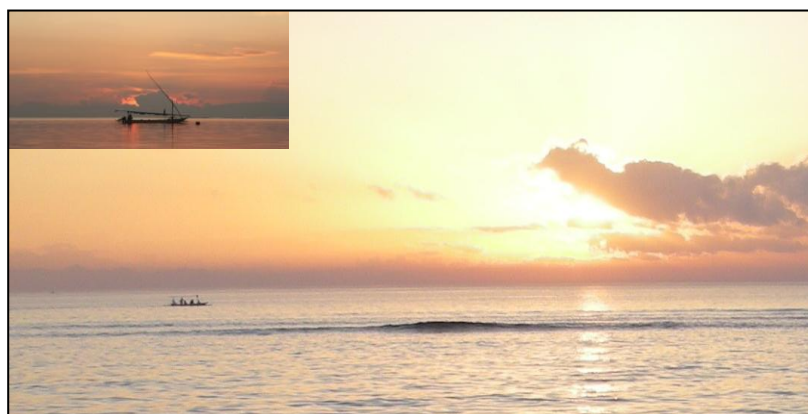
Source: Field research

actually paid as an attraction, sail by, passing the point where the sun and its reflection on the water appear together (Figure 2.4). This has now become a common attraction as part of the tour packages for domestic tourists from Java[11].

The tourist resorts further expanded to the Kuta area where the mass tourist market was made up at first by a wave of hippies and backpacker tourists whose limited budget prevented them from staying in Sanur or Denpasar. As prior to the tourism development Kuta was a less prosperous area with a weak cultural tradition compared to Sanur, this "new species" of tourists immediately found a new paradise in Bali to satisfy their needs. As a matter of fact, Kuta is a beautiful place with a strategic geographical position from which to see the sun set, and offering a wide range of night life attraction from dusk until midnight. Later, some of the Balinese made a living by working as intermediaries connecting backpacker tourists with cheap local accommodation, assisting the local entrepreneurs to manage and market their accommodation and restaurants, or marrying local people in order to stay longer in Bali. Many of them eventually set up their own tourist businesses for this particular market after saving enough money. As foreigners took a dominant role in the tourism development process in Kuta, the area developed a different character from other tourist spots on the island. Picard depicts this process clearly as follows:

> [D]ue to the presence of growing numbers of long-term travelers and to the population's desire to draw some profit from them, one can detect three stages in the launching of Kuta as a tourist resort. The first ran from circa 1970 to 1973, and it entailed a spontaneous local movement propelled by individual or family initiatives. Villagers built pavilions (*homestays*) for tourists in their family court yard, and several inexpensive guesthouses (*losmen*) appeared. Restaurants, clothing shops and souvenir stalls opened everywhere, as well as services such

---

[11] This has also become a daily attraction for tourists who stay at hotels along the Sanur beach.

as tailors and bicycle rentals. Most of the local entrepreneurs, who had neither capital nor special skills, considered their participation in the rise of tourism a secondary activity which brought additional income to that earned from farming and fishing…

It was in 1973 that Kuta truly became a beach resort area. Its success drew the attention of Indonesian investors… Land prices by the beach soared and hotels sprang up along the coast. The urbanization of the area accelerated with the proliferation of boutiques, travel agencies, motorbike rental shops and restaurants.

Development emerged along two parallel markets. One was dedicated to the growing tourist clientele lured by Kuta's laid-back image and low price – a market that was becoming institutionalized, financed and managed by professionals from outside the region. The other was controlled by the villagers and starting to feel the competition from Indonesian investors; but they continued nevertheless to provide survivors of the hippie wave – augmented now by American and Australian surfers…

Starting in 1976, the local entrepreneurs' position was strengthened by the interest some of the early travelers showed for the pleasures of life in Kuta, and who sought a way of setting up there by going into business. In a number of cases, they formed partnership with their former hosts…. (1996:78-79)."

Until recently, Kuta was still attractive to some budget tourists enjoying beautiful beaches and a brisk night life while seeking opportunities to run businesses in Bali. One of the respondents I interviewed was an Eastern European, who had stayed for five months in Kerobokan Village, a new emerging urban area about five kilometers to the North of Kuta. He lived with my other respondent, a non-Balinese freelance tourist guide who was also his business partner, in a medium-size house rented for less than $300 per month. At the time of my field research in 2010, he had already had two crepes stalls located on the terrace of two convenience stores in Kuta and was planning to open his next stall in Sanur. In this business, his Indonesian partner held all the business licenses needed to avoid bureaucratic problems.

While the tourism development in Kuta is a result of the local initiative encountering outsider inspiration, the development of the 350-hectare size Nusa Dua

resort is a formal development, inaugurated by the central government in order to respond to the speed of tourism growth in Bali. As previously mentioned, prior to the tourist resort development the spot was an uninhabited area. The name Nusa Dua came from the two small islands (literally Nusa means island; Dua means two) to the southeast of the main island that are separated by white sand from the mainland. After the SCETO master plan for the Nusa Dua resort area in 1971, the Indonesian government appointed Pacific Consultants International (PCI) to conduct a feasibility study on the structure, environment, transportation, water supply and sewage, and the architectural design for the area from 1971 to 1973 using World Bank funds. The operational management of the Nusa Dua resort was delegated to the Bali Tourism Development Corporation (BTDC), a government-owned corporation established in 1972. Since then, the BTDC has gathered investors to develop facilities and infrastructure for luxury tourism such as the golf course, an eight-hectare shopping center and a convention center. The first investor was Garuda Airways, building the Nusa Dua Beach Hotel in 1981. It was followed by other investors who built five-star hotels, including the Sheraton, Westin, Hyatt and Hilton up to 1987. There are now eleven five-star hotels providing 3,875 rooms in the Nusa Dua resort area, attracting 40% of the total foreign tourists on Bali Island.

Ubud, however, is considered as the newest tourist resort, following the three previous resorts. Although there were many foreign visitors to Ubud in the 1920s, the colonial government established the capital city of Denpasar as the main tourist resort and the Bali Hotel was the most common accommodation for tourists in transit before travelling throughout the island. Unlike the previous resorts, the

initiators of tourism in Ubud were members of the royal family with their openness to Westerners and the development of literature and the arts. In addition, Ubud is positioned differently from the earlier resorts, and offer alternatives to beach tourism. Ubud presents mountain-based tourism featuring the unique lifestyle of the Balinese village. Cultural attractions and the splendor of court ceremonies have become the distinguishing events attracting tourists to visit. The beautiful landscape of paddy field terraces that is prevalent in Ubud provides a different travelling experience. As one can see in Tegallalang village in the Ubud tourist area, a restaurant overlooks terraces, complete with a peasant carrying bamboo baskets walking along the embankment of the field leading to the restaurant. The peasant, a local hired by the restaurant, brings with him coconut leaf hats to be offered to the guests of the restaurant at the price of $6. He also brings some young coconuts and sells them to the restaurant, reinforcing the image that the coconut drinks provided by the restaurant are fresh from the surrounding natural environment. This unique village life provides a firm basis for touism promotion, and Ubud has been made popular by many writers through their publications on the region. International

Figure 2.5 A restaurant in Tegallalang village with rice field terrace view

Source: Field research

events like the Ubud Writer and Reader Festival organized by an Australian have also strengthened its position as a cultural destination. This festival is even more popular in Australia than the Bali Art Fiesta, the biggest cultural event in Bali held annually, displaying not only art and cultural products from Bali, but also some from other places in Indonesia and other countries. Furthermore, in order to control the speed of tourism development, a non-government organization named Yayasan Bina Wisata was formed with a board dominated by the royal family members, reflecting the strong influence of the Ubud palace over the local society.

Currently, there are about 15 tourist resorts scattered in the nine regions of Bali. Before the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, tourism policy and management were integrated under the coordination of the Bali provincial government. To some of the Balinese intelligentsia including experts in tourism and culture, this administration was an ideal way to manage the Island of Bali as a unity. However, with the enforcement of the regional autonomy law in Indonesia since 1999, the management of Bali as an island tourist destination was complicated as whether the right to manage should now be delegated to the city or regency level authorities. The aim of this law was actually to strengthen community-based development, but its implementation has in turn been creating new emerging "small kingdoms" in Indonesia. The effect of this new regulation in Bali is striking: the autonomous regions compete against each other to gain a bigger portion of the tourism cake. As a result, the integrated program established to synchronize the development encompassing the three sectors of agriculture, tourism, and handicrafts has become disorganized since it was converted into a tourism business. Given this

triangular developmental concept, agriculture including forestry was the primary

focus of development, followed by tourism and small-size handicraft industries. In

this regard, it is interesting to note a comment from the Japanese anthropologist

Shinji Yamashita, an expert on Bali:

> Through the implementation of decentralization in Indonesia, the Balinese have been inadvertently returning to their old political system in which political power was divided between several kingdoms, each competing for greater authority. (Freely translated from personal interview, 2 December 2010).

The enactment of the decentralization regime in Bali has also been criticized in

terms of wealth inequalities and its distribution. In times when tourism was

administered centrally by the provincial government, every region with a tourism

surplus was forced to share its revenue with the regions with deficits. Through this

regulation, Badung regency, for instance, was required to re-distribute about 30% of

its total tourism revenue (Picard, 1996). This is particularly applicable to the regions

in southern Bali like Badung and Gianyar as well as the capital city of Denpasar,

where most of the tourist resorts were located and which gained larger revenues

from tourism than other regions on the island. Progress in tourism is primarily

caused by the tourist infrastructure development and investment that are centralized

Table 2.5 Infrastructure and wealth distribution in 2008.

Regency	Telephone Capacity (unit)	Five star hotels	Non-starred hotels & accommodations	Restaurants	Registered travel agent	Percentage of poor people (%)
1. Jembrana	4,740	0	65	133	0	9.9
2. Tabanan	11,812	3	71	78	4	7.5
3. Badung	39,796	85	364	635	221	4.3
4. Gianyar	23,569	14	414	243	29	6.0
5. Klungkung	6,557	3	46	28	0	9.1
6. Bangli	3,175	0	30	43	1	7.5
7. Karangasem	3,517	6	178	99	3	9.0
8. Buleleng	14,806	9	162	63	2	8.7
9. Denpasar	99,884	30	235	333	312	2.1

Source: BPS Bali (2009)

in these regions. Table 2.5 illustrates infrastructure, investment and wealth distribution in Bali in 2008. However, this implementation of decentralization gave the regencies wide-scale autonomy and independence from each other without any direct command line from the provincial government. The situation has widened the inequalities between regions, confirming what Picard said about tourism development in Bali at the time of Indonesian reform, as "determining more and more who in Bali is rich and who is not" (2003:112).

In accordance with the regional spatial plan, granting autonomy to the city and regency level authorities in Bali has harmed inter-regional coordination. Referring to the concept of Bali as a single integrated tourist destination, it should be the role of the provincial government to organize and review, as well as approve the feasibility of tourist accommodation and development of facilities.

Currently, there are many new tourist-related facilities developing on areas that were previously farmland due to the inter-regional competition to gain greater revenues from tourism. The situation is a consequence of premature autonomy in which the head of the regency seemingly becomes a local king, with unlimited authority throughout the region. Even though every local regulation should conform to the higher-level regulations, i.e. at the national and provincial levels, there are always gaps between them which can be manipulated for their own ends by the local wealthy elite. The impact of this is obvious: the amount of tourist accommodation has soared significantly, while agriculture has declined. The rapid construction of tourist accommodation, particularly starred hotels, has resulted in various problems including increasing demand for water. With limited water supply, it is a logical

consequence that the demand from the tourism industry will take precedence over the local people as the tourists pay more for this resource. A further impact is seen in ecological problems such as seawater intrusion because of the groundwater drilling to cope with the reduced availability and increasing price of the water supply. As a result, demands to bring tourism management back to the provincial government reverberate through critiques in both the media and in seminars on tourism in Bali. It seems that the political system has to play an important role in solving this problem. Picard expresses this dilemma as follows:

> Now, the solutions advocated in order to promote a truly "sustainable tourism" (*pariwisata berkelanjutan*) in Bali revolve around the need for an adequate planning and controlling of tourism development. This implies both political will and legal authority from the provincial government to develop tourism in the interest of Balinese people, whose participation should be promoted and given priority over foreign investors. Moreover, most incomes and taxes earned from the tourism industry should accrue to Bali instead of being siphoned off to Jakarta. (2003:112).

However, even after the political reforms have been implemented for more than decade, there is no significant change, particularly over the taxes and incomes earned from the tourism industry, which flow to Jakarta and overseas. Capital inflow continues to be dominated and controlled by non-Balinese investors. The only change is that the actors who control capital investment in Bali are no longer Suharto's cronies but new players within the new circles of political power.

2.6. Conclusion

The economic transformation in Bali from agriculture to tourism was not simply a matter of A better livelihood offered by the new sector. It was a complex process involving not only the local religious and customary institutions, but also a process

driven by the successive political powers that have ruled this tiny island. As they became increasingly involved in a money-based economic system after the island fell to the Dutch in the early 20th century, the Balinese have been trying to gain a more stable and fixed livelihood, working as weekly or monthly-paid employees, including casual laborers in the tourism sector. To optimize the benefits for the local people, tourism in Bali has been directed towards cultural tourism as it offers Balinese culture for tourists to consume. However, the way to present Bali as a cultural tourism destination has evolved through a long process of debate, involving local, national and international stakeholders and viewpoints.

As the Balinese have defined tourism in their land as cultural tourism, the debate about Balinese identity has come to the surface. The campaigns to keep Balinese identity alive are not merely to maintain the existence of the Balinese as a minority ethnic in the Indonesian state, but also a way to strengthen the positioning of the island as a cultural tourist destination. There are many slogans generated by the Bali government admonishing the Balinese to be creative, to be culturally aware, and to use the local language as a symbol of their pride in their cultural identity.

Tourism management in Bali is hampered by a lack of coordination between regions due to the implementation of administrative decentralization in Indonesia. Each region has an independent policy to exploit tourism and its potential. Prior to decentralization, tourism coordination involved the provincial government, the Bali Tourism Board and cultural experts and academicians providing input for tourism-related policies. Decentralization has therefore reduced the level of tourism coordination in Bali, a problem which needs to be addressed in the future.

Chapter 3

Cultural Tourism in Bali

In order to examine the research problem, of *whether to use the arts or tourism as the main strategy in developing Balinese cultural products*, this chapter discusses the main theories and literature on cultural tourism in general and cultural tourism in Bali in particular. More specifically, this chapter addresses research question 1, 3 and 4 and the framework for describing cultural tourism involving the arts as a tourism product, together with innovation and the adoption of marketing strategies to encourage sustainability in tourism development. This chapter will also describe tourism development in the study area of Ubud and the future of cultural tourism on the Island of Bali.

3.1. Cultural tourism development

Rapid technological innovation has reduced the cost of travelling, and remote areas are now becoming more accessible. At the same time, improving living standards have increased the disposable incomes available to people, resulting in more expenditure on leisure. The greater time available for leisure may be linked to the increase in flexible work patterns, the reduced weekly hours of work, and the wide use of standard operating procedures in the workplace. The combination of these factors in turn made tourism the fastest growing industry during the late 20th century. Over the next decade, it has been predicted that East Asia and the Pacific may increase their share of the tourism market to 25 percent, with the main contribution being that of China (Hitchcock, King & Parnwell, 2009). It is also important to note that the growing global population has created a huge potential market for the

tourism industry (Moutinho, Ballantyne & Rate, 2011). Therefore, as the demand for tourism escalates exponentially, the industry continues to emerge as a new economic force, leading to fierce competition. As a result, these competitors in the industry try to search for other opportunities in the market, taking advantage of the emerging segment of more educated and wealthier people, leading to cultural tourism.

Cultural tourism has developed along with the rapid growth in the main tourist market (Schouten, 2007). There is evidence of an increasing number of older and younger more educated travelers during the last two decades creating a demand for art and cultural tourism (Munsters & Klumbis, 2005).

Cultural tourism as a growing sector of tourism has quickly attained popularity for at least two reasons. Firstly, it is considered as not depleting or distorting natural resources as it uses culture as a resource – an unlimited resource based on human creativity – and therefore, it is viewed as the most suitable form of tourism with regard to sustainable tourism development. To be sure, exploring and exploiting cultural tourism in appropriate ways is necessary, not only in order to maintain the value of the culture, but also considering the carrying capacity of the destination. Although culture is the main resource for cultural tourism, there are of course uses of natural resources such as water for tourist needs, which cannot be avoided. The second reason is that tourism undoubtedly encourages sociocultural change and the development of the destination in order to keep up with changes in the wider environment. In this sense, one should consider culture as an entity that is neither static nor develops in a vacuum. Instead, in most cases, it changes continuously with or without the presence of tourism. Cultural transformation in a society takes place

following global fashions, and is greatly influenced by technology, especially telecommunications such as television and the internet. The presence of cultural tourism can also generate a sense of identity, of belonging and of community among the local society (Girard, 2008). Thus, on the supply side of the industry, it stimulates the local people to maintain traditions and produce new forms of culture, thus increasing the number of attractions (Constantin, 2008). On the demand side, cultural tourism can also be used as an effective tool to control the behavior of tourists. Like visiting the Vatican, tourists entering a Balinese temple should follow the rules of the site by wearing appropriate clothing. This, even though tourists are considered as escaping from their home culture, it does not mean that they can ignore the values of a particular tourist destination.

Although globalization is widely thought to result in modernization, the Balinese used it as inspiration in reinventing their traditions in relation to tourism. It is a fact that Balinese society has fast changed into a modern society triggered by the process of globalization (cf. Vicker, 2003). Such reinvention allows the Balinese to maintain their ethnic identity within the archipelago, while at the same time producing arts for the tourist market, as they move away from agriculture to tourism as their main occupation. Indeed, it is the income from tourism which has made Bali one of the wealthiest parts of the country, and has provided the capital for this cultural reinvention, with new technology, more lavish productions, and more use of the new media[12]. The province has the second lowest level of poverty in the country

---

[12] This situation shows the fast economic growth due to the speed of tourism development in the island during the 1990s. Until 1990, Bali was only ranked 11th of 27 provinces in terms of average economic growth per capita, with a growth rate below the average for Indonesia (Hill, 2000:237).

Table 3.1 Regions of 33 provinces of Indonesia with poverty below 10 percent

No	Province	Poor as percentage of population (%)				
		2011	2010	2009	2008	2007
1	DKI Jakarta	3.75	3.48	3.62	4.29	4.61
2	Bali	4.20	4.88	5.13	6.17	6.63
3	South Kalimantan	5.29	5.21	5.12	6.48	7.01
4	Bangka Belitung	5.75	6.51	7.46	8.58	9.54
5	Banten	6.32	7.16	7.64	8.15	9.07
6	Central Kalimantan	6.56	6.77	7.02	8.71	9.38
7	East Kalimantan	6.77	7.66	7.73	9.51	11.04
8	Riau Island	7.40	8.05	8.27	9.18	10.30
9	Riau Province (excluding island)	8.47	8.65	9.48	10.63	11.20
10	North Sulawesi	8.51	9.10	9.79	10.10	11.42
11	West Kalimantan	8.60	9.02	9.30	11.07	12.91
12	Jambi	8.65	8.34	8.77	9.32	10.27
13	West Sumatra	9.04	9.50	9.54	10.67	11.90
14	North Maluku	9.18	9.42	10.36	11.28	11.97
	INDONESIA	**12.49**	**13.33**	**14.15**	**15.42**	**16.58**

Source: BPS Indonesia (2012)

(Table 3.1). These percentage figures are, nevertheless, politically defined and do not reflect the real extent of poverty. Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS), the Indonesian government's Statistical Institute, uses a lower standard to define the poverty threshold than international standards. While the World Bank, for instance, defines the poor as those with purchasing power parity of about US$2 per day per capita, the poverty threshold used by the BPS is around 8,000 rupiahs, equal to less than US$1 per day per capita. This means that if the government followed the World Bank standard, the number of poor in Indonesia would be more than double.

Until to this point in the discussion, we have considered the mutual benefits between tourism and culture. Cooper *et al*. (2008) note that the role of tourism in

Economic growth in this sense is considered to have a close positive link to poverty reduction (Dollar & Kraay, 2001:72).

cultural change is likely to be secondary rather than primary. While culture and tradition are alive and change along with the natural evolution of society, the presence of the tourists in the destinations is temporary and even seasonal. This indicates that change in a society and its culture tends to be influenced by internal rather than external factors. Tourism therefore fosters cultural development together with the process of creativity within a society. Furthermore, it may be better to re-conceptualize the notion of a "living museum" as staged authenticity or a process of "museumization" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2004) to suit the purposes of business and political interests in tourist destinations.

A contrary point of view has nevertheless presented in the tourism-culture debate. Macleod (2004) argues that the influence of tourism on the indigenous culture is strong, particularly on a small community. While Cooper *et al.* (2008) believe that tourism can be a positive factor for encouraging a society's creativity rather than considering it as a new type of colonialism, it is still evident that tourism can moved a destination towards the global capitalist economy. As direct foreign capital investment flows in, local people may become second-class residents. More specifically, the increasing number of tourists who are willing to interact directly with the host community has increasingly led to intensive interpersonal communication between the hosts and the visitors (Macleod, 2004). As such, cultural identity may be eroded (Mason, 2003), because the tourists, who come mainly from more developed countries, will dominate the interaction and position the hosts as subordinates. Similarly, Crang (2004) argues that tourism as a form of globalization has tended to diminish the local culture and promote cultural homogenization.

Once the tourists come to a destination, the host community is inevitably engaged in the process of tourism development (Macleod, 2004). Cooper *et al.* (2008) imply that society is not a static entity and hence, the host community appreciates the presence of tourists, mainly in terms of the economy (Mason, 2003). As it is conventionally accepted that tourism is a coin with a positive impact on the one side and costs on the other, it is important to assess the impact of cultural tourism by examining the type of tourists, the hosts' characteristics and the interaction between the two (Mason, 2003). Addressing this issue, it is also beneficial to discuss the pivotal role of cultural resources for tourism and the contribution of tourism to cultural development in the tourism context.

Cultural resources, both tangible and intangible, influence the tourists' motives and appreciation of, as well as their activities in, the destination (Jansen-Verbeke & Lievois, 2008). The cultural resources available should be in harmony with the tourists' range of activities and experiences in order to develop a successful cultural destination. Swarbrooke (1999:307) identifies fourteen cultural resources that have potential for tourism: these include religious sites, language, architecture, arts, traditional crafts, traditional sports and games, special holidays, traditional food and drinks, popular culture, historic events and famous people, heritage attractions, festivals and special events, and industry and commerce-related sites. These resources, however, are not necessarily just an attraction for the tourists. Prideaux and Timothy (2008:3) mention that "tourism works best when uniqueness becomes a point of differentiation from competitors and creates an experience that is marketable…" According to this view, there is a set of conditions required in order

to make the cultural assets marketable for tourism: they have to be noticeable by others, consumable, unique, robust, attractive and accessible (McKercher & du Cros, 2002:33). Moreover, the role of local people is undeniably important to give life to these cultural resources. Richard (2007:271) mentions the central role of the local people in cultural festivals in terms of the long voluntary working hours they spend in the performance. He gives the example of the Festa Major de Gracia in Barcelona, where the local people, including 300 workers for street decorations alone, spent more than 20,000 hours of voluntary labor. Similarly, cremation rituals in Bali can employ hundreds or even thousands of local volunteers for around seven days of preparation.

Tourism, reciprocally, provides benefits for the development of the economy, culture and local society (Prideaux & Timothy, 2008). The economic benefits generated from tourism substantially drive cultural and social development in the tourist destination area. The income from tourism can also be positive in reviving local identity and tradition in a marginal society, and therefore, is increasingly being used as a tool for countries to preserve traditional cultures, while developing a new cultural image at the same time (Eades, 2003; Richard & Munsters, 2010). Bali is an admirable instance where a minority ethnic group has maintained and strengthened its identity by reinvesting the earnings from tourism to revitalize the basis of its culture, i.e. Balinese Hinduism (Yamashita, 2003; Pitana, 2010). The same situation applies in Thailand where many traditional festivals have been developing into more spectacular shows because of the demands from the tourism industry (Sarnsorn, 1997).

The benefits of presenting cultural tourism to develop the economy and conserve traditional culture have encouraged many countries and regions to adopt it

as a development strategy. Governments in the tourist destinations allocate a big budget to develop tourism infrastructure and attract investors, as well as promoting the region on the tourist market. As a result, there is an increasing amount of research in cultural tourism. Richard and Munsters (2010) noted a considerable surge in cultural tourism research during 2000-2004 as compared with 1990-1994, recording an increase of more than 300 percent. As cultural tourism is growing to be a more complex and multidimensional phenomenon, it is no longer sufficient to study it rigidly from the traditional perspective of production and consumption patterns and management. Instead, it needs a more eclectic view in order to understand the complex behaviors and processes within it (Jansen-Verbeke & Lievois, 2008; Munsters & Richards, 2010), employing multifaceted perspectives, including anthropology, sociology, politics, geography and psychology.

3.2. The cultural tourism market

Even though tourism, particularly cultural tourism, has bright prospects for growth, when this industry has reached level a level of maturity, it may be marked by characteristics such as slower growth, hypercompetition, price pressure, a search for and creation of new segments, and an increase of barriers to new players (Plog, 2005). The maturity level in the tourism industry may actually have been reached in regions of Europe and America, while regions of the Asia Pacific remain at the development stage. Figure 3.1 shows conditions in the global tourism market as reflected by the international tourist arrivals published by UNWTO in 2009. The current slower growth in the European tourist market may have been caused by the economic downturn which began in 2007, starting with a crisis in Greece where

tourism is one of the biggest sectors of the economy. At the same time, China's rapid economic growth may be causing the expansion of the tourism industry in the Asia-Pacific region. Although experiencing slower growth, Europe is predicted to lead the market in terms of the number of tourist visits until 2020, as this region has had long experience in tourism.

Many efforts have been made to research tourists' motivations to visit particular destinations since these have become one of the parameters to measure the success of a tourist destination. In the cultural tourism field, it appears difficult to define precisely who a cultural tourist is. According to the cultural tourism definition I have outlined in Chapter One, defining a cultural tourist is a function of the motivation to visit as well as the experiences the tourists want to achieve. However, McKercher and du Cros (2002:138) note that cultural motivations and experiences "…may represent nothing more than an incremental activity that completes the trip experience" and therefore, participation in the cultural attraction may not represent the main purpose of travelling. In addition, UNWTO classifies tourists' reasons for visiting a destination into four groups: leisure, recreation and holidays; visiting friends and relatives, or for health, religion and other reason; business and professional travel; and travel for no specific purpose.

McKercher and duCros (2002) combine the anthropological, psychological and behavioral perspectives on tourism to develop a cultural tourist typology with two basic dimensions: "experiences sought" and "the importance of cultural attraction". This generates five types of cultural tourist (Table 3.2). It is, nevertheless, important to note that, depending on the cultural attractions offered and a destination's

Figure 3.1 Actual and Forecast of International Tourist Arrivals, 1950-2020
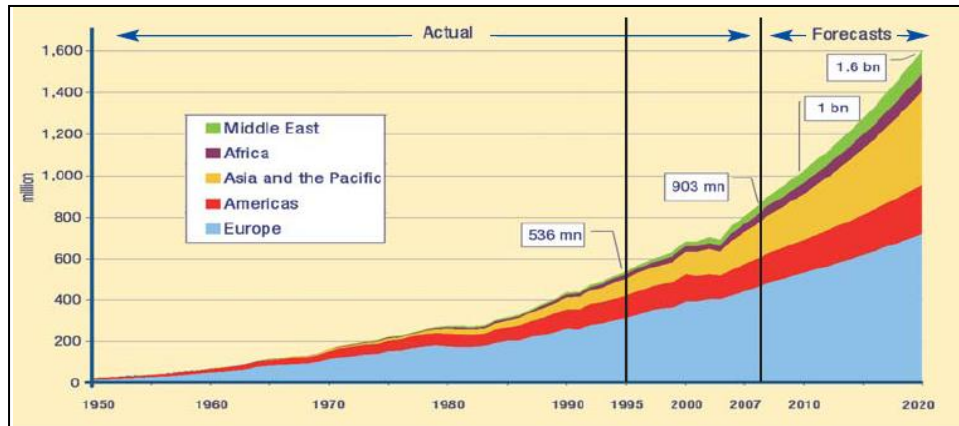
Source: UNWTO, Tourism highlights 2008

reputation, this typology differs from one tourist destination to the others. It is also a possibility for one tourist to be categorized as belonging to all five types when visiting a destination.

3.3. Authenticity issues in cultural tourism

Ideas about the meaning of authenticity have been developing in cultural and heritage tourism research and are conceptualized from both the tourist and host perspectives (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Sims, 2009; Chhabra, 2010). The debates over defining authenticity continued until recently and those who wrote about it proposed their own views and definitions (Taylor, 2001). In the tourism literature, tourists often face staged cultural attractions and see them as authentic, when the local people do not. In these cases, the tourists' motivations lead them to this conclusion. As MacCannell (1976:101) suggests, "Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experience, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in his direction, but it is often very difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic."

Table 3.2 Cultural Tourist Typology

Type of Tourist	Experience Sought	Cultural Attraction	Destination mostly to be visited
Purposeful	Deep	Important	High reputation; lesser-known; museums and art galleries
Serendipitous	Deep	Important	High reputation; lesser-known; museums and art galleries; streetscapes, historic buildings, and cultural attraction for fun.
Sightseeing	Shallow	Important	High reputation; streetscapes, historic buildings, and cultural attraction for fun.
Casual	Shallow	Less important	High reputation; Lesser-known; streetscapes, historic buildings, and cultural attraction for fun.
Incidental	Shallow	Unimportant	High reputation; Lesser-known; streetscapes, historic buildings, and cultural attraction for fun.

Source: McKercher and duCros (2002)

In the contemporary tourism setting, the tourist entrepreneur tries to narrow the gap between the front and back stages of the attractions, to use Goffman's terms (Goffman, 1959). The front stage is the space where the attraction is staged for the tourist, while the back represents the actual space where it is created. MacCannell (1976:95) clearly mentions that "the front is a meeting place of hosts and guests or customer and service person, and the back is the place where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare. Examples of back regions are kitchens, boiler rooms, executive washrooms, and examples of front regions are reception offices and parlors." These days, tourists can find restaurants with open kitchen windows through which the visitors are allowed to see the process of

cooking and food preparation. Another example is the Balinese ritual attraction provided by the *puri* or palace at Mengwi. The *puri* develops a temple within the *puri* area and asks the surrounding local people to worship in the temple. The *puri* also provides a space for locals to learn traditional dancing, so the tourists visiting the *puri* can see not only the staged performance but also how the attractions are prepared and produced. However, it should not be considered as pristine culture, even though it satisfies visitors' need for an experience. As Cohen says (2004:102), "the tourist establishment dominates the tourist industry, and by misleading tourists to accept contrived attraction as 'authentic' … It follows from these assumptions that commoditization, engendered by tourism, allegedly destroys not only the meaning of cultural products for the locals but, paradoxically, also for the tourists."

Cohen (e.g. 1988, 2004) discusses the definition of authenticity in relation to the spectrum of perspectives, from those of intellectuals to those of tourists. He first discusses the definition proposed by McLeod (1976) and Cornet (1975) in the African art context as a point of reference to define authenticity within the spectrum. McLeod (1976:31) defines authentic as "genuine", which is defined as "…any piece made from traditional materials by a native craftsman for acquisition and use by members of local society (though not necessarily by members of his own group) that is made and used with no thought that it ultimately may be disposed of for gain to Europeans or other aliens" (cited in Cohen, 2004:104). In the same vein, Cornet (1975:52) described authentic African art as "Any object created for the *traditional purpose* and by a *traditional artist*…conform to *traditional forms*" (cited in Cohen, 2004: 104-105). Based on these definitions, meanings of authenticity can be seen as

lying on continuum that can be divided into five perspectives. The first is the intellectual perspective i.e. that of anthropologists, ethnographers and curators, who are greatly concerned with authenticity. In their view, "only a cultural product which appears authentic in all of its varied aspects, would be acceptable as 'authentic'" (Cohen, 2004:108). The second point in the continuum is that of the existential tourists, "who tend spiritually to abandon modernity and embrace the Other as their elective centers" (Cohen, 1988:377). Unlike the first perspective, however, the existential tourists "lack the professional attitude and critical capacity necessary to determine whether the traits by which they determine the 'authenticity' of an object or an attraction are genuine or false" (Cohen, 1988: 377). The third perspective is that of the experiential tourists "who seek to participate vicariously in the authentic life of other, [and] will also tend employ fairly strict criteria of authenticity, close to those of existential tourists" (Cohen, 2004: 107). Finally, Cohen (2004) mentions recreational tourists and diversionary tourists whose view of authenticity is less strict than that of existential and experiential tourists. While the recreational tourists perceive and enjoy reconstructed culture as authentic, the diversionary tourists see every product they find in the destination as authentic, and therefore, authenticity is not important at all for their travel experience.

From this basic position, Chhabra (2010) outlines four generic viewpoints regarding to the way authenticity should be understood: essentialist, constructivist, negotiated and existentialist.

The essentialist viewpoint emphasizes the conservation of the indigenous culture in order to satisfy the tourist's romanticism in relation to the past. Originality,

cultural continuity and a sense of locality are the major features used to describe authenticity.

In contrast, the constructivist paradigm suggests that authenticity depends absolutely upon the tourists' perception of a destination or object. The role of tourist entrepreneurs in shaping the visitors' imagination is essential in order to adapt the audience's needs for an experience to the capitalist's needs to augment demand. Authenticity, therefore, is a myth according to this school of thought.

Between these polar positions, the negotiated view of authenticity provides a compromise. This theoretical viewpoint suggests that commodification is important in cultural transformation. Culture is a dynamic entity, and therefore it changes over time in order to adapt to its surrounding environment. Commodification in this view is perceived as a tool which allows the indigenous culture to survive, develop and adapt. Moreover, because the commodification process relies on the development of traditional culture, its "authenticity can still be sustained while adapting to the requirements of the market" (Chhabra, 2010:795).

The last school of thought discussed by Chhabra (2010) is the existentialist, which advocates that authenticity is subjective, based on the mindset of the tourists. Regarding this paradigm, the tourists are not able to distinguish clearly either the reality in the past or the reality on-site due to a lack of understanding of the object visited. In other words, most of the tourists will perceive what they see subjectively as authentic no matter whether it is a kind of commodification.

3.3.1. Cultural tourism as an issue in Bali

Discussion of the development of tourism in Southeast Asia should not neglect Bali

as an issue. Although it is just a small island, Hitchcock *et al.* (2009:7) noted in their introductory remarks to *Tourism in Southeast Asia* that "it would appear that a little bit of Bali pervades much of what the tourism industry refers to as Southeast Asia's tourism product." Interestingly this book mentioned Bali more often than any other tourist destination in Southeast Asia, to judge from the book's index. The same is found in Picard and Wood's co-edited book, *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (1997).

The issue of authenticity or commodification is probably becoming the most widely debated topic in Bali tourism studies. The traditional work of artisans in making carvings, for instance, is staged in the five-star hotels and there is no need for the tourists to journey outside the hotel to experience it (Minca, 2000). Throughout the island, once a tourism spot is found by the tourists, the local society immediately collaborates with the tourist entrepreneurs to stage the local culture. Diarta (2004) suggested visiting places such as Ubud, Tenganan or Kamasan instead of the tourist spots like Kuta, Nusa Dua or Jimbaran in order to see "authentic" Balinese life. However, whatever the tourism brochures say about the authenticity of Balinese culture, in fact, everything that is presented to the tourists in Bali is manipulated[13]. According to Minca:

> In Bali, Hindu culture and rafting go hand in hand; the pomp of traditional ceremonies is wedded to the whirring of videocams. Paddy fields, air-conditioned commercial centres, hired scooters and centuries-old art give rise to

---

[13] Some authors, e.g. Yamashita (2003), use the word "manipulated" when discussing the production of culture in the cultural tourism context. In Bali, manipulation here refers to a manufacturing or modification of cultural product for tourism requirement, i.e. to satisfy the desire of the tourists to experience "authentic Bali." Balinese are undeniably capable of adapting or changing their cultural product to suit tourists' purposes. Making a short dance performance and modifiying sacred dances for tourist consumption are examples of what Balinese have done to meet the desire of the tourists to experience authenticity.

forms of co-existence which are still largely unexplored. That which is "authentic" – and that is not – implode within restricted spaces which mirror logics that are typically post-modern. (2000:400).

Furthermore, the speed of the development of the tourism industry during the last two decades has increased the speed of cultural transformation and linked the people of the island more intensely to the rest of the world. This process of globalization has on the one hand generated new discourses about the island, away from the image of an unchanging exotic paradise and an undisturbed entity, toward a dynamic yet fragile society. On the other hand, however, this process has strengthened the sense of identity of the Balinese, protecting themselves from the vanishing of their original culture (Picard, 1999). In addition, the shock of the two consecutive bomb attacks in Kuta in 2002 has been partly perceived by the Balinese as a curse from the gods for moving too far toward tourism materialism, creating an imbalance on the island. This moment was a milestone for the Balinese, making them conscious of being "real Balinese" (Picard, 2009), and of the need to stay closer to their religion rather than tourism.

3.4. The development of the cultural tourism product

Cultural tourism is a multifaceted tourism sector encompassing a wide range of products offered to various segments of the tourist market. In the context of local industry, the cultural products offered have a crucial role in determining which forms of cultural tourism will succeed or fail in the marketplace. As a very basic classification, cultural tourism products can be divided into tangible and intangible cultural assets. The tangible cultural assets include historic buildings, monuments, or archeological sites that can be materially seen by the tourists. Intangible cultural

product, on the other hand consist of cultural assets that have no material form such as rituals, festivals or other cultural performances that are transmitted from generation to generation by the society.

In order to develop and maintain a successful cultural tourist destination, a fitting blend of tangible and intangible assets should be formulated and offered to the right segment of the tourist market. The marketing literature on tourism confirms that the creation of the travel experience should take into account how tourists imagine the destination before they travel. Regardless of whether the attractions performed for the tourists are the pseudo-events, they have to portray the destination as distinctive by presenting its unique culture, traditions and landscapes (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

According to McKercher and du Cros (2002), cultural tourism product planning begins by cataloging the cultural assets that have the potential to be offered to the tourist market. This identification process will continue until the transformation of selected assets into a consumable commodity. In this respect, both tangible and intangible cultural assets need to be presented as tangible salable products. Critical in this phase is the tourist's involvement in developing a marketable cultural product: according to Misiura (2006:130), the tourists' "individual use of the product will reflect their own attitudes, expectations and experience." By involving the customer, both McKercher and du Cros (2002) and Misiura (2006) agree that the cultural tourism marketer will be ahead in being able to serve the tourist's latent needs. However, the transformation phase may create conflicts among stakeholders in the destination due to different interests and points of view.

Although disagreement among the parties who have strong concerns about culture conservation may occur, it is clear that the tourist appears to be the central focus of tourism development. In the cultural tourism sector, cultural assets are directly commodified for the tourists who need an experience. Basically, the cultural products to be offered, like other consumer products, have as their core function satisfying the needs and wants of the customer. However, according to the competition approach, these products should be augmented to add value to them. As globalization has made the core tourism products become more like each other, such augmentation is necessary to ensure the uniqueness of the product and position it in the market (Haven-Tang & Jones, 2010). This augmentation, in addition, needs an innovative way to create an authentic experience for the tourists, preclude the product from commoditization, and hence maintain the destination's competitive advantage.

3.4.1 The evolution of innovation toward service industry

In order to facilitate a clear understanding of innovation in the cultural tourism, however, it is useful to look first at the development of innovation theory in a wider context. Showing the extension of the concept of innovation from manufacture to service industry will provide an adequate grounding for the discussion, because tourism is inherently based on service.

The term innovation has been defined in a variety of ways in the academic literature since the seminal work of Joseph Schumpeter was published for the first time in 1934 (Hall & Williams, 2008; Sood & Tellis, 2005). Ever since machine-made goods started to flood the market in the early industrial revolution, innovation has been used as a way of dealing with competition. In a general context, innovation

reflects new ideas, practices, or objects perceived by an individual or member of a social system (Rogers, 2003). In the productive system context, it refers to concepts or processes that create new, novel, or distinct products, rather than those which simply repeat existing designs (Marceau, 2011; Stefik & Stefik, 2004; Kusunoki & Aoshima, 2010; Stoneman, 2010; Toivonen & Tuominen, 2009). However, innovative products have to be marketed to succeed in order to create potential satisfaction rather than just an improvement. Otherwise, they should be called "inventions" (Stefik & Stefik, 2004; Drucker, 1986).

Innovation is necessary not only to retain current markets, but also to adapt to future competition. Either way, there are two types of innovation which can be adopted in order to cope with competition, "reactive" and "proactive" innovation. The first refers to innovation to deal with problems such as a decline in market share or sales, and therefore it reacts to the current situation (Hunt & Arnett, 2006). The second refers to innovation to cope with perceived trends in the future (Zhou, Yim & Tse, 2005; Semadeni & Anderson, 2010).

Moreover, innovation consists of the adoption, development and execution of new ideas in order to improve processes, performances, products or services that should be put into practice (Toivonen & Tuominen, 2009). As a process, it can emerge in two forms, namely incremental and radical innovation (Hall & Williams, 2008). Incremental innovation commonly starts from existing technologies or practices, so that it does not deliver a novel outcome. Radical innovation on the other hand requires new approaches, processes or technologies to produce an outcome which can be considered as totally new, and therefore of high risk. In this

regard, being too innovative can harm an organization (Semadeni & Anderson, 2010), resulting in a low level of acceptance by the market and/or internal resistance within the organization. Thus, it could be said that innovation is most likely to take place within an environment where it is socially acceptable.

More specifically, Abernathy and Clark (1985) have identified four types of innovations, defined in relation to two axes, one representing a firm's existing or new technology or competence, and the other relating to existing or new markets. This produces four quadrants as shown in Figure 3.2.

Type I innovation involves moving into a new market niche using existing technology or competence. The objective of this kind of innovation is to maximize sales growth in stable markets. Type II innovation, so called architectural innovation, involves using new technology to create new market niches. Success with this sort of innovation can produce changes throughout a whole industry. Type III innovation, or revolutionary innovation, uses new technology to maintain a current market niche. This may generate an impact on a sector within the industry. Type IV innovation is based on using current technology or competence to serve the current market better. The usual impact of this kind of innovation is to increase customer satisfaction, stimulate higher expenditure and enhance customer loyalty.

Considering the many recent discussions of innovation, however, it is important to note that until the 1980s the scholarly work on the subject was typically carried out in the manufacturing sector rather than in service industries. Services were thought of only as a channel for the use of products from the manufacturing sector, and it was also considered difficult to measure innovation in services (Toivonen &

Tuominen, 2009). However, because economic activities are currently moving towards services – the service sector contributes over 80% of GDP to the economy in the US and 90% in Japan – there is a shift towards seeing services as another source of innovation. Buying a car is not simply a matter of buying a safe means of transportation, but also involves notions of amenity and prestige. Similarly, a tourist now seeks an experience instead of just leisure. Barras (1986) was one of the earliest scholars in the field to show that improvement in existing services caused by technological development drives the generation of new services and product innovation.

Gallouj and Windrum (2009) have charted the development of research on innovation in both services and manufacture. Their point of view is that innovation research has moved from the adoption of technological innovations that are common in manufacturing to the service sector. This research provides a clearer picture of what innovation in services is about. Obvious in the debate is that something can be said to be an innovation if it delivers benefits to its developer, is acceptable to the market, and is applicable to other similar cases (Toivonen & Tuominen, 2009). In general, the previous research shows that human capital and entrepreneurship factors are necessary for innovation in both manufacturing and service industries. Pires, Sarkar and Calvalho (2008), using an econometric model highlighting the significance of learning-by-doing, have indicated that such factors are vital for innovation in service industries.

3.4.2. Innovation in cultural tourism: The Balinese paradox

The tourism sector lies in a dynamic environment that is incessantly changing. In the next decade, the main sources of such changes will originate from changing

Figure 3.2 The Abernathy and Clark innovation typology adapted to the Bali tourism sector

Disrupting current market

Conserving competence

Disrupting competence

Niche creation innovation:
- Creating cultural package tours for domestic tourists

Revolutionary innovation:
- Younger artist style of painting in Ubud (1950s)

Regular innovation:
- Traditional dance creation

Architectural innovation:
- Modern style of painting in Ubud (1930s)

Conserving current market

Source: Adapted from Abernathy and Clark (1985)

consumer values, political forces, environmental issues and technological development (Dwyer & Edwards, 2009). Consequently, a tourist destination is under pressure to adapt to such changes in order to keep competitive in the tourism market.

Innovation is furthermore regarded as the ability of a tourist destination and individual organizations within it to adapt in line with environmental changes.

Tourism is a unique economic activity characterized by the coordination of various industries in order to serve tourists. As a result, innovation in tourism is currently taking place within an integrated system comprising economic, social, institutional, cultural and political environments (Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2009). Specifically in this regard, the development of innovation capability in a tourist destination is driven by internal and external factors. While human capital, creativity, open mindedness and entrepreneurship nowadays are becoming the most prominent factors internally, global issues covering economics, the environment, politics, social demography and technology have become important macro-level

factors indirectly influencing innovation development in tourist destinations beside the micro-level factors such as consumer tastes, competition and government pressures.

Innovation in cultural tourism, nevertheless, is a complex and difficult area because it involves the perspectives of different stakeholders. In general, cultural innovation refers to "the production of novelties—new ideas, new ways of doing things, and the like—as the underlying evolutionary force that propels cultures up the ladder of cultural complexity" (O'Brien & Shennan, 2010:4). Cultural tourism commonly involves local people including a significant number of small-scale cultural product suppliers. This situation causes such suppliers to compete in a competitive market, with a small market share for each competitor (Walder, 2006). In this type of market innovation will be easily imitated, and therefore, there is less profit from creativity. Institutions such as government, business association and university, for sure, enable the formalization of a lateral network to facilitate innovation among the local supplier community (Flagestad, 2006). However, the nature of competition in this market means that there is resistance to adopting innovations (Roger, 2003).

In the case of Bali, since cultural tourism has become one of the main forms of tourism, the cultural products of the Balinese have been commercialized for tourists. Cultural attractions in a sense have become the vital element in the tourism system and the motive for tourists travelling to a particular destination (Bieger & Weinert, 2006). The cultural attractions performed for the tourists are therefore based on the old tradition yet increasingly employ modern technology. Moreover, the process of

cultural involution experienced on the island is clearly visible since the Balinese wish for a modern life on the one hand but have used the rediscovery of their traditional cultures as the way to pursue this on the other. Younger people who are usually resistant to older traditions are now trying to find the authentic tradition of old Bali and offer it to tourists while at the same time innovating with this culture in order to show that they are a dynamic society, full of artistic creativity and expertise.

Parties with different interests react to this innovation with various opinions. Anthropologists and cultural studies observers may claim that cultural transformation is natural and should be allowed so that the Balinese can adapt to global changes. In this way, they assert the impossibility of seeing "authentic Bali" as writers and anthropologists described it in the last century. It should be acknowledged that artisans work in response to market demand, technological change and global fashion as well as their own creativity. Therefore, cultural innovation in this sense "may be seen not as a 'one-off' [event] but as a continuing accumulation of changes" (O'Brien & Shennan, 2010: 3). On the other side, capital investors in tourism who are mostly foreigners are often concerned to preserve what they see as the original, authentic Bali to meet the increasing demand for cultural tourism. In this debate, one can see that both sides realize the importance of market demand in order to develop a more competitive destination.

3.5. Marketing cultural tourism

The previous section on innovation mentioned that something can be said to be an innovation if it is widely marketable or socially acceptable. It also discussed how cultural tourism has been widely accepted as an industry, and that therefore

producing marketable cultural products is the primary purpose of this type of tourism. According to Christou (2005), cultural tourism, likewise tourism in general, is highly service driven. Hence, it is useful to employ the methods of service quality measurement proposed by Zeithaml, Parasuraman and Berry (e.g. Zeithaml, Parasuraman & Berry, 1990; Zeithaml, Parasuraman & Berry, 1988) in the 1980s to evaluate the quality of the cultural product delivered to the tourists. These measurements encompass the degree of tangibility, reliability, accessibility, uniqueness and security of the product, as well as community involvement and management commitment, based on the tourists' perceptions.

In relation to the debates about the adoption of marketing in cultural tourism, McKercher and du Cros (2002) note that the problem appeares to be caused by the failure to adopt the right concept of marketing. Many destinations carry out marketing only in terms of advertising or promotion. The fundamental assumption that should be understood is that marketing as a managerial tool is a chain of processes involving stages of planning, organizing, implementing and control in order to segment the market, target the right customers and position the destination in relation to the competition. After all, promotion of the destination is only part of the marketing mix that also consists of other three "Ps." These are the "product" as the core aspect of every profit-taking business, "placing" as a matter of how the product should be distributed or delivered to the end user, and "pricing", determining the rational level of price at which the product should be sold. The virtue of marketing in cultural tourism is clear as McKercher and du Cros state:

Marketing, rather than being about visitation and sales maximization, therefore, is about adopting a customer-focused management tool that can be used to help

cultural or heritage attractions achieve their wider organizational goals by linking customer desires with appropriate goods and services. Especially within a cultural tourism context, these goals may be nonfinancial as much as financial. In addition, responsible marketing must take into account the needs of the host population whose needs and uses of many cultural or heritage assets may be quite different from those of tourists. (2002:202).

Such an understanding embraces the contemporary concept of marketing in which the tourism business is no more considered as a mere system of exchange. Contemporary cultural tourism goes beyond the simple production and consumption of cultural products (Ateljevic, 2000). Marketing should help the tourism industry to collaborate with local entities and other stakeholders. This shows that marketing to the cultural tourism does not work in a vacuum, but is influenced constantly by the wider economic, political, social and technological environments (Misiura, 2006).

The success of a destination to sustain its competitive advantage in today's more globalized world is therefore partly affected by the degree to which it develops a network with its surrounding environment and stakeholders. As pointed out by McKercher and du Cros (2002), cultural assets within the cultural tourism industry need to cooperate instead of competing with each other in order to increase the number of visitations and visitors' satisfaction. This networking with other stakeholders and the surrounding environment requires flexibility in terms of a destination's organization and strategic vision. Having such flexibility will allow the management of the destination to carry out the tasks needed for networking, comprising exchange activities, inter-organizational coordination, conflict resolution mechanisms and adaptation (Fyall & Garrod, 2005). In addition, Fyall and Garrod (2005) emphasize the need for a tourist destination to adopt a market orientation.

3.5.1. A need for market orientation in cultural tourism

The present study considers the applicability of a market orientation approach to the innovation process in the art sector as a major cultural tourist attraction. The focus of the study is the degree of market orientation among artists in Ubud as part of the overall tourism sector in Bali. It is easy to study market orientation in art sector since the sector is now important in Balinese cultural tourism and generates large sums of money.

During the last couple of decades, there have been a number of studies of the importance of a customer orientation to achieve superior performance and sustainable competitive advantage. However, the studies have been criticized on the grounds that a customer orientation may lead to less innovation. Organizations that focus too much on their existing customers are often trapped in what Hamel and Prahalad (1994) termed as "myopia" arising from the "tyranny of the served market". This is because being only customer oriented is short term and reactive in nature (Slater and Narver, 1998) and thus a broader orientation, with the focus on competition, is necessary to offer a better product than competitors.

A market orientation on the other hand allows a business to reach more long-term objectives by providing a philosophical framework for thinking about not only current customers' needs but also future needs, and therefore being more proactive (Jaworski et al., 2000; Berghman et al., 2006). Through the implementation of these ideas, businesses can also consider the importance of current and future competition within the industry, and mobilize their resources to cope with customers and competitors in a coordinated way (Narver and Slater, 1990). However, the results of

various studies show that customer orientation remains a major element of market orientation, in addition to two other elements, namely competitor orientation and inter-functional coordination, all of which have a direct effect on business performance (Tsioutsou, 2010).

Since the seminal works on market orientation by Kohli and Jaworski (1990) and Narver and Slater (1990), the importance of being market oriented has been studied and compared with other organizational capabilities throughout various industries. Peter Drucker declared that the only things needed for business to succeed in the long term are marketing and innovation. Accordingly, this research reveals the importance of being market oriented to facilitate innovation (Slater and Narver, 1998; Mohr and Sarin, 2009). That is to say, a market-oriented business is a business that continuously seeks to meet the current and future needs of its customers, generates intelligence on current and potential competitors, and coordinates its resources to deal with current and future markets.

However, there has been less attention in the study of market orientation in services, particularly in the tourism sector. Most studies in this area have been carried out in the hi-tech manufacturing industry, using data mainly from the US and UK (Tsioutsou, 2010; Mohr and Sarin, 2009). Some studies in the tourism sector have been conducted on a single tourist accommodation or transportation provider, with little consideration for the fact that the tourism sector is an integrated industry with a unique market structure. Consequently, there is a lack of studies of the importance of attractions in the tourist destination.

Tourism activity can be categorized as a highly customer oriented business, in

which tourist requirements are both complex and individual (Scheer and Loos 2002). The types of tourist who visit these businesses are generally those with a high level of consumption and desire to experience the cultural life of the destination they visit. In the case of Bali tourism, such tourists are the biggest consumers of the art products, and therefore a market orientation is necessary in this sector. Nevertheless, there are difficulties in collecting data and measuring market orientation in the art sector, because the sector obviously behaves differently from normal profit-oriented businesses. Specifically, the artists themselves may be less aware of the market, customer orientations, and the nature of the competition than in other sectors in the tourism industry (Martin-Consuegra et al., 2008).

3.6. The products in Balinese cultural tourism

The Balinese present tourism on their island as cultural tourism, a kind of tourism that supports their culture and economic sustainability. The beauty of South Pacific beaches is certainly another magnet for tourists, but Balinese culture is indispensable. The Balinese cultural products presented to the tourists can be divided into tangible and intangible. The tangible cultural assets offered to the tourists include sites such as museums, temples, and the unique traditional Balinese buildings; and those the tourists take home as souvenirs such as Balinese paintings, carvings and other handicraft products. The intangible cultural assets consist of traditional attractions such as dancing and music, and religious ceremonies.

These Balinese cultural products, in particular performing arts and crafts have been developing along with the surrounding environmental changes. The Balinese have long learned new ideas and skills from foreigners in order to create new forms

of art and craft products based on their traditional culture (Rubin & Sedana, 2007). Many Balinese art performances which are "compulsory" as tourist attractions, including the *Kecak* dance or sacred *Sanghyang* trance performance, have been manipulated and developed innovatively in order to meet the tourists' expectations of experiencing another culture. Similarly, the Balinese crafts such as woodcarving have also continued to thrive creatively for tourist consumption, although this kind of artwork is still considered by the Balinese themselves as sacred, for example, in the making of the mask for the *Topeng* masked theatre (Eiseman, 1990).

3.7. The driver in the Balinese cultural product development

There is no question of the importance of arts and crafts for the cultural life of the Balinese. Arts and crafts, though not exactly fitting the Balinese terms (see Picard 1996:135), are where the cultural products of the Balinese emanate. It is the cultural centers such as the courts, *seka*, studios, museums and cultural foundations from which creativity and innovation are derived. The Balinese cremation ceremony or *Palebon* is one of the religious and cultural activities in which artwork is involved in the form of painting and carving.

Since society, and in particular the cultural centers, are the source of the cultural product, the changes and innovations adhering to such a product develop in interaction with the technology and creativity of the wider society. The Chinese decoration on the intricate wooden doors of Karangasem palace made by a Chinese architect working together with local artists (Sulistyawati, 2008a) demonstrates the influence of outsider interaction on the Balinese carving style. Another example is a contemporary Balinese musician named I Wayan Balawan who is incorporating

Balinese gamelan into jazz music. This shows the influence of technology and contemporary global culture on Balinese art. Also important to mention here is the influence of European painters in the 1920s on the current painting style of Ubud.

Balinese culture was used by outsiders for various objectives, ranging from tourism to politics. In the early 20th century, for instance, the Dutch campaigned for Balinese culture to be preserved in order to improve their image after final horror of the conquest of the Island of Bali (Picard, 1996). Soon after the campaign, the Dutch promoted Bali as a paradise on earth. The result was that the image of paradise successfully erased both criticism from Europe and the trauma of Balinese. The Japanese occupation of Bali during 1942-1945 claimed to be "improving Balinese culture" as part of a Greater East Asian culture (Robinson, 1995). The purpose was clearly to gain recognition of the Japanese empire from the rajas of Bali. However this remained rhetoric since all of the energy of the Balinese had been expended supporting Japan in the Pacific war (Pendit, 2008).

The first president of the Indonesian Republic, Sukarno, also used the symbolism of the Balinese stories of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* as a way to embrace Bali politically as part of the Republic of Indonesia. While some of Bali's kingdoms preferred to affiliate with the Dutch East Indies after the end of Japanese rule in 1946, Sukarno was inspiring the lower classes to realize the dream of an Indonesian archipelago state, with Bali as a unique entity within it. During the period 1945 to 1950, art performances in Bali were often used to deliver the message of independence (Robinson, 1995). The second president of Indonesia, Suharto, exploited the potential of Balinese culture economically as a machine to

generate foreign exchange, politically confirming the status of Balinese culture as one of the original cultures of Indonesia. Many campaigns to advance the tourism industry and country's development during the Suharto period were carried out using art performances such as *wayang* and *sendratari*. There efforts were eventually successful in developing the pride of the Balinese as part of Indonesia.

In contemporary Balinese life within which tourism has become the mainstay of their economy, the arts and crafts mainly serve the needs of the tourist market, in addition to religion. Long experience in creating art and craft products that meet the tourists' needs to experience Balinese culture means that the artists have developed a skill in producing new creations which are sometimes unconventional. In spite of the debate about the sustainability of Balinese culture, it seems that changes in Balinese arts and crafts will continue in line with the Balinese conviction that they can absorb the best parts of foreign cultures without disturbing the indigenous culture. Nevertheless, the question then arises of whether these changes take place merely in order to accommodate the needs of the tourists. From a market perspective, the implication of the question to which segments of the market Bali cultural tourism will be directed in future.

3.8. The future of cultural tourism in Bali

The series of bombs that exploded in Paddy's Bar and in front of the Sari Club in Legian Street, Kuta, on 12 October 2002, have resulted in the Balinese rethinking their cultural tourism practices. Some saw these terrorist attacks as caused by an imbalance within the spiritual cosmos, and that there should be a time for introspection (Picard, 2009; Hitchcock & Putra, 2007; Rubin & Sedana, 2007). Soon

after the bombs, there were prayers for peace throughout the island. The cultural attractions that had been used to please tourists started to return to their original functions, dedication and offerings to the gods. Later, the Balinese declared that they would use their culture as a weapon against terrorism and other violence.

The Balinese case of the use of cultural assets for tourism shows the complexity of the task of managing the process. In particular, as for the future of cultural tourism, the debates continue between pessimistic and optimistic viewpoints. Whilst cultural tourism is an innovative way to conserve culture, there are still conflicts between the owners of cultural assets and those who provide culture to the tourism industry, who want to transform such assets for the benefit of the tourists. The case of registering the Balinese mother temple of Besakih Temple as a World Heritage site illustrates clearly such a conflict. The Indonesian government and the tourism industry wanted to register the temple with UNESCO in order to increase the number of tourist visits to the site. However, the Balinese Hindu community opposed this proposal as it would diminish their control and ownership of the temple. In this case, tourism and cultural conservation are seemingly viewed as competitors instead of collaborators (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). The new cultural tourism, however, tries to create a culture conservation-tourism partnership and emphasizes the need for cultural goal achievement as the central focus (Richard, 2007).

Such an emphasis is essential to create a sense of place using local culture as a tool to distinguish one destination from another. To the cultural tourist, this sense of place is important to counter what Melanie Smith has called cultural "homogenization", by which the dominant culture of the West colonizes the

subordinate culture of the periphery through capital expansion in the postmodern world (Smith, 2003). In relation to this debate, Richard (2007) suggests that cultural tourism will lose its clear definition and overlap with other emerging styles of tourist consumption. He cited the Barcelona FC Football Museum as an example of the blurred boundary between cultural tourism and sport tourism. However, it should be noted that in some countries such as Spain, Italy, or Brazil, football is no more viewed simply as a sports industry. The team's supporters and the residents of the city where the club is based form an inseparable entity and they become one of the key factors behind the success of the club. Together, the club and their supporters produce sport entertainment, a phenomenon which can also be categorized as part of the culture industry (Moss, 2009).

Cultural tourism development in Bali continues to expand beyond the southern part of the island, and creating new cultural tourist spots such as the Balinese agricultural system known as *subak* and its rice terraces in Jatiluwih Village, the traditional village in Panglipuran, and the craft village of Sebatu just nearby to the north of Ubud (Yamashita, 2010). This expansion has actually attracted outside investors from Jakarta and overseas, as the Balinese cannot provide their own funding for the project. As Balinese culture is increasingly used as a tourism asset, it implies that outsiders are able to control it merely to create maximum tourist satisfaction, and this buttresses the position of those who are pessimistic about cultural preservation (Richards, 2007). On the other hand, the Balinese still use traditional ways and techniques when they present their cultural products to the tourists. Any changes and innovations they make to their cultural products are in

109

terms of the newest technology they use without diminishing the basic values of Hinduism. This supports the position of the optimists in relation to the future of Balinese culture.

3.9. Conclusion

Since the end of the Second World War, tourism has emerged as the fastest growing industry in the world. Its high rate of growth leads to a fierce competition between destinations to attract more tourists. All destinations try to create and capture new types of tourists, including those interested in cultural tourism. The presence of cultural tourism themes in a tourist destination means that the destination must to some extent educate the tourists to act in an appropriate manner as they enjoy their leisure time. It encourages local creativity to manufacture innovative cultural products. But, as the literature in tourism shows, it may also increase materialism among the local people, harming the authenticity and value of the local culture. In Bali however, people reinvest the income they earn from tourism in cultural and religious activities, to express their gratitude to the gods, so that these are actually strengthened.

The review of the existing cultural tourism literature shows the complexity of tourism motivation in this kind of tourism. Table 3.2 linked the type of cultural attraction on the one hand with the depth of experience sought on the other. Cultural tourists visiting a destination try to involve themselves in the local culture or cultural activities as a part of the whole travelling experience, but to varying degrees. This creates a demand for different types of cultural attraction in a particular destination, and the tourism entrepreneurs attempt to bridge the gap between the wide range of

the demand and the supply of cultural goods and services available in the local society.

Authenticity is a prominent subject in tourism discourse, though the literature review shows that authenticity is actually a question of how far it is possible to satisfy the tourists' imaginings and expectations about a place. The views on authenticity discussed in this chapter, essentialist, constructivist, negotiation and existentialist, all to some extent focus on tourism as a market. The essentialist view of authenticity aims to satisfy the tourist's feelings of romanticism of the past and therefore, proponents of this school offer the tourists a version of local society in which tradition is preserved. The local settlement in Panglipuran village that I describe in chapter 2 is an example of this. The physical life of the local people is seemingly preserved, but the way of thinking has changed. The constructivist paradigm of authenticity relies on the perceptions of the tourists of a place: the tourism entrepreneurs try to construct and market something which meets these perceptions. While the negotiation paradigm tries to attempt a compromise between the essentialist and constructivist positions, the existentialist school does not worry about the issue since it assumes that the tourists have a lack of understanding about the place they visit. Bali, thus, becomes an interesting case of the meaning of authenticity from these perspectives.

Cultural products for tourism can be divided into tangible and intangible products. Since cultural tourism is a matter of bringing pre-travel imagination and on-site reality into line, an effective and appropriate marketing plan for the products to be offered in a particular destination is needed, taking into account both the actual and latent impressions of the tourist.

The chapter further discussed the importance of being innovative and having a strong market orientation in order to market successfully the cultural products of the destination. The innovation concept applied in tourism has been adapted from that of service industries in general. In order to be accepted as innovation, things should be acceptable to the market, and hence, an understanding of the market for cultural products is necessarily important. Finally, the chapter also discussed the future for tourism in Bali, linked it to the Bali Bombings in 2002. The discussion points to the value of cultural capital that the Balinese possess.

Chapter 4

Ubud: The Art Center of Bali's Cultural Tourism

4.1. Introduction

This study has used Ubud as the case study despite its purpose to describe, to some degree, change and innovation in Balinese arts in general. This chapter therefore deals with research question 1, 2 and 4.

Although it has particular branding process compared to the other destinations in the island, Ubud still represents well the process of innovation in Bali, and therefore, the use of Ubud as a case for this purpose is fitting for various reasons. Firstly, the village tourism offered in Ubud is based on presenting the typical Balinese cultural life and traditional arts that flourish in the village. Ubud's branding as an art village is stronger than other places producing arts, even more than a place such as Kamasan, an old city located between the two historical cities of Klungkung and Gelgel from which the Balinese traditional art of painting derived. Interestingly, the people of Ubud realize that their culture as well as their expertise in artwork is marketable. This encourages them to develop new forms of artwork based on the traditional styles, while adjusting to the preferences on the tourist market by producing new styles by putting together the old with the new models from elsewhere. These conditions reflect the Balinese character of being open minded to innovation.

Secondly, Ubud is renowned as a global village to which foreigners come and interact with local society. Unlike other areas in southern Bali where the boundaries between tourists and locals are clearly seen, historically interaction in Ubud seems

to be based on mutual cultural exchange. As a matter of fact, this interaction enriches and strengthens the local culture instead of weakening it and therefore shows Balinese society to be open but selective in terms of absorption of foreign cultures.

Thirdly, the royal traditions are better maintained in Ubud than in other regions of the island. In Bali, people consider royal families (*puri*) as the patrons of tradition and culture. However, since Bali was made a Dutch colony in 1908, many *puri* found that their influence over society declined because the colonial government reorganized the social order, including the caste system (cf. Howe, 2005). As members of the royal family, the *puri* Ubud, were very concerned with culture and art development in their territory, this fitted with the Dutch policy of recovering and maintaining Balinese culture, which in turn encouraged the Balinese to rediscover their culture and tradition.

In terms of tourism development in Bali, Ubud has also reflected a response to changes in the tourist market. Tourist consumption patterns have been changing in recent decades. Instead of enjoying the classic holidays of sun, sea and sand, contemporary tourists now tend to consume a more varied range of ecological and cultural forms of tourism. Such a pattern has in turn boosted the creation of new innovative tourism products. In accordance with the demand for ecotourism, Ubud, for example, offers cycling tours, exploring tropical forest and local farmland. Cycling exploration is enjoyable because there is little air pollution. In the case of cultural tourism, which the Balinese see as the main theme for tourism development, it has encouraged the Balinese artisans in Ubud to produce innovative cultural products for tourist consumption and switch their orientation from the religious to

114

the tourist market. As a result, art products have overwhelmed the region, creating the image of Ubud as a village of artists. Tourists can wander through many museums and galleries to appreciate both local and foreign painting. They can also admire the local expertise in making beautiful wood carvings in the carving galleries and studios that are scattered throughout the Ubud tourist district. In addition to satisfying the tourists' desire for local cuisine, a range of restaurants in Ubud offer tasty dishes adjusted to the tourist's palate.

Interestingly, the absence of international chain restaurants and international hotel chains has given the tourist industry in Ubud the image of "local based" development. However, local-owned businesses are concentrated within a kilometer of the central tourism zone, surrounding *Puri Saren Agung* Ubud, known as a Monkey Forest. Outside this area one can find many tourist-related businesses run by non-Balinese Indonesians and foreign expatriates. About two kilometers to the North West of the center of Ubud customary village, there are some international five star chain hotels such as Amandari Resort and Four Season Resort. McDonalds, however, failed to get a license in the customary village of Ubud. The strategy has was to retain the image of Ubud village as typically Balinese, a place that is far away from global cultural homogenization, and therefore extending an image of cultural tourism to the Ubud tourist area as a whole.

4.2. Respondents and data collection

In order to be able to describe the process of innovation in the Balinese arts in Ubud, I carried out interviews with informants in a position to understand the process of change and innovation in the Balinese arts in Ubud in the guise of cultural tourism,

as shown in table 4.1. To complement the data acquired from these interviews, secondary data were collected as mentioned in chapter one. In addition, I also used information available on the internet. This internet is important for keeping up to date with the newest information and as a mean for crosschecking the data and information that I got from the fieldwork. The results about Ubud and its tourism are discussed this chapter, and the results in relation to the process of innovation in the Balinese arts that flourish in Ubud are discussed in the two following chapters.

4.3. Defining the area of Ubud

This section is a description of the Ubud tourism area. Before I describe the physical appearance of Ubud, it is interesting to heed Graeme MacRae's experience in defining the border around the area during his field research in Ubud. As he wrote:

> Ubud: a name, a label, given to any entity defined differently by different people for different purposes: tourist destination, paradise of expatriate imagining, administrative village and/ or ritual district, virtual village (*desa adat*), kingdom, palace (*puri*). All imply bounded unity of some kind. Yet the only boundaries easy to find are the administrative ones on the big, clumsily painted wall map in the district (*kecamatan*) office. "Where are you from?" I asked the blonde woman with the American accent. "From Ubud." "I come from Ubud too," says the seller of bamboo lamp shades in the Kuta sunset. "Whereabouts in Ubud?" "From Tampaksiring." "Where are you going?" I ask my neighbor in Taman, knowing full well she is going to the market five minutes walk away. "To Ubud." "But where are the the boundaries of your survey area?" asks the frustrated official trying to process my research permit. "That is a good question," I think to myself. (MacRae, 1999:123)

The name Ubud refers to four different types of area in the regency of Gianyar. First, it refers to the customary village of Ubud. It is located about 26 kilometers to the north of Denpasar city, and covers nearly two square kilometers in an area 350-360 meters above sea level. A customary village (*desa pakraman/ desa adat*) is an institution that has existed for hundreds if not thousands of years, maintained from

Table 4.1. The Respondents

Institutions/ Backgrounds	Number of Respondents	Tenure/ Experience (years)
In-Depth Interviews:		
Culture observer	2	20-35
Tourism lecturer	3	10-15
Business person	1	15
Bali Tourism Board	2	9-15
Hotelier consultant	1	15
Short Interviews:		
Painters	6	2-6
Craftspeople	2	5-15
Art market traders	9	10-20
Booths in Bali Art Festival	15	5-14
Government officers	9	5-15
Tourist guide	2	11-14
Tourist	3	-

Source: The author

generation to generation as the basis of local social life. The word *pakraman* has been found in ancient inscriptions dating back to at least 974 – 1065 A.D, from the Sanskrit word of *grama*, meaning village. Later, the term was spelt *krama*, which refers to either a denizen or social entity inhabiting a particular place. *Pakraman* then refers to a particular place with a particular order based on tradition and scriptural teaching. The *desa pakraman* is in turn split into smaller settlements called *banjar* (hamlet) that define the rights and obligations of their members. However, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between *desa* and *banjar* in terms of physical appearance, particularly in the villages on higher land. Based on Bali Provincial Ordinance No. 6, year 1986, the customary village was recognized as a social unit based on Hindu law and local tradition, manners and social life. Local traditions are passed on within the framework of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy, a Sanskrit term meaning the three intertwined sources of happiness, consisting of *parhyangan* or harmonious relationships between man and the gods; *pawongan* or

harmonious relations between people; and *palemahan*, or harmonious relations between people and the surrounding environment. Hence, the customary village of Ubud is considered a place where people engage in cultural activities and social relationships, as well as religious ceremonies to bless the village. The term is implicitly mentioned in the Hindu holy book, the *Bhagavad Gita*. It was officially recognized in Balinese philosophy for the first time in 1966 as part of the Balinese efforts to gain recognition for their identity within Indonesian society as a whole.

Second, Ubud is also the name of the sub-district (*kelurahan/ desa dinas*), an "official village", the lowest government administrative unit officially recognized by the Republic of Indonesia. As an official village, Ubud has a direct administrative connection to higher levels of government, namely the district of Ubud, the regency of Gianyar, the province of Bali and the Indonesian Republic. While customary villages are recognized and regulated by the local government, the official village is legally recognized by central government in order to organize the modern services required by local society.

Third, Ubud denotes one of the districts in the regency of Gianyar. As a district, it consists of seven official villages and one sub-district, with the village of Ubud serving as the administrative headquarters. Compared to other districts in Gianyar regency, Ubud is the district benefitting most from the tourism industry. Ubud village is famous as an arts center throughout the world, and the surrounding villages support it by providing quality craft products, carvings and paintings. In this sense, Ubud village acts as a marketplace for such products manufactured by neighboring villages in order to serve the tourism market. This chapter is a case

study of the change and innovation in arts and crafts in the customary village of Ubud, which constitutes a globally recognized brand, together with the surrounding villages that supply it.

Fourth, Ubud refers to a tourist area including a number of villages in the neighboring district of Sukawati. While administratively the district of Ubud consists of seven villages and one subdistrict covering Peliatan, Mas, Kedawetan, Petulu, Sayan, Lodtunduh, Singakerta and Ubud, the tourist route to Ubud includes villages outside the district of Ubud. The image of Ubud as an art village is clear from the start of the tourist route. On leaving Denpasar, the route passes through the villages of Batubulan, Celuk, Sukawati, and Batuan in Sukawarti district, which display in turn stone sculpture, a silver crafts gallery, a batik and art market, and paintings.

4.4. The development of art tourism in Ubud

The village of Ubud is the most successful tourist resort in Bali in terms of attracting visitors for cultural tourism. The Balinese culture flourishing in the village has become a major attraction, not only for domestic but also for foreign tourists to enjoy. The appreciation by the local people of Ubud of their cultural art products led to the evolution of these products, giving them a large market domestically, and in turn, expanding to meet the demand from international tourists. The vibrant artistic development in Ubud is reflected in the various performing arts such as traditional dance performance that can be found daily in every corner of the village. The omnipresence of art studios shows how far the arts have developed in Ubud.

The development of Balinese performing and plastic arts in Ubud can be seen as an outcome of Balinese creativity, and the ability to innovate with original forms to

119

adjust to the market, fashion, and new technology. In the shadow puppet (*wayang*) performances, for instance, there have been changes following the advances in audiovisual technology to provide sensational new effects for the audience. While in the traditional *wayang* performance the puppeteer (*dalang*) used an oil lamp to produce silhouette effects from behind the screen, some contemporary *wayang* performances combine it with an LCD projector accompanied by a modern audio sound system to produce a more spectacular performance. In addition, English is becoming more common in the performance in addition to the language of the original story. These kinds of changes, however, do not diminish the sacred meaning of the shadow puppet performance since the *dalang* still carries out some special rituals before he performs (Sulistyowati, 2010).

Supported by the royal family in promoting tourism, the people of Ubud have intensified their religious and social life to attract tourists more than any other place in Bali. In Ubud, the mutual benefits between tourism and culture which Yamashita (2003) asserted, can clearly be seen. Once culture became the main theme of tourism development, cultural elements prominent in Ubud, including dance, music and painting that previously developed around religion, were soon further developed and transformed to meet the requirements of tourists. It was Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati (1910-1978), known as the last king of Ubud who ruled from 1934 to 1950, who keenly recognized the potential of the local fine art. Given his open mindedness and concern for its development, he asked western artists visiting Ubud to teach young villagers to paint in modern ways. For this reason, the Ubud palace can be considered as an agent of cultural transformation.

An important figure in this transformation was Walter Spies, a Russian-born German who was also responsible for the modern transformation of the arts in Java (Rhodius and Darling, 1980). He introduced Western painting techniques for the first time to the Balinese artisans in Ubud in the 1920s. Together with his companion Johan Rudolf Bonnet, a Dutch painter who came to Bali two years later, Spies encouraged young talented Balinese peasants to paint and lent them the material and equipment to begin (Geertz, 1994). The influence of Spies was not limited to painting, but also penetrated to the other traditional arts such as dance. The *kecak* dance was the result of one of his inspirations.

The presence of the Western painters in Ubud undoubtedly transformed the local painters' orientation from the religious to the secular dimension. The naturalistic paintings including human figures that were previously prohibited now became common. The change expanded the market for art beyond the temples and members of the royal family to the tourist market. After Indonesian independence in the 1950s, the influence of Western painting in Ubud continued until recently through the presence of Antonio Blanco and Arie Smit, who introduced different styles from their predecessors, making the existing Ubud painting style even more varied.

Parallel to this development process is the role of formal education in the visual arts in modern Bali. Vocational high schools for art are scattered throughout Bali, particularly in the capital city of Denpasar. At the level of higher education, the Indonesian Institute of Art at Denpasar, established in 1967, teaches majors in the performing and fine arts. As the curriculum being used in those institutions is based on the Western syllabus, the Western tradition continues to dominate in the

development of culture and the arts, enlivening the traditional ones. However, alongside these formal institutions are the informal ones such as studios that provide voluntary art courses, mainly in painting, carving and traditional dancing. This type of institution does not use any particular curriculum and teaches the students based on experience. As a result, these forms of local education can produce artists naturally, and their work has a strong traditional accent.

Currently, about 3,000 inhabitants in 824 families populate the customary village of Ubud. A report on the Ubud sub-district office in 2004 recorded that of 1,395 people in the customary village who had jobs, 21% were working in agriculture, 39% worked as craftsman, painters and carvers, 10% sold goods relating to tourism, 12% worked as employees of others, and the rest worked in various other jobs. Looking more closely at this composition, it appears that the economic development of Ubud village is no longer based on agriculture but has shifted away towards the tourism sector. According to MacRae (1997), this transformation has created a new system of economic distribution and provided multiplier effects in the village economy. The appearance of a newly rich middle class has generated a secondary demand for consumer goods, lifestyle, esteem and even prestigious religious ceremonies, and therefore has created new entrepreneurs and more job opportunities.

At the level of social status, these new entrepreneurs have been acting as the new economic patrons for the local society. In some cases, the entrepreneurs even have more influence on local society than the *puri*. The *puri* of Ubud, nevertheless, have successfully retained their influence over the society in this economic transformation, as they were able to transform their agricultural land into tourism

122

capital such as hotels or museums. Through this ability to run tourism businesses successfully on a big scale, the *puri* of Ubud have established themselves again as economic patrons for the local people. With the progress of the tourist industry, on the other hand, the people of Ubud have not left their farms, which have long been their main economic activity. But instead of staying the whole day on the farm, today they spend only the morning there, and return home in the afternoon to work, for example, on crafts to supply the tourist demand or other jobs resulting from the effects of tourism. The *puri* of Ubud, who in the past acted as the patrons of local arts and controlled the farmland, have integrated agriculture and arts as attractions for the tourists.

4.5. The synergy of *desa adat* and *desa dinas* in Ubud

While the customary village of Ubud has existed for centuries, the administrative village (*desa dinas*) system was established only in 1922 (Maryati, 2012). The Dutch introduced the system to synchronize with the administration in the Dutch East Indies as a whole. After *de jure* independence, the Indonesian government continued to adopt this system until recently. Despite their function as the arm of the national state, however, the official villages in Indonesia also possess a degree of autonomy since this is the main social unit providing support and guidance for the local community. Through a direct democratic election, the villagers choose the head of the village whose candidacy, in many cases, is based on heredity.

Along with the transformation of the village into an urban area, the *desa* will be transformed into a sub-district (*kelurahan*) with more limited autonomy. The head of a *kelurahan*, called *lurah¸* is a public servant under the Indonesian government and

is appointed by the head of the regency. In the case of Ubud, the official village was transformed into a sub-district in 1981 (Maryati, 2012). As a sub-district, it coordinates six customary villages, namely Bentuyung, Ubud, Taman Kaja, Tegal Lantang, Padang Tegal and Junjungan. The sub-district of Ubud is responsible for government programs with units established for governance, welfare, physical development and public service affairs. If there is damage to a tourist facility, it is the responsibility of the Ubud sub-district authority to report it for restoration to both the district office and the related office at the regency level. Similarly, dealing with current problems of shortage of space resulting from tourism – such as limited parking areas, inadequate infrastructure in the traditional markets, and more crucially the increase of congestion in Ubud – has become a focal concern for the sub-district authority to solve, as part of a whole state governmental system.

On the other hand, the customary village of Ubud has more cultural rather than formal functions. While the sub-district authority provides formal services not only to the villagers but also to the outsiders, including the tourists, the customary village tends to deal with the internal affairs of the local society to maintain social life. In this regard, its main function is to preserve the local socio-cultural sustainability. In short, this institution has the responsibility to ensure the enforcement of the *Tri Hita Karana* concept in the village. In relation to tourism development, the survey conducted by Bali Province Tourism Bureau in 1998 showed that 56% of foreign visitors were interested in Balinese culture, and a survey of Australians, who visited Bali in 2009 showed that about 65% had visited the island more than once. This shows the importance of keeping Balinese culture alive, for which the existence of

the customary village is required.

The customary village of Ubud is chaired by a chief called *bandesa adat* who is appointed by democratic election among the local people (figure 4.1). As a cultural authority, it has a customary advisory institution, namely *penglingsir*, whose board members are usually made up by the members of the *puri* family. The village is divided into four hamlets (*banjar*), Sambahan, Ubud Kaja, Ubud Tengah and Ubud Kelod, each of which is administered by a *kelian banjar*. The *kelian banjar*, who are also neighborhood heads in the sub-district organizational structure, have an important role because they are directly under the *desa adat* and the *desa dinas* administrations and therefore deal with both bureaucratic and cultural tasks.

The position of the customary village of Ubud as the hub of economic and administrative activities for the district (*kecamatan*) of Ubud, buttressed by the development of tourism that made the place the art center of Bali, have transformed the physical landscape of the village into an urban downtown. However, this transformation has actually taken place over several centuries and periods. According to a village legend, a Javanese Hindu priest called Sri Markandya, who was making a spiritual journey to Bali, established Ubud for the first time as a settlement in Campuhan, together with the temple of Gunung Lebah. Another story mentions that the first place he settled was Sarwada, now called Taro, and that he established Gunung Raung temple there (cf. Kertonegoro, 1988). The village legend notes that on his second spiritual trip to Bali, Markandya together with about 400 followers, made his way along the river from Besakih in the foothills of Mount Agung, the destination of his first religious trip, to the south west across the island,

Figure 4.1 Organizational structure of the *desa adat* and *desa dinas* of Ubud
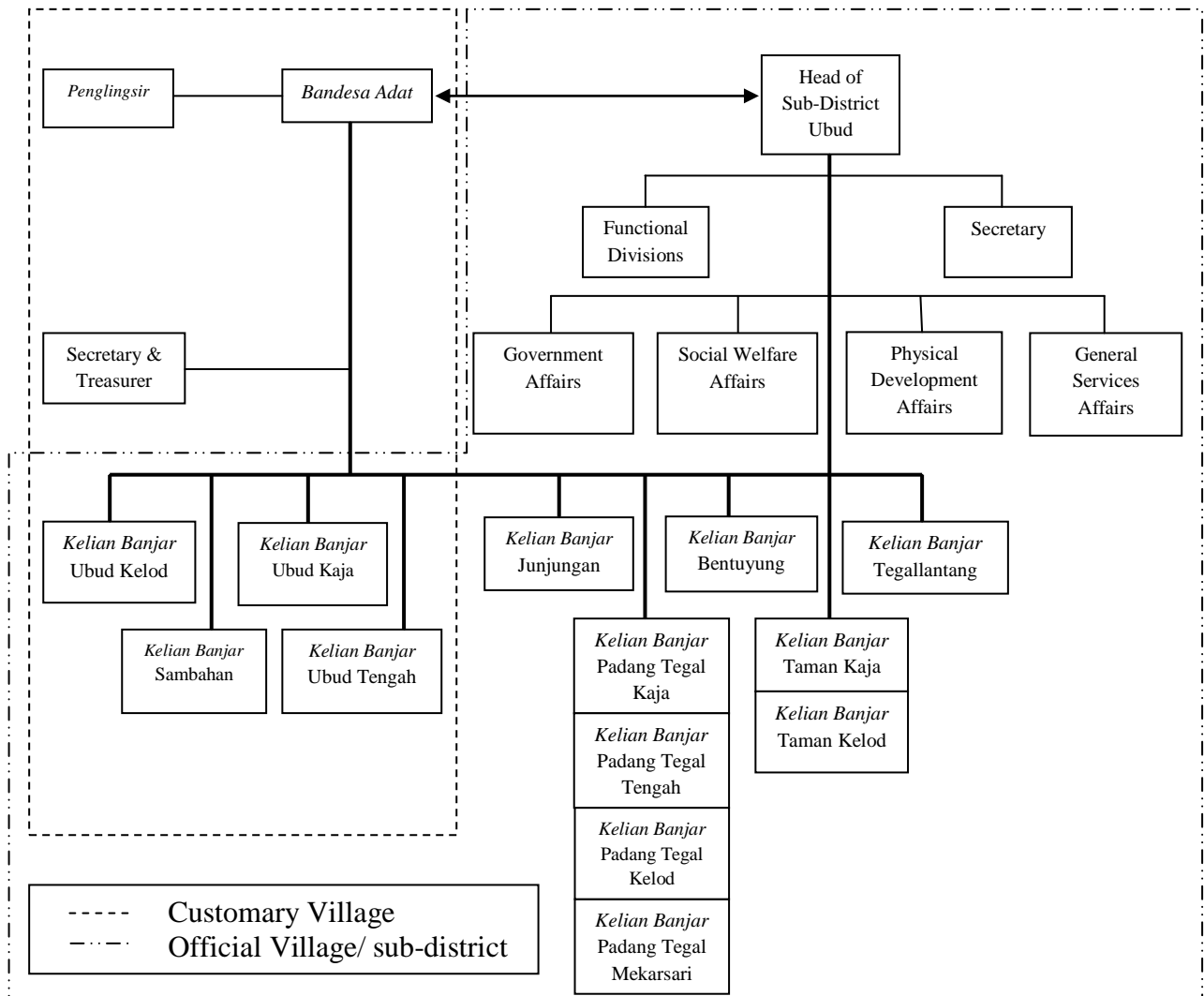
Source: The district office of Ubud

where he found a habitable place to live. This place was an area at the confluence of
two rivers of Uos Tengen and Uos Kiwa called Campuhan, which means the
confluence of water from two rivers. The rivers are also known as Uos Barat, or
West River and Uos Timur, or East River. The northern part of Campuhan grew into
an agicultural settlement because of the substantial water supply from two rivers
flanking the area.

In the late eighteenth century, Ubud became a kingdom for the first time, with

126

Ida Tjokorda Putu Kandel as the first king (Sukawati, 2008). During his reign, many of the facilities and infrastructure of the Ubud customary village developed, such as an open square garden, a market and new temples in the southern part of the settlement of Campuhan, making the village the center of the kingdom. As a result, the urban area extended further, from the north to the south part of Ubud. For the next century and a half, the village relied on the agriculture sector and particularly rice fields as the main pillar of economy.

After Bali fell to the Dutch in the early twentieth century, the political domination of the *puri* quickly diminished, replaced by colonial rule. The Dutch changed royal rule to a district administration system, in which the Dutch directly appointed the district head. However, in accordance with their commitment to preserving Balinese culture from ruin and making it into a living museum of the Majapahit Kingdom, the Dutch allowed the *puri* to retain part of their control over the society, as patrons of local cultures and traditions. In 1934, the royal family of Ubud appointed Prince Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati (1934-1950) to the throne, known as the last king of Ubud. During his rule, Ubud experienced a fundamental economic transition from agriculture to tourism. However, In 1950 Bali and the other East Indonesian states agreed to integrate into a unitary Republic of Indonesia and after this, although the royal family still has some political influence, the formal role of the *puri* has been limited as cultural advisors to the customary village.

4.6. Tourism resources and the image of Ubud

While beaches are considered as important attractions in much of the Balinese tourism industry, Ubud bases its tourism industry on its location as a mountain

village with unique customs (*adat*), culture (*budaya*) and religion (*agama*) giving its main identity. On the one hand, the emphasis on cultural tourism for the Bali tourism industry has reinforced the success of Ubud as the icon of Balinese culture. The people of Ubud have enthusiastically responded to this policy as a call to revive their traditions. On the other hand, the tendency in the tourism market to shift from mass tourism to special-interest tourism has also helped the positioning of Ubud in cultural tourism. As the tourists' consumption patterns have been moving towards alternative tourism in recent decades, there are fewer younger western tourists interested only in surfing. These segment of younger travelers currently tend to consume a more varied range of natural, heritage and cultural forms of tourism (cf. Tosun, 2002; Picard, 1996: 86; Howe, 2005: 8). In Bali, Ubud is currently becoming the most popular spot for alternative tourism, a place where a wide range of experiences of Balinese cultural products is being offered to the tourists.

Given that the climate of Ubud is pleasant, it has been well known as a place for healing for hundreds of years, due to its restful atmosphere promoting physical, emotional and spiritual health (Kartajaya and Indrio, 2009). The village is also renowned for inspiring writers and artists. In the 1920s and 1930s, western artists such as Walter Spies, Rudolf Bonnet, as well as anthropologists including Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, stayed in Ubud for a long time to satisfy their curiosity about Balinese life. It is also recorded that in the 1990s, the future president Barack Obama and his wife stayed in Ubud while he was completing his book *Dreams from my Father*, published in 1995. Not surprisingly, Ubud has been the site of international events like the Quest for Global Healing Conference in 2004 and 2006,

and annual festival such as the Ubud Writers and Readers Festival, as well as, the celebration of yoga, dance and music known as the Bali Spirit Festival.

Among other travelers, Ubud has been a paradise for both local and foreign anthropologists as the place has provided fertile material for researchers, as well as being a place for writers to find inspiration. Anthropologists such as Clifford and Hildred Geertz, among many others, stayed in Ubud for a relatively long period for their research. The Indonesian marketing writer Hermawan Kartajaya has also regularly visited Ubud to gain inspiration from the calm atmosphere of the village. For some people, Ubud is seen as a place to develop all their capabilities, as Kartajaya and Indrio suggest:

> Here we can simultaneously sharpen our Intelligence Quotient (IQ), our Emotional Quotient (EQ), and our Spiritual Quotient (SQ). Our IQ will be enhanced because Ubud is a highly inspiring place to seek out new ideas that we might never have imagined. The diverse population of Ubud, comprising the indigenous Hindu-Bali community, expatriate residents and tourists, forces us to be more sensitive to and tolerant of others (EQ). And of course, Ubud is an ideal place to develop our inner spirituality (SQ). "Spirituality" here refers not to the formal aspects of religion, but rather to an awareness of ourselves as humans, as creatures. Thus, anyone can experience this spirituality, whatever their religion or beliefs. If IQ is Mindware, EQ is Heartware, and SQ is Soulware, then taken together they constitute what we call Humanware. Together, these three sets of "equipment" shape us into complete, integrated persons. (2009: xiii).

They present Ubud as a contemporary paradise, a place to refresh yourself from the bustle of daily life. They implicitly suggest that the local people welcome foreigners and outside culture, a feature of the Balinese for centuries.

Ubud, likewise, presents the image of being a global village in its diversity. Like Kuta, it is visited by tourists from more than a hundred countries, but in Ubud, foreigners do not simply visit. Some of them stay there for a long time for various reasons, or even become residents, adding to the diversity and local color. In terms

Figure 4.2 The cultural landscape of Ubud

Source: Field research

of the life cycle of a city, Ubud may represent an economically healthy town that attracts new citizens to stay and make a living there. Just as the period in between the World Wars, when numerous Westerners visited and stayed in Ubud, many expatriates have recently gone there for work or business, as well as to obtain inspiration for writing. They include people such as Janet DeNeefe, a writer who runs a restaurant and is married to a local man. However, Ubud is clearly different from other tourist resorts in Bali since the local people, on the one hand, are strongly nurturing tradition within this diversity. This tradition has in turn positioned the village as "unchanged Bali" in the tourist gaze. On the other hand, new residents use this traditional atmosphere to attract more and more tourists to visit, as this provides them with economic advantages.

In January 2010, Ubud was chosen as the best city in Asia in 2009 by Condé Nast Traveler magazine and was ranked in fifth position in 2010. It is thus competing with major Asian cities, including Bangkok, Kyoto, Singapore, Hongkong and Tokyo. This is interesting given that Ubud, as I have discussed earlier in this chapter, is more appropriately called a town than a city. The criteria

130

for comparing Ubud with these larger cities are probably based on its culture and sites, hospitality, atmosphere, and tourist accommodation, including restaurants and shopping facilities. According to the tourism management in Ubud, the village, in fact, does not have any particular institution to direct tourism promotion programs and policies. Tourism promotion of the village has been taking place so far through word of mouth and international events that are organized mostly by foreigners. The best city award conferred on Ubud has generated a new motivation and spirit to manage the village better as a cultural tourist destination. A month after the award, the head of Gianyar regency, who is a family member of *puri* Ubud, held a celebration event to express his pride in the people of Ubud and his hope to establish an institution to synergize the government, private sector and local people to develop it further.

For an international tourist destination like Ubud, an effective marketing strategy, particularly promotion, has an important role in communicating a positive image to potential tourists, describing the physical, non-physical and cultural features of a destination (Kolb, 2006). Since a tourist destination predominantly offers intangible benefits to the visitors, strong branding is needed to place such a destination in an appropriate position within the competitive landscape. Therefore, the development of strong branding is important for a tourist destination to compete effectively in the international tourist market (Kneesel *et al*., 2010). Destination image branding refers to the creation of a tourist mindset about a particular place and its uniqueness to distinguish it from other destinations (Weaver and Lawton, 2006; Richardson and Fluker, 2004). Tourists develop this mindset through exposure

131

to promotional material before visitng the destination, and through their own experience once they have visited it (Chen and Uysal, 2002).

Since tourism is increasingly used as a tool to develop economies, competition to attract tourists is inevitable. As a result, every destination makes a great effort to position itself as a distinct and unique place among competing destinations. In the case of Ubud, the village is competing at both the regional and international levels, and presenting itself as providing visitors with both a natural and cultural experience.

The natural landscape of Ubud is composed of rice fields, cliffs, rivers and hills. It has historical as well as cultural resources: these include art museums and studios, palaces and temples, and a wide range of performing arts. In addition to these cultural resources, Ubud is also the home of artists skilled in painting and carving. The Hindu tradition is strongly maintained, and the local community is committed to preserving the traditional culture of Bali. This commitment is shown through a consistent engagement with the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, which stresses the importance of harmony between the spiritual, social and natural elements. As a result, Ubud is often considered the cultural heart of Bali (Durban-Hall, 2003).

The landscape described indicates the important resources Ubud has to offer to the tourist market. However in terms of modern destination management, how to communicate this landscape to the wide range of potential tourists through promotion is not clear. Ubud, unlike Sanur, does not have a local tourism board to bring together the tourism community and stakeholders in a formal forum. In my interview with a small hotelier owner in the monkey forest area, Mrs. I, whose accommodation, the LS cottage, ranges from US$75 to 200 per night excluding 10%

service charge and 11% prevailing government tax, indicated that informal communication between tourist enterprises is irregular. According to her, each of the hotels in the monkey forest area have their own primary market, so they do not grab or encroach on each other's market. By way of illustration, my respondent's primary market is French. Her small boutique hotel has been receiving French guests regularly through travel agents. She has never actually marketed her hotel to French guests herself, but intermediaries do. Apart from a small number of guests who book directly with her, she gets most of her customer from the intermediaries. Although her hotel has its own website to connect directly to the market, few of the tourists visiting Ubud are budget tourists, and most of them prefer to use the integrated service provided by travel agents.

At a more macro level, small tourism entrepreneurs in Ubud usually follow the lead of either the government or the *puri*. The small hoteliers believe that the government will implement the best policy to protect them. In the case of the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005, for instance, she did not know in detail about government efforts to rebuild the Bali tourism industry. What she remembered was the Bali Governor, Mangku Pastika, the former head of the Bali province police department at the time of bombing, campaigning throughout the world to reassure people that Bali was now safe for tourists to visit. Likewise, in the recovery in tourism activity at the local level, the hotelier community was waiting for the initiative to be taken and coordinated by the *puri* Ubud. For the people of Ubud, worshipping the gods and reinvesting tourist dollars in religion-related activity is the best way to sustain tourism as their livelihood. The local entrepreneurs believe that

the Balinese cultural resource in Ubud will not deteriorate because people will continue to maintain their temples (*pura*) and maintain the customary rules at the *banjar* level. As the lowest level of administrative institution associated directly with the local society, the *banjar* possesses a central role in the development of cultural tourism in Ubud. The institutions ensured the maintenance of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy to enhance the welfare and prosperity of its members. The notions of welfare and prosperity here refer to the fulfillment of not only physical and material needs but also spiritual needs. Therefore, the tasks of the *banjar* include organizing cultural, artistic and religious activities, as well as social relationships among the local people, managing the assets of the customary village, punishing violations of local custom, and ensuring safety, orderliness and peace in the village at the level of hamlet.

4.7. The branding of Ubud

While the absence of local tourism institutions seems to limit the empowerment of the local society to direct tourism management and marketing in Ubud, the promotion of Ubud takes place primarily through initiatives initiated by foreigners with the *puri*'s approval. The branding process of Ubud occurs naturally instead of being structurally planned. Generally, place branding is an integrated process directed by the tourism authority of a place in consideration of the market situation and preferences in order to attract tourists, investors, and creative workers. According to Kolb, this is a "process of creating a slogan from a message and then designing a symbol or logo that together with the slogan will communicate to potential visitors the image throughout the city along with the features, benefits, and

values of a brand …" (Kolb, 2006:219). Referring to this definition, one can see a sequence, from the process of planning the brand image to be projected of the place to how to communicate such an image to potential visitors. In the case of Ubud, however, many images associated with the place, such as being the heart of Bali, the art center of Bali, or the spirit of Bali, do not derive from the tourism authorities. These are images articulated by the tourists or writers to express their feeling about Ubud after visiting the place.

From the branding process of Ubud as both product and place, two implications arise. Firstly, as the images emanate from the imagination of the visitors, they reveal what Ubud actually is from the point of view of the tourist gaze. This is positive, as the image obtained can be communicated effectively to other potential visitors. Kotler et al. (cited in Gran, 2010:27) suggest five criteria for the image of a place to impress the tourist mindset, namely its validity, believability, simplicity, appeal and distinctiveness (Kotler et al., 1999).

Validity represents the reality of the place. Confirmation of the expected image by the perceived image will shape the degree of satisfaction. Believability, furthermore, should enhance the image of the place. This affirms to the visitors that what they see is what they get. Simplicity refers to the ease with which the image becomes fixed in the mind of the visitors. From this point of view, one should not disseminate too many images or present contradictory images as these cause confusion. Appeal underlines why people want to live, invest, work or visit the place. This criterion constitutes a very good reason for city tourist authorities to investigate the global competition, in order to attract the best resources. The distinctiveness

criterion, finally, is what differentiates the place from other places or common themes. As there are no two identical places in the world, a thorough exploration of the core identity of a particular place needs to be done when the place is competing to attract visitors globally.

Based on these five criteria, Gran (2010:27) suggested further that "the image must be related to some relevant reality that is unique…differ from product to product, place to place…[and] has to do with identity, essence and values." For Ubud, the validity and believability criteria are not important in the current branding process as the visitors themselves create the image for the place. Since the tourists continue to visit Ubud, while at the same time the place is also attractive for creative people to live, it meets the appeal criterion. The simplest and most distinctive ways of branding Ubud are most likely derived from the culture of the place, which is displayed every day in every corner of the village. The image of Ubud is simple for visitors to grasp because the place offers tourism products in the garb of authentic Balinese culture, which in turn facilitates the endorsement of Ubud as the heart of Bali.

The second implication is that of the challenge of authenticity. As already discussed, Balinese culture is central to developing Ubud as a tourist destination. But even if the image of Ubud emanates from the tourists' vision, there will be a definite gap between the actual place and the images presented in the tourism publicity, which tells stories, sells emotion and stimulates the imagination (Ooi & Stöer, 2010). The idea of Ubud as the spirit of Bali, a place that offers tranquility and a restful atmosphere, may appear true for someone visiting the Campuhan valley or staying in luxurious hotels located on the valley slopes. There is a different scene

in the monkey forest area where many activities are centered. The place is a site for small boutique hotels, markets, souvenir shops and boutiques, cafés and restaurants, and many more tourism-related businesses. The landscape around the town is now marked by traffic congestion and bustling tourist activities, a situation that is far from calm or atmospheric, so that it becomes more and more difficult to present the place as "authentic" as is portrayed in the brochures.

In the tourism competition, the rich natural and cultural resources possessed by a place may give it an advantage compared to other places, as there are no other places which are identical. However, possessing a competitive advantage is preferable in global competition. Similar to the competition in manufacturing industries, in which every company strives to gain an advantage competitively, competition is also taking place in the tourism industry, in which every destination is seeking competitiveness. Ritchie and Crouch indicate that "a destination which has a tourism vision, shares this vision among all stakeholders, understands its strengths as well as its weaknesses, develops an appropriate marketing strategy and implements it successfully, may be more competitive than one which has never asked what role tourism is to play in its economic and social development" (2003:23). While Ubud in 2009 was designated the best city in Asia, defeating other cities including Singapore, it is acknowledged that Singapore is much more successfully attracting visitors, investors, and qualified workers than Ubud. Singapore is comparatively lacking in natural and cultural resources in comparison to Ubud, but the city has innovatively developed its tourism by utilizing its capital and creative human resources to create a Singapore brand which presents the city as

safe, clean and hospitable (cf. Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). Singapore is one among a number of similar examples in city tourism, including Hongkong, Macau and Vancouver.

This does not mean that, however, natural and cultural resources solely provide comparative advantages for the destinations possessing them. Exploration and exploitation of culture to develop a unique appearance and identity may lead a particular place to transform its comparative advantage into competitive advantage through developing strong branding. It should not worry about culture commodification. Discussing exploration from the perspective of organizational learning studies, March describes it as including "things captured by terms such as search, variation, risk taking, experimentation, play, flexibility, discovery, innovation" (March, 1991:71). On the other hand, exploitation "includes such things as refinement, choice, production, efficiency, selection, implementation and execution". (March, 1990:71). As Govers and Go (2009:130) suggest in relation to worries about authenticity:

> The authenticity of place identities is often contested as well, but we have to realize that there is not only the objective authenticity of the "original, historic or real", but also processes of emerging authenticity and staged authenticity, often no less appreciated by visitors, tourists or travelers. In addition, experiential or existential authenticity is about people perceiving their experiences and social interactions as "real'" or meaningful, while constructed authenticity refers to how people co-create meanings that matter to them. The latter view of authenticity is what we as authors consider to be most relevant, because authenticity, in the end, is an individual judgment that is also based on people's self image. Together, hosts and guests, matching self-images and personalities, can co-create authentic meaningful experiences of identity.

4.7.1. Museums and the cultural landscape of Ubud

Given its position as the art center of Bali, Ubud has a large number of art museums.

These include the Museum Puri Lukisan, the Neka Art Museum, the Rudana Museum, the Don Antonio Blanco museum and the Arma Museum, in addition to those attached to the hotels, such as Puma the Museum of Alam Puri Resort. The Museum Puri Lukisan is the oldest art museum in Ubud and is administered by the *puri* Ubud family through the Yayasan Ratna Wartha Foundation. The most-recent museum to be established is controversial, the Museum of Marketing 3.0.

The visualization of a place by tourists visiting a place is important for their experience. According to Huff (2008:20), "Places are made real through the visual. Abstract notions, such as that of nationhood, only become real when the iconography of nationhood is created, given meaning and peppered throughout the landscape." In the case of Ubud, museums are the tangible buildings which reify the image of Ubud as the art center of Bali and make the "village of artists" real for the visitors. The numerous studios of painters and carvers scattered in Ubud, of course, generate the impression of Ubud as an art village, but they do not provide any prominent symbols to structure the landscape. Therefore, the presence of art museums makes it easier for the tourist to grasp the idea of Ubud as a place where Bali's most creative artists are to be found, together with their best artworks.

Unlike art galleries, the museum exhibits collections of work made by various prominent artists. It is a kind of one-stop arts center for tourists since they do not need to visit so many galleries to enjoy such a range of work. However, the role of the museum in cultural tourism remains a subject of debate. MacCannell (1976:84) as cited by Smith (2003:87) describe modern museums as "anti-historical and un-natural." Even Hewison (1987:84) cited in Smith (2003:87) described them as "[a]

symbol of national decline." Summarizing Smith's (2003) discussion of previous authors discussing museums, the image of museums is often of places that are old-fashioned and musty, and therefore, represent a crisis of identity in a place. Smith (2003:87) also cites Boniface and Fowler's (1993:118) description of them: "museums are wonderful, frustrating, stimulating, serendipitous, dull as ditchwater and curiously exciting, tunnel-visioned yet potentially visionary. The real magic is that any one of them can be all of those simultaneously."

The art museums in Ubud exhibit not only the valuable older fine arts but also present the artistic work of current talented artists. Hence, these museums present an artistic image rather than one which is old and obsolete. They are also considered to be the best places to study the development of Balinese fine art over time, especially painting. Thus the art museums in Ubud seemingly contradict MacCannell's description of them as of anti-historical and un-natural, as well as Hewison's description of decline, and tend to support Smith's statement that museum establishment is a good way of exhibiting local culture (Smith, 2003:126).

The most-recent debate over museum establishment in Ubud concerns the Museum of Marketing 3.0 constructed on the Museum Puri Lukisan site. The Puri Ubud and MarkPlus Co, an Indonesian marketing consultant, initiated the development of the museum to celebrate the adoption of the Balinese concept of *Tri Hita Karana* as a marketing concept for business. The museum later was inaugurated by Phillip Kotler, a marketing professor at the Kellogg School of Management, a man considered as the "father of modern marketing" and a strategic partner of MarkPlus. In fact, the initiative to develop the museum arose from the

need to market Ubud more effectively, and the inauguration of the museum took place on May 27, 2011, coinciding with the birthday of Phillip Kotler. The opponents to this establishment argue that the museum has no relevance to Ubud as the art center of Bali and the Balinese culture.

Many people however think that the Museum of Marketing pollutes the landscape of Ubud. The following are comments I collected from a thread entitled "Save Our Ubud" posted on Facebook on the establishment of the museum:

> "How foul, crazy and misguided is this plan. People come to Ubud to celebrate and experience its essence of cultural arts and spirituality... certainly not to study the western 'science' of marketing, moneymaking and product consumerism... and in a museum." (Duncan Kirk, March, 9, 2011).

> "Ubud ended up being cultural tourism destination due to the efforts of McPhee, Spies etc who brought artists and art-forms from outside villages to teach gamelan, fine arts etc. from my study of gamelan and dance, for example, there are many more original art-forms in other tourist destinations - Sanur, for example - they are not sold commercially, that's the difference." (Vaughan Hatch, March, 9, 2011).

> "You can judge by yourself, whether this museum is relevant with Puri Lukisan/Ubud/Bali, or in fact has nothing to do with Ubud and just a marketing ploy to promote certain individuals who even never live in Bali." (Moderator, May, 28, 2011).

For sure, marketing talks about creativity and the way to find and serve the latent needs and wants of the customer. Even art has to be marketed to connoisseurs. However, people, especially the locals, do not thinking of marketing as a philosophy, but simply as selling. They consider the development of the new museum as a way to become more commercial in the global market.

4.8. Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has shown that the economy has become the dominant

factor in changing the social, cultural and religious life in Ubud. Whilst in the past the *puri* Ubud were the only patrons of local life and tradition, at present the newly rich appear as another center of power since they create many jobs from tourism-related businesses. Cultural activities have also become driven, to some extent, by economic motives. Religion has also experienced changes influenced by the transformation of the local economy, although to a smaller degree than social and cultural life. One of the prominent instances is the decrease in the importance of *pura subak*, since much of the agricultural land has been leased for tourism purposes.

The tourism branding of Ubud is unique in terms of the image it generates among visitors based on their impressions and feelings about the place. The image of being the art center of Bali has not been created intentionally by the tourism authority of Ubud or Bali, but it does conform to the five principles of branding: validity, believability, simplicity, appeal and distinctiveness. This is probably because the local people of Ubud have in many cases run their businesses based on *Tri Hita Karana* concepts, and the market recognizes these values.

The way the local people of Ubud do business was the inspiration for the establishment of a marketing museum in Ubud. But even though the Puri Ubud sponsored the development of the museum, the objections to its establishment show the extent of the transformation of the social structure in Ubud. The local people are no longer just following the Puri but are also using the internet to raise issues and express other opinions regarding the development of tourism and culture in their locality.

Chapter 5

Change and Innovation in the Balinese Intangible Arts

The dances, dramas, puppetry and music of Bali are more than icons for the island; they are part and parcel of life—as expressions of devotion to the gods, as entertainment, and as a way of instilling cultural values on each generation (Dibia & Ballinger, 2004).

5.1. Introduction

In parallel with cultural tourism as a general term in tourism that utilizes "culture" as the main resource for tourist attractions, art tourism, in particular, is increasingly considered as the most suitable type of tourism in terms of sustainability and competitiveness due to the dynamic nature of human life and culture. The arts thus become the key factor for developing sustainable cultural tourism. In order to examine research questions 3, 4 and 5, this chapter outlines processes of change and innovation in the intangible performing arts in Ubud. Cultural tourism takes culture as its basic resource, one which cannot be exhausted, but one which cannot be preserved without change. In other words, culture adapts and changes over time to adjust to the dynamics of society and the neighboring environment (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952).

More importantly, the performing arts play a central role in developing the shape of culture over time. This kind of art is closely linked to the available media technology to support creativity within it. This chapter examines the changes and innovations in Balinese arts related to the cultural activities that flourish in Ubud. In particular, the study takes a closer look at the process of innovation in Balinese

dance and shadow puppet theater performances, among the main attractions of cultural tourism in Ubud as the main cultural tourist destination in Bali. In this sense, tourism provides spaces for the performing arts in Ubud to change and develop constantly, adapting to the dynamics of their surrounding environment. In Bali, the main sources of such changes are most likely to originate from changing tourist and local consumer values, political forces, environmental issues and advances in technological development (cf. Dwyer and Edwards, 2009). Consequently, Bali is under pressure to adapt to such changes in order to stay competitive in the tourism market. Innovation furthermore is regarded as a way for performing arts in Bali to stay in tune with environmental changes.

The Kecak dance was one of the earliest cases of the modification of sacred dances to develop a secular version to meet the needs of tourists for authentic experience. Walter Spies developed the first version of this dance in collaboration with a colleague named Wayan Limbak in Ubud. The dance was a modification of the vocal version of the sacred Sanghyang dance. Later, the dance spread across Bali in various versions as the economy and tourism both grew. However, in order to examine the process of innovation in Balinese dance in Ubud, it is worth first discussing traditional dance in Indonesia in general and in Bali in particular, since the development of Balinese dance in Ubud cannot be divorced from its wider context. The following section discusses the development of traditional dance in Indonesia followed by the traditional dance in Bali. It continues with a discussion of the transformation initiated by Spies in Ubud to serve the Western tourist market.

5.2. The traditional dance of Indonesia and the challenge of globalization

Indonesia is a multicultural nation which posseses a huge number of traditional dances. It is the biggest island country in the world, consisting of more than 17,000 islands, inhabited by approximately 250 million inhabitants from hundreds of different ethnic groups. Badan Statistik Indonesia (BPS), the official institution providing statistical data on Indonesia, claimed in 2010 that Indonesia possessed 1,128 ethnic groups speaking 583 languages (Syam, 2010; JPNN, 2010). It is therefore one of the most diverse countries in the world in terms of culture. As many of these ethnic groups have their own original dances, there are thousands of traditional dances, which still existed in Indonesia until recently. Some of them still continue to develop, while some others are threatened by the surge of globalization, and are likely to vanish. As traditions continuously change, traditional dances also potentially change following the dynamics of culture and the demands of society. It is certainly true that Indonesian dances are intentionally developed by new artists over time and are subject to change (Murgiyanto, 1993). Furthermore, these traditional dances compete with and are influenced by popular dance, and become standardized through the media, particularly TV. As a result, Indonesian dances change in three separate ways. First, some of the Indonesian dances continue to develop along traditional lines, as with the traditional dances in Bali. This is obvious, particularly in the court-based dances. Secondly, some of them begin to disappear because there is less demand for them economically, or because they become less popular. Some of the dancers in Malang region, East Java, for instance, discourage their students from performing traditional dance styles if they cannot earn a living

145

by performing them (cf. Sunardi, 2010). Thirdly, due to the collaboration with the different genres of dance, some other traditional Indonesian dances experience evolution and transformation into a new and different formats. This dynamic richness of Indonesian dance, nevertheless, has also been a potential resource for the development of tourism in the country.

Since it is difficult to appreciate Indonesian ethnic dances overall, one can start by trying to understand first the dynamics of the Balinese performing arts (cf. MacRae, 2010). Many Balinese dance styles have absorbed elements of performing art forms from other places in Indonesia and the rest of the world, bringing them in through politics, trade and education. The Ramayana ballet (*sendratari Ramayana*), for example, which is one of the "compulsory" attractions for the tourists, was imported from Java in the 1960s (Howe, 2005). Another example is the sacred dance of the Great Warrior (*Baris Gede*) that is considered to be adapted from a Chinese dance (Sulistyawati, 2008).

As an icon for Balinese tourism, traditional dance develops dynamically within the tourist and traditional entertainment markets, where the creativity of the artists meets the demand of both the local people and the tourists for quality cultural products. Given that the Balinese themselves are the main market for traditional dance, they welcome innovative performances. For half a century, this form of art has developed into an important business for the islanders and has experienced a fundamental transformation, alongside the progress of the tourist industry. As a kind of business, therefore, innovation and marketing of Balinese dancing are necessary in order to create value for both the artists and the audiences.

146

Like traditional dances in other parts of Indonesia, Balinese dances are divided into two main genres: court dance, and folk dance. Court dance, which is considered the most refined form of dance, thrives under the control and strict rules of the palace (*puri*). Because the *puri* has a role as the local cultural patron, royal families' palace officials guide and control the development of Balinese dance. On the other hand, folk dance develops following the dynamics of popular culture. The folk dances are free from the strict rules and discipline of the court dances, and tend to be secular rather than sacred in origin. In Bali for instance, the *Joged Bumbung* folk dance attracts a specific type of audience due to its popular and overtly sexual nature.

5.2.1. The function and development of traditional dance in Indonesia

In a global economy, nations are increasingly utilizing culture as a tool to boost their economic growth through tourism and development of creative industries. Cultural products are increasingly transformed into commodities that possess economic value rather than just being viewed merely as heritage or cultural products to be preserved. For instance, traditional cloth or *batik* in Indonesia, is now applied to modern fashion, and has become global. It was predicted recently that *batik* would gain more popularity as some international leaders, including President Barack Obama, wore it when the Indonesian government used it as the official dress for the ASEAN Summit in Bali on November 2011. In the area of intangible culture, ethnic dance is a mainstay of the local culture and has an important role in cultural tourism development. It is generally accepted that dance, like music, is universal in terms of communication and entertainment. The differences in language and cultural background between people are not an obstacle to the enjoyment of intercultural

147

communication through dance. In order to understand the impact and meaning of dance for society, therefore, examining the origins, functions, processes of innovation and development of dance are all essential. This requires research, drawing on perspectives from anthropology, psychology, economics and art together to provide a framework to understand the complexity of dance and its changing role in society.

Dances in Indonesia are very much influenced by Indian and Chinese cultures, and some are partly influenced by Arabic culture, like those found in Sumatra and Borneo. Hindu civilization was brought by Indian traders and travelers to Southeast Asia in the fourth century and was well-established in Java in the tenth century, a period when the great temple of Prambanan in central Java was established. However, prior to this golden period of Hinduism in Java, its influence in Indonesia dates back to the fourth century and the Kutai Martadipura Kingdom in East Borneo, which is considered the oldest Hindu Kingdom in what is now Indonesia. The Indian traders and travelers were successful in spreading Hindu culture in Indonesia since the local people saw them as bringing new knowledge in agriculture, astronomy, mathematics, art and writing (Descutner, 2010). This allowed them to be regarded as teachers and secured their influence in the local society. The Hindu traditions therefore became mixed with local animism. Dance in Indonesia, including sung narrative and dance drama, was presented for the three main purposes: religious, political, and court entertainment.

Within religion, dances were performed in a wide range of ceremonies from the expression of gratitude to performances in honor of deities and ancestral spirits. This

can be seen, for example, in the *Kanjar* dance of the Dayak Bukit ethnic group in South Borneo, the *Bedhoyo Ketawang* dance from Central Java, and the Guru dance of North Sumatra. Sacred performance for the deities and ancestral spirit were once common, especially before the coming of Islam in the archipelago, but it continues in places like Bali Island and Toraja (cf. Yamashita, 2003). Dances, particularly those of the dance drama genre, were also used effectively for delivering a moral message in times where most people in society were less literate.

In the political context, the local authorities and other political powers in Indonesia used to utilize dances as a tool to maintain their power over society. In particular, in Java and Bali, the kingdoms used traditional dance, supported by priests or other religious leaders, in order to sustain their hegemony. In this regard, to be a patron of traditional arts, particularly court dances, became one of the common ways of gaining influence in the rivalry between the members of court families (Carey, 2005 [1993]). On the other hand, folk dances also had an important role in lower class political movements. This was obvious when folk dances such as the *Jaipong* dance of the Sundanese in western Java, the *Tayub/Ronggeng* dance of the Javanese in central and eastern Java, and the *Joged Bumbung* dance of the

Figure 5.1 Examples of Indonesian sacred dances of Javanese, Dayak and Papuan

Source: Wikipedia

Balinese in Bali became popular during the Sukarno period. In the 1960s, the PKI, the communist party in Indonesia, used to utilize these folk dances to attract lower-class constituents.

Entertainment was, of course, one of the functions of traditional dance performance in Indonesia, particularly for court families. This can be seen, for example, in the *Bedhoyo* dances of the Surakarta Kingdom in Central Java which could only be learned and performed in the court, and not by the common people. Those who wanted to learn the dance had to learn it in the court. This was true at least until the 1970s (Tomioka, 2010). In South Sulawesi (Celebes Island), there was a ritual dance known as *Pakarena* that was transformed into a classic court dance soon after the coming of Islam to the island. This dance remained popular for entertainment in the courts of some Makassarese and Bugis kingdoms such as the Gowa and Bantaeng Kingdoms (cf. Bougas, 1998). These dances were also used for welcoming guests of court family members.

In contemporary Indonesia, traditional dances function as part of official ceremonies, though some of them are performed in rituals or become rituals themselves. Sunardi, for instance, confirms this for the *Beskalan Putri* dance, a dance that still exists in the Malang region of East Java, saying that:

> *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Putri* often have the same function – an opening dance that usually precedes other performances and/or events that are held for a variety of occasions, including weddings, circumcisions, village purification ceremonies, birthdays, anniversaries, Indonesia Independence Day, celebrations, festivals, and business inaugurations. (2010:89-90).

The *Beskalan Putri* dance is believed to date from the period of the Singhasari Kingdom, the precursor of the Majapahit Kingdom. As society developed, the

150

Beskalan Putri dance was periodically replaced by the *Ngremo Putri* dance in the 1960s (Sunardi, 2010). It is, nevertheless, still being performed in some official ceremonies.

In order to facilitate the conservation and development of dance and to boost the production of new dances for the market, the Indonesian government has established art schools at the high school and higher education levels. At the high school level, this is represented by the training at the Vocational High School (SMK) for the arts, established along with other vocational educational institutions in subjects such as engineering, nursing, agriculture, pharmacy and many more, and available in almost every regency in the country. There are about eight Vocational High Schools in Indonesia purely based on performing arts (Sarwindaningrum, 2009), while other schools offer arts programs in painting, craft, art design and multimedia. This system allows regencies in Indonesia to accommodate and develop local potential. However, recently the performing arts vocational high schools have attracted less attention from young people due to the limited jobs available in this sector. This is counter to the new economic program promoted by the Indonesian central government to encourage the growth of the creative economy.

At the level of higher education, there are five main institutions, namely the ISI (Indonesian Art Institute), which offer dance as a major. These schools are ISI Jogjakarta located in Jogjakarta, ISI Surakarta in Central Java, ISI Bandung in West Java, ISI Denpasar in Bali, and the ISI Padang Panjang in West Sumatra. The implementation of full government decentralization in Indonesia in the late 1990s has encouraged local government to design their own educational models based on the local needs. As a result, the provincial government of South Sulawesi will

establish a higher-education art school in 2012, which will become the first art school in the eastern Indonesian region. Although each of these institutions is regional in nature, they use the concept of Indonesian nationalism as a general framework in their efforts to exploit and explore art development.

5.2.2. The nature of Balinese dance

Balinese dance is one of the major Balinese performing arts traditions which have grown along with the changes and transformations in Balinese society. It has flourished from the 1920s to the present, alongside the progress of the tourism industry. Today, as dance performances are a must-see attraction for many tourists, tourism entrepreneurs have asked the Balinese to produce more varied dancing styles for the tourists to differentiate each troupe from its competitors. As a result, currently there are hundreds of styles of Balinese dance aimed at the entertainment and tourism markets, and every village in Bali offers its own special performances. However, in order to prevent the development of what Michel Picard has called "touristic culture," the local authority warned the Balinese to refrain from the improper use of religious symbols for tourism—including, in this case, performing sacred dances for tourists (1996:134). Even with dances produced purely for entertainment, such as the popular *Joged Bumbung*, the performance should retain its cultural character, as defined by the government's cultural experts. This is especially clear in the case of the "new-style" *Joged Bumbung* dance that developed in the late 20th century, which expresses sensuality rather than artistic or cultural values. I will explore the *Joged Bumbung* phenomenon in the context of contemporary "traditional" Balinese dancing later in this chapter.

In Bali, every cultural and religious ceremony engages a dancer or troupe of dancers to not only entertain guests or neighbours attending the ceremony but also display devotion to their gods. This was also true before the Second World War (cf. Covarrubias, 1986 [1937]). The Balinese are unique in that their social life the performing arts are inseparable from other religious and cultural activities. From cradle to grave, the Balinese are steeped in local customs and Hindu traditions, reflected in "traditional" festive ceremonies, even though this tradition is always being recreated. Indeed, the cultural assumption is that no religious ceremony is complete without the presence of the *panca gita*—"five sacred sounds" comprising chanting a mantra, *kidung* (ballads), *gamelan*, *kulkul* (wooden slit drums) and *genta* (brass-made bells). The Balinese "love anything that is *ramai* (festive, full and colourful), and the more the better" (Dibia & Ballinger, 2004:8). The expression of *ramai* (noise, liveliness) as the opposite of *sepi* (quiet), can be found in the daily life of Bali. During my field trip in Bali together with an informant, who was a tourist guide, once I joined a group of Javanese tourists on a bus to see him guide tourists during a three-day trip around the island. While the guide explained the culture and history of Bali, the TV on the bus played *dangdut* music, a sort of Indonesian popular music, with the volume set loud. The reason was simply to avoid a quiet atmosphere in the bus. This was very different from when I joined a group of Javanese tourists in Japan, where it was very quiet on board. The tourists were just listening to the guide who spoke *Bahasa* and occasionally discussed the local culture. The Balinese, then, consider dancing a type of *ramai* attraction. The colourful costumes, the festivity accompanying gamelan music, and the energetic body and

153

eye movements of the dancers reflect the state of *ramai*. In the religious context, traditional dance may be part of a ritual ceremony, or even the ritual itself. The great warrior dance *Baris Gede*, for example, was originally part of a sacred ceremony performed in the innermost space of the temple by a Balinese male to symbolize heroism, and an array of military warriors show their strength and their ability to protect the royal court from any threat. The *Sanghyang* dance, as another example, is similar to the *Baris Gede* dance in terms of the space in which it is conducted, yet this dance is a ritual dance. Two prepubescent girls in a trance perform this sacred dance, showing that they have been "possessed" by the deities. All of these dance examples show that the traditional performing arts are essential for both the spiritual and secular life of the Balinese.

Balinese culture emphasizes the balance of nature, known as *rwa bhinneda*, a teaching in Balinese Hinduism similar to the Chinese concept of *Yin-Yang* (Dibia & Ballinger, 2004), as an important basis for their philosophy. Balinese dance echoes this concept of balance in its creation and performance. Not only does the dancer's body movements demonstrate a balance, but the themes, characters and instruments in the performance represent a binary concept. The characteristics brought to the performance are *alus* (refinement), typical of women, and *kasar* (coarseness), typical of men. This symbolism may also be influenced by the ancient Hindu sacred dance of *Thengou*, which reflects the gods and goddesses' movements when they created the universe. The gods' vigorous steps and movements represent male (*tandava*) characters; while the goddesses' soft steps symbolize the female (*lasya*) characters (cf. Sekar, 2003). In Balinese dance, the movements consist of static and dynamic

154

movements that should be in balance. While the leg movements function to provide balance for the body, the movements of the arms and the face provide the main expression during the performance.

Traditionally, the dancers perform on the basis of *ngayah*, in devotion to the gods and the royal court, and without any formal fees. Because this art form is thought to be purely religious in nature, the Balinese lack a word that denotes "art" or "artist." The words *seni* and *seniman*, which mean "art" and "artist," respectively, are derived from Indonesian Bahasa (Hobart, 2007; Picard, 1996). In Bali, a person who performs Balinese dance is called a *pragina*, someone who makes something pleasing and impressive to view (Dibia & Ballinger, 2004). *Pragina* may not only refer to a dancer, but also to an actor who has mastered a musical instrument as well. Some who are masters of the *Topeng* or mask dance may also be the craftsmen producing the masks, which are considered to possess a magical aura. Therefore, unlike the common view in the performing arts in general, when discussing Balinese dance, one is also inherently discussing music, drama and the ritual tradition as integral parts of the same art form (Picard, 1996).

The speed of tourism growth on the island, however, has changed the cultural values in Bali society. The spirit of *ngayah*, for instance, is currently giving way to materialism, as the dancers compete for the tourists' dollars. As a result, there are many sacred dances now performed as tourist attractions. For many years after tourism became popular in Bali in the 1930s, this has been a concern for scholars and local religious leaders. Opinions and gloomy predictions about the destruction of culture in Bali, as in places like Hawaii, are prompting Balinese scholars to

seriously consider the impact of tourism on their cultural development.

One of the results of this concern with culture sustainability was a seminar promoted by the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Education held in Denpasar in 1971. The purpose of the seminar was to clarify the division between the sacred dances offered to the gods and the profane ones for tourist consumption (Picard, 1996). The seminar resulted in the classification of Balinese traditional dance into three main categories: *wali, bebali* and *balih-balihan*. While this classification is useful as a guide, it is still unclear how to distinguish between them. Therefore the best way to categorize them is on a continuum between sacred and secular.

Included in the *wali* dances are *Sanghyang*, *Legong Ratu Dedari, Baris Gede, Topeng Pajegan*, *Mendet* and *Rejang* dances (Dibia & Ballinger, 2004). The *wali* dances are the holy ritual dances staged in *jeroan pura*, a space in the innermost courtyard of the temple. These dances are performed in the context of *upacara dewa yadnya*, ceremonial worship and offerings as a reflection of devotion to the deity in all of its manifestations.

Figure 5.2a The Balinese sacred dance of Sanghyang Dedari

Figure 5.2b The Balinese sacred dance of Topeng Sidhakarya

Source: Field research

Source: Field research

156

Bebali is a sort of ceremonial dance considered sacred but containing elements of entertainment. It is performed in the middle courtyard of a temple or in other places as a complementary ritual to a cultural ceremony. Most of the dances in the *bebali* category are storytelling dance-dramas. This type of dance is considered sacred, as there are rituals before and during the performance, and it teaches morality through its storytelling. Some examples of *bebali* dances are *Gambuh*, *Wayang Wong* and *Barong* (Rubin & Sedana, 2007).

The last category of Balinese dance is secular dance or *balih-balihan*, set aside for entertainment and separated from any religious and cultural ceremonial. It can be performed in the outer yard of the temple, in the palace or elsewhere. There are many Balinese dances in this category, including *Legong*, *Arja*, *Janger*, *Drama Gong*, *Kecak* and *Joged Bumbung* (Rubin & Sedana, 2007).

However, there are overlaps in this categorization due to different definitions among Balinese performing arts practitioners. Such a debate is related to questions of authenticity and commodification within the tourism and cultural conservation contexts. Although the local authorities placed a restriction on performing sacred dances, especially those categorized as *wali*, for the tourists, it seems that the regulation has had little effect, since the performer faces different situations in reality. This is particularly obvious when the performers present dances in the *bebali* category. The tourism development proponents argue the need to preserve *wali* and *bebali* dances, to some extent, in order to provide an authentic experience of Balinese performing art for the tourists. At the same time, tourism probably gives new ideas to artists about how to produce new work that is easier for the tourists to

understand. For Balinese who support tourism, as long as the tourists (especially the non-Hindu tourists) are not directly involved in the ceremony, showing them these sorts of dances will not damage Balinese culture and religion. As Agung Suryawan, the secretary-general of Bali Tourism Board noted:

> In Bali, no matter whether they are guests or tourists, people continue to hold the religious ceremonies on the "good days and dates". People, especially ones who have an intention to hold a ceremony, do not have connection with the tourists but openly let the travel agents bring them together with their guests to see the ritual processes. The so-called cultural exploitation that hurts Balinese culture and the feelings of the people of Bali is when the tourists abuse the culture by directly becoming involved in a ceremony just for an exotic experience. The wedding of Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall in a Balinese wedding ceremony was an example of this. The Balinese wedding ceremony is seen as a sacred ritual and anyone who is not Hindu is prohibited from conducting it. In order to do so, someone should first declare a *sudi wedani*, a pledge to commit themselves to Hinduism. Jagger and Hall indeed did not fulfil this requirement. (Personal interview, July 26, 2010).

Traditionally, there are some rites Balinese should undergo in order to become perfect. For babies, for example, there are four rites: *puput puser*, *tutug kambilan*, *tiga bulanan* and *otonan*, which are held seven, 42, 105 and 210 days after birth respectively. When a Balinese reaches puberty, there is a rite called *metatah* or teeth filing. The next step of Balinese life is marriage. In a marriage ceremony, which is considered a holy ritual, there are about six different rites depending upon the custom in each village. Lastly, there are still many rites performed for Balinese until they die, after which *ngaben* (cremation) will be performed as the culminating ceremony. In cases where a non-Hindu couple want to get married with a Balinese marriage ceremony, they must first declare recite *sudi wedani* as a declaration of faith, as well as perform all the rites a Balinese would have carried out before their current age. As Agung noted, "[I]n cases where after all the ceremonies they return

Figure 5.3a The *bebali* category dance of Barong Dance

Source: Field research

Figure 5.3b The *bebali* category dance of Gambuh Dance

Source: Wikipedia

to their own country and abandon Hinduism, it does not really matter to the Balinese."

Interaction with the tourism industry has in turn helped new dances detached from ritual ceremonies to evolve, namely *tarian lepas*, or "free-style" (i.e. purely secular) dance performances. Indeed, the creation of new dances has blurred the borders between each Balinese dance category. Currently, there are many examples of *Topeng* or masked dances categorized as secular dances. Yet, the so-called *Topeng Sidhakarya* dance is performed as a *wali* or *bebali* dance in religious ceremonies. No less important to mention is the *Legong* dance. Allegedly developed in the early nineteenth century, this kind of dance was originally considered a sacred dance performance. The presence of tourism in the island nevertheless has enriched the *Legong* dance tradition and shifted it to the secular realm. Until recently, there were about 16 styles of *Legong* dances such as *Legong Lasem*, *Kuntul Bapang* and so forth offered as tourist attractions. In the current tourism climate in which tourists prefer to enjoy shorter attractions, these styles are all considered part of the

Figure 5.4 The profane category dance of Janger Dance
performed in the 1920s

Source: Wikipedia

repertoire and are performed all together in a generic form of *Legong* for the tourists.
Integral to a *Legong* performance is the *Pendet* dance, functioning as the dance to
welcome guests just before the *Legong* performance. Traditionally, the *Pendet* dance
was performed as a dance to welcome the gods in the temple ceremonies. However,
this sort of dance in turn was performed to welcome state officials, including former
President Soekarno. This performance incited a protest from the Hindu authority in
Bali. As a result, a modified *Pendet* dance, the *Panyembrama* dance, was created,
replacing *Pendet* as the welcome dance for the guests or state officials (Picard,
1996). Today, as the *Panyembrama* dance has become more popular, Balinese treat
it in the same way as the *Pendet* dance. Currently, this dance is frequently performed
in temple ritual ceremonial as a sacred dance equal to the original *Pendet* dance.

In all Balinese performing art, *taksu* is an important aspect when an artist
creates or performs a dance or drama. An artwork will be said to possess a high
value culturally only if it emits a *taksu* when presented to audiences. In the Balinese
view, *taksu* is a spiritual charisma peculiar to extraordinary artists. It is a kind of
energy or aura which the artists emit, and which they are able to cultivate through

160

their gifts. However, it is difficult to express what *taksu* is exactly. I Ketut Kodi, a mask dancer and mask maker, expressed this when Foley and Sedana (2005) interviewed him:

> What can I say about taksu? That is something I can't explain. Whoever tries to explain it doesn't hit the mark. I can give you examples of artists with taksu: Dalang Granyam, Madra, and Wija [famous puppet masters of the twentieth century from Sukawati], and from *topeng* Pak Griya, and, in the present generation, Pa Carangsari, and some say me. I see each of these artists has a different kind of process, some don't really know the literature. (2005:209).

Here, we can see that Balinese pay little attention to theory in their cultural inheritance. They are taught *taksu* in terms of behavioural practice from generation to generation without mentioning any specific definition. In the dance context, dancing teachers practically teach their pupils the skills of dance movements (*wiraga*), dealing with accompanying music or instruments (*wirama*), how to feel the balance between these, and the balance between energy, inner voice and thought (*wirasa*)[14]. For Balinese, a sense of *taksu* in an artwork usually derives from work detached from materialistic interests. This orientation is firmly hold primarily by old Balinese artists, as MacRae (2003:37) asserts, "…because their real concerns were with the finer things of life, the arts and the gods, rather than grubbing for money." More importantly, Dibia and Ballinger define *taksu* as the "pinnacle of energy which every Balinese performer strives for to mesmerize both the human and divine audience" (2004:8).

Performing equipment such as the masks, *keris*, music instruments and leather puppets are also considered to possess *taksu* through being given particular

---

[14] The words *wiraga*, *wirama* and *wirasa* correspond to Indonesian bahasa *raga*, *irama* and *rasa* which literally mean body, rhythm and feeling respectively.

treatment, complementing the *taksu* of the performer. Particularly, in Balinese dance, the skill to perform a dance is not complete if the dancer cannot emit *taksu*. To do so, the dancers usually pray for the deity to bless them during the performance. *Taksu*, furthermore, can be achieved through several rites or meditation or, in some cases, ancestry or transmission from teachers to pupils, while the equipment used in performance must be blessed regularly through a specific ritual. The following two sections specifically examine research questions 4 and 5 by looking at the development of dancing in Ubud.

5.2.3. Tradition and transformation

To some people who are interested in Bali, the island seems immutable and undisturbed. These people admire the robustness of Balinese culture and that they can still see similar performances when revisiting Bali, even after some decades. This is particularly so when visiting Ubud, since dancing is presented every day in many corners of this cultural tourist region for either tourist attraction or religious purposes. In Ubud village social networks are firmly developed. The *puri* of Ubud have an important role in the society in terms of custom and cultural relationships. Therefore, although many foreigners have come to Ubud and experienced direct interaction with the local people and its culture, this has not degraded the local cultural products, but rather enriched them. Because historically Ubud has been the habitat of talented dancers strong in tradition and spirit, the interaction has generated more varied forms of dance which still feature a sense of being Balinese. As a result, some people continue to view Bali as a kind of living museum dedicated to the romanticism of the past. However, it is unrealistic to think of Bali only in terms of a

romantic paradise. What is probably true is that the Balinese have been successfully performing tradition and traditionalism while developing them within the framework of tourism (Taylor, 1991), and this is particularly true in Ubud,. Balinese culture has been interacting with outside civilizations for centuries and has been transformed constantly in order to adapt to social change and the surrounding environment. The Balinese tradition has been constantly reinterpreted from generation to generation. At the same time, the Balinese people of Ubud continue to maintain the more traditional features of their culture within the more slowly changing religious practice.

The Balinese dances, like other traditional forms of art throughout the island, are dynamic and develop over time influenced by the outsiders who visit the island, yet firmly hold on to much of the older tradition. One of the reasons why this happens is that the Balinese love the classical forms of dance (Dibia & Ballinger, 2004). Balinese often stand up all night to watch a traditional performance, and it is common for performances to end just before dawn. On the other hand, Balinese also welcome new and innovative styles of performance. When I attended the Bali Arts festival during my field research in 2010, in every performance of new music and dance the arena was always full of spectators, almost all Balinese. Some of the seats in the amphitheater where the performance was staged, which seated hundreds of people, were occupied two to three hours before the show.

The people of Bali, of course, are the main audience for Balinese dance. However, based on the concepts of *sekala* and *niskala*, Balinese believe that there are other spectators that are unseen. The concept of *sekala* refers to anything visible that can be touched and felt by human senses. *Niskala*, as the opposite of *sekala*, are

abstract things which are unseen, and can only be felt through spiritual processes. In the teachings of the *rwa bhinneda* philosophical tradition, *sekala* and *niskala* should be in balance in order to create human wealth and happiness. For the Balinese artists, particularly the dancers in this case, it is necessary for them to satisfy both the *sekala* and *niskala* audiences. As mentioned before, *taksu* is very important in this sense, something which every performer strives to achieve.

Dancing has been a tradition in Bali for centuries. It can survive and develop based on the internal market. Before the twentieth century, Balinese dancers dedicated their performances to the *pura* (temple) and *puri* (palace). The term *pura* means the religious temple complex, and *puri* refers to the houses of the *raja* or nobility, who were considered as the main patrons of traditional performances. Performing in the innermost temple courtyard was a form of offering and entertained the deities (*niskala*), while dances in the middle temple courtyard aimed to entertain both the *sekala* and *niskala* audiences. The performances in the outer yard of the temple during the *odalan* festival, a celebration of the *pura*'s anniversary, had a similar aim to that of performances in the *puri*, which was to make the festival *ramai* and therefore provide entertainment for the *sekala* audiences. In this period, the Balinese dancers as well as the *gamelan* musicians made their living from the *puri*. The *puri* fulfilled the overall basic needs of the dancers, and the dancers dedicated their lives to the *puri*. In this regard, the *puri* had to retain good dancers in order to reflect their excellence and power, and help maintain their hegemony over the society. The royal family members, usually experts in the arts, inspired the creation of new dances, in addition to the innovations developed by the dancers themselves.

164

The creation of the *Legong* dance, for instance, emanated from the *puri* tradition of dancing, created by king of Sukawati, I Dewa Agung Made Karna. As Dibia and Ballinger (2004:76) noted based on the *Babad Dalem Sukawati*, a genealogical chronicle of Sukawati court near to Ubud:

> King Karna meditated for 42 days and nights in the Pura Payogan Agung in Ketewel village near Sukawati. In his vision, he saw celestial maidens performing a dance of exquisite beauty and refinement. When he woke, he called together the priest of the temple and the village headman and told them what he had seen. He then taught the villagers the dance.

As dancing became a tradition in the court family, the princes, starting from an early age, were introduced to performing the traditional dance and were encouraged to create. Mastering the traditional dances gave prestige to the royal family members. From this chronicle of Puri Sukawati, it is possible to say that the court used dance as one of the tools to obtain recognition from the common villagers.

In the early 20th century, after the island came completely under Dutch control in 1908, Balinese dance continued to develop through the tourism. Under Dutch rule, some of the *puri* lost their influence and more importantly, saw their wealth reduced. This political transformation made the nobles less affluent so they were no longer able to organize spectacular ceremonies or artistic performance (Picard, 1996). The *puri* then distributed the costumes and props to the *seeka*, the local groups of cultural enthusiasts in the villages or hamlets (*banjar*). The dancers who had previously made a living from the *puri* returned to their villages and trained the young people, mostly peasants, to dance. This meant that knowledge of traditional dance was widely diffused and developed innovatively on a village basis. The tradition of pushing children into practicing and creating dances spread to the

common villagers. It was not coincidental that the Dutch developed their policy of Bali as a tourist resort, since the island has no significant commodities to trade during the colonial period. As dancing became more common and many Balinese were able to dance, this may have been the beginning of the adage that all the inhabitants of the island are artists. in 1932, the English actor and writer, Noël Coward found people who carved and sculpted, played music and performed dances all the time throughout the island. In the Bali Hotel's guest book, he wrote, "…each Balinese native from the womb to the tomb is creative…"

The Dutch administration espoused this form of development through its *Baliseering* or "Balinization" policy, implemented in 1920, a program to revive the Balinese consciousness of their cultural richness and encourage the local youth to be "real Balinese" by involving them more closely in the traditional artwork and cultural activities. Through this program, the Dutch trained the locals in traditional dance, carving and painting in the same way as western art (Esperanza, 2008). The colonial government proclaimed this policy internationally, with a political interest to exchange memories of the final horrible conquest of the island, which displayed the ineffable self-sacrifice of the Balinese nobles and glorified their dignity, for a more desirable policy of preserving Balinese culture and promoting it for tourism. This radical political transformation has also brought new spectators to the dance performances, namely the tourists. While in the previous era the artists had created and performed the dances mainly for the "intelligible unseen" entities, i.e. the deities and ancestral spirits, they were now asked to do the same for the tourists. For sure, performing traditional dances is common to the Balinese, but what was absent when

166

a dance was being performed on the tourist stage was the religious context. As Eiseman (1990:280) notes, the crowds, the atmosphere, the smells, the sounds, and the excitement of a real village or temple dance, which form the natural scenery in the Balinese dance, are missing from the tourist shows.

There was insufficient data for tourists visiting Bali to enjoy Balinese life and culture until the 1920s. The only cultural attraction noted was the "native dancing" program performed just after dinner in the Bali Hotel (Picard, 1996). The enforcement of the *Baliseering* policy encouraged travel agents to specifically promote Balinese culture as a tourist attraction through the publication of a regular tourism magazine. This monthly bulletin used to report Balinese cultural activities, as well as their schedule.

One of the most enchanting places famous for the cultural attractions was Ubud, at that time seen as tranquil and away from the tourists. Having had the experience of corresponding with foreigners about the arts, the prince of Ubud invited Walter Spies, a talented Russian-born German artist who had previously worked at the Jogjakarta palace, to visit Ubud. Spies, who in the end decided to settle in Ubud from 1927, had an important role not only in helping tourists, particularly western artists and anthropologists, in understanding the Balinese life and culture, but was also acknowledged as the one behind the Balinese renaissance. Alongside his role developing Balinese painting in Ubud, he also helped the Balinese to revive traditional dance, and the famous secular *Kecak* dance was based on his advice. Because of his extensive knowledge of Bali, he assisted many social scientists who eventually stayed for a long periods in Ubud to discover the mysteries of the island.

The works of these artists and anthropologists published in the western world contributed to the promotion of Balinese culture internationally, and this became the basis of Bali's reputation as one of the world's most prominent cultural tourist destinations. More importantly, these works have also helped Balinese art to thrive in the global art market. In this regard, Ubud was the first place to introduce cultural tourism in the island and further has been developed as the icon of the island's culture.

The *Baliseering* program had quickly wiped out the bloody image of the last invasion of the Balinese Kingdom of Klungkung, as well as helping the island's inhabitants recover from the trauma of the conquest. In order to convince the international community that the Balinese had recovered, as well as of the Dutch commitment to preserving Balinese culture, a troupe of Balinese dancers was sent to the Paris Colonial Exhibition in 1931. This was a six-month colonial exposition to show the cultural diversity and promote the cultural exchange between the colonies, in which the Netherlands was one of the participants. The prince of Ubud was the leader of the troupe accompanied by Walter Spies, who was used as the expert on Bali to introduce the cultural richness of the island to the international community. Apart from the Dutch campaign to preserve Balinese culture, the Ubud palace had also been enthusiastic in promoting Balinese art, especially the traditional dances, in order to reestablish their role as the guardians of local culture and traditions (MacRae, 1999). This could be understood from the funds allocated to this exhibition that partly came from the Ubud palace. The Dutch government paid only for travel expenses. The performers, who were mostly amateurs, were not paid and the Ubud palace covered their overall living expenses during the exhibition. The

presence of Balinese dance in this event gained the attention of Antonin Artaud, a French playwright (Savarese & Fowler, 2001). He wrote a report on the Balinese theater and published it soon after he saw the Balinese perform. Three years later, he published a more complete article about the Balinese theater and also incorporated elements of Balinese dance into his productions (Savarese & Fowler, 2001). The diffusion of Balinese dance and music into western arts later on became more common. The sound of the Balinese *kecak* dance, as for example, was used on the soundtrack of *Blood Simple*, an American movie produced in 1984 directed by the brothers, Joel and Ethan Coen (Bakan, 2009). Balinese dances continued to be performed on overseas stages, and recently a tourism exhibition supported by both the Indonesian and Bali provincial governments aimed to continue promoting Bali and Indonesia as international cultural tourist destinations.

5.2.4. Current fashion in "traditional" Balinese dance in Ubud

Balinese use the term "new creation" (*kreasi baru*) to indicate new emerging genres of dance, music, or drama that are considered different from previous styles (Bakan, 1999; deBoer, 1989; Davies, 2006; Covarrubias, 1986). These newly created performing art forms have continued to emerge as long as there is adequate market demand for new and innovative creations. Every year the Balinese wait for these new creations, usually performed in the annual Bali Art Fiesta. The Balinese artists and art scholars in Ubud meet this challenge by creating new and innovative secular performances and competing with each other in the Balinese festival scene (cf. deBoer, 1989).

I have observed that innovation in the newly created dances takes place in relation to the theme, the accompanying music, the supporting equipment and media,

the performance space and the idea of staging the performance. It can be seen in both court and folk dance. In the past, the source of innovation was different between these two genres. The *puri*, particularly in this case the *puri* Ubud, used to be the source for court dance innovation and development for centuries before the Dutch ruled Bali. The king or other royal court family members usually inspired and guided the artists to create new forms of dance after they received a vision during meditation. This tradition seems to have continued until recently. One of the current royal family members of the *puri* Ubud, Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati, who is currently head (*bupati*) of Gianyar regency, has also studied Balinese dance, especially the Calonarang dance-drama performance. In contrast to the court dances, the common villagers have fostered the development of folk and freestyle dance, and therefore, less formal in nature.

In modern Bali, both the court and folk dances in Ubud are developed through many channels such as dance schools, *seeka*, art colleges and institutes, and collaboration with western artists, involving artists from a wide range of backgrounds. The dance schools scattered throughout the village, for example, teach traditional dance not only to Balinese children but also to the tourists. Some dance schools, such as the Lokananta Art Studio in Singapadu in Gianyar regency, which in this study is considered as part of the Ubud tourist area, also teaches other Indonesian dances as a complement to Balinese dance. This can be the source of creativity in Balinese dance because the studio interacts with external cultures. The teachers in this school come from various social strata who work as professionals. Considering current Balinese dance development, therefore, the categorization of

Balinese dance into court and folk dance simply shows their origin and does not necessarily oppose the two.

Innovation in terms of theme applies in the storytelling dances, drama and Balinese ballet. Changes and innovations in these art forms are used to following the global and national socioeconomic and cultural trends, and these are reflected physically in the choreography, themes and costumes. These performing arts have the function of delivering a moral message in relation to current global and national issues, complementing their original function to entertain. The most prominent changes in contemporary Balinese narrative dance and dance drama, for instance, are shown in the philosophical and humorous scenes, which in new compositons tend to feature more humor than philosophy, as I Ketut Kodi describes:

> In the past people liked to hear more philosophy. In 1975, it was only 50 percent humor, but now the humor is 75 percent and the philosophy only 25 percent, or sometimes it is all just joking. But it is our duty as artists to be teachers, to teach religion. (Foley and Sedana, 2005:207)

This is presumably because contemporary audiences do not want to see and listen to something hard to understand. It is sometimes easier for people to catch the moral message through the humorous scenes. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Balinese are abandoning the conservative dance drama performances, which emphasize more of the philosophy, and are conducted following stricter rules and discipline. This was evident when I saw a dance drama performance performed by a troupe of dancers from Ubud in Bali Art Fiesta during my field research, where there were still many spectators of all ages enjoying this conservative style of show.

The music accompanying Balinese dance has developed through a combination of different traditional instruments, as well as employing modern music and

instruments. Balinese dances range from accompanied only by voices, such as the sacred *Sanghyang* dance and the secular *Kecak* dance, to those accompanied by the full ensemble of instruments, the "great gamelan" (*Gong Gede*) as used in the ritual Warrior (*Baris*) dance. Some newly created dances utilize modern musical instruments such as electric keyboards, guitars and drums in their performance. The Batuan Ethnic artists, a group of artists including the world-famous Balinese jazz musician I Wayan Balawan, are involved in creating this new genre of music.

Innovation in the supporting equipment and media takes place in spectacular contemporary performances such as the regular cultural stage of the Bali Agung theatrical show in Bali Safari and Marine Park in Gianyar regency, which involves approximately 150 artists in performance. This show utilizes electronic music and media together with traditional ones to produce a fantastic blend of music and lighting accompanying the performance. The theme harks back to the 12th century, and tells the love story of a Balinese king and his beloved Chinese wife. The costumes reflect cultural diversity and move beyond traditional types.

Creativity has also penetrated Balinese dance in Ubud in the areas of space or venue to perform. Traditionally, Balinese secular dance was performed in the outer yard of the temple as entertainment and for tourist consumption. While this tradition still existed until recently, the space to perform is moving to hotels, palaces and theme parks such as Bali Safari and Marine Park. The performance usually accompanies tourists' dinner or lunch, but this is not always the case since some tourists prefer to enjoy the show only.

There is an innovation too in the idea of staging the performance. Conventional

shows emphasize Balinese dance as the focus of the presentation. In this kind of performance, the audiences come to watch the artists perform Balinese dance. As Eiseman (1990) has mentioned, these tourist shows lacks a natural setting. Because of this, a new spectacular performance has been created in Puri Mengwi during the tourists' dinnertime, employing almost 200 local people staging Balinese Hindu rituals, including the Balinese dances that accompany the rituals[15]. Through this show, tourists can see not only the Balinese dance but also get an idea of the context of the dance performance. Unlike that presented in Bali Safari and Marine Park, this performance involves mostly local people and employs fewer artists to support the show.

No less important to discuss in the development of Balinese dance in Ubud is the phenomenon of the contemporary *Joged Bumbung* folk dance called *Joged Bumbung Ngebor*. *Ngebor* literally means to drill, implying that the dance presents erotic movement. Supposedly arising for the first time in the 1940s from Northern Bali, the original *Joged Bumbung* dance reached its greatest popularity in 1960s due to the national political movement under President Soekarno's socialist regime, with leading dancers such as Ni Ketut Lenyeh. Its popularity began with its performance by volunteers (*ngayah*) in the village of Peliatan and its surrounding area in 1950s. Ni Ketut Lenyeh herself came from Bedulu, a settlement located between Peliatan and Blahbatu villages. Like the *Jaipong* and *Ronggeng* dances of the Sundanese and Javanese respectively, the *Joged Bumbung* dance attracts working class people as its main audiences. A female dancer performs the dance and allows members of the audience, particularly males, to dance together on the stage. The dancers make erotic

---

[15] Puri Mengwi is located to the southwest of Ubud which is out of my research area. However, it still historically has a connection to the *puri* Ubud (cf. Nordohlt, 1997).

body movements to seduce on-stage partners. This dance used to be performed at celebrations such as wedding parties. After Sukarnos's regime fell and he was replaced by President Suharto, the *Joged Bumbung* dance went into decline, since it was considered as promoting and exploiting the sensuality of the female figure, and also because it could not compete with new types of performances that appeared in 1970s, such as *Gong Kebyar*.

However, also in line with the political movements in Indonesia, the *Joged Bumbung* dance began to be revived after the fall of Suharto's regime at the end of the 1990s. the *Joged Bumbung Ngebor* has become popular again recently in an even more sensual form than previously. The style is influenced by dancing associated with contemporary *dangdut* music, a genre of Indonesian popular music, in which the singer, usually female, does an erotic dance following her song (Atmadja, 2010). This kind of dancing has been criticized by artists, religious leaders and scholars as promoting vulgarity. Responding to the critics, the local government has taken action to organize festivals featuring the traditional *Joged Bumbung* dance. The prize is awarded to the best dancers in the original (*pakem*) *Joged Bumbung* dance style. Regardless of any criticism of Balinese dances, it is important for the Balinese to continue developing their arts in order to maintain tourism in the island and to promote Bali as a living culture instead of living museum. As I Wayan Dibia, a Balinese dancer who is also an academician said:

> There should be more effort to encourage the tourism industry to present new creations to the tourists instead of the old ones. Quality does not really matter. It is more important to show that there is not only one Kecak dance creation in Bali… to show to the people in the world that Balinese culture is kind of living culture (personal interview, June 8, 2010).

In Bali, there are nine regencies inherited from the nine Balinese Kingdoms in the past and one city i.e. Denpasar, in which the governance system is inherited from the Dutch government. The decentralization process in Indonesia after the collapse of President Suharto's regime in the late 1990s has made these regions compete with each other to acquire the biggest portion of the "tourist cake." In order to reduce such competition, the Bali tourism management envisions Bali as a one-stop tourist leisure destination, especially in terms of cultural activities. Since Bali was declared a cultural tourist destination, the island has been overwhelmed by a wide range of cultural attraction, both tangible and intangible. However, tourists often encounter similar attractions, particularly typical traditional Balinese dances, in different places on the island. This is boring for the tourists and therefore they are searching for alternatives (cf. Richards & Wilson, 2006). Through coordination at the provincial level, the tourism management in Bali, represented by the provincial government and the Bali Tourism Board, is trying to minimize the overlap of tourism products offered in each region, including traditional Balinese dance. Management of cultural product development is therefore crucial for Bali as an integrated tourist destination in order to avoid serial reproduction of similar cultural products. This is reflected in the implementation of the "creative city" program in which Denpasar is participating in a pilot project, affiliated with nine other cities in Indonesia coordinated by the central government (Geriya, 2010).

Supporting this management initiative, the central government of Indonesia plans to propose a set of Balinese dances for designation as a world intangible heritage to UNESCO in 2012. This set of dance encompasses the *Rejang*,

Sanghyang Pedar, *Baris Upacara*, *Topeng Sidhayana*, *Gambuh Darma*, *Wayang Wong*, *Legong Keraton*, *Joget Bumbung*, and *Barong Ket Kuntisraya* dances. While in general this kind of proposal aims to conserve the cultural heritage and protect it from extinction, the nine dances proposed are secular dances, which do not necessarily need to be protected. These dances, with the exception for the *Joged Bumbung* dance, derive from sacred (*wali*) and semi sacred (*bebali*) dances and have been created as excerpts of the original ones. The number of nine dances proposed reflects the nine regencies in Bali province, and the tourism management emphasizes that one region should specifically develop one version of the dances proposed to UNESCO.

5.3. The development of Balinese shadow puppet theater

Wayang is the ancient art of shadow puppet performance that still exists today in Indonesia, especially in Java and Bali. Usually, *wayang* is presented at night, and is watched by people of all ages. The audience watches the shadows of puppets on a linen screen approximately two meters wide, where the *dalang* or puppeteer manipulates the leather puppets, provides different voices for different figures, and narrates the overall story from behind the screen, while directing the gamelan orchestra. To create shadow effects on the screen, the play uses a torch or oil lamp (*blencong*) placed just above the forehead of the *dalang*. Sitting about a meter behind the screen, the *dalang* moves the puppet figures within the space between the screen and the lamp to produce mysterious silhouette effects (Sedana, 2005). The outcome is like a movie, complete with an engrossed audience.

Figure 5.5a The view of *wayang* show
from the audience side

Source: Field Research

Figure 5.5b The view of *wayang* show
from the puppeteer side

Source: Field Research

The story telling in *wayang* performance mainly derives from the two ancient epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, though it is not limited to these. While the main philosophical messages in the shadow puppet play are meant to show the victory of good over evil, they often relate to contemporary issues in society. Conventionally, the *wayang* performance is from three to four hours long, different from the Javanese *wayang* performances that last all night. The language is Balinese mixed with the ancient Javanese literary language of Kawi. The more colloquial Balinese language is sometime used in the short clowns' scenes. However, in the contemporary Balinese world, it faces a problem among modern audiences. Instead of considering *wayang* performances as one of the main sources of philosophy for enlightening their lives (*wayang* as *tuntunan dan tontotonan*, or "guidance and entertainment"), contemporary audiences tend to see the performances simply as entertainment. In many temples rituals where the *wayang* performance is intended to obtain the blessing of the ancestral spirits invited to the site, the audiences may be bored with the story, and attend only to watch the clowns' scenes.

Until recently, *wayang* was considered as a type of sacred cultural performance. The Balinese *dalang* used to perform rituals prior to the performance. Several days before performing a play, the *dalang* usually fasted, praying to the gods and ancestral spirits for a successful performance. During the performance, the *dalang* makes offerings around the performance site, and at the end of performance he splatters the audience with holy water. In the *wayang* tradition, the puppet characters are also regarded as sacred, and are only taken out of their containers at the time of the show or during a special ritual (Sulistyowati, 2010).

Because of the sacredness of the *dalang*'s puppet characters, his family and the students who learn puppetry from him are not allowed to perform these characters until they are competent to do so, as decided by the *dalang*. The students practice *wayang* using imitation puppets, and are proud when the teachers allow them to perform with the real ones.

5.3.1. The sacred shadow puppet show in Bali

Besides its function as guidance and entertainment, the Balinese shadow puppet show has some particular roles in ritual. For these purposes, there are three kinds of shadow puppet performance which are considered sacred and are not performed commercially,[16] nor do they use technological tools to make them look innovative. These are the *wayang sapu leger*, *wayang suddhamala* and *wayang lemah* performances. Unlike the common *wayang* shows called *wayang peteng*, the performance of the sacred *wayang* that complement a ritual does not always take

---

[16] In the case of a sacred wayang performance, the dalang performs on a voluntary basis, and is given a nominal payment by the host.

place in the nighttime, but is adapted to the time the rite is conducted. At these performances, the puppeteer used to reveal the philosophy of the sacred ritual being conducted through messages in the *wayang* performance.

The *wayang sapu leger* is the puppet show related to the *ngruat* ritual, a ceremony to release someone or something from misfortune. In the case of *wayang sapu leger*, this is a bad fate involving death, revealed through divination based on the date of birth or other particular circumstances. The term *ngruat* literally means recovering something to its original state. Due to the reason for holding it, the *wayang sapu leger* is considered as the most sacred shadow puppet performance. The ceremony is held for those whose birth dates lie within the *wuku wayang*, the period when the demonic deity Batara Kala was born according to the Balinese calendar calculation, and should be performed at least once in their lives. In the Balinese calendar, there are 30 *wuku*, during a year; each of them with seven days. Therefore, in the Balinese calendar, there are 210 days in every year. The *wuku wayang* is the 27th *wuku* in the annual calendar. As an example, in 2010, the *wuku wayang* period was from 31 January to 6 February. According to the Balinese calendar, the 2011 *wuku wayang* came after another 210-day cycle, meaning it 23-29 October 2011. The last day of *wuku wayang* is called *Tumpek Wayang*, which is a special day for Balinese Hindus. In Balinese legend, Batara Kala is a gigantic demonic deity born to Siva and the goddess Uma. In order to honor Kala's birth, Siva permits him to prey upon everybody who wanders on the day of *Tumpek Wayang*, unless their bodies have been purified through a *ngruat* ceremony in which the offering should be prepared by a priest who is also a puppeteer (*Ki Mangku Dalang*).

179

Not every puppeteer is able to perform *wayang sapu leger*. It must be performed by a *dalang* who also has been purified and understands exactly the *lontar sapu leger*, an ancient Balinese Hindu teaching written in a small upright book made from blessed dried palm leaves. The place of performance should be the house yard of the person who will be blessed by the ritual. In case such a place is not available, it should be performed in some place near to a road junction (*catur pata*).

Unlike the regular shadow puppet show, the *wayang sapu leger* is neither performed on a stage nor in a theatre, and without a screen for producing silhouettes. For this performance, the host has to provide 750 coins. On the day of *Tumpek Wayang*, people can see *wayang* performances throughout Bali.

The *wayang suddhamala* is a sacred *wayang* show for exorcism on occasions such as birth ceremonies, puberty ceremonies, marriage, or other life-cycle ceremonies that need purification. While the *wayang sapu leger* is based on the myth of Batara Kala, the *wayang suddhamala* performance usually tells the story of Sahadeva's consecration. The story is considered appropriate for exorcism as the story tells about the efforts of Sahadeva to purify Durga in order to change her back to the goddess Uma, the wife of Siva. In Balinese mythology, Durga is a representation of Uma sentenced by Siva to be a gigantic demon. Technically, the rules of performance are similar to those of *wayang sapu leger*. It is not theatrical or staged, and lacks the white screen, but only 11 coins are required. Here too, the *dalang* transforms common water into holy water and splashes it over the people involved in the ceremony.

Another sacred *wayang* performance in Bali is the *wayang lemah* show. This

kind of leather puppet performance is inherently part of the *yadnya* ceremony in nature,. The word *yadnya*, according to Balinese Hindu teaching may refer to activities such as sacrifice or dedication. In practice, it can mean worshipping the gods, respect for government or older people, or dedication to family, society, country or anything else. As for example, when Balinese want to move house, they have to conduct a *yadnya* ceremony to dedicate the new house. In other words, they must *ngruat* the new house in order to get rid of evil. In the ceremony, the puppeteer makes holy water and sprinkles it in the house after the finishing his *wayang lemah* performance. The theme of the performance can be any kind of *wayang* story, depending on the *yadnya* ceremony being conducted. The setting and procedures to perform *wayang lemah* are similar to those of *wayang sapu leger* and *wayang suddhamala*. The performance can take place at any time or for any event. One can easily find *wayang* performances in Bali taking place anywhere and at any time, especially at *Tumpek Wayang* as one of the special days for Balinese Hindus.

5.3.2. Training and education in Balinese shadow puppet theater in Ubud

In Ubud, like other places in Bali, the training for puppetry is both formal and informal. Informal training in *wayang* takes place in two ways. First, puppetry students may include the sons and grandsons of *dalang* who routinely assist their fathers or grandfathers in performance. Secondly there are students who are not the *dalang*'s relatives. They are called *anak murid* or "child by study." They visit the teacher for lessons, and they assist in the performances. Both kinds of students are treated in the same way, and the evaluation of their progress is decided by the *dalang*.

In addition, public institutions provide formal education in Balinese puppetry, similar to that in Java. In Bali these institutions are SMK (the vocational high school) and ISI (the Indonesian Institute of Art) in Denpasar. Unlike the traditional training in which students assist a senior *dalang* and practice performing a full-length *wayang*, in the formal training, particularly at the university level, the student performs a short play of only 30 minutes. The performance is examined to obtain a certificate, and innovation and creativity are more favored than in the traditional training. However, since the formal training involves other subjects in the curriculum, such as technological effects, architectural aesthetics, carving, painting and even western art, it becomes a source of innovation in the *wayang* world through the experimental production of shadow puppet performances.

The nature of the audiences has also influenced changes in Balinese puppetry. The presence of foreign tourists in the audience has allowed it to be performed in English with the story and philosophy adapted to be more intelligible to Westerners. The domestic audience has also welcomed innovation in *wayang* as well. Modern lifestyles mean that they enjoy less philosophical, shorter performances. "Nowadays People need a simple thing to entertain them", said Agung Suryawan Wiranatha, the secretary general of Bali Tourism Board (personal interview, July 26, 2010). Moreover, I Wayan Nardayana, a contemporary *dalang* and creator of the innovative *wayang cenk blonk* said, "We keep alive the *wayang* tradition, but always investigate what people like too. We are constantly searching for something new without eliminating the roots of tradition" (Musman, 2003).

182

5.3.3. The changes and innovation on the Balinese *wayang* in Ubud

Innovation in *wayang* performance can be seen in areas such as the equipment used, the characters, the language and the way in which the *dalang* manipulates the puppets. While gamelan is conventionally used as an orchestra to accompany *dalang* plays, in contemporary *wayang*, this gamelan music is also played using CD players or other equipment to produce sound effects that are more complex. There is also the widespread use of an LCD projector to create a better silhouette to depict characters or the surrounding environment, so that the screen size can expand to four or six meters wide. The puppet characters have also developed innovatively. In contemporary *wayang* shows, animal characters such as elephants, tigers, fish, herons and so forth appear that are not recognized in the old *wayang* shows. More radically in contemporary *wayang* performance, characters appear from modern fiction such as Superman, or real figures like George W. Bush, showing that *wayang* is keeping abreast of the outside world.

Figure 5.6 Slapstick dialogs as the main
feature in *wayang cenk blonk*

Source: Field Research

183

The language used in *wayang* performance has also changed for contemporary audiences, with a mixture of colloquial Balinese, Indonesian, and even English. As Wayan Nurdayana said, more generally used languages such as English are now taking on a more important role due to globalization, so there are an increasing number of *dalang* who use English in their performances (Sulistyowati, 2010). As a result, there was an international shadow puppet festival during the Bali Art Fiesta in mid-2008. The domestic and foreign participants in the festival enjoyed a *wayang* performance using English for the narration.

One of the more radically innovative *wayang* performances is that of the *dalang* I Made Sidia, who brought together four *dalang* (puppeteers) for one performance. While conventionally the *wayang* performance is managed by one *dalang* who acts all the parts in the performance, the new performance is given by four *dalang* (puppeteers), who manipulate the characters behind a linen screen six meters wide, using a skateboard to help them move around. This style of performance was first introduced in a *wayang* show in Kuta in 2003, when the town was recovering from the post-Bali bomb trauma (Sedana, 2005).

The *wayang* '*cenk blonk*' performance may currently be considered the most interesting phenomenon in the Balinese *wayang* world. Even though it is not approved by traditional *wayang* experts, this kind of performance successfully attracts an enthusiastic audience of all ages. The main part of the play is humorous, whereas there are only short humorous sections in conventional *wayang* performances. The development of *wayang cenk blonk* has injected new blood into Balinese puppetry. In every show, the seats are almost all occupied and the audience

enjoys the performance from the beginning to the end.

To be sure, the innovative *wayang* performances offered by Made Sidia and Wayan Nardayana did not originate in Ubud village. Sidia is a native of Blahbatu village and Nardayana is from Blayu village in Tabanan regency. Even so, the style of performance presented by these two *dalang* has been widely adopted in the *wayang* performances in Ubud village. In particular, the coarse narratives in the Nardayana style of performance are enjoyed by many. Themes such as 'filthy village head' and the like, with crude dialogue and obscene jokes, have dominated *wayang* performance in the tourist areas of Ubud, thanks to the Indonesian political reforms that allow more freedom of speech. This style of performance has, in turn, been criticized as a departure from the spirit of *wayang* and its use to deliver moral messages.

5.4. Conclusion

Tourism is a unique activity characterized by the involvement and cooperation of various industries and sectors that serve tourists. As a result, innovation in tourism is currently taking place within an integrated system comprising the economic, social, institutional, cultural and political environments (Hall and Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2009). More specifically, the ability to innovate in Balinese performing art is driven by internal and external factors. While human capital, creativity, open-mindedness and entrepreneurship are the most influential internal factors, global issues relating to the economy, environment, politics, demography and technology are becoming the most important macro-level factors influencing development and innovation in the performing arts in Bali, complementing micro-level factors such as audiences

and the pressure from the government and religious authorities.

Cultural evolution is clearly visible in Bali, since the Balinese want a modern life on the one hand, while making earnest efforts to rediscover and maintain their traditional cultures on the other. The younger people, who usually resist tradition, are now trying to rediscover the "authentic" Balinese ancient traditions and offer them to the tourists, while in the same time reworking elements of their culture in order to show that Bali is a culturally dynamic society, full of creativity and artistic skill. It should be acknowledged, nevertheless, that the Balinese art workers have been following the market demand, technological changes and the global fashions, adapting them in order to revitalize their tradition.

It is true to say that the media such as television and the internet have fostered the promotion and development of the Balinese performing arts as tourism icons of Bali. The information available in the media is inspiring Balinese artists to develop continuously by inserting current fashion and creativity into their new creations. As an international tourist destination, television and the internet are vital to Bali. The media also useful for marketing Balinese arts, and information about the performing arts as well as the performance schedule can easily be searched through the internet. Meanwhile, the availability of these kinds of media is also helping the Balinese art workers to develop their creativity.

Chapter 6

Change and Innovation in the Balinese Tangible Arts

6.1. Introduction: Balinese painting and carving

Recently, as tourists have become wealthier and travel costs have been reduced, tourists have become more interested in more remote societies and places to visit, increasing the demand for cultural tourism. It is important to recognize that continuous development of visual arts is necessary for the Bali tourism industry in order to cope with the growth of the contemporary tourism market, as well as promoting a more sustainable tourism in the region. Accordingly, this has stimulated the Balinese artisans to adjust their natural creativity to the market to provide the tourists with the goods they need for souvenirs. Particularly in Ubud, which is known as the heart of Balinese culture, this type of continuous development is expected to strengthen the place's position as an arts center and a showcase for Balinese culture. This chapter is going to examine the research questions 3, 4 and 5 from the point of view of the tangible Balinese arts in Ubud, painting and sculpture.

Balinese culture has been acknowledged to possess an ability to withstand and adapt to the massive tourist influx. Instead of degrading their culture, the presence of the tourism industry has instead encouraged the Balinese to reinforce their tradition and rediscover their traditional culture. In visual arts development, the tourism industry has encouraged the Balinese artisans to produce innovative cultural products for tourist consumption and switch their orientation from religion to the tourist market. Given this flexibility, it can be said that Balinese are capable of

adapting their art products to the different tastes of souvenir hunters visiting from all parts of the world (Lueras & Lloyd, 1987). Therefore, it is understandable that the Balinese fine art designs have changed over the time to fit with the market fashion, yet in the same time, maintaining their traditional identity.

In economic terms, tourism is categorized as service, in which the primary transactions are buying and selling intangible products. In the service marketing literature, there are five important dimensions of service which control quality, thus delivering satisfaction to the clients. The dimensions are tangiblity, reliability, responsiveness, assurance and emphathy (Parasuraman *et al*., 1988). Tangiblity refers to the appearance of physical facilities, equipment, personnel and communications. The reliability of a service is the ability of the business to deliver the promised service accurately. The dimension of responsiveness covers the willingness to assist clients by providing prompt service. The assurance dimension refers to the ability of the suppliers and their employees to be able to create trust and confidence. The last dimension is empathy, a condition where the supplier possesses the capability to provide care and individualized attention to the clients. In the tourism industry, therefore, success on these five dimensions is necessary in order to deliver a positive experience and impression to tourists to a particular destination.

Painting and carving are widely considered as forms of traditional craftsmanship that are capable of fulfilling the tangibility dimension of tourism by enhancing the experience felt by a tourist visiting a place. This is how the intangible aspects of tourism can be transformed into something more tangible. According to Rusalić, this can be take many forms including "costumes that are usually required

for festivals or performing arts, clothing and jewellery to protect or decorate the body, objects used for storage, for transport and shelter, decorative arts and ritual objects…" (Rusalić, 2009:31).

This chapter discusses the innovation process in Balinese art, particularly painting and carving, as tangible cultural products marketed in order to serve the demand for cultural tourism in Ubud. In this context, the culture produced is considered a marketable resource, which needs to be developed innovatively in order to meet the tourist demand.

6.2. The development of Balinese painting in Ubud

Traditional painting is one of the major arts in Ubud that has made the village well known as the arts center of Bali. In fact, it has even been given the nickname of the "the artists' village." A painting tradition had existed in Ubud for centuries for religious purposes, organized under the patronage of the palace (*puri*). The conquest of Bali by the Dutch in the early twentieth century played an important role in the transformation of painting in Ubud. In this sense, traditional painting in Ubud was the earliest Balinese cultural product influenced by Western art. This influence has in turn contributed to the development of Balinese fine art and transformed the sociocultural landscape in Ubud. The modern style of painting in Ubud was adopted after the arrival of Western artists such as Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet in the area. Not only did it give Balinese painters a new insight into modern painting, but it also connected them to the outside world, particularly the Western painting market, and in turn, the tourist market (Picard, 1996). Today, painting has to keep in step with fashion in order to benefit from the tourism industry.

In modern-day Bali, Ubud is the best-known village for painting on the island. Working as a painting artisan or as an "artist" is now becoming one of the choices available for villagers looking to improve their economic chances. The increasing number of tourists visiting Ubud, especially young travelers wanting to experience Balinese culture (cf. Picard, 1996), has become a potential market for painters selling their products. Along with the number of painters, so the number of art shops and painting galleries has also increased. Currently, the painting studios, museums and galleries scattered around the village include a number of world-famous establishments such as Rudana Fine Arts Gallery, Neka Museum and Agung Rai Museum of Art, owned by local residents, besides the oldest one, Puri Lukisan Museum, sponsored by the last king of Ubud, Tjokorde Gde Agung Sukawati with Rudolf Bonnet as the curator. Another is the Blanco Museum, was established by a Spanish-American painter, Antonio Maria Blanco who was married to a local woman.

6.2.1. The History and tradition of Painting in Ubud

The 20th century was the heyday of Balinese painting with Ubud as its centre of development. However, the history of the painting tradition in Ubud dates back to earlier centuries, and was influenced by the Kamasan style of painting in Klungkung, one of the ancient capitals of Bali. The existence of painting in Bali has been recognized since the 14th century and developed in Ubud from the 19th century. There were famous painters from Ubud in this era such as Made Togog and Nyoman Lempad whose paintings were mostly using ink as media. In their era, painters expressed their imagination in figurative drawing.

The early development of painting in Bali was started when the island fell under Majapahit rule in 1343 A.D. Together with the military expansion, there were also Javanese Hindu priests and artisans including painters who came to the island. During the period of Islamization in Java in the 15th century, more Javanese Hindu refugees left the island of Java to join those who had left earlier for Bali. They consisted of priests, high-class artists, dancers, painters and carvers from the Majapahit Kingdom, who were warmly welcomed by the Balinese (Martana, 2002). When the glorious days of the kingdom of Klungkung as the single state in Bali ended, the kingdom ruptured into eight smaller kingdoms, including Gianyar Kingdom which continues to exist today as a regency in Bali. After Klungkung collapsed, the artists, dancers, painters and carvers continued their work in the smaller successor kingdoms and their subordinate regions. Ubud was one of the subordinate regions of the Gianyar Kingdom.

The conquest of Bali by the Dutch, symbolized by the fall of the Badung and Tabanan kingdoms, and finally the Kingdom of Klungkung in 1908, caused another

Figure 6.1 Nyoman Lempad painting

Source: Courtesy of Museum Puri Lukisan

exodus of artists, dancers, painters and carvers to find new places to work, and Ubud

became a possible place to migrate to. The following clearly depicts the situation:

> After the great *Puputan Badung*, local painters in Bali started to experience hard
> times. This situation forced the second exodus of artists, like the one that had
> occurred in the Waturenggong era, 500 years earlier. Ubud, the region ruled by
> the Sukawati Dynasty was the most convenient place for the fleeing artists to
> settle. As a moderate and western educated person, Sukawati found that the only
> way to maintain peace and prosperity in his territory was to cooperate with the
> Dutch. In return, the government gave Sukawati an authority to build Ubud
> according to his ideals. Again, as had happened before, high-class artists,
> painters and carvers overflowed Ubud. However, there was one problem left
> unsolved, and that was the well being of those painters. Although Sukawati had
> a close relationship with the government, and was even a member of *Volkskraad*
> – the citizen council in Batavia – he was not able to employ all the artists in his
> territory, while to encourage them to become farmers like common people was
> also impossible. The future of the art life remained a big question at the time.
> (Martana, 2002:121).

Until the 1930s, the paintings in Ubud were produced mainly for religious

purposes. The painters lived to serve the temples or kings, and produce the reliefs or

paintings that were required for worship, as ornaments, or to decorate the houses of

the royal family. To some extent, they also served common people to provide

decoration for smaller buildings such as *subak* temples or family temples (*sanggah*)

in the Balinese compound houses. Their work can be seen in the flags (*kober*),

banners (*umbul-umbul*), wall decorations (*ulon*) and decorative painting on leather

puppets (*wayang*). The paintings also included symbolic designs (*rerajahan*) based

on the Hindu holy book or other writings, symbolizing the god (*ong kara*) and used

as amulets. Therefore, it was common for a painter to perform a ritual such as

fasting either before or while he was painting. Since their products were functional,

the painters, known as *sungging*, tended to be seen as artisans rather than artists,

who worked on the basis of *ngayah*, a kind of work without any formal fees. The

Figure 6.2 Typical of the anonymous Kamasan-based traditional painting 1880s

Source: courtesy of Rudana Museum

themes of the paintings were based on the Mahabharata and Ramayana stories, either in the form of characters or decoration. Unlike the Western tradition, Balinese traditional painters in this period were prohibited from painting real human shapes. The characters such as the deities, giants or nobles were depicted in postures that were not natural human poses. As in the other Balinese arts, traditional painting was also strictly based on the concept of *rwa-bhinneda*, similar to the Chinese concept of the *yin-yang*, expressing the balance of nature. The characters such as deities or righteous protagonists such as *Pandawa* were portrayed as *alus* or refined, whilst the demons and protagonists like *Kurawa* were portrayed as *kasar* or coarse. Good and bad characters were placed separately in the left and right sides of the painting (cf. Gralapp, 1967). Moreover, the paintings pictured complicated scenes and ideas, and therefore it required a lot of time as well as a deep knowledge of Balinese philosophy to understand their real meaning.

In the 20th century period of development and afterwards, the popularity of Ubud painting even exceeded that of Kamasan since the painting of Ubud was transformed into a commodity for tourist consumption, and therefore, addressed a wider market. As the king of Ubud was concerned to develop the talent of local

people in painting, he invited Walter Spies, a Western artist who at that time worked in Jogjakarta teaching music, to stay in Ubud and teach talented local artists to paint in modern styles. Later, the presence of Western painters in Ubud became the cornerstone for the renaissance of painting in Ubud. While the Kamasan style represented the original style of Balinese painting, Ubud developed various modern styles, though some of the artists continued to maintain traditional styles such as the Batuan painting style.

6.2.2. The cornerstone of modern painting in Ubud

The development of modern painting in Ubud started in 1936 with the establishment of the Pita Maha Artist Guild. The king of Ubud at that time, Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati, formed the organization in association with two European artists, Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet. The Western influence in Ubud painting started when Walter Spies, a German artist and musician, came in 1927. Born in Moscow, he had been exiled to Central Asia as an enemy alien during World War II, and later stayed at Jogjakarta. Given his contribution to innovation in Javanese music and Balinese painting, he is seen as the man behind the modern transformation of the arts of Java and Bali (Rhodius and Darling, 1980). Two years later, a Dutch painter, Johan Rudolf Bonnet, also arrived and spent most of the rest of his life in Ubud. Later through the Pita Maha community, these two artists trained the naturally talented local painters to paint using more modern techniques and ideas. They introduced the uses of new tools and equipment for painting, and brighter colors. In relation to the establishment of the Pita Maha, Spies expressed his aim to educate local people to develop the arts as his comment in the East Indies culture magazine, *Djawa*, from

194

July 1936 shows:

> The Pitamaha is a society, a guild of Balinese plastic arts. The first aim of the society is to stimulate art and the second to be interested in the material welfare of the members. Their works are submitted to a strict examination by connoisseurs and are obtainable in the Bali Museum at Denpasar. Such an examination at the same time serves the interests of the buyer. (cited in Martana, 2002:122).

At the same time, the most important thing they impressed on local painters was to avoid duplicating other painters' styles. They also encouraged young Balinese peasants to paint and lent them the materials and equipment to begin as well as assisting them to market their paintings to the Western tourists (cf. Geertz, 1994). In addition, the success of Spies and Bonnet in changing the nature of painting in Ubud cannot be separated from the role of the Ubud royal family as the local patrons. The local painters did what the royal family told them to do. Eventually, when the *puri* Ubud allowed the local painters to sell their work, they started to mass-produce their paintings and sell them on the wider market. This Pita Maha era resulted in the "modern style" of Balinese painting. The modern style transformed the classical style through the adoption of the Western realist style, emphasizing the proportion and anatomy of the painted object, combined with the themes and inspiration emanating from the reality of daily life in the society. Some of the prominent Balinese painters in Ubud from the Pita Maha era included Gede Sobrat, Ida Bagus Made, Nyoman Moleh and Gede Meregeg. Even in the paintings based on the *wayang* stories, painters such as I Gusti Ketut Kobot also introduced the realist style, as for example in his painting entitled *Sahadewa's Sacrifice* dated 1982.

At the same time as Walter Spies was teaching Balinese painters to produce paintings in new and innovative ways without abandoning their tradition, he also

Figure 6.3 Typical of the modern style painting of Ubud

Source: Field Research

aggressively promoted Balinese culture throughout the western world. It was not a coincidental that Spies was a multitalented artist capable of synthesizing different type of arts, as he had talent in music, photography and painting. His success in promoting Bali was also due to his ability to network internationally. In this context, the success of Balinese painting, especially in Ubud, was the result of a number of factors, including promotion at the right time and through the right communication channels. The artists' acceptance of innovation was also a catalyst for the success of painting in Ubud.

The Western influence on Balinese painting continued after Indonesian independence in the 1950s. Foreign painters such as Antonio Blanco and Arie Smit visited Ubud and were impressed with the people's talent in painting. These Western painters eventually became Indonesian citizens. Smit continued to provide material support, increased motivation and teach his techniques to young Ubud painters in Panestanan village well into his nineties, especially the way of painting objects in bright colors (Hasan, 2010). He recruited two young Balinese who were 12 years old as his first pupils in 1960 and there were soon around 40 students who took painting lesson in his studio. To these young people, Smit actually taught a basic technique with minimal instruction, but the students produced unexpectedly unique and

colorful paintings. This resulted in a new style, that of the so-called "Ubud Young Artists." In fact, the new style is quite different from Smit's own style even though he is considered as the initiator.

The young artists' painting was considered as a new style since they painted in a different way, particularly in the coloration of the subjects of their paintings. Martana discusses the origin of the term "young artist" as follows:

> Those teenagers had a strange but exotic style of painting. They used primary colors, and the kind of colors rarely found in daily life such as purple, pink and orange. Strong outline and repetitive objects were distributed on the canvas in parallel or symmetrically. Their freedom in choosing color really depicts Balinese basic character, a people who like strong colors and use it as a non-verbal expression… Those child-like paintings - known as the Young Artists' style, referring to the age of the painters - rose up and shocked the world of Balinese art. (2002:125).

Nevertheless, the shock of the new style was only temporary. Because the painting style achieved popularity rapidly at that time, too many painters emerged throughout the village producing the same style of painting in response to the growing demand from the market. The situation was also made worse by crises in the agriculture sector, which experienced a crop failure due to rat infestation. Since many of the

Figure 6.4 Realist style wayang theme painting
by Ketut Kobot

Source: Courtesy of Rudana Museum

people of Ubud were talented artistically, working in the art sector was the only possible job available, unless they were willing to migrate to other less densely inhabited islands of Indonesia such as Sulawesi to farm through the central government's transmigration program. As a result, the new-style paintings saturated the market, and the customers were no longer able to distinguish the quality of the paintings. The style soon became popular art and the paintings were considered as souvenirs rather than artistic work. It seems that I Ketut Soki, one of the two earliest pupils of Arie Smit, is the only prominent painter producing artistic painting in this style.

6.2.3. The current development and education in Balinese painting in Ubud

So far, we have partly discussed the development of painting in Ubud parallel to the changes in politics, the economy and ritual in the context of local, regional and national changes, as well as the wider connection to the global market. The discussion has charted how painting in Ubud has been influenced not only by political turbulence and local conflict in Bali Island, also by the wider political powers such as Majapahit and the Dutch. It has described how the process of globalization had an impact on the transformation of painting in Ubud through the importation of Western styles and ideas to be integrated with the local creativity. In addition, it has considered the transformation from ritual to the more economic motives in painting. In the following discussion, I take a closer look at the development of painting in Ubud in the context of the economy and politics after Indonesian independence, given that Bali is one of the provinces of the Republic of Indonesia.

During the Pacific War, the arts including painting in Ubud did not record any significant change because people were working in the agricultural sector to support

the logistics supply for Japanese army. This continued for eight years until Indonesia got their *de jure* independence in 1949. This led to a movement initiated by Indonesian "intellectual artists" who called for the modernization of Indonesian art through the encouragement of creativity and reforms in art education. The movement resulted in the establishment of art schools under the management of universities and art academies, including the establishment of the *Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia* (Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts) in Jogjakarta. In Bali, the establishment of a fine arts school was begun through the development of fine art and design studies in Udayana University of Denpasar.

In Ubud, training and education in painting in Ubud takes place through both formal and informal systems. The informal training is provided by the art studios scattered throughout the village. Learners in the informal institution are divided into pupils and apprentices. The pupils are usually neighborhood children who take painting as an extracurricular activity. The apprentice painters usually join a studio or try to find a private teacher with a specific painting style after they graduate from the formal schools of art before entering the professional painting world. The informal training also takes place hereditarily within the artisan family. In many cases, the hereditary tradition in art is able to produce prominent artists, shaped through the supporting environment, and of course, chance and opportunity. One example is the Modern Style era painter Gede Sobrat, as well as the contemporary Ubud painter I Wayan Bendi who learned painting from his father, painter I Wayan Taweng. The following is the story of one outstanding painter from the Pita Maha era, Anak Agung Gede Sobrat, whose ancestors were artisans:

One of the prominent Balinese painters was A. A. Gede Sobrat of *banjar* Padang Tegal Ubud. He was a pioneer in the transformation of painting in Ubud. His artistry was inherited from his father's and mother's lineage. His grandfather was the master craftsman for the Puri Ubud household. His talent in art had been noticeable since he was a child. He enjoyed watching the performing arts, particularly shadow puppet shows, which embodied educational, ethical and artistic values. To help his family's economy, the young Sobrat was working in Puri Ubud as a phone operator, picking up the phone when it rang. At that time, the *puri* used to welcome both domestic and foreign guests. This led to his initial acquaintanceship with foreign tourists, including Rudolf Bonnet and Walter Spies. His friendship with Bonnet and Spies became closer since the head of the puri, the king of Ubud, encouraged their closeness. (Yugus, 2007:277; freely translated from Bahasa Indonesia)

Formal painting education in Bali is available at *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* (SMK), a vocational school at the same level as senior high school. Painting is usually a specialization in the fine art schools. The Indonesian educational system includes arts, crafts and tourism vocational schools. In the district of Ubud, there are seven vocational schools with only one school specializing in fine arts namely SMK *Seni Rupa* (literally fine art). This school is located in Campuhan, Ubud, established in 1987 as a private school. In its initial development it became the favorite school of those who wanted to study fine arts, especially painting. The reputation of the school was definitely reinforced by its location in the area where the 20th century era artists lived. Nevertheless, after a decade the school began experiencing problems in attracting new students due to the declining interest in studying painting. At the time when tourism was booming in the island, the price of a painting which took three days to finish using low-price materials was about US$13.5, while the wage for an unskilled construction worker was around US$4.5 per day (Martana, 2002). This low compensation became one of the causes of the declining interest of people in going to painting schools, and painting currently has become a non-routine side job.

Meanwhile, working in tourist accommodation seemingly provides a better salary for living. In the case of SMK Seni Rupa, due to the decreasing number of students, the management diversified the program by adding hotel accommodation studies in 2006. The result was spectacular. While in 2006 there were only 60 students enrolled to the new program, in 2008 the number of students increased 500%. For this reason, the school was eventually renamed as SMK *pariwisata* (literally tourism) for better branding.

At the advanced level, painting education is offered in the Department of Fine Art at the Indonesian Institute of Art (ISI). The institutionalization of fine arts, including painting, in the formal education system in Bali started in 1965 through the establishment of the Department of Architecture and Fine Art in the Faculty of Engineering, Udayana University. This, in turn, became the precursor of formal modern painting education in Bali. Students on the painting study program learn to master painting, design, anatomy and modeling from an international perspective as the basic curriculum (Kalam, 1990). In addition to the role of the art studios and formal education, the development and promotion of modern painting in Bali are also currently supported by painting associations with a particular style that are active in holding exhibitions.

6.2.4. Marketing and the problem of the classic style painting in Ubud

Although painting as a fine art product can be classified as a "specialty product" in marketing theory, it has market characteristics that are different from ordinary products. Worthington & Higgs (2003) characterize art products as non-liquid assets produced by individuals, which have a very segmented market and are not easy to

sell. The market for painting then can be divided between paintings for investment and paintings as handicrafts. The first category is usually dominated by auction houses or big galleries and serves the premium market; meanwhile, the latter is organized through the art shops to serve the low-price segment of the market.

At the present day, painting in Ubud is very much connected to the tourist market. Together with other traditional artwork such as carving and sculpture, and in addition to the performing arts like dancing, painting has shaped the cultural landscape of Ubud through the omnipresence of the art shops and galleries throughout the village. In one segment, all the artisans produced low priced paintings, as do the vocational high schools of art. Selected student works from class assignments are sold on the market in order to assist the schools financially. In the other segments of the market, paintings are provided by recognized artists to the premium market such as museums, collectors and luxury hotels. The artists usually produce paintings for their own satisfaction, and the big galleries or collectors usually estimate the value of their paintings, which can vary enormously according to individual taste.

As mentioned earlier, painting in Ubud has a long history and is constantly changing along with the rest of society. However, change and innovation in traditional painting in Ubud follow closely what the market appears to demand in both the premium and low price segments. The low-priced painting sector is highly market-oriented and the style of painting depends on current fashions, mainly in architecture. This mainly applies to paintings under US$100, with domestic tourists as the major market. Paintings in this segment are usually used as house decorations.

The more expensive paintings, up to US$5,000, are usually bought by foreign tourists or sold to meet export demand, especially from Europe. This segment is dominated by contemporary painting with expressive styles and bright colors, in addition to pictures in abstract or traditional styles, or Bali landscapes. The foreign and export markets fluctuate and are highly influenced by global economic conditions. The downturn in the European economy during 2010, for instance, reduced Balinese painting exports by 50 percent compared with the previous years. According to the Bali Province Trade and Industry Authority, during 2010, the painting exporters exported only around 300 pieces valued at US$1.2 million to the European market.

In spite of the Western influence on the fast-growing painting style, the Batuan ethnic style of painting in Ubud represents the development of the traditional style. Long before the arrival of the Western painters, the Batuan painters had created their own classical painting style serving the temple and royal family. The painting revolution brought about by Spies and Bonnet in the 1930s became the starting point for the Batuan painters to create their own secular painting style, a classical style using Western technique. A number of Batuan painters, including I Made Budi, I Ketut Sadia, Ida Bagus Dupem, and I Wayan Bendi, painted themes from daily life, religion and the shadow puppet theatre using a bird's eye perspective.

The classical Batuan style, nevertheless, encountered marketing problems in the modern world. The modern market, on the one hand, prefers uncomplicated painting, and therefore, abstract styles are nowadays becoming the choice for the younger generation of Batuan painters to sell on the market. On the other hand, some of the

more traditional painters, for instance, I Dewa Putu Arsania, 51, continue to produce classical paintings exclusively without any concern for the market. These painters are mostly painting for their own satisfaction without any intention to sell their paintings on the market. Between these two poles, there is an effort to bridge the classical and abstract styles in order to create a mainstream style for Batuan painting (Putra, 2009). Currently, there are about eleven styles practiced by the Ubud painting school. The school represents the part of Ubud from where the style emanates. Besides the Batuan school, the Walter Spies style and the Young Artist style, there are other styles called the Peliatan, Tebesaya, Padang Tegal, Tegallalang, Pangosekan and Keliki schools of paintings. Another is the Kamasan school of painting that also exists in Ubud.

6.3. The development of the plastic arts in Ubud

Critics of the commoditization of arts in Bali have been loud since it underwent a transformation in the 1930s, and disputes have always been solved through intervention and negotiation with the religious authorities. These are about the ways to present the art products for tourist consumption that should be different from those for art for religious purposes. Once in June 2010, I visited a carving gallery owned by I Nyoman Seter, a senior artist, located in the village of Mas, Ubud district, which is managed by his son Made. I had an opportunity to interview his son, who acts as the head of artisans in the gallery, as well as seeing the innermost part of his gallery located on the third floor of the gallery building where many woodcarvings made by Seter which were not for sale were stored. The gallery has three floors. The first floor displays the arts produced by Seter's son and the artisans

204

working there, as well as those being sold on commission for other artisans who work at home, with a price range from *ratusan ribu* to *belasan juta rupiah*, equal to from US$10 to 1,000 or more. The second floor holds works priced from around US$2,000. The works on the third floor are labeled not for sale, since not only are they considered as the legacy of Nyoman Seter to his family but also some of them are believed to possess *taksu*, a spiritual power that can be sensed emotionally.

The production of carving and sculpture is similar to that of Balinese dancing in that tourists or non-Balinese cannot distinguish between religious and commercial art, unless they are experts on the Balinese art and culture. Like the other arts commercialized for the tourist market, this kind of plastic art has made many of Balinese craftsmen prosperous, economically and the dollars gained have been reinvested to strengthen Hinduism, their cultural roots. It is also obvious that the sector has encountered several problems in relation to design, market knowledge and competition.

The rapid growth of the tourism industry in Bali has had a direct impact on the development of wood handicrafts, which conversely has become an important part of the tourism industry in the island. As shown in Table 6.1, during the 1980s, which saw the earliest tourism boom in Bali, the average growth of handicraft exports including woodcarving and sculpture products accounted was 195.78% for the decade. This was in line with the average growth of direct international tourist arrivals, which grew at an average of 11.22% per year until 1985. Meanwhile, in the peak period of the 1990s, the sector grew at 16.13% annually, compared with 11.54% tourist arrival growth, with the main export destinations including Japan,

North America, Europe, and Australia. In 2000, the crafts industry exports amounted to US$34.8 million and this had doubled to US$77.8 million in 2010, forming around 8.5% of Bali's total exports (Badan Pusat Statistik Propinsi Bali, 2000; Central Bank of Indonesia Bali branch, 2010). It also worth noting from table 6.1 that Bali's handicraft export grew by up to 1,000% from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, a decade when tourism boomed in Bali.

Like the other Balinese arts, carving and sculpture in Ubud have moved towards commoditization. Traditionally, carving and sculpture were linked to religion, and were mainly produced for the temples and religious ceremonies. The devotion of the Balinese to worshipping the gods encouraged local artisans to produce masterpieces for spiritual satisfaction. They also produced them for decorating the palace, gates and other public buildings surrounding their community as a reflection of the *ngayah* spirit of dedication and as implementation of the *Tri Hita Karana* teaching.

6.3.1. The influence of tourism industry

Balinese carving and sculpture, including handicrafts, are distributed through four sales channels consisting of tourists, exports, galleries and the local markets. The volume of exports is 50% larger than direct sales to tourists. The galleries are the market for the more expensive items, and some are located in five star hotels. The local market, even though small in size, is more stable than the international market, especially for products used in housing and architecture. In the tourism sector, the local market is essential for maintaining the sustainability of the industry. A strong local market is a prerequisite for the industry to compete in the global market (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). In Bali, carving and sculpture are generally required, if

not absolutely necessary, in building a house or a temple.

Balinese carving and sculpture, like many of Bali's cultural products, have adapted to the tourism industry to serve the local economy. On the other hand, the handicraft market that is growing internationally provides opportunities for exploiting their craftsmanship and skill to manufacture products to meet global market needs. As a result, the arts have become an inseparable part of the economic system (Bautes and Valette, 2004). However, Balinese artisan society has limited knowledge of, and access to, the global market. As a result, most designs no longer emanate from the artisans' creativity, but rather follow designs ordered by brokers who have access to the tourist and global handicrafts market, especially the Western market. In this way, although there are critiques concerning the authenticity of Balinese carving and sculpture, it continues to innovate and constantly adapt to the changes in the demand from its global market. The Balinese have learnt for centuries to interact with the outside world without disrupting their culture and religion as the main source of their ideas in making art products. Based on their long experience, Balinese have their own ways to manage and cope with the tourist industry, as well as the appropriate ways to commercialize their culture (Taylor, 1991).

In the tourist market, the brokers aggressively stress the authenticity of Balinese arts, no matter whether the art is produced by Balinese or imported from Java, and conversely, the tourists perceive it as genuine. The meaning of genuine here relates to the origins of the resources used, including the raw materials. In this way, the brokers in the trade treat non-Western art using the Western classification of art (Phillips and Steiner, 1999) and contribute to the adaptation of the local art to

207

Tabel 6.1. International arrival and Bali's handicraft export in the 1980s and 1990s

Year	International Tourist Arrival	Handicraft Export (USD)
1981	158,926	74,748
1982	152,364	109,641
1983	170,505	1,325,161
1984	189,460	3,168,879
1985	211,244	5,721,357
Average growth per year	11.22%	195.78%
1992	735,777	35,463,000
1993	884,206	35,306,000
1994	1,030,953	50,443,000
1995	1,013,970	61,910,000
1996	1,138,895	64,501,000
Average growth per year	11.54%	16.13%

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik 1986 & 1997.

foreign ideas of "authenticity" (Cohodas, 1999). Interaction with the tourism industry, however, has enriched the variety and quality of Balinese carving and sculpture. For instance, Spies and Bonnet in the 1930s encouraged Balinese artists to avoid replication, not only in painting but also in carving, and encouraged them to produce their own creative work. While Spies was regarded as a source of inspiration for the Balinese artists, Bonnet influence them in terms of technique and style (Wesner et al., 2007). In the tourist boom of the 1990s, the craftsmen interacted with intermediaries who provided them with designs and introduced modern equipment. In short, the tourism industry has contributed to change and innovation in the Balinese carving and sculpture industry and become an effective tool for advertising the products.

6.3.2. The development of design and the issue of authenticity

It is certain that Balinese interaction with the outside world has in some ways been influencing their orientation to creating art. Trade with China, India, Egypt, Japan and Europe through the northern port of Buleleng since the early middle ages

resulted in cultural assimilation in wood and stone carving. The carved ornaments called *patra Cina* (Chinese ornaments) or *patra Mesir* (Egyptian ornaments) show the influence of the outside world on the Balinese fine arts. Covarrubias (1986) reported finding stone reliefs depicting a long-bearded Arab driving a car and two fat Dutchmen drinking beer in temple decoration in northern Bali. Therefore, the development of Balinese art carving and sculpture, like other Balinese cultural products, has evolved as a result of constant changes and innovations caused by constant interaction with the outside world. From this long interaction, many styles oriental and European styles were partly absorbed and adapted to the local style in order to enrich it.

While examining the development of Balinese carving and sculpture, it is clear that this art has developed in two main directions, traditional and contemporary. The traditional art, usually categorized as fine art, is an art product that emanates from the local culture and develops without any significant changes. The designs, themes and purposes remain associated with the daily and spiritual life of the Balinese and possess high artistic value. Change and innovation in this segment usually takes place in materials and technique. This segment, thus, produces art for religious activities, serves other art sectors such as traditional music by producing carved instruments, and provides quality arts products for the premium market. Contemporay art, on the other hand, most of which can be described as handicrafts, is a craft product that develops based on newness and novelty in its design and technique. Newness may refer to the sort of product that is already known but has never been produced and marketed locally before, while novelty means something

completely new to society. However, both of the categories can be based on the traditional art in terms of the particular skill and technique required.

The sculpture and carvings that are sold in Ubud are not always manufactured by the Balinese themselves. In the stone statue market for instance, there are two types of stone sculpture, consisting of grey and white stones. The white stone, a kind of soft sandstone formed by volcanic ash, is the only stone found in Bali: it is fragile and moss grows easily on it, but it is as easy as wood to carve. The grey stone, which is heavier and harder, is imported from Java. In earlier periods, the Balinese imported it as the raw material, carved the stone by themselves and sold the result as Balinese made sculpture. Recently, they have not only imported the raw stone but also finished stone sculptures. There are two places in Java from where the grey sculpture is imported. The first place is Mojokerto in East Java, which was considered the capital city of the Majapahit Kingdom during 14th to 16th centuries, and the second one is the district of Muntilan in Central Java about 10 kilometers to the east of Borobudur temple. "When it is sold in Bali, the price of a black stone sculpture from the two cities usually increases ten times," said Geriya, who owns the stone sculpture gallery (personal interview, August 20, 2010). Considering the similarity of the design and quality of the product compared with those previously produced in Bali, this shows that Bali possesses a high value as a brand name for the buyers of the products.

The wood carvings are in the same situation as stone sculpture. Tourists who visited villages producing wood-made artworks may be astonished at the mastery of the local people as well as the abundance of natural raw materials. They see Bali as a

blessed island due to the abundance of natural resources and the talent of local people. In fact, however, the raw wood, especially teak for the quality art, is apparently imported from Java. As an alternative, *waru laut* wood (*Thespesia populnea*) is widely used. For lower quality products, they usually use the wood of *sengon* trees (*Paraserianthes falcataria*), a cheap variety of softer timber. Not only the raw materials, but also finished products such as furniture are currently imported from Jepara in the north of Central Java because the cost is half that of carving of the same quality produced by the Balinese. The Jepara-made furniture usually combines intricate carving and a minimalist style and is not as fully carved as that made in Bali. This kind of product fulfills a large part of the present market demand, due to the lower price and the perception by the international market that it is made in Bali.

6.3.3. The economy of Balinese woodcarvings and sculptures

The opening of a tourist market in 1930s and the support from the *puri* Ubud family encouraged the local people to meet the demand of the tourist market. In parallel, the higher economic benefits obtained by the artisans stimulated their neighbors to do the same work, reducing their agricultural work. Due to the fast growth of the industry, many even moved to handicraft production as their main livelihood, while others made their living as traders or intermediaries (Geriya, 2003). This new business sometimes involves women and children within the family, especially in the painting process. Because the sector is labor intensive in nature, the government supported this sector, for instance, by providing funds for exhibition, training and soft loans, and regarded it as an appropriate model for rural development. The result was that Ubud was quickly overwhelmed with handicrafts of various qualities and

prices, and new centers of handicraft production, including those in Tegalalang village, emerged throughout the district of Ubud.

The quality artwork which is usually made by artisans who are labeled "artists" (*seniman*) may be worth up to a hundred times as much as work of lower quality, which is categorized as contemporary handicrafts produced by specialist artisans (*perajin*). Interestingly, in some cases, the final economic value of these two types of artwork to the community turns out the same. A quality wood sculpture or carving worth about US$8,000 made by a senior artisan takes around seven to eight months to finish it. At the same time, a small item costing US$10 per piece can be produced, much faster, up to three pieces per day, generates more or less the same amount of money. Whilst the first has its own premium market, the latter depends considerably upon the tourist market and the economic situation of the tourist source countries.

From the 1930s era of plastic art in Ubud, there were some artists producing high value artistic work, including names such as Ida Bagus Nyana, I Tagelan and I Nyoman Tjokot. While these artists worked in the classical style of carving, they also were also affiliated with the Pita Maha Artists Guild where Spies and Bonnet were influencing the work of the painters. Through this institution, they were introduced to the Western style, especially Art Deco, a style that developed for the first time in Paris in the 1920s. One generation later, Ida Bagus Tilem of Mas village (1939-1993), the son of Ida Bagus Nyana, worked in a more modern Western style and influenced the carving style of Nyana and Tjokot. Tilem introduced a carving style that used the original shape of the raw material to express his creativity. Since

Figure 6.5 The quality style carving made by artist
displayed in Bali Art Center gallery, Denpasar.

Source: Field research

he promoted the use of gnarled wood, the shape of a human or animal was allowed to follow the natural shape of the material used. He was considered the disseminator of the modern style of carving in Ubud as he was also a teacher who trained dozens of artisans in the neighborhood of Mas village. The style introduced by Bagus Tilem was continued and modified by one of his best students, I Wayan Darlun, whose carving style is considered as a revival of the style of Ida Bagus Nyana. Currently, the carvings made by the first generation of masters commands a high price. An artwork made by Nyoman Tjokot (1886-1971) for instance, can cost up to US$30,000 depending on its age and rarity.

Unlike the quality pieces, whose market remains stable, low-price woodcarving and sculpture continuously change designs following the market trends and demand.

In 1930s the fashion was simple, with a sense of humor, such as a human grinning or an animal in a freak pose using natural color. This shows that comedy is something inseparable from Balinese art and culture. Shavid (2003) in his book *Bali and the Tourist Industry* gives the example of an eccentric cremation tower in the shape of a KLM airplane. In the 1980s, innovation in this sector led to the emergence of plant-shaped handicrafts, especially banana trees painted in color. However, given the trend in architecture, minimalist design was preferred. For the next decade, animal designs in natural postures saturated the market, such as ducks and storks with minimalist color. Later, the designs expanded to produce goods with other functions, such as a cat-shaped CD shelf. The artists even produce ethnic art which has no cultural connection with Bali in order to serve the export market, such as "dreamcatchers" which are American or *didgeridoos* for Northern Australian Aborigines (Esperanza, 2008).

However, the contemporary woodcarving and sculpture have been criticized by Balinese artists not only because they are secular, but also because they are less aesthetically pleasing, and making money is its only single purpose. Given local lack of awareness of international market conditions, this means that the sector is driven by, and follows designs determined by, the intermediary agents. In turn, this leads to weaker creativity among the Balinese artisans and therefore, and this disadvantages local carving and sculpture development. The middlemen have constructed a complex structure in the handicrafts industry and confine the craftsmen to the role of being a cheap resource for the capitalist economy. An example of this is the case of carved wooden shoes to be marketed in the

Netherlands. The agent orders a basic shape of shoe from the local craftsmen, asking them to produce only the design. They then send the samples to other craftsmen asking them to carve just the plain shoes. The second group of craftsmen do not know where the basic shape was manufactured and they have no link to the subsequent supply chains. The agent then sends the carved shoes to a further group of craftsmen with no direct linkage to the previous group in order to finish the coloring or lacquering the carved product. Thus the agent separates the work into several different stages with the aim of protecting their product from theft of the design, and they turn the craftsmen into a factor of production, compelling them to work on one specific activity. The craftsmen, therefore, become part of the division of labor in the capitalist system. Economically, this system provides benefits to the artisans because specialization allows them to produce on a massive scale, but it degrades their creativity as art workers.

However, there are some other cases where Balinese carvers are directly involved in business. Blueberry Guitars is a case in which a Balinese carving master, Wayan Tuges, has helped strengthen the branding of the product. Blueberry manufactures musical instruments by hand, especially guitars for the international market. The dealers for the product are international, including Japan, Canada, the UK, Taiwan and the US. The initiator of the business is Danny Fonfeder, a Canadian entrepreneur and guitar playing enthusiast. On a business trip to Asia in 2005, he made a detour to Bali as and met Wayan Tuges, a Balinese carving master from Sukawati, Gianyar. Tuges was actually a stone carving specialist and had never carved a guitar before. Tuges carved some beautiful guitars – but they sounded

awful. Fonfeder then invited George Morris, a Canadian master luthier who ran an instrument making school in the US called Vermont Instruments, to teach Tuges and his three sons how to build good guitars. The guitars began to sell at prices ranging from US$2,500 to 15,000, and developed an international reputation. Wayan Tuges is not the only craftsman producing the guitars, yet his name together with those of Fonfeder and Morris are integral to the image of the product. The current Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, is a customer, ordering instruments from Wayan Tuges with a particular carved design.

Marketing emerges as another problem for the craftsmen. Up to 60% of the product price is a marketing fee for the intermediaries, including the tourist guide (Picard, 1996). Obviously, this is a dilemma for the craftsmen since they do not have bargaining power either in tourism or the export market. While the government stresses the importance of small-scale business as the foundation of the economic system, the capitalist system eventually causes the growth of small businesses to become sluggish, and even forces them toward bankruptcy.

The development of the souvenir industry has improved the local economy, making the Balinese wealthier, so that they invest more money in worship and spend more on their temples (Yamashita, 2003). This seems to be clear as Geriya describes his observations of three villages in Bali, covering Tenganan, Sangeh and Ubud villages. He found that "…the attitudes of the village community, the functions of social institution, the relations between the village community and traditional institution, the ways and pattern community life, and its physical, sociocultural and spiritual environments all remain strong, protecting the basic spirit of the culture"

(Geriya, 2003:90). These views appear correct in relation to religious activity. People flock to the temple and meet their relatives. However, amongst the craftsmen, competition for resources and markets in many cases creates a fierce rivalry. The high level of design imitation has contributed to the stagnation of design development. Unfair competition sometime occurs as craftstmen try to discredit other competitors to buyers (Wahyu, 2008). This excessive rivalry eventually has a social impact as Balinese society, that is communal by nature, threatens to become less harmonious due to materialistic and competitive behavior.

6.3.4. Training and education for producing woodcarving and sculpture

It has been generally considered for a long time in Ubud that to be an "artist" (*seniman*), one needs to have long experience. An artist should be creative and have a strong vision for the design obtained from a process of learning by doing. The massive demand for cheap woodcarving and sculpture, however, has made the artisans focus on the market and limited their creativity as artists. "It needs a long time for me to become an artist like my father, and I think I have no time any more to do so. I do want it but I am too busy with the orders," said Made, son of Nyoman Seter of Mas village (personal interview, June 21, 2010). In the studio behind his gallery where he displayed his father's artworks, there was a large unfinished sculpture of *Garuda Wisnu Kencana* that had been hanging around for more than three years. It is obvious from this case that the monopoly of the market and design by foreigners makes Bali less creative in design work, so that there is a missing link in the production process as well as education over the next generation.

Figure 6.6a Minimalist style of freak
poses of animal
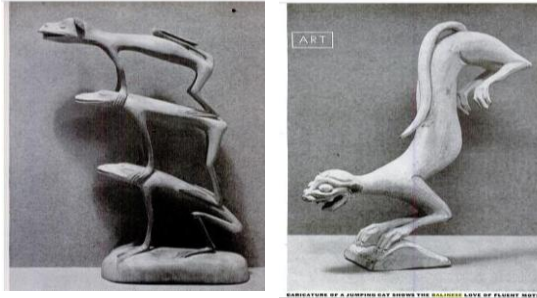
Figure 6.6b Grin faces minimalist
wood carving sculpture

In Balinese carving and sculpture, there are three main types of job. The first
step is the design work done by a senior designer or artist who adapts the design to
the type of material. The second levels of workers, whose qualifications are lower,
then continue to elaborate the design. The third step, usually carried out by the
apprentices, is refining the product. All the jobs at the second and third stages are
under the supervision of the designer. In this supply chain of production, workers at
the third stage are considered beginners with the lowest level of skill, workers in the
second stage are called "beginners plus," and those at the first stage are regarded as
masters. While currently the masters are dying out, most of the "beginners plus"
who should become designers are already above 50 years old, an age that is deemed
as no longer productive in creating artwork. The existence of the Indonesian Art
Institute in Denpasar city as a formal institution is useful but not sufficient at this
critical point in order to foster new talents. The informal artists with their natural
ability are seen as having a different role and outlook from those with formal
academic training. However, the formal institutions are, in fact, fostering innovation
and creativity through inter-departmental learning. It is also apparent that informally

Figure 6.7a shoe handicraft marketed
in Holland before being carved

Figure 6.7b Balinese carving style applied
for shoe handicraft marketed in Holland

Source: Field research

Source: Field research

trained artists are adopting innovative ideas provided by the formal academically trained artists. Currently, there is an effort to encourage collaboration between these two schools, as has been done in traditional music and dance. Such collaboration may generate new innovative designs by combining academic standards with the elegance of natural talent.

The central government program to encourage vocational education in 2008 seemed to provide fresh air to the art high school in Bali. The slogan "*Siap Bekerja*" (ready to work) encourages teenagers to enter the vocational schools instead of the general high schools. This trend is expected to create good designers over the next 15 to 20 years. The program in turn has allowed the curriculum in primary and secondary education to adjust to local needs. In Bali particularly, at least 20% of the total curriculum in primary education should currently consist of art education.

The government has also regularly provided informal education to the craftsmen by conducting training in the villages producing art handicrafts. The objectives of such informal training are, first, to increase the artisans' ability to understand the

industry and develop knowledge of how to compete. This covers knowledge about the market, technology and fashion. Secondly, regular training is expected to increase product quality, design, creativity and technical skills. In turn, by increasing craftsmen's skill and knowledge, it is supposed to lead to better living standards and therefore bolster local development. However, problems remain with the program since the craftsmen are generally very busy with the orders they already have.

No less important to this development is the concept of sustainability. This is important to the development of carving and sculpture not only in terms of the economic advantage to be gained by local people, but also their identity as Balinese cultural products. In relation to this, the formal education system has a central role, to explore what is feasible and exploit the potential talent of Balinese artisans. The idea of collaboration between the formally trained artists and those that are self-taught is expected to generate new styles of Balinese plastic art, particularly in woodcarving and sculpture, without the disappearance of the indigenous style. Therefore, the concept of "*kebalian*", the sense of being a "real Balinese", plays a very important role in any development process on the island.

6.4. Tourist souvenirs and changes in the cultural landscape

As mentioned earlier, the growth of the handicraft industry in Ubud has led to the emergence of new centers of handicraft production. To market the product, a store located in the main street of the village is preferable as it is more accessible to tourists and buyers. The establishment of the souvenir kiosks along the village street has changed the tourism landscape. Before the handicraft industry grew, Ubud was surrounded by the forest and terraced paddy fields, but currently the tourist view is

obstructed by kiosks proliferating along the village street. In this regard, the image of Ubud as a village-based tourism destination is being eroded.

At the micro level, there are changes in the landscape and function of the Balinese house. This originally consisted of halls with specific functions such as guest rooms or paddy barn, but currently these halls function as shop windows or warehouse for handicraft materials. The space for worship is becoming less. In other words, there is also a problem of the fading away of traditional Balinese house architecture (Wahyu, 2008).

Landscape and architecture are the main forms of cultural capital on the island of Bali as a tourist destination. For Balinese, these provide space for gathering and orchestrating daily activities as an agrarian society (Salain, 2008) in order to harmonize the relationship between the gods, people and nature (Hakim et al., 2009). Based on agriculture as the fundamental source of livelihood, the tourism industry was supposed to boost agriculture first, followed by the development of the handicraft industry. In fact, tourism benefits the handicraft industry, while the agriculture sector continues to decline. Balinese agriculture is wet paddy cultivation that does not supply food for tourist consumption. The tourists visiting Bali are mainly Westerners, who do not consume rice as their main food. Coffee and cocoa as the main plantation products on Bali encounter the same problem, as they are export rather than tourist commodities. One of the remaining roles for agriculture in the tourism context is its function in providing the scenery for tourist sightseeing. However, the unplanned establishment of handicraft kiosks as mentioned above seems to be driving the agriculture sector towards a crisis and continued marginalization.

6.5. Conclusion

Most of the successful innovations in the Balinese visual arts took place as collaborations between the skill and creativity of local artists with ideas and designs from foreign entrepreneurs. The skill of the Balinese artists has been hereditary for centuries and is now developing through western-style education in art schools. Curently, the most successful designs usually come from foreigners who have a wide understanding of the international art market. While in some cases, like Blueberry Guitars, the artisans involved become an integral part to the business, in others they remain just one of the factors of production and are unable to brand their work on the market.

Education in Balinese visual arts has been taking place within both national and international political and economic contexts. Innovation in art has not only been directed to improving the esthetic value of products, but also to realize new value based on market preferences. The education process takes place under the control of the Indonesian political system, so the aims of education should be linked to national development objectives as a whole. This national political context can be seen from the mission statements of every art education institution in Bali which are in line with government pronouncements. In the international context, the need is to create products that match tastes on the international art market.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The last chapter of this dissertation presents summaries related to the research problem and the main questions of the research. The chapter starts with a summary of the literature reviewed concerning cultural tourism in Bali as well as findings of the thesis, particularly in relation to innovation and marketing of Balinese arts in the cultural tourism context, and links these findings with the main objectives of the study. The chapter summarizes the implications of this innovation for the development of cultural tourism in Bali, as well as its consequences for the sustainability of Balinese culture. The issues presented throughout this chapter reflect the findings from the observations of the performing and visual arts in Ubud. The material from Ubud can further be used as a basis for models of innovation in Balinese cultural products throughout the island, considering the similarities of the society, culture, economic structure and administration.

7.1. Innovation and marketing of Balinese arts in the garb of cultural tourism

Cultural tourism in Bali appears mainly in the form of art tourism in which the Balinese cultural products offered to the tourists visiting the island function to enhance the leisure experience. As they are produced for the tourism industry, it is best to consider such cultural products in their economic context, as products needing continuous development and innovation to meet the dynamic demands of the market. This dissertation has investigated the organization of Balinese arts and crafts development in Ubud. Since successful innovation in Balinese art in the

contemporary tourism industry mostly involves foreigners, especially Westerners, this dissertation has also taken a look at the transfer of culture and knowledge during the process of creating innovative art products.

Because something can only be said to be an innovation if there is acceptance by either society or the market, this research also gives an account of the degree of market orientation of the Balinese artisans in the way they produce the artwork. In line with the aims of this study, the discussion of the innovation and marketing of Balinese cultural products is placed within the context of the culture and tourism debates.

A review of the relevant literature has shown that, although cultural tourism in Bali is for many people a secondary purpose for visiting the island – though it may become the main purpose during a second visit – the Balinese focus tourism development on cultural tourism since it contributes more to the local economy. Cultural tourism in Bali takes the form of art tourism in which the Balinese have an advantage in providing the various cultural products demanded by the industry. In this regard, for sustained success, the arts manufactured for tourists should develop along with the market preferences.

In Chapter Two, this study examined the importance of being innovative in tourism competition. It discussed the evolution of innovation in the manufacturing and service sectors, including tourism. In cultural tourism that features the arts as attractions, the term creativity is increasingly used interchangeably with innovation. Creativity covers the work in art and innovation deals with technological advance. However, the contemporary arts require creativity together with technology. The

study also asks if marketing and more particularly a market orientation are necessary for a culture to survive. Marketing prospers in a profit-oriented business, though it needs some adjustment to be applied in the cultural tourism sector. The discussion starts from the notion that something can only be said to be an innovation as long as it is marketable or accepted by a society. This study, then, investigated innovation in the arts in Bali by taking a closer look at their development in Ubud. It also observes how the learning process in the community takes place in relation to change and innovation in cultural products in the context of tourism. The research has shown that Bali is an open-minded society that welcomes change and innovation, as long as the new products do not impoverish their culture and identity.

In discussing Balinese arts innovation, this study has shown that the Balinese artisans are to some extent passive in generating change and innovation for the products they sell to foreign tourists. Once a product sets a trend, most of the Balinese artisans will happily continue to produce the same product without looking for further opportunities beyond. This is particularly true in the market for handicrafts as souvenirs. In contrast, where the local people are the main market segment, particularly in the performing arts, innovation takes place faster since the artists have a better understanding of both the expressed and latent needs of their audiences, including both the visible and invisible audiences they call *sekala* and *niskala*.

The Balinese art that is most innovative and successful in the tourist market, as previously mentioned, has often involved Western experts or artists who understand western market preferences. Types of art such as the *kecak* dance, the modern style

225

paintings of Ubud, and handcrafted guitars from Sukawati are considered among the most internationally famous examples of Balinese art. In the collaboration between Balinese and Westerners, this study has noted some distinct differences between the two cultures. The Balinese on the one hand, tend to be passive, work within the spirit of *ngayah*, and take the role of laborers in the collaboration. This characteristic is perhaps influenced by Balinese moral values that suggest that silence is good and evaluation should be left to others. The value of being silent, nevertheless, has begun to change along with the adoption of western education. On the other hand, the Westerners involved in the collaboration are concern actively with the creative work, and are market-oriented and act as the entrepreneurs. This agrees with the view of Alwasilah (1991, cited in Alwasilah, 2002:251), who mentioned five common cultural values of Indonesians, including passivity, a tendency to be less concerned with quality and achievement, a concern for a harmonious environment rather than controlling nature, less of a future orientation, and considerable emphasis on outside aid.

Innovation in Balinese arts takes place within the complex discourses of tourism and culture. At the levels of vision and policy, tourism in Bali emphasizes culture as the main form of capital, a culture-based tourism. This implies that tourism should not distort but rather strengthen Balinese culture. McKean (1973, cited in Picard, 1996:110-114) and Yamashita (2003) have argued that the presence of tourism has, in fact, motivated the Balinese to revive and nurture their culture, while at the same time stimulating their creativity to produce new artistic creations to counter the image of Bali as a living museum.

At the practical level, this study has found that tourist market has become the main space for the Balinese to revive and reproduce their traditions. In this regard, culture exists for the benefit of the tourism industry. The value of culture is a contentious issue, concerning right and wrong or good and bad. Therefore, the way to present cultural products in an appropriate way to the tourists continues to be a dilemma among the Balinese. Traditional Balinese dance performances are the obvious instance in this case. Despite a clear division into three categories of *wali*, *bebali* and *balih-balihan* dances, the boundaries between the categories are blurred once they appear on the tourist stage. The *sanghyang dedari* and *sanghyang jaran* dances were still performed as tourist attractions until recently by the *seka* Kecak Barongsari in the Bona village of Gianyar (cf. Picard, 1990). To them, these dances are derived from the original *sanghyang* dance and there should no objection to performing these dances as tourist attractions. In other places, these two dances are categorized as sacred dances, and therefore, the Balinese condemn their performance for tourist consumption.

Howe (2005) has emphasized the Balinese ability to distinguish between sacred performance for the gods and profane ones for the tourists. However, this study has shown that the Balinese continue the debate to define a more acceptable border between the arts suitable for religious and secular purposes. This evidence indicates that the process to distinguish them involves complex discussion and evolves all the time. In order to understand the processes of change and innovation in Balinese art within the cultural tourism context, this study has described the stages of tourism development in Bali, to gain a better understanding of these processes.

227

The Balinese orientation in producing arts for material reasons is probably triggered by the development of agriculture into a cash crop through the green revolution initiated by the central government in the 1970s. This change in orientation is one that makes the Balinese public figures who are concerned about their culture to ask whether cultural sustainability is possible on the island. This party claims that the orientation toward the market is leading Balinese toward materialism, thus decreasing the artistic value of Balinese cultural products.

The concern with the sustainability of Balinese culture is becoming increasingly evident with the construction of the Museum of Marketing in Ubud. Ubud is considered as the place where the Balinese culture flourishes best because of the strength of the religious and kingship traditions. Since the museum is located in the Museum Puri Lukisan area that belongs to the Puri Ubud, opponents of its establishment claim that the *puri*, previously considered as the patrons of the local culture, have started to approve the capitalist development in the region. However, the contrary opinion could also be argued, given that one the factors supporting the success of tourism in Ubud has been the involvement of western ideas on marketing the place and its cultural products.

7.2. Innovation process, authenticity and the issue of sustainability

Tourism in Bali has been defined as a type of cultural tourism and has utilized culture as the main resource to its development. This type of tourism can be said to be sustainable when the culture continues to survive and remain attractive to the tourists. Their enjoyment is demonstrated through their consuming the cultural products of the destination. Hence, in order to cope with competition in

contemporary tourism, the cultural products manufactured should find a niche in the market.

However, there are some aspects of modern tourism such as materialism that run counter to Balinese cultural values. The Balinese try to maintain a balance in their lives based upon the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, and its elements of *parhyangan*, *pawongan* and *palemahan*. The speed of tourism development on the island in the last three decades has brought about an imbalance in the implementation of the concept. Tourism has provided Balinese with a better standard of living and strengthened their relationship with their gods, as they have more money to hold spectacular religious ceremonies and develop or renovate temples in the surrounding area. Therefore, the presence of tourism has had not a negative but a positive impact on the *parhyangan* element. The *pawongan* and *palemahan* elements, however, have experienced a less positive impact from tourism. In terms of *palemahan*, there are spaces in Bali being transformed into tourism facilities and infrastructure. Still, the Balinese are able to control and maintain this spatial change since they believe that environmental exploitation will cause disharmony and threaten prosperity. The *pawongan* element is experiencing the worst impact of tourism. Competition for tourism resources has harmed harmonious relationships among the Balinese themselves as the people have been more pragmatic. Instead of posing the question of what one can do for the community or the state, currently it is more usual to ask what one can get from doing something for the community or state.

In the wider political context, the disharmonious in *palemahan* and *pawongan* elements can be seen from the competition among regions in Bali, each of which has their own ways to maximize the income from tourism. The enactment of the autonomy law provides more autonomy for regencies and cities, but not to the provincial level governments to manage their budgets. The Bali provincial government has been lacking authority over the regency and city level governments ever since. This hampers coordination and causes more gaps and inequalities, particularly between those with and without access to the tourism resources.

To some extent, the findings to emerge from this study supporting those of Picard (1996): tourism by itself in Bali is neither desecrating Balinese culture nor is it contributing to reviving and conserving it. However, the current research has attempted to contribute to the body of knowledge about Bali in the following ways:

1. This thesis is a case study of Ubud focusing on change and innovation in art production in a way that has not been done before.

2. The thesis emphasizes the process rather than the result of change and innovation in Balinese art production. Studies of innovation have generally mentioned that it is a process (cf. Hall & Williams, 2008; Toivonen & Tuominen, 2009). Surprisingly, there has been little research on the process of innovation in Balinese art production which has focused on the results of cultural art product development.

3. It is not only typical Balinese art products that are salable in the tourist market. By examining the process of innovation taking place in Ubud, I have

also found that the Balinese skills in producing arts and crafts are also marketable in the international art and craft market.

4. In the context of the tourist market, this study has also found that many of the art products that the Balinese offer to the tourists were imported from other places outside Bali, particularly from Java. This is not to say that Bali is no more a center of production for art products, but rather that it increasingly plays a role as a general market for art products and crafts from everywhere in Indonesia, and even from other places in Southeast Asia.

Culture is a dynamic entity that changes over time. Cultural change is driven internally by a society through its acceptance of cultural innovations that will allow them to stay in tune with external changes. It is a society that selects appropriate innovations and creativity to be applied in its culture and cultural products. Therefore, change and innovation in Balinese culture and the arts are internal changes that are not limited to the recombination of existing cultural elements but also incorporate the capability of outsiders to make this innovation acceptable to the wider market.

This study has noted that authenticity in relation to Balinese art products has two dimensions. In the fine arts, one the one hand, the meaning of authenticity depends on the brand name of the artists who create the artworks. As the Balinese artists continuously develop their creativity and their works in line with the advance of technology and global fashions, the term "authentic Bali" is less relevant to this segment of the market. On the other hand, in art products for tourist consumption, the term "authentic Bali" is very important. However, I found that with art products

231

for sale as tourists' souvenirs, it does not matter whether the products were produced by non-Balinese or imported from outside Bali: the tourists still consider them as authentic as long as they have some recognizable traditional Balinese features and are sold in Bali.

Finally, this research considers what Yamashita (2010:169) calls "the paradox that Balinese cultural tourism faces today" in relation to the sustainability of Balinese culture and their tourism. Given that the Balinese both wish to be modern *and* are also anxious about losing their traditional culture, how to define how to be modern is a complex issue among the Balinese. At the practical level, the pursuance of of modernity has led to an imbalance between the three most important features of Balinese society: culture, agriculture and tourism. Yamashita has made the point that Balinese cultural capital being controlled by outsiders is one of the main problems challenging the Balinese today (Yamashita, 2010). This touches on a complex process involving not only the imposition of political and economic power from outside Bali but also the fragile nature of Bali society. The ownership of Balinese land by outsiders is the most obvious instance of this. The speed of tourism development has made the land prices in Bali soar together with the tax for the land. Land is a very important asset for the Balinese. Given the desire to pursue modern lives, when they cannot pay the taxes, there is no other choice but to sell their land. Because of the high price, only outsider investors can buy it. The issue of land ownership in Bali, therefore, is becoming the next item on the agenda in the struggle to determine the sustainability of Balinese culture and the cultural tourism they possess.

References

Abernathy, W. J., & Clark, K. B. (1985). Innovation: Mapping the Winds of Creative Destruction. *Research Policy, 14*, 3-22.

Altinay, L., & Wang, C. L. (2009). Facilitating and Maintaining Research Access into Ethnic Minority Firms. *Qualitative Market Research: An international Journal, 12*(4), 367-390.

Alwasilah, A. C. (1991). *Cultural Transfer in Communication: A Qualitative Study of Indonesian Students in US Academic Settings.* Unpublished Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Alwasilah, A. C. (2002). *Pokoknya Kualitatif: Dasar-Dasar Merancang dan Melakukan Penelitian Kualitatif [Just Qualitative: Designing and Conducting Qualitative Research].* Jakarta: Dunia Pustaka Jaya.

Ardana, I. G. G. (2008). Kontribusi Budaya Tionghoa Pada Budaya Bali: Perspektif Sejarah [The Contribution of the Chinese Culture to the Balinese Culture: A Historical Perspective]. In M. Sulistyawati (Ed.), *Integrasi Budaya Tionghoa ke Dalam Budaya Bali: Sebuah Bunga Rampai* [*The Integration of Chinese Culture into Balinese Culture: An Anthology*] (pp. 1-24). Denpasar: CV. Massa.

Ateljevic, I. (2000). Circuits of Tourism: Stepping Beyond the 'Production/ Consumption' Dichotomy. *Tourism Geographies, 2*(4), 369-388.

Ateljevic, I., & Doorne, S. (2004). Cultural Circuits of Tourism: Commodities, Place and Re-consumption. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *A Companion to Tourism* (pp. 291-302). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Atmadja, N. B. (2010). *Komodifikasi Tubuh Perempuan: Joged Ngebor Bali [Female Body Commodification on Balinese Joged Ngebor Dance]*. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan.

Bakan, M. B. (1999). *Music of Death and new Creation: Experiences in the World of Balinese Gamelan Baleganjur*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bakan, M. B. (2009). The Abduction of the Signifying Monkey Chant: Schizophonic Transmogrifications of Balinese Kecak in Fellini's Satyricon and the Coen Brothers' Blood Simple. *Ethnomusicology Forum, 18*(1), 83-106.

Barras, R. (1986). Towards a theory of innovation in services *Research Policy, 15*(4), 161-173.

Bautes, N., & Valette, E. (2004). Miniatur Painting, Cultural Economy and Territorial Dynamics in Rajasthan, India. In D. Power & A. J. Scott (Eds.), *Cultural Industries and the Production of Culture* (pp. 207-223). New York: Routledge.

Berghman, L., Matthysens, P., & Vandenbemt, K. (2006). Building Competence for New Value Creation: An Exploratory Study. *Industrial Marketing Management, 35*, 961-973.

Bernard, A., & Spencer, J. (Eds.). (1996) Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology. London: Routledge.

Bieger, T., & Weinert, R. (2006). On the Nature of the Innovative Organization in Tourism: Structure, Process and Results. In B. Walder, K. Weiermair & A. S.

Perez (Eds.), *Innovation and Product Development in Tourism: Creating Sustainable Competitive Advantage* (pp. 88-102). Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

Boniface, P., & Fowler, P. J. (1993). *Heritage and Tourism in 'the Global Village'*. London: Routledge.

Bougas, W. A. (1998). An Early Makassarese Kingdom, 1200-1600 A.D. *Archipel, 55*, 83-123.

Bruner, E. M. (2005). *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Carey, P. (2005 [1993]). Dance Drama (*Wayang Wong*) and Politics at the Court of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III (1812–14) of Yogyakarta. In B. Arps (Ed.), *Performance in Java and Bali: Studies of Narrative, Theatre, Music, and Dance* (pp. 73-77). London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Chan, J., & Mann, L. (2011). Creativity and Innovation: Introduction. In L. Mann & J. Chan (Eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in Business and Beyond: Social Science Perspectives and Policy Implications* (pp. 1-14). New York: Routledge.

Chen, C.-F., & Chiou-Wei, S. Z. (2009). Tourism expansion, tourism uncertainty and economic growth: New evidence from Taiwan and Korea. *Tourism Management, XXX*(2009), 1-7.

Chen, J. S., & Uysal, M. (2002). Market Positioning Analysis: A Hybrid Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(4), 987-1003.

Chhabra, D. (2010). Back to the Past: A Sub-Segment of Generation Y's Perceptions of Authenticity. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 18*(16), 793-809.

Christou, E. (2005). Heritage and Cultural Tourism: A Marketing-Focused Approach. In M. Sigala & D. Leslie (Eds.), *International Cultural Tourism: Management, Implication and Cases* (pp. 3-15). Oxford: Elsevier.

Cohen, E. (2000). *The Commercialized Crafts of Thailand. Hill tribes and Lowland Villages*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Cohen, E. (2004). *Contemporary tourism: Diversity and Change*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 15*, 371-386.

Cohodas, M. (1999). Elizabeth Hickox and Karuk Basketry: A Case Study in Debates on Innovation and Paradigms of Authenticity. In R. B. Phillips & C. B. Steiner (Eds.), *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (pp. 146-161). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Constantin, D.-L., & Mitrut, C. (2008). Tourism, Cultural Resources and Regional Competitiveness: a Case Study in Romania. *International Journal of Services Technology and Management, 10*(1), 48-60.

Cooper, M. J. M., Ogata, M., & Eades, J. S. (2008). Heritage Tourism in Japan: A Synthesis and Comment. In B. Prideaux, D. J. Timothy & K. Chon (Eds.), *Cultural and Heritage tourism in Asia and the Pacific* (pp. 107-117). London: Routledge.

Cornet, J. (1975). African Art and Authenticity. *African Arts, 9*(1), 52-55.

Couteau, J. (2005). *Bali Today: Modernity*. Jakarta: Gramedia.

Covarrubias, M. (1986). *Island of Bali* (Republishing ed.). London: Kegan Paul International Limited

Crang, M. (2004). Cultural Geographies of Tourism. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *A Companion to Tourism* (pp. 74-84). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Dalem, A. A. G. R. (2010). *Achievements and Challenges of Implementation of "Tri Hita Karana" for Creating Sustainable Tourism in Bali-Indonesia: A Case Study in Hotel Sectors*. Paper presented at the Progress and Challenges in Tourism: Comparative Study on Asian Countries from http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/hss/book/pdf/vol03_02.pdf

Davies, S. (2006). Balinese *Legong*: Revival or Decline? *Asian Theatre Journal, 23*(2), 314-341.

deBoer, F. E. (1989). Balinese Sendratari, a Modern Dramatic Dance Genre. *Asian Theatre Journal, 6*(2), 179-193.

Descutner, J. W. (2010). *Asian Dance* (Second ed.). New York: Chelsea House.

Diarta, I. K. S. (2004, Sept 25th). The Last -- or the Lost -- Paradise: The Balinese Tourism Paradox *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved 9 October 2010, from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2004/09/25/last-or-lost-paradise-balinese-tourism-paradox.html

Dibia, I. W., & Ballinger, R. (2004). *Balinese Dance, Drama and Music: A Guide to the Performing Arts of Bali*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Dollar, D., & Kraay, A. (2001). Trade, Growth, and Poverty. In J. Clift & E. Diehl (Eds.), *Financial Globalization: The Impact on Trade, Policy, Labor, and Capital Flows* (pp. 70-73). Washington: International Monetary Fund.

Drucker, P. F. (1986). *Management: Tasks, Resposibilities, Practices*. New York: Truman Talley Books.

Dunbar-Hall, P. (2003). Tradisi and Turisme: Music, Dance, and Cultural Transformation at the Ubud Palace, Bali, Indonesia. *Australian Geographical Studies, 41*(1), 3-16.

Dwyer, L., & Edwards, D. (2009). Tourism Product and Service Innovation to Avoid 'Strategic Drift'. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 11*, 321-335.

Eades, J. S. (2003). Ethnographies of the Vanishing? Global Images and Local Realities among the Aborigines of Taiwan, 1600-2000. In S. Yamashita & J. S. Eades (Eds.), *Globalization in Southeast Asia: Local, National, and Transnational Perspectives* (pp. 226-252). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Eiseman, F. B. (1990). *Bali Sekala and Niskala: Essays on Religion, Ritual, and Art* (Vol. I). Tokyo: Tuttle publishing.

Eiseman, F. B. (1990). *Bali Sekala and Niskala: Essays on Society, Tradition, and Craft*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Elson, R. E. (1997). *The End of the Peasantry in Southeast Asia: A Social Economic Hystory of Peasant Livelihood, 1800-1990s*. Hampshire: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Erviani, N. K. (2007, Dec 27th). Turis China ke Bali naik 113,2% [The Chinese Tourist Visited Bali Increase at 113.2%]. *Sindo*. Retrieved 13 July 2011, from

http://warnawarnibali.wordpress.com/2007/12/28/turis-china-ke-bali-naik-1132/

Esperanza, J. S. (2008). Outsourcing Otherness: Crafting and Marketing Culture in the Global Handicrafts Market. In G. D. Neve, P. Luetchford, J. Pratt & D. C. Wood (Eds.), *Hidden Hands in the Market: Ethnographies of fair Trade, Ethical Consumption, and Corporate Social Responsibility* (Vol. 28, pp. 71-95). Bingley, UK: JAI, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Faulkenberry, L. V., Coggeshall, J. M., Backman, K., & Backman, S. (2000). A Culture of Servitude: The Impact of Tourism and Development on South Carolina's Coast. *Human Organization, 59*(1), 86-95.

Fennel, D. A. (2008). *Ecotourism: An Introduction* (Third ed.). New York: Routledge.

Flagestad, A. (2006). The Destination as an Innovation System for non-Winter Tourism. In B. Walder, K. Weiermair & A. S. Perez (Eds.), *Innovation and Product Development in Tourism: Creating Sustainable Competitive Advantage* (pp. 26-38). Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

Foley, K., & Sedana, I. N. (2005). Balinese Mask Dance from the Perspective of a Master Artist: I Ketut Kodi on *Topeng. Asian Theatre Journal, 22*(2), 199-213.

Fyall, A., & Garrod, B. (2005). From Competition to Collaboration in the Tourism Industry. In W. F. Theobald (Ed.), *Global Tourism* (Third ed., pp. 52-73). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Gallouj, F., & Windrum, P. (2009). Services and services innovation. *Journal of Evolutionary Economics, 19*(2), 141-148.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, H. (1994). *Images of Power: Balinese Painting Made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*. Honolulu: University of Haway Press.

Geriya, I. W. (2003). The Impact of Tourism in Three Tourist Villages in Bali. In S. Yamashita & J. S. Eades (Eds.), *Globalization in Southeast Asia: Local, National and Transnational Perspectives* (pp. 81-94). New York: Berghahn Books.

Geriya, I. W. (2010). *Kebudayaan Unggul: Inventori Unsur Unggulan Sebagai Basis Kota Denpasar Kreatif* [*The Excellent Culture: Excellent Elements Inventory as a Basis for the Developing Creative City of Denpasar*]. Denpasar: Bappeda Kota Denpasar.

Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study research: Principles and Practises*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Girard, L. F. (2008). Cultural Tourism: From Culture Fruition to Culture Communication and Production. *International Journal of Services Technology and Management, 10*(1), 15-28.

Gnoth, J. (1997). Tourism Motivation and Expectation Formation. *Annals of Tourism Research, 24*(2), 283-304.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor.

Goldenberg, J., & Mazursky, D. (2002). *Creativity in Product Innovation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (2006). Art and Culture in the History of Economic Thought. In V. A. Ginsburgh & D. Throsby (Eds.), *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture* (1st ed., Vol. 1, pp. 25-68). Oxford: North-Holland (Elsevier).

Govers, R., & Go, F. (2009). *Place Branding: Glocal,Virtual and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined and Experienced*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gralapp, L. W. (1967). Balinese Painting and the Wayang Tradition. *Artibus Asiae, 29*(2/3), 239-266.

Gran, A.-B. (2010). Staging Places as Brands: Visiting Illusions, Images and Imaginations. In B. T. Knudsen & A. M. Waade (Eds.), *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions* (pp. 22-37). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Grundey, D. (2008). Managing Sustainable Tourism in Lithuania: Dream or Reality. *Technological and Economic Development, 14*(2), 118-129.

Hakim, L., Kim, J.-E., & Hong, S.-K. (2009). Cultural Landscape and Ecotourism in Bali Island, Indonesia. *Journal of Ecology and Field Biology, 32*(1), 1-8.

Hall, C. M., & Williams, A. M. (2008). *Tourism and Innovation*. Oxon: Routledge.

Hamel, G., & Prahalad, C. K. (1994). *Competing for the Future*. Boston: Harvard Business School press.

Hasan, I. R. (2010, April 6th). Bali Dimata Perupa Asing [Bali in the View of Western Artists]. *Tempo*. Retrieved October 12th, 2010, from http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/seni/2010/04/06/brk,20100406-238182,id.html

Hassan, S. S. (2000). Determinants of Market Competitiveness in an Environmentally Sustainable Tourism Industry. *Journal of Travel Research*, *38*(February), 239-245.

Haven-Tang, C., & Jones, E. (2010). Delivering Quality Experiences for Sustainable Tourism Development: Harnessing a Sense of Place in Monmouthshire. In M. Morgan, P. Lugosi & J. R. B. Rtchie (Eds.), *The Tourism and Leisure Experienced: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives* (pp. 163-181). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Hewison, R. (1987). *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen.

Hill, H. (2000). *The Indonesian Economy* (Second ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hitchcock, M., & Putra, I. N. D. (2007). *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hitchcock, M., King, V. T., & Parnwell, M. (2009). Introduction: Tourism in Southeast Asia Revisited. In M. Hitchcock, V. T. King & M. Parnwell (Eds.), *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions* (pp. 1-42). Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Hjalager, A.-M. (2009). Cultural Tourism Innovation Systems – The Roskilde Festival. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 9*(2-3), 266-287.

Hobart, M. (2007). Rethinking Balinese Dance. *Indonesia and the Malay World, 35*(101), 107-128.

Howe, L. (2005). *The Changing World of Bali: Religion, Society and Tourism*. New York: Routledge.

Huff, S. (2008). Identity and Landscape: The Reification of Place in Strasbourg, France. In D. C. Knudsen, M. M. Metro-Roland, A. K. Soper & C. E. Greer (Eds.), *Landscape, Tourism, and Meaning* (pp. 19-35). Hampshire: Ashgate.

Hughes, H. (2000). *Arts, Entertainment and Tourism*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Hunt, S. D., & Arnett, D. B. (2006). Does marketing success lead to market success? *Journal of Business Research, 59*, 820-828.

Jacknis, I. (1988). Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in Bali: Their Use of Photography and Film. *Cultural Anthropology, 3*(2), 160-177.

Jansen-Verbeke, M., & Lievois, E. (2008). Visiting Patterns in Historic Cityscapes: A Case Study in Ghent, Belgium. In M. Jansen-Verbeke, G. K. Priestly & A. P. Russo (Eds.), *Cultural Resource for Tourism: Patterns, Processess and Policies* (pp. 17-29). New York: Nova Science Publisher, Inc.

Jaworski, B. J., Kohli, A. K., Sahay, A. (2000). Market-Driven Versus Driving Markets. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 28*(1), 45-54.

JPNN (2010). Indonesia Memiliki 1128 Suku Bangsa [Indonesia Endowed 1,128 Ethnic Groups]. *Jawa Pos National Network*, from http://www.jpnn.com/berita.detail-57455

Juniartha, W. (2009, December 10). Ubud museums to host first ever biennale. *The Jakarta Post*, from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/12/10/ubud-museums-host-first-ever-biennale.html

Kalam, A. A. R. (1990). Perkembangan dan Dampak Seni Lukis Modern Bali [The Development and Impact of Modern Balinese Painting]. Unpublished Research Report. Udayana University.

Kartajaya, H., & Indrio, B. D. (2009). *Ubud: The Spirit of Bali* (T. Thornton, Trans.). Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Kartajaya, H., & Indrio, B. D. (2009). *Ubud: The Spirit of Bali* (T. Thornton, Trans.). Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Kertonegoro, M. (1988). *The Spirit Journey: Stories and Paintings of Bali*. California: Wild Trees Press.

Kneesel, E., Baloglu, S., & Millar, M. (2010). Gaming Destination Images: Implications for Branding. *Journal of Travel Research 49*(1), 68-78.

Kohli, A. K., & Jaworski, B. J. (1990). Market Orientation: The Construct, Research Propositions, and Manajerial Implication. *Journal of Marketing, 54*(April), 1-18.

Kolb, B. M. (2006). *Tourism Marketing for Cities and Towns: Using Branding and Events to Attract Tourist*. Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Kotler, P., Asplund, C., Rein, I., & Halder, D. (1999). *Marketing Places: Europe: Attracting Investment, Industries, Residents and Visitors to European Cities, Communities, Region and Nations*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Massachusetts: The Museum.

Kusunoki, K., & Aoshima, Y. (2010). Redefining Innovation as System Re-Definition. In H. Itami, K. Kusunoki, T. Numagami & A. Takeishi (Eds.), *Dynamics of Knowledge, Corporate Systems and Innovation* (pp. 43-75). New York: Springer.

Lanfant, M.-F. (1995). International Tourism, Internationalization and the Challange to Identity. In M.-F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (pp. 24-43). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Lansing, J. S. (1991). *Priests and Programmers: Technologies of Power in the Engineered Landscape of Bali*. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1952). *Race and History: The Race Question in Modern Science* Paris: Unesco.

Lord, G. D. (1999). *The Power of Cultural Tourism.* Paper presented at the Wisconsin Heritage Tourism Conference, Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin.

Lu, J., & Nepal, S. K. (2009). Sustainable Tourism Research: an Analysis of Paper Published in the Journal of Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 17*(1), 5-16

Lueras, L., & Lloyd, R. I. (1987). *Bali: The Ultimate Island*. Singapore: Time Edition.

MacCannell, D. (1976). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken.

Macleod, D. V. L. (2004). *Tourism, Globalisation and Cultural Change: An Island Community Perspectives*. Clevedon: Channel View Publication.

MacRae, G. (1999). Acting Global, Thinking Local in a Balinese Tourist Town. In R. Rubinstein & L. H. Connor (Eds.), *Staying Local in the Global Village: Bali in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 123-154). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

MacRae, G. (2003). Art and Peace in the Safest Place in the World. In T. A. Reuter (Ed.), *Inequality, Crisis and Social Change in Indonesia: The Muted Worlds of Bali* (pp. 30-53). London: RoutledgeCurzon.

MacRae, G. (2010). If Indonesia is Too Hard to Understand, Let's Start with Bali. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities, 3*, 11-36.

MacRae, G. S. (1997). *Economy, Ritual and History in a Balinese Tourist Town.* Unpublished Dissertation, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Marceau, J. (2011). Innovation and Creativity in Industry and the Service Sectors. In L. Mann & J. Chan (Eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in Business and Beyond: Social Science Perspectives and Policy Implications* (pp. 32-49). New York: Routledge.

March, J. G. (1991). Exploration and Exploitation in Organizational Learning. *Organization Science, 2*(1), 71-87.

Martana, S. P. (2002). The Impact of Tourism on the Development of Ubud Painting Art. *ASEAN Journal on Hospitality and Tourism, 1*(2), 117-132.

Martín-Consuegra, D., Esteban, Á., & Molina, A. (2008). The Role of Market Orientation in Managing Crises During the Post-Crisis Phase. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 23*(2), 59-71.

Maryati, T. (2012). *Ajeg Bali: Politik Identitas dan Implementasinya pada Berbagai Agen Sosialisasi di Desa Pakraman Ubud, Gianyar Bali [Ajeg Bali: The Political Identity and its Implementation to the Multifarious Agent of Socialization in the Customary Village of Ubud, the Regency of Gianyar].* Unpublished Dissertation, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung.

Mason, P. (2003). *Tourism Impacts, Planning and Management*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

McKean, P. F. (1973). *Cultural Involution: Tourists, Balinese, and the Process of Modernization in an Anthropological Perspectives.* Unpublished Dissertation, Brown University, Providence.

McKercher, B. M., & Cross, H. d. (2002). *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.

McLeod, M. D. (1976). Limitations of the Genuine. *African Art, 9*(3), 48-51.

Minca, C. (2000). 'The Bali Syndrome': The Explosion and Implosion of 'Exotic' Tourist Spaces. *Tourism Geographies, 2*(4), 389-403.

Misiura, S. (2006). *Heritage Marketing*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Mohr, J. J., & Sarin, S. (2009). Drucker's Insights on Market Orientation and Innovation: Implications for Emerging Areas in High-Technology Marketing. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 37*, 85-96.

Moss, S. (2009). An Introduction to the Entertainment Industry. In S. Moss (Ed.), *The Entertainment Industry* (pp. 1-17). Oxfordshire: CABI.

Moutinho, L., Ballantyne, R., & Rate, S. (2011). The New Business Environment and Trends in Tourism. In L. Moutinho (Ed.), *Strategic Management in Tourism* (2nd ed., pp. 1-19). Wallingford: CABI.

Munck, V. d., & Korotayev, A. (2000). Cultural Units in Cross-Cultural Research. *Ethnology, 39*(4), 335-348.

Munsters, W., & Klumbis, D. F. d. (2005). Culture as a Component of the Hospitality Product. In M. Sigala & D. Leslie (Eds.), *International Cultural Tourism* (pp. 26-39). Oxford: ElsevierButterworth-Heinemann.

Munsters, W., & Richards, G. (2010). Methods in Cultural Tourism Research: the State of the Arts. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *Cultural Tourism Research Methods* (pp. 209-214). Wallingford: CABI.

Murgiyanto, S. (1993). Moving Between Unity and Diversity: Indonesian Dance in a Changing Perspective *The Drama Review, 37*(2), 131-160.

Musman, Asti. 2003. I Wayan "Cenk Blonk" Nardayana: "Saya Ingin Wayang Jadi Hiburan Favorit" [I Wayan "Cenk Blonk" Nardayana: " I Want Wayang Becomes the Favorite Entertainment]. Bali Post, June 29th.

Narver, J. C., & Slater, S. F. (1990). The Effect of a Market Orientation on Business Profability. *Journal of Marketing, 54*(4), 20-35

Nordholt, H. S. (1981). The Mads Lange Connection: A Danish Trader on Bali in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: Broker and Buffer. *Indonesia, 32*(Oct), 16-47.

Nordholt, H. S. (1997). *The Spell of Power: A History of Balinese Politics 1650-1940*. Leiden: Koninklyk Instituut Voor Taal Land Press.

O'Brien, M. J., & Shennan, S. J. (2010). Issues in Anthropological Studies of Innovation. In M. J. O'Brien & S. J. Shennan (Eds.), *Innovation in Cultural Systems: Contributions from Evolutionary Anthropology* (pp. 3-17). Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Ooi, C.-S., & Stöber, B. (2010). Authenticity and Place Branding: The Arts and Culture in Branding Berlin and Singapore. In B. T. Knudsen & A. M. Waade

(Eds.), *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions* (pp. 66-79). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Parasuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. A., & Berry, L. L. (1988). SERVQUAL: A multiple-Scale Item for Measuring Consumer Perception of Service Quality. *Journal of Retailing, 4*(1), 12-40.

Pendit, N. S. (2008). *Bali Berjuang [Bali in Struggling]* (Third ed.). Denpasar: Sarad and Pustaka Larasan.

Phillips, R. B., & Steiner, C. B. (1999). Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter. In R. B. Phillips & C. B. Steiner (Eds.), *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (pp. 3-19). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Picard, M. (1990). "Cultural Tourism" in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attraction. *Indonesia, 49*(April), 37-74.

Picard, M. (1995). Cultural heritage and Tourist Capital: Cultural tourism in Bali. In M.-F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (pp. 44-66). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Picard, M. (1996). *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (D. Darling, Trans.). Singapore: Archipelago Press.

Picard, M. (1997). Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building, and Regional Culture: The Making of a Balinese Identity. In M. Picard & R. E. Wood (Eds.), *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (pp. 181-214). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Picard, M. (1999). The Discourse of Kebalian: Transcultural Construction of Balines Identity. In R. Rubinstein & L. H. Connor (Eds.), *Staying Local in the Global Village:Bali in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 15-50). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Picard, M. (2003). Touristification and Balinization in A Time of *Reformasi Indonesia and the Malay World, 31*(89), 108-118.

Picard, M. (2009). From 'Kebalian' to 'Ajeg Bali': Tourism and Balinese Identity in the Aftermath of the Kuta Bombing. In M. Hitchcock, V. T. King & M. Parnwell (Eds.), *Tourism in Souteast Asia: Challenges and New Directions* (pp. 99-131). Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Pires, C. P., Sarkar, S., & Carvalho, L. (2008). Innovation in Services – How Different from Manufacturing? *The Service Industries Journal, 28*(10), 1339-1356.

Pitana, I. G. (2010). Tri Hita Kirana: The Local Wisdom of the Balinese in Managing Development. In R. Conrady & M. Buck (Eds.), *Trends and Issues in Global Tourism 2010* (pp. 139-148). Heidelberg: Springer.

Plog, S. C. (2005). Targeting Segments: More Important than Ever in theTravel Industry. In W. F. Theobald (Ed.), *Global Tourism* (Third ed., pp. 271-293). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Poffenberger, M., & Zurbuchen, M. S. (1980). The Economics of Village Bali: Three Perspectives. *Economic Development and Cultural Change, 29*(1), 91-133.

Prideaux, B., & Timothy, D. J. (2008). Themes in Cultural and Heritage Tourism in the Asia Pacific Region. In B. Prideaux, D. J. Timothy & K. Chon (Eds.),

Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific (pp. 1-14). London: Routledge.

Pringle, R. (2004). *A short history of Bali: Indonesia's Hindu realm*. Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Putra, D. K. (2009, March). Jembatan Rapuh Seni Lukis Batuan [The Fragile Bridge of Batuan Style Painting]. *Sarad, X, 107*.

Putra, I. N. D. (2011). *A Literary Mirror: Balinese Reflections on Modernity and Identity in the Twentieth Century*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Raffles, T. S. (1817). *The History of Java*. London: John Murray.

Rhodius, H., & Darling, J. (1980). *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Amsterdam: Terra, Zutphen.

Richards, G. (2007). Conclusion: The Future of Cultural Tourism - Grounds for Pessimism or Optimism? In G. Richards (Ed.), *Cultural tourism: Global and Local Perspectives* (pp. 329-339). New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.

Richards, G., & Munsters, W. (2010). Developments and Perspectives in Cultural Tourism Research. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *Cultural Tourism Research Methods* (pp. 1-12). Wallingford: CABI.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2006). Developing Creativity in Tourist Experience: A Solution to the Serial Reproduction of Culture. *Tourism Management, 27*, 1209-1223.

Richardson, J. I., & Fluker, M. (2004). *Understanding and Managing Tourism*. New South Wales: Pearson Hospitality Press.

Ritchie, J. R. B., & Crouch, G. I. (2003). *The Competitive Destination. A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*. Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Robinson, G. (1995). *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of Innovations* (fifth ed.). New York: Free Press.

Rubin, L., & Sedana, I. N. (2007). *Performance in Bali*. London: Routledge.

Rusalić, D. (Ed.). (2009). *Making the Intangible Tangible: The New Interface of Cultural Heritage* (Special Edition ed. Vol. 63). Belgrade: SASA Institute of Ethnography

Salain, P. R. (2008). Arsitektur, Wujud Protektif Manusia terhadap Alam: Suatu Kajian Reflektif Arsitektur Nusantara Bali [Balinese Architecture and the Manifest of Protective Against the Nature]. In I. B. G. Y. Triguna (Ed.), *Kebudayaan dan Modal Budaya Bali Dalam Teropong Lokal, Nasional, Global [Balinese Culture and Cultural Capital: The Local, National and Global Perspectives]* (pp. 93-107). Denpasar: Widya Dharma.

Sarnsorn, N. (1997). Tourism and Cultural Development in Thailand. In S. Yamashita, K. H. Din & J. S. Eades (Eds.), *Tourism and Cultural Development in Asia and Oceania* (pp. 48-60). Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Sarwindaningrum, I. (2009, September 8). SMK Kesenian Kekurangan Murid [Vocational High School of Art Get Less and less Attention from Young People]. *Kompas*. Retrieved 14 December 2011, from http://edukasi.kompas.com/read/ 2009/09/08/20183338/SMK.Kesenian.Kekurangan.Murid

Scheer, C., & Loos, P. (2002). *Concepts of Customer Orientation - Internet Business Model for Customer-Driven Output*. Paper presented at the European Conference of Information System

Schouten, F. (2007). Cultural Tourism: Between Authenticity and Globalization. In G. Richards (Ed.), *Cultural tourism: Global and Local Perspectives* (pp. 25-38). New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.

Sedana, I. N. (2005). Theatre in a Time of Terrorism: Renewing Natural Harmony after the Bali Bombing via Wayang Kontemporer. *Asian Theatre Journal, 22*(1), 73-86.

Sekar, K. (2003, May 10). Sacred Dance. *The Hindu*. Retrieved 7 December 2011, from http://www.hindu.com/yw/2003/05/10/stories/2003051001770200.htm

Semadeni, M., & Anderson, B. S. (2010). The Follower's Dillema: Innovation and Imitation in the Professional Service Industry. *Academy of Management Journal, 53*(5), 1175-1193.

Shavid, D. (2003). *Bali and the Tourist Industry: A History, 1906-1942*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishe

Shennan, S. (2001). Demography and Cultural Innovation: a Model and its Implications for the Emergence of Modern Human Culture. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal, 11*(1), 5-15.

Silberberg, T. (1994). *Cultural Tourism and Business Opportunuties for Museum and heritage Sites.* Paper presented at the Conference of School of Business, University of Victoria, "Quality Management in Urban Tourism: Balancing Business and Environment", Victoria B.C., Canada.

Sims, R. (2009). Food, Place and Authenticity: Local Food and the Sustainable Tourism Experience. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 17*(13), 321-336.

Slater, S. F., & Narver, J. C. (1998). Customer-Led and Market-Oriented: Let's Not Confused The Two. *Strategic Management Journal, 19*, 1001-1006.

Smith, S. L. J. (2010). *Practical Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CAB International.

Smith, M. K. (2003). *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Sood, A., & Tellis, G. J. (2005). Technological Evolution and Radical Innovation. *Journal of Marketing, 69*(July), 152-168.

Stallabrass, J. (2004). *Art Incorporated: The Story of Contemporary Art*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stefik, M., & Stefik, B. (2004). *Breakthrough: Stories and Strategies of Radical Innovation*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Steinberg, L. (1972). *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-century Art*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stoneman, P. (2010). *Soft Innovation: Economics, Product Aesthetics, and the Creative Industries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sukawati, T. O. A. A. (2008). *Perubahan Spasial Desa Adat Ubud, Gianyar, Bali dalam Era Globalisasi [The Spatial Change in the Customary Village of Ubud in the Era of Globalization].* Unpublished Dissertation, Udayana University, Denpasar

Sulistyawati, M. (2008a). Integrasi Arsitektur Tiongkok ke Dalam Arsitektur Puri Agung Karangasem [The Integration of Chinese Architecture into Puri Karangasem Architecture]. In M. Sulistyawati (Ed.), *Integrasi Budaya*
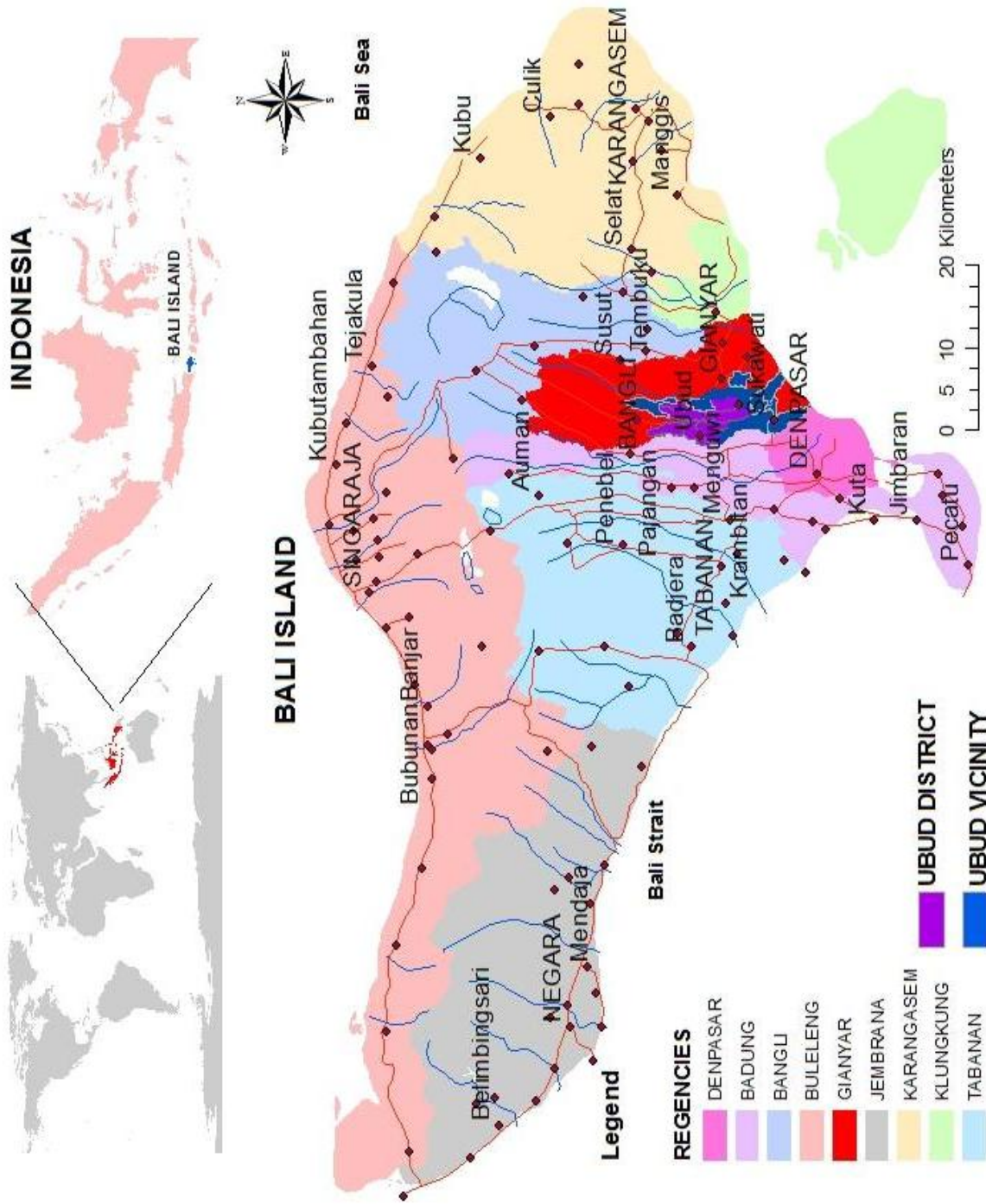
Tionghoa ke Dalam Budaya Bali. Sebuah Bunga Rampai. (pp. 85-105). Denpasar: CV. Massa.

Sulistyawati, M. (2008b). Kontribusi Arsitektur dan Budaya Tiongkok kedalam Arsitektur Tradisional Bali [The China Architecture and Culture's Contribution into Balinese Traditional Architecture]. In M. Sulistyawati (Ed.), *Integrasi Budaya Tionghoa ke Dalam Budaya Bali. Sebuah Bunga Rampai [The Integration of Chinese Culture into Balinese Culture: An Anthology].* (pp. 63-84). Denpasar-Bali: CV. Massa.

Sulistyowati, A. (2010, July 5). I Wayan Nardayana, Dalang Inovative Cenk Blonk [I Wayan Nardayana, The Innovative Wayang Cenk Blonk Puppeteer]. *Kompas.* Retrieved 8 September 2010, from http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/07/05/10085051/ Nardayana..

Sunardi, C. (2010). Making Sense and Senses of Locale through Perceptions of Music and Dance in Malang, East Java. *Asian Music, 41*(1), 89-126.

Swarbrooke, J. (1999). *Sustainable Tourism management*. New York: CABI Publishing.

Syam, N. (2010). *Keberagaman dan Toleransi [Diversity and Tolerance].* Paper presented at the Workshop Civic Education. from http://nursyam.sunan-ampel.ac.id/?p=913

Taylor, A. (1991). *Living Tradition in Balinese Painting: An Examination of Developments in Balinese Painting Using the Work of Artists Selected from The Agung Rai Gallery of Fine Art Peliatan, Ubud, Bali*. Ubud: The Agung Rai Gallery of Fine Art.

Taylor, J. P. (2001). Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(1), 7-26.

Toivonen, M., & Tuominen, T. (2009). Emergence of innovations in services. *The Service Industries Journal, 29*(7), 887-902.

Tomioka, M. (2010, 14-16 September). *De-Ritualization of Javanese Court Dance through Establishment of Teaching Method.* Paper presented at the Arts, Culture and Identity, Osaka.

Tosun, C. (2002). Host Perceptions of Impacts: A Comparative Tourism Study. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(1), 231-253.

Tsiotsou, R. H. (2010). Delineating the Effect of Market Orientation on Services Performance: A Component-Wise Approach. *The Service Industries Journal, 30* (3), 375-403.

Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (Vol. 1). London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2008). UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, 6 (2), June 2008.

United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2011). UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, 9 (1), February 2011.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: SAGE Publication.

Veal, A. J. (2011). *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: A Practical Guide* (Fourth ed.). Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited.

Vickers, A. (1989). *Bali: a Paradise Created*. Singapore: Periplus Edition.

Vickers, A. (2003). Being Modern in Bali After Suharto. In T. A. Reuter (Ed.), *Inequality, Crisis and Social Change in Indonesia: The Muted Worlds of Bali* (pp. 17-29). London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Wahyu, K. S. (2008). Kerajinan Patung Cenderamata "Pop Art" di Desa Tegallalang [The Pop Art Sculpture and Handicraft in Tegallalang Village]. *Imaji, 3*(2), 147-158.

Walder, B. (2006). Source and Determinant of Innovations - the Role of Market Forces. In B. Walder, K. Weiermair & A. S. Perez (Eds.), *Innovation and Product Development in Tourism: Creating Sustainable Competitive Advantage* (pp. 8-23). Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

Weaver, D., & Lawton, L. (2006). *Tourism Management* (Third ed.). Milton Qld: John Wiley & Sons Australia.

Wesner, S., Hitchock, M., & Putra, I. N. D. (2007). Walter Spies and Dresden: The Early Formative Years of Bali's Renowned Artist, Author and Tourism Icon. *Indonesia and the Malay World, 35*(102), 211-230.

Wikan, U. (1990). *Managing turbulent Hearts: A balinese Formula for Living*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Wiranatha, A. S., & Pujaastawa, I. B. G. (2009). *Karakteristik Wisatawan Nusantara ke Bali [The Characteristics of Domestic Tourist Visiting Bali]*. Denpasar: Puslit Kebudayaan dan Kepariwisataan Unud.

World Economic Forum. (2011). The Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2011: Beyond the Downturn.http://www.weforum.org/reports/travel-tourism-competitiveness-report-2011

World Travel and Tourism Council. (2008). Progress and Priority 2008/09. WTTC Annual Report.http://www.wttc.org/bin/pdf/original_pdf_file/progress_and_priorities_2008.pdf

Yamashita, S. (2003). *Bali and Beyond: Exploration in the Anthropology of Tourism* (J. S. Eades, Trans.). New York: Berghahn Books.

Yamashita, S. (2010). A 20-20 Vision of Tourism Research in Bali: Toward Reflexive Tourism Studies. In D. Pearce & R. Butler (Eds.), *Tourism Research: A 2020 Vision* (pp. 161-173). Oxford: Geedfellow Publisher Limited.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Los Angles: SAGE Publication.

Yugus, A. A. G. (2007). Fungsi Seni Lukis Bali Modern A. A. Gede Sobrat [The Function of Balinese Modern Painting of A. A. Gede Sobrat]. *Murda, 21*(2), 274-288.

Zeithaml, V. A., Parasuraman, A., & Berry, L. L. (1990). *Delivering Quality Service: Balancing Customer Perceptions and Expectations*. New York: The Free Press.

Zhou, K. Z., Yim, C. K. B., & Tse, D. K. (2005). The Effects of Strategic Orientations on Technology- and Market-Based Breakthrough Innovations. *Journal of Marketing, 69*(April), 42-60.

Websites:

http://arkansasagnews.uark.edu/BaliCarving.jpg
http://blueberryguitars.com/
http://kemoning.info
http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/07/05/10085051/%20Nardayana
http://sensor-journalism.com/usaha-rakyat/gitar-bali-i-wayan-tuges-yang-mendunia/
http://wisata-bali.com/kawasan-pariwisata-nusa-dua.html
http://www.baliaround.com/bounty-discotheque-bali/
http://www.balifurnish.com
http://www.baliprov.go.id/
http://www.balitourismauthority.net/
http://www.bali-tourism-board.com/
http://www.budpar.go.id/budpar/asp/index.asp
http://www.denpasarkota.go.id/
http://www.disbud.baliprov.go.id/
http://www.disparda.baliprov.go.id/
http://www.ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/tumpek-wayang
http://www.flickr.com
http://www.gianyarkab.go.id/
http://www.jakartaartawards.com/index.php?mib=lukisan.profile&id=48
http://www.jpnn.com/berita.detail-57455
http://www.ketutsoki.com/theart.htm
http://www.moreindonesia.com
http://www.mutualart.com/Artist/Ida-Bagus-Dupem/086288C3AB075E9D
http://www.svastisarasvati.com/index.php?page=art-artist&artist=17
http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/
http://www.weforum.org
http://www.wttc.org
http://www2.unwto.org/en

The Ubud tourist area

Source: The author