

THE COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURE IN BALI IN THE FRAME OF CULTURAL TOURISM

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As one of the international tourist destinations in the world, Bali has been the landmark of tourism in Indonesia. Supported by excellent tourist facilities and infrastructure, Bali has become a very touristic place. This condition forces the Balinese to adapt with the new environment that may influence their daily life. The cultural richness of Bali has been the main focus of the Government to boost and maintain Bali as one of the world's top destinations. This has made the Balinese and its culture undergo modification in terms of performances, values and the way of life. This paper aims to identify the commodification of culture in Bali which is the result of the development of cultural tourism in Bali. Furthermore this paper reveals the cultural commodification from the perspectives of the tourists, the Balinese and the Government. The paper also discusses the social problems occur in Bali, the efforts to restore Balinese culture and the future of cultural tourism in Bali.

Bali, commodification, culture, tourism

INTRODUCTION

Bali has been internationally well-known as one of the tourist destinations in the world. Offering a combination of natural beauty and exotic culture, Bali becomes the magnet for various types of international and domestic tourists. For international tourists, Bali is the place to seek sea, sand, and sun. Meanwhile for domestic tourists, Bali is not only the place to see natural beauty but also the place to meet foreigners. However, most of the tourists are attracted to Bali because of its culture. As a part of Indonesian archipelago, the culture of the Balinese is totally different from other cultures found in Indonesia. Being the only Hinduism-based society in the predominantly Moslem country; Balinese has a distinctive way of life. Hinduism in Bali is also different with Hinduism in the rest of the world. Hinduism in Bali has a root in India yet largely developed by using Javanese pattern, which is also influenced by Buddhism and the original Balinese culture (Jensen & Suryani, 1992). This condition puts Bali as a perfect destination for cultural tourism destination. Tourists can directly experience the atmosphere of the distinctive Hindu society at the first time they step their feet to the island of Bali.

The tourist facilities and infrastructures have been well developed on the island for tourism purpose. Since tourism has become the major driving force for economic growth in Bali, the people and the government really put their thought in tourism development. Realizing the threat of foreign culture that may distort the Balinese culture, the central and regional governments have tried to make several policies regarding the implementation of tourism development. The central government of Indonesia has proclaimed the idea of cultural tourism as the basic concept of overall tourism in Indonesia to

preserve national culture, but the implementation is far from the expectation. Moreover, the former Governor of Bali, Ida Bagus Oka, as quoted in Picard (1996) also suggested the slogan of tourism in Bali, which is: “tourism is for Bali, not Bali for tourism”. However, it seems that the slogan remains as an empty statement, without any serious efforts to make it happens. The commercial-based development of culture in Bali has brought Balinese to a serious social problems. The economic benefits gained from tourism industry will not be able to cope with the social cost that the Balinese has to pay in the future. Unfortunately, most of Balinese and the government are not aware about this problem; they tend to neglect the indication or the symptom of social distortion in Bali. This paper aims to explain the cultural commodification, how the process is done and why it can happen in Bali. In this case, the paper also points out some problems as the result of cultural commodification in Bali, which can determine the future of cultural tourism in Bali. Further, several suggestions will be delivered in conclusion part.

BALI AS INTERNATIONAL TOURIST DESTINATION

Hinduism has become the root of the Balinese, in which the trunks are the way of life and the fruits are the arts they produce. Most of Balinese are familiar with arts, such as dancing, carving, painting, playing traditional music, and making handicrafts. Practicing or producing arts in Balinese daily life is alleged to be the way to express their belief to their God. Moreover, as stated by Jensen & Suryani (1992) Balinese truly believe in “Karma”, which is the idea that every person who does crime will get a bad luck and the person who does good deed will get the reward as a return. This thought has become one of the main reasons why Bali is a safe place for everybody, especially tourists.

The conducive condition of Bali has encouraged the development of tourism industry in the island. Started in 1960, Bali has undergone a rapid development in terms of tourist facilities. Many types of accommodation are built for tourism purposes. By the year of 2000, the total number of accommodation in Bali reaches 1,307 with 36,331 rooms available (Central Statistic Biro, 2001). The number of restaurants is also multiplied each year in order to fulfill tourist’s need, from 473 restaurants in 1997 into 762 restaurants in 2001 (Central Statistic Biro of Bali Province, 2002). The tourist infrastructures, namely international airport, harbors and highways are built to increase the tourists flow to the island.

In terms of tourism products, Bali has so much to offer. There are various kinds of major tourist spots in Bali. Tanah Lot and Uluwatu present the magnificent sunset scenery. Bedugul and Kintamani Lakes offer the beauty of the scenery with the graceful lagoon as the setting. Moreover, places like Besakih Temple, Taman Ayun (Floating Garden), Goa Gajah (Elephant Cave) present the historical and cultural identity of Balinese. Most of all, the white sand beaches that Bali has, such as the famous Kuta Bali and Nusa Dua, offer a place to surf or to do water sports. All of those places along with other tourist precincts in Bali have accommodate the various types of tourist in Bali. The establishments of tourist facilities around the Kuta Beach accommodate the need of tourist who mainly seeks for leisure in the beach and the nightlife entertainment (Picard, 1996). Moreover, first-class tourists who like to enjoy excellent hospitality service mostly will be found lingering in Nusa Dua area. Meanwhile, most of the tourists who want to experience Balinese peaceful life while at the same time enjoying the paintings, carvings, musics and other arts are likely to spend their time at Ubud (Picard, 1996). This condition is supported by the opening of many souvenir shops and art shops through out the island that fulfill the need of tourists in shopping activities.

Moreover, in terms of cultural tourism, Bali has abundant attractions for tourists. The cultural landscape of Bali, which is beautifully blended with the natural setting, has created magnificent panoramas in Bali. One of the icons of Balinese culture is the temple. There are numerous of temples spread all over Bali. In facts Bali is also known as the island of thousand temples. In this case, the temples, which is

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mainly used as the place of worship for the Balinese to their Gods, have also attracted many tourists to come to Bali. The temples in Tanah Lot and Uluwatu have been widely used by the Balinese and the government for marketing purposes. The picture of Besakih Temple, which is the biggest Hindu temple in Indonesia, becomes one of the “must see” destinations in Bali. Furthermore, many tourists are attracted to see the architectural design of Balinese houses. Every Balinese house is designed according to the belief that they convey, usually with a small temple to put daily offering to their Gods.

Accordingly, the way of life of the Balinese itself has become the major attraction for international tourists. As Hinduism-based society, the Balinese believe in the existence of many Gods. The major Gods that they worship are “Shiva”, “Brahma”, and “Wisnu”. These three Gods are playing different role in Balinese life cycle. Moreover, Balinese also believe in the evil force of demons. Every bad condition that happens is believed as the work of demons. Therefore, they conduct ceremonies in order to cast away the evil and bring goods to their life. There are many ceremonies for every Balinese has to do as a part of their life cycle. “Balinese regularly perform a multitude of ceremonies which occupy a relatively large portion of their time and effort, consume a significant portion of their savings, and have deep significance for life” (Jensen & Suryani, 1992). In the development of tourism industry, those kinds of ceremonies are also served as an attraction for tourists. The most famous traditional ceremony is “Ngaben”, which is the cremation ceremony. The process of the ceremony always draws the attention of numerous international tourists to see and experience one of the life cycles of every Balinese.

Besides the cultural landscape and the way of life, Balinese arts have also become the focal points of cultural tourism products in Bali. Jensen & Suryani (1992) suggest that one of the character traits of Balinese is industrious creativity, which implies that every Balinese is capable of producing arts. The function of art for Balinese is the media of to reflect their belief. The dances, music, paintings and carvings produced and performed by the Balinese represent the whole concept of Balinese religion. The famous Barong and Kecak dances symbolizing the war between the good and the evil forces are well known among the international tourists as something that they should not have missed during their visitation in Bali. Moreover, the paintings and carvings of the Balinese have become the collectible goods for most of the tourists. Basically, the arts of Balinese along with the Bali landscape and the way of life serve as the complete package of cultural tourism product of Bali.

COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURE IN BALI

Basically, as an industry, tourism relies heavily on tourist visitation. Various kinds of services, which are provided to cater the tourists need, will be useless if there are not any tourists who visit the place. Accordingly, in the development of tourism industry in Bali, Balinese as the host community must also try to please their tourists as their guests. Since tourism industry is principally a commercial based activity, therefore, the main purpose of any tourism policies is to increase the income. To a certain extent, tourism is credited to preserving culture, however, it is also accused to be the reason of making culture into a commodity (Hitchcock & Parnwell (eds.), 1993). As the main products of Bali tourism industry, Balinese culture serves as the selling points for Bali. This phenomenon makes the Balinese culture has to undergo several transformations.

The meaning of commodification of culture is basically a transformation of culture into a tangible commodity based on commercial purposes (Craik, 2001 in Douglas, Douglas & Derret). Furthermore, since Balinese culture is very different from the culture of most of the tourists who come to Bali, therefore the transformation process becomes more obvious. The graphic below by Butler (1992) suggests the scenario of cultural alteration that may happen in tourist destinations. Apparently Bali

is undergoing the second type of Butler’s scenario. In terms of commodification of culture, there are several phases occur in Bali.

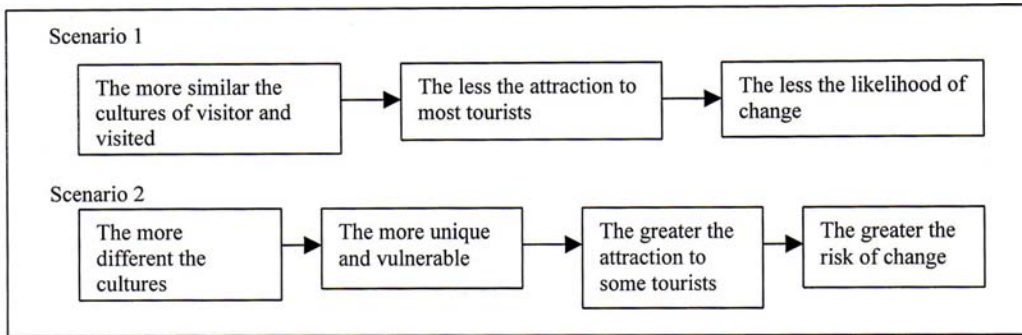


Figure 1
Tourism and Culture

Primarily, the form of cultural commodification in Bali is reflected through the establishments of tourists’ souvenir culture. This condition reveals the productions of tourist souvenirs, such as shirts, key rings, and other handicrafts by using the theme of Balinese arts as the background. Accordingly, along with the development of international tourists in Bali, which allows cultural absorption among the Balinese, the theme of Balinese arts is being modified. This fact is supported by Craik’s arguments (1997) in Rojek & Urry (1997), stating that tourists may have essential influences on the production of local culture. Moreover, the Balinese artists are also having trouble in fitting with tourist’s behaviors about their arts. Most tourists are ignorant for the meaning of most Balinese arts, they just like the colors and the form, without understanding the meaning of the arts (Baswesdan, 1993, in Getler). Therefore, tourists tend to create their own expectation toward the Balinese arts, and the artists must cope with that for economic reasons. There are some foreign values, which is being adopted by the Balinese in producing their arts. This condition is happening because of the tourists; they like to see something made in Bali, yet still reflecting their home country identity. In this case, Crick (1989) suggests that cultural tourism can turn out to be merely about the culture of tourists instead of the host community. Moreover, the number of the produced arts is multiplied to fulfill the overseas demand. Masterpieces of Balinese, as an expression of their belief to their Gods, are changed into mass products as commercial commodities. For example, Rangdha and Barong Masks which are supposed to be sacred items for Balinese, are produced in large numbers and have become one of the export commodities of Balinese handiworks. As argues by Craik (2001) in Douglas, Douglas & Derret (2001), the cultural modification is not only a matter of manufacturing process of arts into tourist’s souvenirs, but also in cultural performances that are being sold for tourists.

In that point of view, in terms of cultural performances, Balinese traditional music and dances are developed in the frame of the tourism industry. The performances are being packed as tourist’s show, especially the schedule and sequence of the performances. The historical and cultural values, which serve as the background of the performance, are no longer important (Picard, 1996). The time of performance, which is supposed to follow the traditional platform, is now following the tourist’s schedule. Kecak Dance can be seen regularly on certain tourist places on fixed time based on tourist itinerary. Meanwhile, the Barong dance is being edited on some parts; because tourists do not like to see long performances (Hitchcock & Parnwell, 1993) Tourists opinion is also considered in the dances, such as the cutting of some savage scenes during the dances.

The most dramatic cultural commodification is happening in the level of the social values. As a part of a culture, the value of the society is shifting to accommodate the tourist's need. In accordance to that, temples which are the sacred places for Balinese are opened also as tourist destination. The sacred values of temple are modified for tourism purposes. Tourists are allowed to enter the sacred sites during the sacred ritual as long as they follow the terms and condition which are especially made for tourists. Moreover, the values about the architectural design on the building are also developing in tourism perspectives. Initially, any Balinese buildings are not allowed to be constructed higher than the temples. However, during the development of tourist accommodation, the needs of spacious hotel with high-rise building are increasingly important for the industry to please international visitors.

Instead of enforcing the law, Balinese tries to accommodate this traditional law with the tourism industry needs by publishing the new regulations. Nowadays hotels in Bali are allowed to be built higher than temples as long as they are still lower than any coconut trees (Picard, 1996). Moreover, Craik (1991) argues that tourism brings alienation of the best lands, which have aesthetical values for achieving greater economic benefit. This condition leads to the privatization of public places, such as parks, hills and beaches. In Bali, many star hotels have their own private beaches, which only limited for guests and the hotel visitors. Local people are losing their rights towards their own land. However, many of them argue that they have nothing to lose in selling their beaches to private companies, since they get a huge amount of revenue from it. In addition, the case of Garuda Wisnu Kencana cultural park in Jimbaran area, also proves the transformation of Balinese values. In this case, Balinese is entitled to build monuments and God statues as the reflection of their beliefs, however this traditional values is combined with the idea of western theme park. As an international tourist destination, Bali needs to have huge man-made attraction that serves as the icon of Bali. In the website of Garuda Wisnu Kencana (<http://www.gwk-bali.com/aboutgwk.html>), it is explicitly stated that the reasons of making the site is to attract the attention of tourists.

From the above explanations about the process of cultural commodification in Bali, it can be noticed that basically Balinese makes several compromising policy concerning their belief, values and way of life. As stated by Baswedan (1993) in Getler (1993), tourism brings a clash between the local and tourist values, therefore something has to change, and the host community is most likely to adapt its culture to fit the tourists' preconception. The primary function of the arts which mainly to please the Balinese Gods are turned into a commodity to entertain tourists. Along with the economic benefits gained from international tourists, Balinese tend to think that nothing happens in their culture, since they are still practicing it in their daily life. Most Balinese find nothing wrong with their culture. Moreover, Indonesian national and regional government that should be holding important roles in preserving Balinese culture as part of the national heritage have not been cautious in doing their duty. Most of the policy concerning tourism is made in the frame of economic standpoint. In this case, the reasons of cultural commodification in Bali can be seen from three point of views, namely the tourist, Balinese, and the government.

Tourists Perspectives

Besides the local culture, the most important component of cultural tourism is definitely the tourists, which normally called as cultural tourists. Craik (2001) in Douglas, Douglas & Derret (2001) advises that there are two concepts in defining cultural tourists. Mainly, cultural tourists are the ones who consider culture as their basic reasons to traveling to a particular place. Meanwhile, the secondary definition refers to the tourists who take advantages from cultural resources during their visitation to particular places. The majority of cultural tourists are the secondary type of tourists, which typically think that culture is not more than just tourist attraction. In this case, most of the tourists who come to Bali are suitable with the secondary definition of the cultural tourists. This means that they only

consume the culture as the attraction not because they have special interest in it. Furthermore, Craik (2001) also explains that the majority of the cultural tourists are attracted cultural tourists. This implies that they come to tourist destinations because they only attracted by the culture because of the external factors, such as commercial advertisements and tourist guidebooks. Unfortunately, this type of tourist has larger number than inspired or motivated cultural tourists, which treat culture in more respectful and deeper understanding. Accordingly, most of the tourists in Bali are categorized in attracted cultural tourists. Most of the tourists who come to Bali are attracted to Balinese culture because of the advertisements published by many international tour operators or story told by other people. Definitely, Balinese culture is catching the attention of people to come and see it, but only few of them who are personally attached by the values and inspired by the culture. Therefore, this kind of tourists tend to bring their own culture traveling along with them, which creates expectation on the local culture. In order to meet the expectation of tourists, Balinese as the local community must make adjustments on the culture.

Moreover, in Bali case, most of the international tourists come from developed countries. According to Central Statistic Biro of Bali Province (2002), in 2001, the four top generating countries for tourism in Bali are Japan (296,282), Australia (238,857), United Kingdom (116,323) and USA (68,359). This means that the tourist come from the countries that have more bargaining power in terms of economic benefits. This condition tends to make international tourists become one of the stakeholders in the development of local culture. Without having direct involvement, tourists can have control over Balinese culture, in terms of what they want to see or do in Bali. In accordance to that, Balinese is only trying hard to accommodate tourists demands in order to keep them staying in the Island.

Balinese Perspectives

Besides detected from the tourist's factors, cultural commodification can also be seen from the Balinese perspectives. Although, Balinese has made its culture as a product to be sold to tourists in the shape of tourist arts and performances, they still deny the changing of their culture. Picard (1996) states that Balinese always suggest that their culture has a high resistance against any form of outside forces, which can influence their culture. They believe that their culture has survived from Dutch colonialism and Japanese invasion; therefore the culture will certainly survive on the tourism industry development. As mentioned before on the introduction part of this paper, Balinese arts are the fruits of their religion, which serves as the roots of the community. Meanwhile, the trunks are the way of life. In this case, Balinese believe that during the tourism industry era, their roots will still remain and the trunks are still the same trunks but the fruits, which are the arts, are multiplied in variety. According to Craik (2001) in Douglas, Douglas & Derret (2001), several traditional cultures may be transformed into new products, such as popular arts. This concept is most likely used by Balinese as justification on the process of cultural modification in Bali.

There are several community based organizations that have become part of the Balinese way of life. The two most influential organizations are Banjar and Subak. These organizations have been argued to be the strong protector of cultural degradation in Bali. In this case, Banjar works solidly to control the Balinese in any activities that they do. As mentioned by Mabbett (1989) Banjar is a busy organization that supervise many aspects of life in its village, such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, the building of public places and maintaining law and order. If one village has grown bigger it takes more than one Banjar to manage it. Balinese argued that their culture remains the same since Banjar is still operating as usual. The system that has been working for years keeps Balinese on track, in terms of practicing their culture. Moreover, it is said that Banjar controls the civil life of the communities while Subak deals with the economic of Balinese. Subak, which is sometimes translated as "agricultural society", is an association of rice field owners, tenants and sharecroppers (Mabbett, 1989). This organization

mainly arranges the supply of water to the rice field based on the prior agreement. This system has been running for over 1000 years and it is still going on. Though the number of rice field decreases because of the development of resort hotels and tourist facilities, but still Subak operation remains the same. Balinese considers that the operation of Subak shows the persistent of Balinese culture. In this case, Banjar and Subak existence indicate that Balinese culture remains unchanged. Cultural modification may happen but it will not alter the basic system of the Balinese way of life.

Furthermore, most of Balinese believe that tourism brings great economics benefit for them. There are more job opportunities opened in tourism, hospitality and other related industries. The amount of money that they get from tourists is much bigger than the money that they get from other sectors; therefore, Balinese are trying to obtain any job related with serving tourists. In fact, tourism has made Bali as a region which has low number of people who live below poverty line. As reported by Central Statistic Biro (2001), the poverty line in Bali is only 8,53%, which makes Bali as one of the prosperous regions in Indonesia. In this case, Balinese argues that their culture bring them economic profit without changing it. Most of them only consider culture from the point of view of visual attraction, such as traditional dances, traditional ceremonies or arts. Accordingly, Balinese claim that they still practicing their belief through ceremonies and dances, so there is not any significant changes in the culture.

Government Perspectives

For years, tourism in Bali has been successfully developed in order to lodge mass tourism activities. This condition definitely brings significant economic benefits for Indonesian government. Furthermore, the central government of Indonesia also concerns about tourism in Bali because for the past 10 years tourism has become the major money-spinner for Indonesia from foreign revenues. In fact, in 1999, when the Indonesian textile industry was in decrease, tourism had become the highest source of foreign income for Indonesia. Bali has always been the major supporter for Indonesian Tourism (Wiradji, 2003). The island of Bali has become the barometer of the tourism industry development in Indonesia. Every year, tourism in Bali generates around 1.4 billion USD for Indonesian government. Therefore, the Indonesian government also concerns about the growth of tourism activities in Bali. As the regulator, the central government tries to publish policies that will become the guideline of Indonesian tourism development. Initially, Indonesian government does not really have the specific platform for tourism development. However, after witnessing the success story of Bali in using the culture as the attraction, the central government adopt Bali regional government in implementing cultural tourism as the focus of tourism development. Hence, the Indonesian central government proclaims the cultural tourism as the national platform of tourism development in Indonesia. Since Indonesia is not only rich in natural resources but also abundant in traditional cultures, the policy is applicable across the entire archipelago. The main idea of implementing cultural tourism as the platform of tourism development in Indonesia is to protect Indonesian culture from the invasion of foreign culture. However, the enforcement of the policy has not been quite successful, since economically Indonesia still has high dependency on developed countries, which have become generating countries for tourism industry in Indonesia. The scheme of policy making in Indonesia is usually top down, where the central government policy must be carried out by all of the regional governments. To a certain extent, this method becomes the reason why tourism development in the region is not working properly, especially in benefiting the local community.

Tourism has been the central attention of Balinese regional government. The regional income of the government is basically derived from taxes of tourism and hospitality industry along with other related businesses, such as transportation and cargo. In terms of regional policy, practically, the regional government of Bali is implementing the master plan of Indonesian central government. The policy on tourism development, which has been published previously by the regional government of

Bali is altered according to the national policy of cultural tourism published by Indonesian central government. However, Picard (1993) suggests that the regional government is not really involved in the making of Bali tourism development master plan. This condition increases exposures to Balinese culture, since the policy is basically to increase national income. Furthermore, the regional government has stated their objection about the master plan. Accordingly, in 1971, the central government was starting to make efforts to re-evaluate their policy concerning cultural tourism in Bali. Since then, the policy about the cultural tourism in Indonesia is being modified according to the Balinese viewpoints. In 1984, Balinese culture was adopted into the one of the national culture of Indonesia. The Minister of Education and Culture at that time proclaimed that Balinese culture must be preserved for national purposes (Picard, 1993). However, all the efforts of Indonesian government still can not completely resolved the problem of commodification of culture in Bali. It seems that all of the policies are only carried out to regulate the process but not to make it better, in the sense of preserving Balinese culture.

In terms of policy making, the function of the government is not only as the regulator but also as the facilitator. In this case, as facilitator of tourism development, the government should be able to build mutual cooperation among the tourism stakeholders. In terms of cultural tourism development, the key players are the local community as the culture provider, the tourists as the consumer of culture, and the industry as the agent of culture. There should be a balance of profit among them socially and economically. The government must take a firm stand to create harmonious relationship among the stakeholders, which can bring sustainable profit for all parties. Chamberlain in Nuryanti (1996) states that the government still has a crucial role in making the guidelines for both development and ongoing cooperation between the industry and the host community. Looking at the case of Bali, the government role, to a certain extent, is not acted properly. The central government of Indonesia tends to focus on the national economic development rather than the impact on Balinese culture. Meanwhile, the regional government of Bali is implementing the culture tourism policy without serious consideration of the social cost of tourism to the Balinese.

Basically, in the perspectives of the tourists, Balinese and the government are representing their role and expectation on tourism. It is obvious that tourists, the Balinese and the Government are playing different role and having different expectation on tourism. The following figure by Butler (1996) cited in Nuryanti (1996) concludes the different roles and expectations on tourism of each player.

<u>Players</u>	<u>Roles</u>
Primary	
Governments	Income, employment, political gain
Industry	Profit
Local residents	Jobs, income, stability
Tourist	Pleasure
Secondary	
Governments	Regional development, prestige, stability
Industry	Linkages
Local residents	Preservation, change
Tourists	Knowledge/challenge, artifacts

Figure 2
Roles and Expectation of Tourism

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN BALI

It can be argued that the root of social problems in Bali is from the Balinese way of life. Having a distinctive belief and values, Hinduism in Bali is different from the rest of Hinduism in the world. This condition creates a lifestyle that may trigger a social distortion in the long run. Moreover, the coming of tourism in Bali as the external factor has also created a pressure for the Balinese. In this case, the internal condition of Balinese merged with the external factors create many social problems in Bali. Basically, social problems, such as gambling, drugs and prostitution occur in Bali not only because of the development of tourism but also the ignorance of the Balinese itself.

Internal Factors

Balinese has a unique culture and distinctive way of life. Most people will say that the religion of Balinese is Hindu. This argument is understandable but not completely true. As stated by Mabbett (1989), Hinduism in Bali is unique to the rest of the world would recognize as approaching his/her system of belief. Balinese religion should be called Balinism instead of Hinduism (Hanna, 1976). This condition implies on the way Balinese focus their life to give offerings and hold many ceremonies. In Bali, offerings become the central item in a system of ritual obligation, in order to acquire blessings for personal reasons and the community. It is believed that offerings also help the gods in the battle against evil spirits. Performing offerings is a must for every Balinese, which has financial consequence to them. The items for offering such as chicken, fish, pork, alcohol, rice, fruits, cakes and so on, sometimes can be very expensive (Mabbett, 1989). Moreover, some problems occur when people begin to compete to perform the best offerings. The level of competition can be in personal level or in *Banjar* level. The value of social solidarity in Balinese is getting lesser. This condition creates many conflicts between *Banjar*, as stated by Anom (2004).

Gambling is one of the serious social problems in Bali. This problem has occurred prior to tourism development in Bali. Many Balinese argue that gambling is a part of rituals. In this regard, the cock fighting is the most popular form of gambling. This game, which is traditionally called *tajen* can also be a media to show social status. There is a force for any individual to gamble, though he may not want to. For example, one *sekha taruna* or youth organization in Gianyar obligates its member to hold *tajen*. Any members who are not willing to join *tajen* will have to pay the fine (www.saradbali.com/edisi47/ceraken1.htm). Many times the gambling activities are conducted near the temple or other holy ground. This is to justify the action of gambling. Some Balinese also claim that the money they earn from gambling is used to build or renovate temples (Jendra, 2004). The authority works hard to cope with this matter. The Chief Policeman in Bali, Irjen Pol. I Made Mangku Pastika, claims that he will stop *tajen* because he loves Bali (www.saradbali.com/edisi47/ceraken1.htm).

The fact that there are still economic gap among Balinese also becomes the major concern of the authority. However, Adiputra (2004) mentioned that the economic gap happens because there are many Balinese who choose to remain unemployed rather than working labor jobs. The self esteem of Balinese can bring disadvantages for them, in terms of economic condition. Moreover, it seems that religion puts a pressure on Balinese to have more income. The daily offerings, rituals or ceremonies that they have to perform every now and then force Balinese to become a money-oriented community. Many Balinese tend to pursue their own benefit to practice their belief or to show off their social status. Therefore, their level of ignorance is high, especially about their culture. Based on this fact, it can be argued that Balinese becomes fragile in terms of social distortion, since many of them willing to do anything to get more income, from becoming a “Kuta Cowboy” to selling their valuable rice field for the development of resort hotels.

External Factors

The development of tourism industry brings many changes in Balinese lifestyle. Besides becoming the driving force of rapid economic development in Bali, tourism also brings social problems. Basically, the social problems occur when each player in tourism, namely local community, government, tourist and the industry fail to consult their role to one another. If each player only wants to pursue his own goal without considering other aspects, there will be a clash of expectation, which lead to the decrease of social control. In accordance with that concept, as the result of tourism developments in Bali, there are some problems occur in Balinese society, such as the increasing number of drugs users and the spreading of HIV/AIDS disease in the island (Picard, 1996). Those two problems are basically the negative impacts resulted from the rapid growth of mass tourism in Bali. However, these problems have ruined the image of Balinese life, especially the values of Balinese's beliefs. The establishments of nightlife entertainment that accommodate the use of drugs and free sex as the life style disturb the graceful atmosphere of Bali. Many of Balinese youth are also influenced by this phenomenon. For "easy money", some of Balinese choose to become male prostitute, that so called "Kuta Cowboy". The spreading of illegal prostitutes across Bali cannot be stopped by the authorities, since sex has become the attraction of tourist destination. This condition leads to the rapid growth of HIV/AIDS in Bali, because the lack of social and legal control about this problem from the authorities (—HYPERLINK "<http://www.balidiscovery.com/messages/message.asp?Id=1090>" —<http://www.balidiscovery.com/messages/message.asp?Id=1090>). Moreover, the judicial report shows that in 1986 the numbers of crime based on narcotics/drugs addicts were only 11 cases (Statistic Office of Bali, 1987) compared to 4,820 cases in 1999 (Central Statistic Biro of Bali Province, 2002).

However, beside those two social crises, the major social problem in Bali is actually the changing of Balinese conception on the land. The land that used to be the supporter of Balinese life, become commodity to be sold to tourism industry. Based on the Statistic Office of Bali (1987) the total number of wet paddy land in Bali has decreased from 97,337 hectare to 84,860 hectare in 2001 (Central Statistic Biro of Bali Province, 2002). This is not only caused by the growth of Balinese population, but by the attitude of Balinese who sell their land for the construction of resorts, hotels and any tourist facilities. Many youngsters from remote area in Bali are leaving their land into the tourist area in order to earn higher income faster than working in the field (Micler, 1994). The paddy fields are turned into resorts and accommodations for tourists. Balinese transformed themselves from the agriculture-based into tourism-based community. The region that used to be one of the major producers of rice in Indonesia, has become one of rice importers. Ironically, nowadays Balinese cannot even provide their own flowers and young coconut leaves for daily offering; Balinese must buy those items from Java or other islands (Widiadana, 2003). The transformation in Balinese social life is definitely a threat for the sustainability of cultural tourism in Bali. In addition, the studies by Wall (1996) points out that although the impact of tourism toward the local Balinese villages may vary based on spatial reason, but overall, the life of Balinese have been hugely impacted both economically and socially by tourism.

THE FUTURE OF CULTURAL TOURISM

The social problems that happen in Bali as the negative impacts of the tourism development, to some extent, will influence the future of cultural tourism in Bali. In this case, the main source of cultural tourism is obviously the local culture holds by the host community. Referring back to the definitions of culture suggested by Storey (1997), culture is formulated as the whole phase of life, which is not only traditional arts, but also the way of life of the society. In accordance with that idea, the social condition of Balinese becomes the crucial factors of the cultural tourism. Problems occur in Balinese society, whether it is realized or not by the Balinese, will redefine the culture in the island. The social problems, such as drugs and HIV will change the overall image of the Balinese. Although, the Balinese

may argue that the doers are mostly outsiders, but the fact is the Balinese serves as the media of these problems. However, the changing values in Balinese culture in terms of arts, land and social remains as the major concern regarding the future of cultural tourism in Bali.

Furthermore, considering the recent condition of what happen in Balinese culture, the cultural tourism in Bali is facing serious problem. The richness of Balinese culture, which is mostly used for commercial purposes, without much consideration on the preservation, will lose its originality. The authenticity is no longer the issues in Balinese culture, since it is replaced by the modified culture based on tourist demand. Sadly, this concept is conveyed by most of Balinese, where they cling their lives heavily on tourism industry. If this condition continues to happen, the cultural tourism in Bali will come to its dark ages, when tourists no longer find Balinese culture as attractive as it was, tourists may still come to Bali but only for pleasure reason. Accordingly, Balinese will tend to neglect performing and practicing their arts, since they do not get something out of it anymore.

The Ways to Restore Balinese Culture

Realizing that the future of cultural tourism in Bali is at stake, some people in Bali begin to think of restoring and protecting the cultures. Some Balinese try to prevent Balinese culture from losing its authenticity. The establishment of Tri Hita Karana tourism award is one of the ways to protect the originality of Balinese culture. This award becomes a guideline for any tourism industry to keep on doing their business without neglecting the preservation of Balinese culture (Pantja, 2004). THK stands for Tri Hita Karana; basically the concept of THK involves relationship of people with their gods, other people and their natural environment. By implementing the concept of THK to all tourism stakeholders, especially the industry, people hope that the Balinese culture remains the same.

The idea to revitalize Balinese culture begins to be the topic of discussion in the society. Revitalizing the local content of Balinese culture to protect it from the pressure of the global changes, become the main agenda of Balinese. As quoted in Bali Post, Putra (2004) suggests that conserving Balinese language is important to maintain Balinese culture. Therefore, Putra (2004) insists that Balinese House of Representative should have a strong political will to preserve Balinese arts and language. Moreover, the establishment of Balinese websites that discuss about every aspects of Balinese life is also important to make people aware about conserving culture. The websites, such as <http://www.desaadat.com> and <http://www.saradbali.com> are the new media to educate the Balinese. Though the audiences may not be many, since not all Balinese have the access to the internet, but at least their establishment creates awareness about Bali to some influential group of people such the scholars, government and the industry.

One of the most effective ways to protect Balinese culture is by maximizing the community-based organization such as *Banjar* and *Subak*. As mentioned before, *Banjar* and *Subak* have a strong influence toward Balinese way of life. Therefore, consolidation of the members in *Banjar* should be maintained. *Banjar* meeting can be the best way for the government to socialize any new policy, especially regarding tourism. As written in www.desaadat.com (2003). Coordination and communication between *Banjar* are important to solve any social problem in Bali. Nowadays, there are many *Banjar* meeting conducted to discuss the preservation of Balinese culture. Moreover, the existence of *Subak* has deep cultural meaning as well as valuable agricultural system for Balinese (Mabbett, 1989). Therefore its restoration is important in the new era of economic. Bali has changed from agricultural society into tourism-based society. Windia (2004) mentions that *Subak* needs to be reconstructed based on three subsystems, namely the concept, the social value and the method. The revitalization of *Subak* will strengthen the agriculture industry of Bali. Eventually, this condition will make Balinese become less dependence on tourism. It can be argued that cultural commodification in Bali is an effect

of the heavy dependency on tourism. Therefore, if Balinese can go back to their original lifestyle, especially regarding agricultural activities, the restoration of Balinese culture can be successful.

CONCLUSION

It is obvious that as a business, tourism deals with supply and demand activities. However, as stated in Getler (1993), the position of culture is mostly in the supply side, where the demand come from the tourist side. In the case of Bali, the issue of commodification of culture is actually a complex one, since it is related with supply and demand system, which accordingly supported by three aspects, namely tourists, Balinese and the government. The inappropriate plans and policy by the central government may also be the main reason of this problem, since in Indonesia, the authority of the government is stronger than people and the private sectors in handling economic or social matter. If this issue is not progressively resolved, the culture tourism in Bali could face its downfall. This following scheme explains the process of commodification of culture in Bali and the result of it.

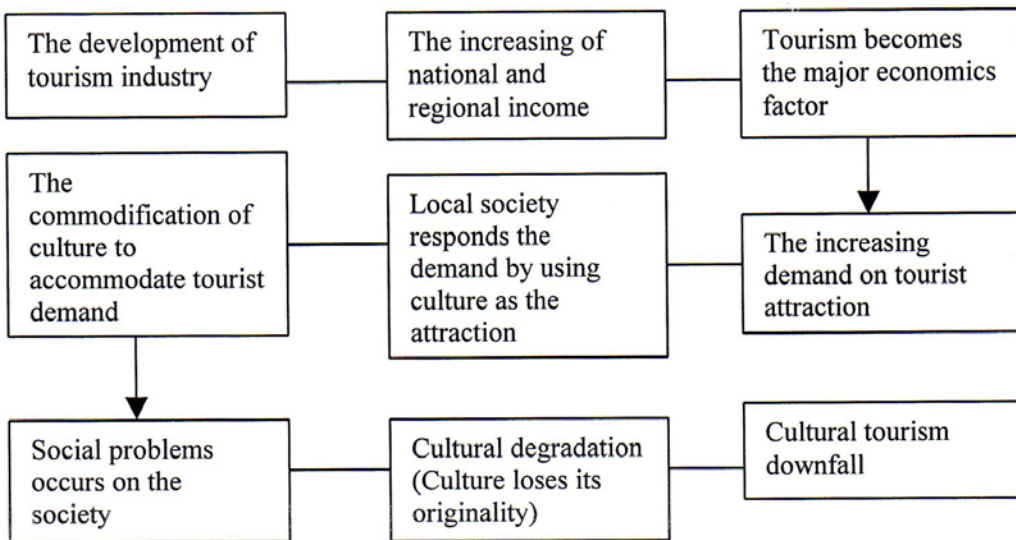


Figure 3
The Scheme of Commodification of Culture in Bali

The scheme implies that the commodification of culture in Bali is mostly cause by permissive responds of the Balinese toward the tourist demand. In this case, the Balinese does not have many options, since tourists bring major economic benefit for them. The commodification of culture in Bali has led Bali to a condition where there is no firm line between what is the original culture of Balinese and the modified culture for commercial purposes. This is very ironic, since it can lead to cultural tourism downfall. The issue of authenticity is a crucial factor in cultural tourism. Any type of cultural tourists will seek the original culture rather than modified ones. Therefore, managing the process of culture development in the frame of cultural tourism is extremely important. In the case of Bali, where the society has put their life economically to tourism industry, the matter of culture modification for commercial purpose becomes common things. In this case, Balinese must try to realize the effects of over commercialism of culture which will decrease the attractive values of the culture in the eyes of tourists.

The restoration actions of Balinese culture should be supported by tourism stakeholders, especially the government. In this case, the role of the government must be evaluated again, nationally and regionally. As the authority, the government should be able to publish specific policy concerning the commodification of culture in Bali. This is not necessarily means to stop tourist for coming to Bali, but specifically to prevent cultural exploitation for commercial purposes in the frame of cultural tourism. Moreover, the government should be able to play the role as facilitator of development. In this case, as suggested by Walle (1998), in order to implement the right strategy for cultural tourism, there should be an equal position between the industry, the tourists and the local community. In Bali's case, government has more responsibility to make it happen.

Most importantly, as the local authority, the regional government in Bali should be able to create certain policies for cultural preservation and also encourage the Balinese to develop other aspects of economics. The implementation of regional autonomy, published after the reformation era in Indonesia, allows the regional government to make policies concerning regional development. This moment should be taken seriously by the regional government of Bali to rebuild their region. Nuryanti (1996) suggests that the government must do more than just building infrastructure and encouraging foreign investments. Real actions in preserving the culture needed to be done. The efforts to develop other Balinese resources must be conducted gradually by working together with some traditional organization-based societies, such as *Banjar* and *Subak*. Since, tourism is a fragile industry, which subject to change based on security or political issue; therefore Bali must not depend on it entirely. The concept conveyed by most of Balinese that their food, clothing, electricity and water are basically run under tourism (Taylor, 2002) must be immediately changed. The bomb tragedy in Bali has put tourism in Bali on the critical level. Losing many international tourists makes most of Balinese suffer in economic sense. However, this could be a good momentum for the Balinese to refresh their tourism industry, where they can rearrange their life including preserving their original culture. In this case, the government need to do something in order to decrease Balinese dependency on tourism industry.

One of the solutions to look after Balinese culture is by rebuilding the agriculture-based system that has been neglected for a long time. Although there are many negative sentiments about this idea, because the paddy field in Bali has been drastically decreased, but it is possible to achieve it. The former president of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri, supports the idea of revitalization of agriculture in Bali. As reported by Widiadana (2003), in early January 2003, Megawati visited several Balinese villagers in order to give moral and financial aid to the local people in rebuilding their paddy field. This action needs to be supported and continued by the recent government under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. However, that impetuous action is not enough to cure the problems. Accordingly, the government needs to take a firm action regarding this matter. The policy to regulate the conversion of land in Bali must be enforced strictly. As stated by Pitana quoted in Juniarta (2002), "The government must decide when enough is enough and then act firmly on it. There should be a clear and definite limit on the land conversion activity". In this case, the central government must make firm major guideline, which is supported by the regional policy to achieve agricultural development in Bali, especially to protect it from tourism invasion.

Obviously, the idea of revitalization of agriculture-based system in Bali does not essentially mean to stop tourism development or neglecting other sectors in the island. The green revolution program in agriculture should be conducted based on the need to recover economic condition in Bali and to decrease tourism dependency. If Balinese do not rely heavily on tourism industry, it means that they can preserve their culture in the original pattern, not for commercial purposes. This condition will lead to the sustainability of culture in Bali.

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