Place Attachment, Place Identity and Tourism
in Jimbaran and Kuta, Bali

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This thesis is dedicated to Bali and the Balinese people, and to the geographically bounded communities whose places have been exposed to tourism
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Declaration of Originality

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed: On: 24/07/2015
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<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali HESG</td>
<td>Bali Human Ecology Study Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankamdes</td>
<td>Badan Keamanan Desa (Village security institution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bappeda</td>
<td>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Planning and Development Agency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKM</td>
<td>Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat (community self-reliance agency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPS</td>
<td>Badan Pusat Statistik (Centre of Statistics Agency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br</td>
<td>Banjar (traditional neighbourhood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTB</td>
<td>Bali Tourism Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAK</td>
<td>Desa Adat Kuta (the traditional village of Kuta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPRD</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (the House of Representatives in a Province or Regency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPTPH</td>
<td>Dinas Pertanian, Tanaman Pangan dan Hortikultura (Department of Food Plants and Horticulture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ForBALI</td>
<td>Forum rakyat Bali tolak reklamasi (Local community resistance group to Benoa Bay’s reclamation project in Bali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWK</td>
<td>Garuda Wisnu Kencana (Garuda Wisnu Kencana Cultural Park)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansip</td>
<td>Pertahanan Sipil (Civil Defence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HREC</td>
<td>Human Research Ethics Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBRD</td>
<td>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICOMOS</td>
<td>The International Council on Monuments and Sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMB</td>
<td>Ijin Mendirikan Bangunan (Building Development Permit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesbanglinmas</td>
<td>Kesatuan Bangsa, Politik dan Perlindungan Masyarakat (the Department of National Union, Politics and Community Protection)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KFC</td>
<td>Kuta Facebook Community</td>
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</table>
KK  Kuta Karnival
KPC  Kuta Photographers Community
KTP  Kartu Tanda Penduduk (Residents Card)
KSBA  Kuta Small Business Association
LPM  Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (the community empowerment body in a village)
MP3EI  Masterplan Percepatan dan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia (Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia’s Economic Development)
NEAF  National Ethics Application Form
NGO  Non-Government Organization
OECD  Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
Perda  Peraturan Daerah (Local regulation)
PKK  Pendidikan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family’s Education and Welfare)
RTRWP  Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Provinsi (The Spatial Plan of Provincial Area)
SARS  Severe acute respiratory syndrome
Satgas Linmas  Kesatuan tugas perlindungan masyarakat (task force for community protection)
SCETO  Société Centrale pour l’équipment Touristique Outre-mer (a French Tourism Development Consultant)
SDN  Sekolah Dasar Negeri (Public or Elementary School)
SMPN  Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri (Junior High school)
SNS  Social Network Sites
STT  Sekeha Teruna Teruni (village’s youth organization)
WHO  World Health Organization
WHOQOL  World Health Organization Quality of Life
Abstract

This thesis is an ethnography involving as case studies two prominent tourism districts in Bali, Indonesia: Jimbaran and Kuta. The thesis explores the intersection between place attachment, place identity and tourism in these destination communities with implications for tourism planning. The study focuses on how local residents of Jimbaran and Kuta construct place meaning and perform place attachment; how locals value their place after tourism; how local communities (re)construct place identity; and how a local sense of place approach can inform tourism planning in Bali.

Drawing on photographs as visual materials and narratives of local communities, this study was conducted using multiple methods, including fieldwork with photo-elicitation, interviews and focus groups in Jimbaran; and online social media research for Kuta. Document studies were also applied. Thematic and discourse analyses were utilised to examine the data.

The findings reveal that in everyday life, local places have significant meanings associated with the cultural and spiritual commitments that together constitute the local people’s sense of place. Local philosophies such as Tri Hita Karana (relating to sources of happiness) and Desa Kala Patra (relating to place, time and occasion) are vital for locals in achieving wellbeing, maintaining their emotional attachment with their village and safeguarding Balinese culture in these localities. It is also evident that tourism within local settings largely interrupts local place attachment and place identity. Moreover, this thesis argues that indigenous-rooted communities have a significant role in maintaining tradition, identity, values and esteem of their village under desa adat (traditional village) coordination. Under this traditional scheme, the
recuperation of local identity in both places is maintained through local communities’ initiatives.

This thesis concludes by suggesting that place attachment and place identity of local communities in Bali are important in sustaining Balinese culture during tourism development of the island. A key recommendation and contribution of this research is that local sense of place could be adopted as a very productive approach to strengthen *kepariwisataan budaya* (cultural tourism) policy in Bali and tourism development on the island, and to ensure cultural sustainability.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Balinese people believe that everything in Bali has their [sic] own soul.

This life is offering. Everything we do in our life is offering to God, to other human being and also to the environment (Governor of Bali, 2012).

1.1 Context

The world is changing, and the growing interconnectedness among and between people and places is driving the changing nature of place. Tourism, along with other mobilities across the globe, creates significant transformation in destination regions. Tourism involves change (Barenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry, 2004; Urry, 1995; Wall, 1996, 1995), as the proliferation of tourism can engender rapid local economic growth, with infrastructure and amenities constructed in destination areas responding to visitor growth (Gunn & Var, 2002; Inskeep, 1991; Reid, 2003; Urry & Larsen, 2011). However, it is argued that the development of tourism also presents numerous problems for the cultural, natural and built environments in which local people live their everyday lives (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; McKercher, 1993; Wall, 1996). As early as 1975, Doxey (1975) developed the concept of the ‘irritation index’ for tourism to determine the extent of tolerance of locals to certain levels of visitation and visitor behaviours. Since then, considerable research has investigated the vexed question of resident attitudes to tourism.

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2 An e-library search using the keywords ‘negative impacts tourism’ returned around 21,814 peer-reviewed journal and scholarly articles (as of 10 June 2014).
Clearly, the changes induced by tourism can be physical or environmental, but they can also have economic, social and cultural dimensions. Studies examining the relationships between hosts and tourists found (among other things) that involvement in the industry, proximity to visitor areas, density of tourism facilities and services in a destination can be correlated with residents’ negative attitudes towards tourism development (e.g. Ap, 1992; Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; Hall & Lew, 2009; Pizam, 1978; Smith & Krannich, 1998). These examples point to resource use conflict between residents and visitors (Harrill, 2004; McKercher, 1993; Reid, 2003).

Since local community is regarded as an important resource in tourism development (Amsden, Stedman & Kruger, 2011; Bushell & Staiff, 2012; Hummon, 1992; Murphy, 1998; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Salazar & Bushell, 2013; Sampson & Goodrich, 2009), a particular concern is the impacts of tourism include those on people’s everyday lives and quality of life. Recent studies suggest the need to investigate how these changes compromise the sense of place of a person or a community, and the meanings associated with a place after its exposure to tourism (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Schofield & Szymanski, 2011a). Sense of place, by definition, is the emotional relationship between people and place, which indicates the significance of a place for a particular person or community that is important to someone’s sense of wellbeing (DeMiglio & Williams, 2008).

From a tourism planning perspective, it is important to formulate strategies to manage the core development resources (community, culture and its environment) that derive from locality (Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Farnum et al., 2005; Harrill, 2004; Murphy, 1983, 1985; Schofield & Szymanski, 2011b). It is therefore crucial to achieve a better understanding of how resident communities perceive the changes in their locality; how these tourism-induced transformations have reshaped local values
and their sense of place; and how issues of ‘sense of place’ might inform tourism planning at the local level. Stemming from this background, this thesis investigates the impact of tourism on place attachment and place identity—as the main constructs of sense of place in two Balinese communities: Jimbaran and Kuta. While tourism in Bali has been well researched, no one has tackled the effect on local sense of place, which is the focus and key contribution of this thesis.

1.2 Review of Tourism Impacts in Bali

With its cultural and natural endowments, Bali\(^3\) has attracted tourists from all over the world since the early twentieth century. Tourism overlaps and intersects with many levels of contemporary everyday life in Balinese communities. Tourism today involves the production and consumption of tangible and intangible resources in the form of numerous tourist facilities and products, and generates mobility of visitors by providing increasing numbers of experiences for consumption (Everett, 2012; Miles, 2010; Urry, 1995). As a popular international tourist destination, Bali has experienced escalating levels of visitation over a long period. This increase slumped following the 2002 and 2005 Bali Bombings. However, the last five years have seen a revival in visitation, with numbers of visitors as follows: 2,229,945 (2009), 2,493,058 (2010), 2,756,579 (2011), 2,892,019 (2012) and 3,278,598 (2013),\(^4\) following the APEC Summit in Nusa Dua in October 2013 (Dinas Pariwisata Pemerintah Provinsi Bali, 2014).

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\(^3\) A province of Indonesia known as a notable tourism destination, a small island of \(~5,637\ \text{km}^2\), inhabited by 3,890,757 people, based on Census 2010: see Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. (2014). \(\textit{Bali Dalam Angka 2013, www.bali.bps.go.id.} \)Denpasar: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali.

\(^4\) Foreign visitor arrivals increased in 2013 by 13.37\% from in 2012, with Australians as the biggest share by nationality (\(~25.21\%)\), followed by Chinese (11.82\%) and Japanese (6.3\%). Source: Dinas Pariwisata Pemerintah Provinsi Bali (2014).
Despite terrorism attacks (the Bali Bombings) and recent serious health issues (SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome), rabies and others) in Bali, tourism has proven resilient and continues to flourish, as indicated by the increasing number of hotel rooms. In 2012 there were 218 star-rated hotels with 24,215 rooms and 1,696 non-star hotels with 24,332 rooms; representing an average annual growth about 10% since 2008 (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2014). Tourism-related activities are the primary sources of local revenue through the creation of job opportunities, taxes and infrastructure development accounting for 46.16% of the province’s Gross Domestic Product (Bali Tourism Satellite Account, 2007). According to a 2014 statistics report (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2015), the general trading, hotel and restaurant sectors are the biggest contributors to Bali employment, accounting for 28% (2,273,897) of the recorded number of workers in the province. Tourism-related supporting sectors are also identified, including the processing industry (14%); building and construction (9%); financial, insurance and rental (4%); and transportation, storage and communication (3%). However, ‘traditional’ occupations such as agriculture, horticulture, forestry and fishery account for only 24% of jobs; based on the average annual change, this proportion is likely to decline by ~1% per year. These figures highlight a significant contribution of non-traditional sectors to people’s welfare in Bali. It is evident that local people and the government of Bali³ have become highly dependent on the income generated from tourism and its supporting industries. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that this massive development is concentrated in the southern part of Bali, with the majority occurring in Badung Regency (the main tourism area), the capital city

³ As reported, economic growth of Bali in 2013 was 6.05%, and Indonesia overall achieved 5.78%. Bali has maintained this above national average economic growth since 2011, and this is highly supported by tourism and service sectors, which contribute around 65%. Source: Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Bali 2013 in Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. (2014). Bali Dalam Angka 2013, www.bali.bps.go.id. Denpasar: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali.
Denpasar and Gianyar Regency, which together account for 84% of the island’s hotel room provision.  

However, as revealed in numerous studies, Bali has been facing negative socio-cultural and environmental consequences from tourism development on the island that challenge its cultural and spiritual integrity (Brown, 2012; Cassrels, 2011; Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Hitchcock & Wesner, 2008; Manuaba, 1995a; Marshall, 2011; Picard, 2003; Raka Dalem, 2000; Shaw, 2000). Many chronic problems were documented by the Bali Human Ecology Study Group in 1990 (Bali-HESG, 1990), including competing demands on limited resources, such as land and water; environmental pressures; economic inequity; cultural dislocation; poor management; poor coordination; and financial shortages because of the strong dependence on external investment. More than two decades ago, the Bali Sustainable Development Project in 1992 attempted to address the issues of balancing the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of tourism development.

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6 Badung Regency, the city of Denpasar and Gianyar Regency together represent 46.31% of the population of Bali, but only 16.22% of its total land area.
(Martopo & Mitchell, 1995). The study recommended that sustainable development in Bali should be interpreted to include not only the protection of natural resources but also the continuity of cultural resources. However, in reality, expansive development in Bali has become more and more difficult to control and has transformed the landscape in the affected areas. These transformations are not driven solely by the tourism industry (through businesses and investments) and the national government’s programmes. Rather, such transformations are also deliberately created and decided by the Balinese collectively. The impact of tourism on people–place relationships, how Balinese people signify their place, and their attitudes towards tourism development in their locality are unclear. It is also doubtful that local communities appreciate the full effects such decisions might have on their lives.

Balinese people respect their surroundings through a set of values drawn from indigenous philosophies. With an understanding of the cultural dynamics in Bali, a 1989 study fused sustainable development concepts with Balinese–Hinduism values of *Tri Hita Karana*, (the three sources of happiness in life), namely *parahyangan* (a harmonious relationship between humans and God the Creator), *pawongan* (a harmonious relationship between humans) and *palemahan* (a harmonious relationship between humans and the environment) (Pusat Kajian Bali (PUSAKA BALI), 2000). Through widespread understanding and endorsement within Balinese society, *Tri Hita Karana* serves as the foundational principles of sustainable development in Bali. These have been discussed in academic discourse among Balinese scholars (Darma Putra, 2012; Manuaba, 1995a, 1995b; Pitana, 2008; Raka Dalem, 2000; Samadhi, 2001; Sulistyawati, 2000; Wiana, 2004a; Wiranatha, 2000; Yudiata, 2000). Within this philosophy and approach, Bali should be managed
according to Tri Hita Karana, but questions remain about how this philosophy can be actioned within a multicultural and multi-religious society.\(^7\)

A tourism development policy, *Peraturan Daerah (perda) No. 3 (Perda No. 3, 1991)*, was issued in 1991 by the Bali Provincial Government, stating that Bali should be developed with the platform of *pariwisata budaya* (cultural tourism). This policy and associated regulations aim to safeguard the richness of Balinese culture against the undesirable impacts of tourism development and potential harm to the socio-cultural dimensions of Bali. These regulations emphasise the symbolic value of ‘Balinese identity’ within the physical environment to promote a desirable cultural landscape. For example, Chapter 6, Section 16 of the regulations states that buildings in tourism areas should adhere to Balinese architectural principles. Since 1971, the government of Bali has ‘officially’ supported and expedited tourism development with culture as the central feature, alerting Balinese to the richness of their cultural capital (Picard, 1996; Yamashita, 2003). The regulations have recently been updated with similar objectives in 2012 on *kepariwisataan budaya Bali* or Balinese cultural tourism (*Perda No. 2, 2012*).

### 1.3 Changes to the Cultural Landscape of Bali

Although transformations in Bali are not only attributable to tourism, it is acknowledged that tourism brings considerable changes to the cultural landscape in Bali. These changes are further intensified by the increasing ownership of land by non-Balinese people (90% of beach areas in Bali are now owned by other Indonesian

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\(^7\) People who live in Bali are not only Balinese, but also originate from Java, Sumatra, Lombok, Madura and other parts of Indonesia with different cultural backgrounds, as well as expatriates of different nationalities. Communities in Bali (total population 3,890,756) nowadays consist of different religious groups, including Hindu (83.46%) and minority religions such as Islam (13.37%), Christian (2.46%), Buddhist (0.54%) and Confucians and other belief systems (0.16%) Source: Census 2010, BPS Provinsi Bali 2014 in Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. (2014). Bali Dalam Angka 2013, www.bali.bps.go.id. Denpasar: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali.
investors: Mason, 2003; Picard, 1992). The national government also contributes to this change. To satisfy national standards of townscape of the regencies, (given that Bali Province is centrally ruled by the national government), a number of places in Bali have seen their landscapes changed (Picard, 1992; Vickers, 1989, 2012). Since Bali became the primary tourist destination in Indonesia, decisions by both public authorities and the private sector have altered the local style of development to meet national and international standards and expectations with regard to tourism (Picard, 1992; Vickers, 1989, 2012).

Improved infrastructure, including new toll roads and the expansion of the airport, attracted Indonesian and foreign investors to build properties in Bali, such as hotels, apartments, housing and shopping malls. This was followed by an increase in Bali’s population due to long-term residents coming from other parts of Indonesia, turning some of the larger Balinese villages and towns into highly urbanised and multicultural places, especially in tourist areas in South Bali (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2014). Moreover, there has been substantial movement of workers, both Balinese and non-Balinese (mostly Indonesian nationals from other islands) within, from, and to the island (Cukier, 1998; Picard, 1992; Wall, 1998).

This situation is exacerbated by poor urban management as noticed in Sanur, Ubud, Kuta, Jimbaran and Nusa Dua, among of areas swamped by motorcycles, cars and street vendors, transformed formerly comfortable small towns into polluted and disordered urban areas. Furthermore, the uncontrolled development of buildings now dominate the environment as it becomes more populated, with very few intact open spaces with natural scenery. Pringle (2004), among many others, notes, for example, that ‘Bali makin jelek’ or ‘Bali is getting [physically] ugly’. He observed that in the south towards the capital city of Denpasar, traffic congestion is increasing, as it is in
the main tourist areas such as Balinese identity has been (re) constructed through the influence of tourism development. In light of these various pressures, this study investigates the current state of Balinese identity, how Balinese live with tourism and in modernity, and in an increasingly urbanised, multicultural and multi-religious society.

All of these changes render Bali susceptible to loss of identity and sense of belonging because of the loss of land ownership and the profound alteration of the landscape. As a cultural tourism destination, Bali’s land—visited and lived on by people—has become an important resource, leading to endless use conflicts. This issue is very much part of the contemporary everyday lives of Balinese people. As has happened in any other places where tourism is a significant source of local income, many Balinese people have sold their land as tourism has grown—it being far more profitable (at least in the short term) to sell than maintain ‘traditional’ economic activities.

Apart from the above causes, the change of Balinese cultural landscape is also arisen from the decision by agricultural landowners in Bali to sell their land is also due to technical difficulties in farming production, such as the lack of irrigation, unpredictable weather, crop diseases, and so on (Iqbal, 2007; Suputra, Ambarawati, & Tenaya, 2012; Windia, 2013). In addition, farmers have been faced with ever-higher annual land and property taxes due to the constant increase of land price driven by the high demand for investment in Bali.8 Further, local residents opt to sell or rent their property in order to achieve a modern lifestyle and to afford the rising living costs in Bali.9 Such the accumulated short-sighted individual decision makings

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8 Data from DPTPH (Department of Food Plants and Horticulture) of Bali Province in 2006 showed that from 2000 to 2005 there was an average 1.09% decrease of agricultural land on the island of Bali every year, from 85,776 hectares to 81,210 hectares. This trend is continuing (Iqbal, 2007).

9 As reported by the BPS central statistics agency, in 2012 Denpasar was ranked 18th out of 82 cities
by local community following the growth of tourism entails the regional problems in this island. Bali suffers from ‘the tyranny of small decisions’ (Kahn, 1966). The series of independent choices made locally involves not only the ecological problems that are distressing people (Odum, 1982), as observable in Bali; they also threaten Balinese cultural sustainability.

Although much land is being rented and sold, it is important to recognise that the prominent tourist places in Bali remain home to Balinese people who still live there and maintain strong cultural traditions. Whilst villages have become urbanised and the subsequent loss of agricultural land, transformed into residential, commercial places and tourist accommodation, puts Bali at risk because these changes seriously challenge the cultural and spiritual obligations of the Balinese people. Without more nuanced understanding, we might expect disparity between objectives of development and local values, despite the intentions and framework of cultural tourism. This research explores how tourism-led changes to land ownership in Bali influence the attachments between the Balinese people and their place and how it influences the place identity.

Concerning identity, it is important to note Bali has commonly been perceived as a single identity: the ‘Baliness of Balinese’\(^{10}\) people who live in the island of Bali (e.g. in studies by Covarrubias, 1937; Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Eiseman, 1990; Manuaba, 1995a, 1995b; Pitana, 2004; Reichle, 2010; Salain, 2000; Sutjipta, 2005; Vickers, 1989, 2012; Wiana, 2004b). The current practice of promoting ‘the island’ identity in Bali mostly addresses the protection of Balinese identity\(^{11}\) (which is, to

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\(^{10}\) The word ‘Balinese’ is contextual and contested. Balinese in this thesis refers to people and place related to Bali Island.

\(^{11}\) For example, propaganda around the term Ajeg Bali (meaning ‘erect Bali’) coined by a media group in a gathering of journalists, academics and politicians one year after the terrorist attacks in October
some extent, a political advantage) and this perspective leads to the homogenisation and standardisation of Balinese identity. In most studies about tourism in Bali (e.g. Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Manuaba, 1995a; Martopo & Mitchell, 1995; Picard, 1996, 2009; Raka Dalem, 2000; Shaw, 2000; Vickers, 1989, 2012; Wall, 1998; Wiranatha, 2000; Yamashita, 2003), the constructed place identity is largely concerned with Bali’s island-wide identity, which does not account for locality or utilise a place-specific approach.

According to local culture, however, every Balinese person is geographically bound with a particular place (traditional village) or desa adat, as well as being associated with Bali Island and the nation in general. The emotional relationships between the indigenous Balinese residents and their home places are real. For this reason, it is naive to look at Bali only from a whole island perspective and not from a community-specific standpoint. Very few Balinese or non-Balinese researchers delve into how Balinese as individuals and community (indigenous residents) are emotionally attached to their local environment and their places of residence, or how their self-identity is linked to localities.

1.4 The Significance of Place Attachment and Place Identity for Bali

This study embraces the notion that every place Balinese place possesses its own distinctiveness through people–place attachment. It acknowledges that each place in Bali is experiencing different stages of tourism development (Butler, 1980), requiring different strategies for planning and development. Prominent tourist places

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2002, and the slogan has been adopted in public discourse in Bali. it is also an indication of the exclusivity of indigenous Balinese (Picard, 2009).

12 As of 2012, Bali has 1,488 desa adat villages or traditional communities (grassroots) throughout the island. Badung Regency, the region where tourism is the major source of income, consists of 123 desa adat villages, which are classified in 46 kelurahan villages, under the administration of local and national government. Source: Pemerintah Provinsi Bali. (2014). www.baliprov.go.id. Retrieved 20 June 2014.
such as Kuta, Sanur, Nusa Dua, Ubud and others are all located in Balinese desa adat (traditional customary villages) that have been heavily exposed to tourism. As with other major tourist areas in Bali, these places are at different stages of development (low, moderate or high), which determines their level of dependency on tourism. Subsequently, the meanings of place for Balinese vary, as do people’s attitudes to tourism development. It is therefore instructive to consider more closely the Balinese communities in different areas, in order to consider the question of how tourism has changed the local community’s meanings of place. Place attachment promotes a sense of cultural identity and a sense of community distinctiveness that can assist when a community responds to change and tensions at the neighbourhood scale (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). Therefore, it is important to understand how communities perceive their environment and how community members feel about their community, as well as what these aspects might contribute to planning and development in their area.

The development of tourism within a Western conception might also have an effect on a local sense of place in Bali. It is therefore intriguing (as a local resident of Bali) to examine how tourism has been developed in the local community and whether it has influenced the residents’ perceptions of their sense of place. Balinese people are directly affected and they provide support to tourism development in their place. As tourism becomes ever more significant to the economic development of the island, it should be managed and planned in a responsible manner (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Reid, 2003). Moreover, it is also suggested that being a good place to live for its community is a prerequisite for a healthy tourist destination (Bushell, 2009; Federal Provincial Territorial Ministers of Culture and Heritage, 2012), since local sense of attachment is directly correlated with a sense of quality of life.
(DeMiglio & Williams, 2008; Eyles & Williams, 2008). Exploring a tourism destination with a local sense of place approach will contribute to tourism planning processes, especially where local culture is highly respected and valued by the community and the visitor.

Before exploring further, it is important to understand the indigenous values operating in the everyday life of Balinese and analyse the extent of place transformations for purposes of tourism impacts on local place attachment and place identity. As a Balinese person involved in tourism planning, I am in a position to address these questions from a culturally informed perspective. As I am working for the national government, the research will hopefully prove most beneficial.

### 1.5 Thesis Aim and Research Questions

This thesis investigates development issues in Bali using a local sense of place approach, unlike the approach of previous studies, which have taken an island-wide perspective. The research therefore refrains from presenting Bali as a destination with a ‘single’ community and socio-cultural geography. The aim of the research is to explore the ‘relationships between people and place’ in Bali, and place identity following extensive tourism development. The objectives are to investigate place attachment and place identity for those who live in tourist places in Bali, and to understand how tourism placemaking affects local identity. Further, the research will explore how sense of place might influence attitudes and behaviours, and how these in turn may contribute to an improved feeling of wellbeing for locals living in tourist precincts. Acknowledging that culture is vital for all communities and places, this thesis thus seeks to advance cultural tourism policy in Bali and provide direction to everyone involved in tourism planning.
This research asserts that place attachment can foster and sustain community and cultural identity after being exposed to tourism. Therefore, the research questions are:

1) How do Balinese people construct meanings about place and perform place attachment?
2) How do local residents value places in their locality after being altered by tourism?
3) Do locals (re) construct place identity after tourism development?
4) Could a ‘local sense of place’ approach inform tourism planning in Bali?

1.6 Study Areas

The research was conducted in two places: Jimbaran and Kuta in Bali (Figure 1.2), both of which have been exposed to tourism development. Jimbaran was a fishing village in South Bali before it became a prominent tourist precinct in the 1990s. The village has a long history as an early Balinese traditional settlement from the eleventh century. Seasonal farming, was previously practised by members of the Jimbaran community due to the aridity of the land.

Today, tourism has emerged as the main economic activity. The second study area is Kuta—the most visited tourist place in Bali since the 1930s. It was formerly a slave trading port of Balinese kingdoms during the Dutch colonial era in Indonesia. The village has been in contact with visitors and migrants throughout its history. As in Jimbaran, members of the founding community in Kuta were fishers and farmers. As tourism was introduced earlier to this area than in Jimbaran, such traditional occupations no longer exist in Kuta, as they have been superseded by tourism and service industries.
Figure 1.2: Jimbaran and Kuta in South Bali

There are a number of reasons behind the choice of the case studies. First, Jimbaran and Kuta represent Balinese villages that have become highly developed as tourism places. Both villages are of national importance for this reason, and were selected due to their large number of tourist accommodation places and tourist attractions—a measure of their strong dependency on tourism. This condition suggests that the local communities have experienced considerable physical and social transformations during tourism development, with consequences for the local sense of place.

Second, the two places represent different stages of tourism development in terms of the degree of economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts on their respective communities. From the socio-cultural perspective, while the two areas share Balinese values and geographical characters (being situated along Bali’s south-west coastline), and are separated only by one or two other villages and an airport, each possesses a distinct historical background of place established by their rooted (long-term) Balinese residents. Tourism development began earlier in Kuta (in the
early 1900s during the colonial period), whereas Jimbaran was developed as a planned resort according to national and island tourism development strategies, in particular the Bali cultural tourism policy.

Third and most importantly, the two ‘neighbouring’ villages are the best example of existing Balinese desa adat villages having ‘similar’ natural resources and geographical characters, yet holding different place meanings, performing different place attachments and (re)constructing different place identity after being exposed to tourism. Jimbaran and Kuta are comparable in their transformation from traditional fishing villages to modern beach destinations, with the associated implications for cultural sustainability.

This thesis explores both villages using two different ethnography methods. First, place attachments and place identity in Jimbaran are examined in fieldwork that employs photo-elicitation, interviews and focus groups. Second, digital ethnography is used to analyse contemporary conversations on local community online social media (Facebook), to understand how Balinese residents in Kuta signify their place after tourism in everyday life. Understanding the construction of place meanings by local communities using both fieldwork and online methods will uncover place attachment and place identity—the main questions of this research, which are important in preserving the Balinese culture while developing tourism on the island. This study investigates how the two Balinese places have been socially constructed and physically transformed since their first encounters with tourism and how local communities signified their places in local culture until tourism assumed its current prominent role in their everyday life. The thesis focuses on transformations that have resulted from tourism activities in the two case studies.

13 The further details and explanations about the two different research methods used are provided in Chapter 3.
(Jimbaran and Kuta), rather than simply examining the impacts of tourism *per se*.

### 1.7 Thesis Outline

It is clear that Bali needs to be approached in a ‘place by place’ basis. Therefore, this thesis looks at Bali in the context of ‘place’. Before exploring the Balinese case studies of Jimbaran and Kuta, Chapter 2 contextualises the theories involved, in order to examine the Balinese sense of place: such as the meaning of place and sense of place. It presents the dissertation’s core working concepts such as place attachment, place identity, spirit of place, place meaning and the role of community in placemaking. Tourism is considered in the context of local sense of place. This chapter considers how locals and tourists perceive the same place differently and how this issue is currently addressed in tourism planning. The chapter details the principal indigenous values of place in Bali that shape the Balinese mindset in relation to their environment in everyday life. It explains Balinese beliefs and perceptions of local people to their surroundings, the place–time–occasion principles, and the concept of traditional community of *desa adat* in Bali. All of these values are foundational in the construction of a Balinese sense of place.

Dual methods of researching Balinese community in their ‘real’ and ‘virtual’ setting are outlined in Chapter 3. The choice of case studies and the methods of data gathering and data analysis are presented. The chapter explains the methodologies applied in this research, including ethnography through traditional fieldwork in Jimbaran (observation, photo elicitation, interviews and focus groups) and digital ethnography in Kuta, mining the data from the local community’s Facebook group. It also discusses the techniques utilised in revealing local sense of place and answering the research questions, including ethical issues and limitations of the study.
Chapter 4 presents the Balinese *desa adat* of Jimbaran, characterised by both historical and cultural identity, before and after the village was exposed to tourism. This chapter demonstrates how Jimbaran communities maintain their traditions, values and respect for their village and the community to which they belong. Chapter 5 explores places that have significant meaning to residents and the notion of Jimbaran identity through people’s attachments with their place. This analysis involves memories and sense of belonging, and how the local identity exists in modernity. Chapter 6 reveals the transition from the former focus on ‘Balinese place’ into a ‘destination’, illustrating the transformations from local place into tourist place that are created by both local and non-local agencies. Local attitudes to tourism are revealed through their responses to social and environmental changes from the development of tourist facilities and tourism activities within their village. It also discloses the extent to which tourism might or might not penetrate into the spiritual realm of everyday life in Jimbaran.

Chapter 7 explores Kuta, also from the perspective of a rooted Balinese community in this *desa adat*. It begins with the historical background, addressing the former social status, invasion, trade, foreign influences to local values and early encounters with tourism that transformed the village into a tourist town. It observes the gradual shifts of landscape, through the changes of local traditional occupations into service industries after the depletion of agricultural land, the development of tourist resorts, and the extent to which this situation has disrupted place attachment. Local experiences of the industrial fluctuation and competition are presented, as the residents deal with social and environmental issues following the burgeoning of tourism and its influential shaping of the current meaning of place. Chapter 8 highlights local community’s aspirations about the development in Kuta. The role of
desa adat in Kuta in placemaking and maintaining the Balinese traditions for the villagers, and reinforcing village identity are also examined. Chapter 9 scrutinises community movements and local events (as reported in online discussions involving the Kuta Facebook Community), elucidating the importance of and the recuperation of local identity after tourism.

The closing chapter (10) begins with a reflection of the importance of place attachment and place identity for local communities in Bali and for sustaining Balinese culture. It is followed by recommendations related to how a local sense of place approach might advance the cultural tourism and planning practices on this island. Within the cultural context of sense of place, the final chapter suggests that a (geographically bounded) local community plays a central role in defining the future of Bali, as well as in (re)shaping Balinese identity.
Chapter 2: The Balinese Sense of Place

2.1 Introduction

To understand the notion of place attachment and place identity in Bali, this chapter provides theoretical underpinnings around the Balinese sense of place. Local Balinese values of place are presented to provide context for the conceptual framework for this thesis. The absence of terminologies of sense of place in the Balinese (local) context makes it necessary to begin this chapter with conceptual definitions of the meanings that people ascribe to the place they experience or in which they live, and early work on sense of place in a Western context. This discussion is followed by a critical review of the literature around place attachment and place identity, which builds understanding of the importance of these concepts to local communities.

Previous studies of sense of place, particularly those associated with tourism, are interrogated, providing the rationale for the study. Balinese values that characterise place attachment and identity in Bali are thoroughly explored. The discussion of this section centres on how the notion of a Balinese sense of place is conceived, bringing my own cultural belonging to this discussion to comprehend how Western concepts of sense of place ‘work’ in Balinese culture.

2.2 The Meanings of Place

The eminent American cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, focused on the experiential properties of space, reminding us that people do not live in a framework of geometric relationships but in ‘a world of meaning’. Tuan employed the term ‘topophilia’ to
describe the affective ties of people to the material environment and ‘topophobia’ referring to fears that people associate with specific places. His work alerted geographers to the idea that spaces have a sensual, aesthetic and emotional dimension (Tuan, 1974). In a later work, Tuan (1977) emphasised that place does not have any particular scale associated with it but is created and maintained through the ‘fields of care’ that result from people’s emotional attachment. Place has been described by various scholars (de Carteau, 1984; Heidegger, 1962; Lefebvre, 1984; Massey, 1994; Tuan, 1974) as being space imbued with meanings. In this respect, places are integrated into the purposeful arrangements of all human consciousness and experience (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). The designated meanings are derived from the objects and features of the world that people experience. Therefore, places are profound centres of human existence, where people were born, grow up, live or move. In their early works, Relph (1976) and Tuan also emphasised that this association with profound experiences sets place as a point of departure from which people orient themselves in the world. Our ability to identify a space, for example, depends on the perpetual knowledge we have of the spaces we inhabit.

As place has multiple interpretations, there is a degree of confusion in defining the concept because of different perspectives and shifting paradigms. Tuan asserts that a place is seen to be largely individualistic, although attachments and meanings were often shared; in other words, places are experienced and understood differently by different people, although there is a shared dimension. Thus, while experience is individual, it is, equally, communal. Designating the meanings of place involves subjectivity as different people ascribe different interpretations (Steele, 1981; Tuan, 1977). Some people may hold multiple values for a place (such as significant emotional, economic, cultural and/or historical values), which are then further
ingrained in their local, regional and national identities. Modern developments in information and technology have resulted in a shift in conventional notions of place, from ‘coherent, bounded and settled’ to ‘diluted, diffused’ ‘space(s) of flows’, or fluid (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Castells, 1989; Crouch, 2002), stretched out and boundless (Areﬁ, 1999).

Corresponding to earlier theorisation, present-day researchers support the humanistic perception of place. This approach suggests the notion that place is not solely related to geographical location but also to the people who are engaged in the area (Farnum et al., 2005; Hillier & Rooksby, 2002; Jiven & Larkham, 2003; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014; Relph, 1976; Stedman, 2003; Tuan, 1977; Urry, 1995; Vanclay, 2008). Place does not exist independently of those involved with it. So there are no physical boundaries, objects, structures or buildings that are necessarily implicated (Townend & Whittaker, 2011). By these definitions, places are constructed from many spaces14 as humans interact with the environment (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). Vanclay (2008), consistent with Tuan (1977) and Relph (1976) assert that place has a biophysical characteristic as a foundation for personal meanings. Place has been perceived as a complex structure that encompasses a physical setting as well as human experience and interpretation (Relph, 1976; Stedman, 2003; Tuan, 1977).

The meaning of place is also conceptualised as having a cultural dimension: place can be expressed with symbolic representation. Tuan (1977) points also to place being socially and culturally constructed. With this understanding, a place

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14 ‘Space’, since its early introduction as a paradigm, has been denoted as a fixed geographical entity (e.g. as suggested by Tuan, 1977 and Relph, 1976) in which people invest meaning; this view remains supported by recent thinkers such as Cresswell (2004), Hague (2005) and Malpas (1999). However, this understanding has been contested by postmodernists (e.g. Lefebvre, 1991, Amin & Thrift, 2002 and Crouch, 2002) with their assertion that space per se is created by human intervention. In this respect, similar to place, space is socially produced for further utilisation.
emerges from interpreted engagement with time, stories, associations, people, buildings, structures, objects and natural features. As people may alter the meanings of place in response to a change in the physical landscape, Stedman (2003) suggests that it is crucial to understand how people invest their places with meanings through representations. From this perspective, symbols and meanings are used to create landscapes that reflect how individuals define themselves (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009).

Place may also offer the experience of ‘being inside’ by its physical qualities of having distinctive boundaries—such as being in a walled town or a particular enclave (Tuan, 1977). Similarly, place may somehow create the feeling that it ‘stands out’ from the surrounding area; for instance, the way parks within a city are marked out. Place consists of human practices that activate at the local level, with people going about everyday life, being at home, passing playgrounds, using streets, pubs, areas of pleasure, workplaces and so on. It is important to recognise these components as mutually engaged and engaging, inter-penetrated and inter-penetrating. In this way, the terms ‘space’ and ‘place’ remain a practical way of thinking about what people do, and ‘what people do’ amounts to practice. Practice includes actions and the full range of influences, activations and processes from the point of view of people operating in a complex world of various contexts.

Place, as a genre, is often reduced to the three elements of locale, location and sense of place (Agnew & Duncan, 1989). In this usage, locale primarily deals with social relationships, whereas location emphasises how economic transactions shape and affect the conception of place, and sense of place examines people’s ties and attachment to their places, or what some have called the ‘structure of feeling’ about place (Arefi, 1999). Arefi (1999) argues that the spatial variation of size in different
geographical contexts such as village, town, city, island, country, and so on, requires different analyses and perspectives.

Different disciplines address certain components of place; however, perspectives differ, depending upon vested objectives. For example, from an economic perspective, the aim of transforming the value of space is primarily to cater for people’s needs (Cawley, 2010). Human geographers, on the other hand, generally focus on the issues related to sense of place or people’s attachment to and conception of their environment (Altman & Low, 1992; Relph, 2008b; Tuan, 1977). Arefi (1999) argues that the provision of a narrative of place is essential in architecture and urban planning to protect identity and geographical character. In this respect, place is considered as the backdrop of architectural and urban design. In heritage and archaeology, on the other hand, place is the main component in assessing the local character in developing community-based heritage projects (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011).

Corresponding to the elusive concept of space, the contemporary discourse on place has been considerably transformed in the last few decades (Arefi, 1999; Lewicka, 2011). This transformation has encompassed both the production and the meaning of place, largely influenced by modernity and globalisation. ‘Place as process’ is therefore a conceptualisation grounded in change and dynamism. The pace of the evolving process has quickened as it is influenced by globalisation, as well as by technology and mobility (Barenholdt et al., 2004; Crang & Coleman, 2002; Eyles & Williams, 2008; Hultman & Hall, 2011). Globalisation and new digital technologies (e.g. new media, the internet and social networking) will undoubtedly, to some extent, influence the future of sense of place (Meyrowitz, 1985; Wellman & Haythornthwaite, 2002). Despite the inevitable challenges about
its conception and existence, prominent researchers believe that place ‘still matters’ (Relph, 2008a, 2008b; Schofield & Szymanski, 2011; Vanclay, 2008), and that attachment to places remains strong (Carter, Dyer & Sharma, 2007; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Kianicka, Buchecker, Hunziker & Muller-Boker, 2006; Sampson & Goodrich, 2009; Vedru, 2011). Massey (1995) also suggested that places and the social relationships within and between them are the result of particular arrangements of power, whether it is individual and institutional, or imaginative and material. This approach makes places interrelated and interdependent.

2.3 Conceptualising ‘Sense of Place’

As place relates to and has currency in many fields, researchers continue to conceptualise notions of sense of place from a number of different perspectives. Consulting all scholarly works using the term *sense of place* is not feasible as it has been widely theorised (DeMiglio & Williams, 2008; Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004; Relph, 1976; Shamai, 1991). In human geography, for example, the concept of sense of place has been debated for over 30 years (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). In this context, some researchers adopt non-positivistic views and adapt the meaning of sense of place phenomenologically (as used by individual subjects), rather than trying to define the concept precisely. In his seminal work, Relph (1976) notes that all definitions of sense of place are arbitrary. Thus, my intention is to explore how it is conceptualised in Western literature and how these understandings fit in a particular non-Western context.

Sense of place has been widely researched in both the social and natural sciences. A number of studies have formulated the concept quantitatively (e.g. Carter
et al., 2007; Hay, 1998; Shamai, 1991; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). However, most research is approached qualitatively (e.g. Farnum et al., 2005; Harrington, 2007; Hay, 1998; Jiven & Larkham, 2003; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Kianicka et al., 2006; Townend & Whittaker, 2011; Williams & Stewart, 1998). Sense of place has been studied in both Western and non-Western settings, but mostly from a Western perspective (e.g. Gu & Ryan, 2008; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). There is a significant body of literature on the topic across the fields of urban planning, urban design, human geography, architecture, social impacts assessment, environmental psychology and many other ‘place’-related disciplines (Eyles & Williams, 2008; Hayllar, Griffin, & Edwards, 2008; Relph, 2008; Vanclay, 2008). Similar to the concept of place, sense of place also deals with many aspects resulting in a degree of ambiguity (Relph, 1976; Shamai, 1991). In the glossary of terms of *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Hubbard et al. (2004, p. 351) define sense of place as a central concept in humanistic geography [that] refers to ‘particular ways in which people invest their surrounding with meaning’. More specifically, according to Foote & Azaryahu (2009, p. 96) sense of place is:

the emotive bonds and attachments, both positive and negative that people develop or experience in particular locations and environments. It is also used to describe the distinctiveness or unique character of particular localities and regions.

From a cultural perspective, Schofield and Szymanski (2011, p. xvii) define sense of place as:

the emotional attachment people have to the places they hold dear, this sense of place can equate with what has been termed ‘the lure of the local’, with its concern for the familiar—the place where we live, or where we
lived when we were children. It is also about rootedness, belonging, stability and identity.

Both definitions suggest the construct of sense of place as relational, as something between humans and their environments; however, the relationship, like meaning of place, varies between individuals because it is subjective. Sense of place is a personal matter; it is what individuals feel matters most, and what it is that characterises a space as important to them, such as a neighbourhood.

At an individual level, people can recall a place because of its smell and appearance, for example, and make sense of their personal experiences in a place via a complex interplay of the cognitive and the somatic. Steele (1981) affirmed smell, sound and sight as triggers to the memories of place with a short-term influence on the sense of place. These senses are powerful and contribute to the specialness or ‘sense of place’ in particular settings through images, thoughts and feelings associated with them when people experience a place. Similarly, Vanclay (2008) concurs that sense of place is about the senses. People may, for example, be aware of the feel and the smell of a place. It is a synesthetic faculty to interpret a place by using our human senses, combining sight, hearing, smell, movement, touch, imagination, purpose and anticipation (Relph, 1976). Relph (2008a) also suggests that if the relationship between humans and place takes place in the most familiar place like home or hometown, or when people have a strong sense of place, the attachment partly becomes ‘natural’. Correspondingly, place is experienced viscerally and not just visually. According to Steele (1981), sense of place is not limited simply to the experience of which the person is consciously aware; it includes unnoticed influences, such as a consistent avoidance of doing certain things in a particular place. However, even though such places are significant to particular
individuals or groups, it is probable they have little visual importance because they become mundane in daily life and people become less conscious of their surroundings until they (almost) disappear (Williams & Stewart, 1998). Schofield & Szymanski (2011) further suggest that sense of place is something people feel strongly about, where they respond individually to locality and the culture with which they are familiar helps to enlarge, diminish, shape or transform the meanings of place. In this context, people signify the physical environment with a set of associated values (see Figure 2.1).

![Local Significance](image)

**Figure 2.1: Socio-cultural values of place (adapted from Townend & Whittaker, 2011)**

With these tenets, sense of place should also include interpretations of people’s histories and their self-interested attempts to create places, such as those associated with boundary making, place naming, offensive and defensive tactics, claims about the appropriateness of and priorities for, memorialising, building, promoting and the
development of formal policies favouring particular groups, cultural practices and land uses (Massey, 1994, 1995).

2.4 The Framework of Sense of Place

Unlike other potentially place-related terms (such as social capital or social cohesion), sense of place is exclusively place based. Forestry scientists Williams and Stewart (1998) described in detail elements of sense of place. First, there are the emotional bonds between people and place; second, a strong feeling of values, meanings and symbols (which are hard to identify and quantify but which require familiarity); third, the unconscious valued qualities; fourth, continuous constructed and reconstructed meanings; and fifth, the awareness of the cultural, historical and spatial context within the formation of place meanings. These various conceptualisations consistently portray sense of place as something that reflects human beings and places as being inseparable. Given place is such a ‘multi-faceted’ concept, terms related to sense of place are applied in this thesis in order to illustrate the concept appropriately in the context of place attachment and place identity.

Eyles (1985, pp. 122–126) found the following main types of senses of place articulated by his research participants:

1) Social sense of place occurs where place is socially significant and social relationships have place significance.

2) Apathetic–acquiescent sense of place is the condition of no strong sense of place at all. Underlying this sense of place is the notion (felt by some) that place is largely meaningless because of a lack of possibilities for controlling one’s place.

3) Instrumental sense of place occurs where place is a means to an end and its significance depends on the availability of goods, services and/or opportunities.
4) Nostalgic sense of place occurs where the feelings that dominate place consciousness draw upon the past.

5) Commodity sense of place: place is seen as an ideal place that is quiet and safe and has certain valued facilities and types of residents, such that the place is purchasable, useable, exchangeable and saleable, and able to be discarded for another after a time.

6) Platform or stage sense of place: place is regarded as being like a stage on which life is performed. It is similar to a ‘commodity’ sense of place, but distinguished from it by the establishment of stronger, longer lasting social attachment to place.

7) Family sense of place: consists of family interactions and attachments.

8) Way-of-life sense of place is where the life stories of people are deemed to be embedded.

9) Roots sense of place is something that refers to the un-self-conscious attachment to place because of a long-term engagement with the place.

10) Environmental sense of place is where place is a predominantly aesthetic experience.

These major themes related to different senses of place confirm a core feature: individuals and communities may ascribe different meanings or values to places. Such people–place relationships are dynamic because people experience changes in their social environment in given particular settings.

Sense of place can also play a significant role in determining the quality of life\(^\text{15}\) of people (Bushell, 2009; Eyles & Williams, 2008). Bushell (2009) argues that the

\[^{15}\text{WHO (1997) defines quality of life as the individual’s perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concern. This is a broad ranging concept affected in a complex way by the person’s physical health, psychological state, level of independence, social relationships, personal beliefs and relationships to salient features of their environment: World Health Organization. (1997). Program on Mental Health: \textit{WHOQOL Measuring Quality of Life} Geneve: World Health Organization.}\]
quality of life of a place will determine the likelihood of people’s preference for a
place to live, work or visit. In relation to tourism and wellness, she also emphasises
that quality of life includes the physical and social attractiveness of a place. It relates
to both individual and social wellbeing in relation to a place’s functional status,
access to resources and opportunities offered. Further, it includes both the tangible
and intangible values of the place. In general, sense of place satisfies the domain of
quality of life, as suggested by the World Health Organization (WHO, 1997, 2004),
as this concept embraces psychological wellbeing, social relationships and
environmental support.

2.5 Place Attachment

Place attachment—the focus of this thesis—is the central idea of sense of place.
According to Hernandez et al. (2007, p. 310), place attachment constitutes an
‘affective bond that people establish with specific areas where they prefer to remain
and where they feel comfortable and safe’. As a term close in meaning to sense of
place, ‘place attachment’ refers to the extent to which an individual has positive
feelings about their local environment and/or community (Vanclay, 2008). Some
studies of place refer to place attachment as an integral and important element of
sense of place, to reflect the ‘degree’ of a person’s sense of place (Altman & Low,
1992; Farnum et al., 2005; Hillier & Rooksby, 2002; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001;
term ‘place attachment’ to refer to the phenomenon of human–place bonding, by
emphasising that emotion and positive feelings are central to the concept and that
they are often accompanied by cognitive aspects such as thoughts, knowledge and
beliefs as well as behavioural aspects. For example, as a reflection of their historical
backgrounds and memory, some people may enhance the experience of living in their town through various community initiatives to protect the heritage landscape (Miller, McCall, & Eyles, 2008). From this emotional engagement to a place, people demonstrate their responses to locality and develop local traditions, and value their place as a significant element in the community.

This study focuses on indigenous residents, as this group of people has lived together in a particularly geographical setting for a long time and their perceptions characterise the place and the local sense of place. There is a strong correlation between the level of place attachment and the length of residency (Hernandez et al., 2007). In this regard, rootedness is a term used to express personal close attachment to a place and a deeper spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular. It is the attachment that constitutes our roots in places as a result of long habitation in one locality (Tuan, 1980, p. 4), even ‘by the incuriosity toward the world and insensitivity toward the flow of time’. Deeply rooted people have lived in their respective home ground for a very long time; consequently, they have become not only culturally adapted to the environment but also biologically adapted (Hummon, 1992; Tuan, 1980). Hummon (1992) defines sense of place as community sentiment, which appears in two different rootedness types. The first is everyday rootedness—self-consciousness about the individual’s relationship to the community, which is usually simple and thus taken for granted. The second is ideological rootedness—the strong feelings of satisfaction, attachment and sense of home or ‘insideness’ that are combined with sentiments. However, the notion of rootedness is somewhat different to sense of place because sense of place also derives from intellectual processes, as people learn from their movements from place to place and
start developing a connection to a place (Hay, 1998; Hillier & Rooksby, 2002; Vanclay, 2008).

The reason for studying place attachment is that it has an important role in providing sense of control and feeling of security in a person’s life. According to Altman & Low (1992), the role and purposes of place attachment include security, exploration, predictability, control, individual and group, and cultural identity. At one level of analysis, place attachment may provide a sense of daily and enduring security and stimulation, with places and objects offering ‘predictable’ facilities, opportunities to relax from away formal roles, the chance to be creative and to control aspects of one’s life. At another level, place attachment may link people with friends, partners, children and relatives in an open and observable manner. It may bond people to others symbolically, providing reminders of childhood or earlier life, parents, friends, ancestors and others. Further, place attachments may link people to religion, nation or culture by means of abstract symbols associated with places, values and beliefs (Low & Altman, 1992).

Place attachment may also suggest identity construction and preservation for individuals. In this regard, place attachment plays a role in fostering self-esteem, self-worth and self-pride. Thus, attachment to place is central to self-definitional processes, such as strengthening an individual’s self-image and helping to retain a positive self-concept as an individual’s life and circumstances change. The psychological and social functions of place attachments are also implied in Proshansky et al.’s (1983, p. 59) statement:

memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, and meanings that relate to the everyday physical setting in which people function constitute place identity—which itself is an aspect of a person’s self-identity.
Place attachment allows individuals to construct identity because the array of symbolic meaning that is drawn upon during the process of attachment provides what Hummon (1992) refers to as a locus of the self, which arises from locales that are at once ecological and social environments. Personal experiences within particular settings permeate landscape with shared and individual meanings because of lived experience. Identity and belonging can be created, constructed, shaped and maintained through engaging in practices and behaviours that connect individuals to particular landscapes (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). As such, according to Proshansky and colleagues, place identity helps to define who and of what value the person is, both to oneself and in terms of how someone thinks of others (Proshansky et al., 1983, p. 74).

It is important to highlight that place attachment is not only related to the ‘physical place’. In many respects, it may not be attachment to a particular place that is central. Rather, it may be affective attachment to ideas, people, psychological states, particular environmental, and settings through which individuals, groups and cultural processes are manifested (Riley, 1992). Attachment can also be made through possession, in the way that such possessions can give people a sense of identity, or, as Belk explains, ‘a sense of who they are, where they come from and where they are going’ (Belk, 1992, p. 37). According to Belk, this kind of attachment ‘provides people with sense of security’ (p. 45), as well as the references for decisions about ‘what to preserve and save’ (p. 55). The place, may, therefore, be either a medium or a milieu that embeds and serves as a repository of a variety of attachments central to those experiences, and inseparable from them (Tuan, 1974, 1977). This thesis also addresses loss of land possession as an important issue in the Balinese community after the growth of tourism and how this issue has influenced
local sense of place and wellbeing, with feelings of security forming an important component of wellbeing.

It has been observed that positive emotional relationships to a place will be followed by positive behaviours towards a place. Vycinas (1961) notes that for people with positive attachment there exists a very real sense of responsibility and respect for place—both for itself and for what it indicates to the individual and the community. This idea may represent a complete commitment to that place, a profound obligation for taking care of something that is the essence of human relationship with the world (Vycinas, 1961). According to Malpas, such commitment and responsibility entail what Heidegger\(^{16}\) called ‘letting’ things or ‘sparing’ (Malpas, 2006). In this context, places should be allowed to be the way they are; we should develop a tolerance for them in their own essence, through building and cultivating without trying to subordinate them to human will. Sparing, as Heidegger described as ‘letting be’, is a willingness to leave places alone, not to change them casually or arbitrarily, and not to exploit them. Heidegger also suggests that ‘being in’\(^{17}\) was tied to residing or dwelling. Dwelling, for Heidegger, is to remain, to stay in a place. It involves familiarity and a sense of looking after or taking care, preserving and sparing from harm—as tied to a certain space and place. In this respect, place attachment engenders a sense of responsibility (Relph, 1976) and people with strong place attachment are more likely to have place commitment (Vanclay, 2008). Vanclay (2008) describes place commitment as ‘the extent to which individuals are willing to contribute to their local place’ (p. 8). Psychological research on the

\(^{16}\) *Letting be* always lets beings be in a particular comportment, which relates to them and thus discloses them it conceals beings as a whole. Letting be is intrinsically at the same time a concealing: see Heidegger, M. (1961). *On the Essence of Truth* (J. Sallis, Trans. Fourth ed.).

\(^{17}\) The idea of ‘being-in’ (*da sein*) introduces the concept of situatedness. Being in something (in space, at a location) treats it as a matter of spatial containment, which appears very close to the concept of ‘being in a place’: see Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time* (J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson, Trans.). New York: Harper and Row.
relationships among cognition, attitude, identity and behavioural intentions located in
and fundamentally about place reveals that attachment, meanings and personal
satisfaction to a place influence the willingness to engage in behaviours that maintain
or enhance valued attributes of the place (Stedman, 2002). In this case, care of a
place involves more than having a concern for it based on certain past experiences
and future expectations (Relph, 1976; Shamai, 1991). Kudryavtsev et al. (2011) also
suggest that place attachment fosters ‘pro-environmental’ behaviour (as found in
some empirical studies), such as the propensity for reducing energy consumption,
maintaining environmental quality (e.g. water quality and scenery), and volunteering
for park projects that contribute to reduce environmental problems.

People’s attachments to their place are also manifested through actions. It is
therefore important to know how people act in multiple ways to build and celebrate
their connection to place. Termed placemaking, these activities can include the
investment in physical changes of the landscape or setting about to make individuals
want to be there (Vanclay, 2008). Placemaking involves a combination of skills,
interests, social commitment and professional orientation for someone to be able to
extend responsibility to the neighbourhood or place in which they live, so as to create
or modify the physical settings in order to shape people’s experience along certain
patterns, sequences and occasions (Relph, 2008b; Steele, 1981). When someone has
these abilities, they have a role in a particular geographical area as a ‘placemaker’
(Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Relph, 2008b; Vanclay, 2008). In this context, a
(created) sense of place is the result of the placemaking process (Foote & Azaryahu,
2009).

The process of placemaking is also observable in the transformation of places
into tourism destinations. A destination should possess a uniqueness or peculiarity to
differentiate itself to other places (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). Tourism as the element of globalisation is deemed to largely contribute to the disappearance of vernacular landscapes and a sense of placelessness through homogenisation and standardisation of landscapes (Relph, 1976, 2008a, 2008b; Smith, 2007). To a greater extent, tourism development can erode a local sense of place, traditions and the meaning of place through the pressure of globalisation (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009; Smith, 2007); therefore potential impacts should be considered in planning and regulations.

2.6 Place Attachment and Community

Central to constructing the meaning of place is the role of community as a spatial unit that consists of individuals who concentrate into a defined territory. Community, which is a central focus of this thesis and therefore discussed extensively, refers to a group of people with spatial, social and normative components (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). Through its membership and collectivism, a community has the capacity to connect individuals to societies and facilitate social interactions in shared spaces of places and identity. ‘Community’ contributes through meaningful participation, expressions and protection of places (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; George, Mair & Reid, 2009). The relationships between place and community are integral, especially in resource-based contexts. In this regard, community, according to Pedlar, refers to ‘some sense of place, psychological involvement, social interaction, and feelings of connectedness’ (Pedlar, 1996, p. 9). The notion of place is ultimately constructed around what a particular place means and how a group of people evaluates it based on collective meanings. People can make attachments to different place scales. Neighbourhoods are important socio-spatial contexts in which a sense of place develops (Manzo, 2008). Many studies focus on this scope (Lewicka, 2010).
However, Lewicka (2010) suggests that place attachment should also be observed at different place scales, such as cities, city district, dwelling and home, in addition to neighbourhood ties.

Sense of place becomes important in the everyday life of communities (Farnum, et al., 2005; Stedman, 2003; Stedman, Amsden & Kruger, 2006). Local community as a unit of analysis has been used to investigate the place attachments of local residents in a tourism-dependent area (Amsden et al., 2011; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). Mutual relationships between the inhabitants and their place is also evident in a study by Sampson and Goodrich (2009), who explored how the community and the attributes of landscape and setting shaped personal identity related to ways that individuals develop an attachment to place in New Zealand. Communities bring with them a specificity that binds them to particular settings, while the sites provide a set of restrictions to the opportunities of what can be representatively drawn upon. In this manner, it is argued that character is still culturally replicated or reconstructed but it draws upon particularised attributes within particularised landscapes. This thesis draws on those recommendations that environment should include the social setting. Therefore, ritual ceremonies in each temple have a different schedule and are undertaken by a different group of worshippers or community.

Sense of place and residential place attachments are connected to a sense of wellbeing in important ways. Eyles (1985) identified three elements of community that enrich a notion of place: (1) the physical environment itself; (2) people and their institutions; and (3) a sense of belonging. Thus, place is not a mere container of experience; it is part of people’s lived experience. For this reason, wellbeing is an elastic and multidimensional concept that refers to a variety of phenomena. It has been equated to life satisfaction; basic need fulfilment and happiness. Wellbeing is
aligned with the ‘capabilities approach’, which connects wellbeing to a person’s capability to achieve valuable functioning (Sen, 1993). Place attachment and social support within a neighbourhood can, it is argued; greatly facilitate those goals, from the sense of wellbeing derived from sense of place (DeMiglio & Williams, 2008). Considering this spatial dimension-involving environment suggests that place attachment has to do with the perceived supportiveness of the environments in meeting people’s goals. Beyond the individual level of analysis, Sampson and Goodrich (2009) argue that place attachment can foster and sustain group, community and cultural identity, such as having a sense of unique cultural identity and a sense of community distinctiveness, how the community or culture responds to crisis or when they experience the urban neighbourhood change, racial and ethnic conflict or nationalistic tension. Despite its significance, place attachment at a community level rarely receives attention from those concerned with local planning and policy. This component will be a focus of this thesis.

2.7 Place Identity

As discussed earlier, tourism is deemed an agent of change to local culture and identity. Tourism brings modernity and multicultural society, and involves cultural commodification in destination communities through a complex series of production activities (Cohen, 1988; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Urry & Larsen, 2011). This study emphasises that place has also become increasingly important in cultural processes, affirming the nexus between places and culture. In relation to place-based communities, place identity describes residents’ concepts of themselves as being located in a particular space and time; as members of a community and cultural group (Stephenson, 2010). As studied in different disciplines, a common theme is
that culture and identity are not just about social relationships, but are also spatial interactions with emotional, social and cultural significance, important facets of both self-identity and group identity. Massey (1991, 1995), however, argued that the concept of place is not static, having no clear boundaries and is embedded in multiple identities. Such a conceptualisation recognises the unique character of a local place. Massey (1991) introduced this idea as ‘a global sense of the local, a global sense of place’. It suggests that place, in a contemporary setting, no longer possesses a single identity. Thus, it could be argued that research about a place should develop from this perspective. Identity is also frequently linked to particular places or spaces that are used and shaped by people of various backgrounds (Anheier & Raj Isar, 2011). Often, these places—as they are modern and busy—provide the foundation for creativity and new cultural development. Bali, as everywhere, has become a centre of cultural activity. Even in small places, significant cultural productions have been generated, in small clusters of multi-ethnic urban communities that become known widely (Anheier & Raj Isar, 2011). This study therefore considers that places in Bali should be perceived as the cultural production of Balinese identities.

Place identity as one of the discourses in this thesis is a substructure of self-identity (Pellow, 1992). It emphasises the role of place in the self-concept of a person or a group and develops after the process of place attachment, defined as ‘a component of personal identity, a process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place’ (Hernandez et al., 2007, p. 310). It contains ‘memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being’ (Proshansky et al., 1983, p. 59).
Place identity is often derived from a landscape,\(^\text{18}\) which from a social constructivist perspective, ‘is a symbolic environment created by a human act of conferring meaning on nature and the environment’ (Greider & Garkovich, 1994 p. 1). Over time, landscapes become a form of codified history (the present landscape containing historical features) with perceptions and values attached to place as memories that in turn become associated with a particular location (Stephenson, 2010, p. 15). Place-based stories, customs and myths affirm these as enduring relationships between people and place. This study recorded these people–place relationship activities taken from the everyday life of community, as well as people’s social interactions in both real and virtual (online) settings. They reveal how the residents indicate a particular area or landscape as their identity. As such, people’s surroundings—considered as ‘landscape’ or place—carry multiple meanings that reflect the cultural identities of those people that relate to them. In this regard, landscape is understood and perceived by anybody who engages with it, as bearing multi-layered meanings and symbols, and being laden with knowledge and memory (Steele, 1981; Vedru, 2011). As place continues to change as a result of transformation and development, the role of memory is crucial in shaping current place meanings as recalled experiences (Barenholdt et al., 2004; Keitumetse, McAtackney & Senata, 2011; Marcus, 1992). In this way, place identity is a substructure of self-identity and its associated cognitions—‘the ‘environmental past’ of the person, in other words, a past consisting of places, spaces (and their properties)

\(^{18}\) As with space and place, landscape is a concept with different connotations for different commentators. For some, landscape is an area that can be mapped and explored for the traces of its making; for others; a distinctive way of representing and making space that involves the imbrication of knowledge and power (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004, p. 495). Physically, landscape from a geographical perspective is formed by nature such as land, sky, air, vegetation, which are influenced by humans (Steele, 1981), for example, a cityscape.
that have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person’s biological, psychological, social and cultural needs’ (Proshansky et al., 1983, p. 59).

Place identity is perceived from its physical setting that defines what type of place it is; therefore the physical setting has an important role in flagging the place identity. ‘Placelessness’, or the situation in which there is no place identity or a lack of sense of place, happens when places are stripped of their unique attributes and commonalities, thus compromising place identity (Arefi, 1999; Relph, 1976, 2008a). Placelessness manifests in uniformity, standardisation and disconnection from context and, in this respect, ‘if a place is somewhere, placelessness could be anywhere’ (Relph, 2008a). This condition will widen the gap between the meaning and the physical characteristics of the setting making it difficult to hold on to one’s place meanings. Bali, the focus of study in this research, has Balinese architecture that permeates indigenous character through the built environments and signifies a strong local identity. According to local regulation (Perda No. 5, 2005), Balinese architecture is recommended in all public places including commercial buildings in Bali. Empirically, the application of local architectural style is intended to strengthen Balinese identity and preserve the artistic Balinese cultural landscape in general (Salain, 2000). In this regard, place identity embraces the social and geographical contexts of place bonds and the sensing of places through aesthetics that enhances a local sense of place.

Lifetime experience also contributes to identity. Place attachment links to the significance of someone’s life events, key developmental themes or identity processes (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). Every person creates for themselves a particularised version of the collective life course—a life story—depending on their specific experiences and meanings attached to them (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992,
Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) suggest that place identity might be seen as the self-perceived strength of association for an individual that indicates ‘place dependence’ (Goodrich & Sampson, 2008; Vanclay, 2008) in the way that an environment can serve someone’s needs. A similar process similarly happens collectively in the community setting. In this regard, community also consists of the life course as a cultural construct that is socially normative and collectively outlined. Community attachment, as referred to by Hummon (1992), is the lengthy residency in a community environment involving kin, organisational memberships and local places that is saturated with shared memories of significant life experience. This thesis will investigate how people’s feelings about living as a community with their social and ecological experience can construct their identity. For this purpose, places as shared identity will be examined for their capacity to satisfy the needs of the local community.

2.8 The Spirit of Place

One of human beings’ psychological connections with a place occurs by imbuing the environment with spiritual values. Termed as spirit of place19 or genius loci, it refers to qualities of a place that make it special to individuals (Relph, 2008b; Vanclay, 2008). Spirit of place is an ancient and persistent idea: the ancient Romans believed that places, like people, had inner spirits that determined their essences. According to the ancient Romans, genius loci meant that places were safeguarded by spirits (Relph, 1976; Sime, 1986). Similar to the possibility of reading a person’s character

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19 The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) declared the preservation of spirit of place and defined spirit of place as the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.); that is, the physical and spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place. See ICOMOS. (2008). Québec Declaration on The Preservation of The Spirit of Place. City of Québec: ICOMOS.
or spirit from observing the particularities of his or her face, it was believed the spirit of place could be defined by paying attention to a place’s individual features (Thompson, 2003, p. 67). Evidence from different cultures suggests that in a particular place, people believe it to be not only their home but also the home of their guarding spirits and Gods (Tuan, 1977). Being elusive as a sense of place, the existence of spirit of place in a real setting is not only natural, such as endemic species and exotic natural scenery, but it can also perform as a product or attribute of a particular culture, or attractions such as a recreation park, entertainment centre or walking precinct (Relph, 1976). In this case, place can be perceived to have ‘spirit’, as it is part of history, holding mystery, bringing vitality, creating joy or surprise, or becoming an identity. Steele (1981, p. 13) identified the importance of spirit of place as an engaging force in certain locations that act ‘in a powerful, predictable manner on everybody who encounters them. This magic, with which certain locations seem to be endowed, is certainly a force worth considering’.

The spirit, deemed to be embedded in such places, is experienced through meanings that are further enhanced through symbols and representation. Humans symbolise the spirit of place and this symbolic action arises in the space between physical realities and the imaginary. This perception of ‘place identity’ routinely becomes symbolised in urban landscapes and these expressions serve to reinforce local identity and an individual’s tie to place (Peterson, 1988). Representation though icons is powerful because, according to Holt, they deliver ‘myths’ that help people make sense of the world in a tangible form (Holt, 2003). In places where indigenous people have lived for generations, as in villages in Bali, the presence of temples as material culture are complemented by series of ritual events representing the spirituality of the indigenous people, indicating the way the Balinese community
maintains relationships with the Balinese Hindu community, ancestors and Gods. For that reason, spirit of place is interpreted in a different way, depending on the context (such as the supporting community and the environment).

As with place identity, the physical environment is an important element in the representation of spirit of place. For this purpose, human intervention is required to transform the spirit of place from intangible to tangible (such as the physical centrality or clarity of form, remarkable size, exceptional architecture or unusual natural features). Subsequently, the place can possess ‘high imageability’ (Relph, 1976; Steele, 1981). Whether natural or built, the ‘spirited’ places tend not only to draw attention to them but also to declare themselves as ‘places’ that in some way stand out from the surrounding area. Hence, the presence of this ‘spirit’ in public places is important to a sense of place, where people can enhance their sense of identity, awareness, dependability and belonging to a place.

2.9 Disruption to a Sense of Place by Tourism

Urry (1995) argues that to cater for tourist needs, destinations need to be restructured as ‘centres of consumption’ with goods and services for visitors, leading to social and environmental changes in the local community. Places have been modified following responses to visitor needs, and locals experience increasing facilities and amenities in their surroundings. The impacts of tourism can be extensive, especially in the places where tourism is developed. To a certain extent (in order to satisfy tourist consumption), tourism development transforms natural and cultural landscapes with significant meaning for locals (Crang & Coleman, 2002; Gunn & Var, 2002; Inskeep, 1991; Urry, 2005; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Tourism is also responsible for the gentrification of places, as suggested by Kennedy and Leonard.
(2001), and Smith (2007). Development and industrial growth may lead to the displacement of indigenous residents. Inevitably, the physical changes to a locality through the development of tourism facilities will change its character.

Living with tourism thus creates tensions for local residents, as those sharing their place with visitors feel impacts that tourism brings to their physical and psychological health, social relationships and the quality of their environment. From an environmental and psychological perspective, a ‘poor sense of place’ as a result of a poor mixture of physical, social and personal factors as argued by Steele (1981), can create the feeling of ‘dis-ease and of being out of place’, which, it is argued, can influence people’s stress levels.

A number of tourism studies have found that the relationships between tourism and a local sense of place have a tendency to be antagonistic because tourism as an agent of change has the capacity to disrupt the community’s place attachment and place identity. Carter et al. (2007), for example, studied notions of place held by residents on Queensland’s Sunshine Coast, a rapidly changing region of Australia. The study highlighted the importance of sense of place that emanated from residents’ perspectives. Tourism as a globalising force of development as on the Sunshine Coast has clearly shaped the place identity in the region and has displaced local expressions of sense of place. In exploring Fijians’ sense of place after exposure to tourism development, Kerstetter and Bricker (2009) found that villagers highly value the Fijian village and way of life, the culture and the history associated with traditions, and also new technology and its impact on daily life. Residents also identified the importance of protecting the physical environment as central to the continued maintenance of their traditions and lifestyle, as well as entertaining tourism. They desired both protection and development. That study also

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recommended that planners and marketers ought to consider sense of place as a factor in their attempts to achieve sustainable development.

Once it becomes the way of life for locals, tourism is likely to be accepted as part of the community and the place and amalgamated into the local experience of living in the tourist place. Amsden et al. (2011) examined the theoretical intersection between place attachment and community through research on place attachment of residents in a tourism-dependent community. The findings suggest that place and community are intertwined, as evidenced by the use of the term ‘community’ as a frame of reference for describing nearly every example of attachment to place. The study suggested that place attachment in tourism-affected places can serve as a factor in the development of community, where ‘community’ is defined as a heightened engagement in collective actions that help people in their everyday life. They also argued that place attachment influences one’s development in community, directing the behaviours that affect how people both participate in communities and seek to change their position within them.

2.10 Place Attachment and Tourist Experience

Clearly, place is also critical to the tourist experience. Ashworth contends that tourism’s product is neither goods nor services, but an experience (Ashworth, 1991); and place is central to the tourist experience (Gordon & Goodall, 2000). However, the perception of a place by visitors and locals differ because each attaches to that environment in different ways, bringing different experiences and intentions when they interact with places (Relph, 1976). Importantly, Greer et al. (2008) noted that the notion of cultural landscape as indicated in tourism studies is typically the ‘symbolic landscape’. However, ‘the insiders’ (host community, someone who
occupies a landscape) will experience this landscape differently from the way the
visitors do. Moreover, members of local communities always see themselves as a
part of the landscape itself (Cosgrove, 1984) because place is embodied with
personal and social significance. This perspective aligns with Tuan’s (1974) assertion
that tourists and locals hold a different sense of place because they focus on very
different aspects of the environment.

Kianicka et al. (2006) postulate that the way in which people relate to places,
and particularly the sense of place they have, is a basis for their needs and aims
regarding future landscape development. It is suggested that conflicts between aims
can be better understood if the underlying place relationships are known. In their
study in a Swiss alpine village, Kianicka et al. (2006) inductively examined
differences between locals’ and tourists’ sense of place. The findings reveal that the
place characteristics relevant to a sense of place are approximately the same for both
groups. However, locals and tourists attribute different meanings and significance to
these characteristics and thus have distinct needs regarding landscape development.
Consequently, when pursuing sustainable landscape development, a balance must be
struck between appropriate economic development desired by locals and the
preservation of the cultural characteristics and authenticity sought by tourists. In a
spiritual context, Anggraini (2013) in the study of Bali’s mountainous villages found
that villagers’ sense of place was different to that of tourists, as locals and tourists
have different emotional attachments with the place. ‘Nature’ from the perception of
the villagers is about not only the physical (land, the mountain, rice terraces, and the
water system) but also spiritual meanings. Whereas tourists direct their attention to
the aesthetic landscape of rice terraces, the locals signify the mountain, the rice
terraces, and the sacred places in the surroundings integral to the landscape,
embodying the sacred spirits to achieve successful farming that everyone in the village should respect.

2.11 Sense of Place and Tourism Planning

From a phenomenological and humanistic perspective, place is inseparable from being. Whereas the nexus between place and being is clear, sense of place is usually disregarded in the planning context. Relph (2008b) argues that sense of place has long been subdued by rationalistic approaches to planning that have treated place as something that is marginal to the goals of profit and efficiency. Stephenson (2010) similarly asserted that the role of people–place relationships in reflecting and maintaining local cultural diversity and identity is largely overlooked in mainstream planning practice. The landscape or place, in all its tangible and intangible dimensions and in its lively interrelationships with people, is largely ignored.

Theoretically, sustainable tourism planning emphasises an integrated and comprehensive approach to meet tourism development objectives without generating serious socio-economic or environmental problems (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Gunn & Var, 2002; Hall, 2000; Howie, 2003; Inskeep, 1991). In addition, many argue that tourism planners must understand the various types of socio-economic and environmental impacts and principles to reinforce the positive impacts of tourism on an area and mitigate negative ones. In contemporary approaches, tourism planning is a synergy among various actors, agencies and interests in a continuous process of connecting information and knowledge with decision and actions (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007). Further, the process is not confined to deciding what is to be provided in the future for a given area of land or a community (Hall, 2000). Therefore, it is argued,
tourism planning at the community level should have an important role in maintaining the local sense of place.

Recommendations to include and enhance a sense of place have actually been addressed in some planning practices. Bushell et al. (2005), for example, assessed the positive and negative economic, social, and environmental impacts of tourism in Manly, New South Wales using a triple bottom line approach based on tourism-related values arising from different stakeholders. This approach also proposes that strategic planning and actionable programmes by the planning agency should develop tourism in a more sustainable manner. This research recommended protecting the existing local sense of place after conducting a social impact assessment. A similar approach was used in the development plan in the small, historic town of Stanley, Tasmania (Miller, et al., 2008). The recommended principles were drawn from commonly shared aspirations of residents, visitors and the business community, with the aim that Stanley could grow and prosper while retaining its authentic character.

The notion of sense of place suggests that every place possesses its own individual challenges. Because of the diversity and uncertainty of these challenges, standardised approaches for mitigation and adaptation are unlikely to be effective. Therefore, different places will require different strategies (Relph, 2008b). In this case, each area is socially and culturally unique and thus it can be argued that planners must be especially aware of possible impacts of different types of tourism on the specific locale.

As introduced in the previous chapter, Bali has adopted *kepariwisataan budaya Bali* or Balinese cultural tourism as a direction in developing tourism on this island. According to relevant local regulation (*Perda No. 2, 2012*), tourism should be
developed with respect to Balinese culture and there should be the synergy between tourism and local culture so that both can develop sustainably. Bali as a tourism destination consists of a number of tourism districts. According to Perda No. 2, 2012, some areas are regarded as having the possession of (or potential for) tourism attractions, with distinctive natural and cultural features, as stated in Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Provinsi (RTRWP) or the Spatial Plan of Bali Province. Moreover, local government encourages any socio-cultural activities that support tourism in Bali. The regulation indicates that the people of Bali are prepared to develop tourism and have been given opportunities for tourism to grow. Local people have become aware of the potential in each area. There is also an indication that tourism development is centralised to the provincial government with respect to spatial planning in an island-wide context: for example, some traditional villages have been designated as tourism areas. This condition leads to dichotomies in land uses (such as productive land, residential space and tourism areas) and a challenge for local communities if their places are selected for tourism.

2.12 Balinese Values of Sense of Place

Before exploring place attachment and place identity in the age of tourism in Bali, it is important to understand how the Balinese regard their environment in a socio-cultural context. It can be argued that the most important features in Balinese culture are the development of irrigated rice agriculture, the adoption of the Hindu (Indian) religion and culture, and the growth of tourism. These components have been integrated into local community lifestyles. Concerning a local sense of place, Balinese culture has a number of principles related to ‘place attachment’ and ‘place identity’ but they have an indirect connection with ‘sense of place’. Mostly based on
Hindu culture, these concepts embrace the idea of human–nature relationships, where nature serves as a resource for human life and livelihood. These cultural principles stem from the Balinese philosophy of being. From the initial creation by God, Hindus believe that human beings have the highest level of capabilities because of the possession of *Tri Premana*: *bayu* (energy) for action, *sabda* (voice) for speech and *idep* (perception) for thought, in contrast to beings other than human, which only have *bayu* and *sabda*; and plants, which have only *bayu* (Wiana, 2004b). With *idep*, human beings construct the meaning of any objects in their surroundings. As humans also acquire a sense of the aesthetic and spiritual beliefs, taking care of subordinate beings becomes their responsibility. Because of *Tri Premana*, it is believed that humans must control their *manacika* (thought), *wacika* (speech) and *kayika* (behaviour). This principle is known as the concept of *Tri Kaya Parisudha*.

Places in Bali are constructed according to Hinduism’s tenet whereby humans have obligations in life called *Panca Yadnya* (five sacrifices), which Balinese Hindus should fulfil by presenting ritual offerings called *banten* delivered in *upacara* (ritual ceremonies) (Codron, 1999; Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Wiana, 2004b). The ritual ceremonies are performed to balance and purify the world, and focus on (1) the Gods and Goddesses, or *Dewa Yadnya*; (2) humans passing important milestones in their lives, or *Manusa Yadnya*; (3) spiritual and academic masters, or *Rsi Yadnya*; (4) the spirit of deceased ancestors, or *Pitra Yadnya*; and (5) supernatural demons or evil spirits, or *Bhuta Yadnya*. Undertaking *yadnya* requires pre-assigned places or venues in order to function, from the beginning of the process until the end of the

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20 Balinese Hinduism has deeply ingrained animism within it. Known as ‘Hindu Bali’ or ‘Balinese Hinduism’, this unique religion in its application is to some extent different with other Hindu practices and beliefs (especially the ones originating from India) and Hinduism outside Bali.

21 Balinese make artistic offerings to show gratitude for the wealth and kindness originating from *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, the supreme Creator (with its diverse manifestation—*Dewa* (Gods) and *Dewi* (Goddesses). The offering is made in support of prayer and homage to a God or a Goddess.
ceremonies. Therefore, in the mind of Balinese Hindus, such ritual places are a significant necessity alongside the offerings and the ceremonies themselves. Both are simultaneously required to support Balinese spiritual practices.

Among the numerous traditional concepts in Balinese life, several indigenous values pertain to a Balinese relationship to place: Sekala Niskala, Tri Hit Karana, Desa Kala Patra and desa adat. These values cannot be perceived individually; rather, they are applied simultaneously and habitually to the Balinese perception of place and in their sense of place.

2.13 Sekala–Niskala (Psycho-cosmic Perspective)

Balinese Hinduism embraces a dualistic understanding and perception of the spiritual world. This view is called sekala—the physical domain or something that people can see—and niskala, the sphere associated with the metaphysical world or something that people cannot see. These tangible and intangible dimensions are in a state of rwa bhineda; that is, they are complementary rather than opposites, similar to the relationship that exists between bhuwana alit (microcosm) and bhuwana agung (microcosm). The Balinese recognise that creation is no ‘better’ than degeneration, so they do not try to conquer the latter; rather, they tend to seek an appropriate balance of these forces. In fact, the Balinese goal in life is to maintain a balance between competing forces in order to achieve the ultimate objective of moksa or spiritual liberation (Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Eiseman, 1990; Geertz, 1959, 1973; Manuaba, 1995; Picard, 1992; Samadhi, 2004; University of Udayana, 2010; Wiana, 2004b).

In Balinese cosmological philosophy, the human and the universe (physical and metaphysical) are regarded as unity. Based on Hindu religious philosophy,
there are five basic elements of life named *Panca Mahabhuta*. The elements are *pertiwi* (earth/solid substance), *apah* (water/fluid substance), *teja* (fire/light/heat), *bayu* (air) and *akasa* (space/ether). These substances are manifested in three elements of life—*atma* (spirit), *sarira* (body), and *prana* (energy)—all harmoniously interplaying with each other within the relationship between *bhuwana agung* (nature/environment, living space or macrocosm) and *bhuwana alit* (human beings or microcosm). As a whole unit of life, the human body and the universe originate from the same elements (Wiana, 2004b). In this respect, philosophically, the relationship is also referred to as ‘a baby (representing the microcosm) in the mother’s womb (representing the larger cosmos)’ or ‘*manik ring cucupu*’. Such a philosophy is also known as the psycho-cosmic concept in Bali Hindu teachings (Samadhi, 2004). The macrocosm and the microcosm are in a state of polarity, which Balinese Hinduism calls *rwa bhineda*—a state where two different entities occur at the same time and interplay as a system (Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Manuaba, 1995; Wiana, 2004b). This perspective even includes that which can be considered a third position, the ‘centre’, which balances the other two. Thus, the microcosm, the human body, or *bhuwana alit* (literally small world) and the macrocosm, the universe, or *bhuwana agung* (literally great world) are interrelated in the pursuit of the production of balance, the vehicle to attain the ultimate goal of Hinduism (Samadhi, 2004).

The presence of *pura* or temples throughout the island of Bali is evidence for the lengthy engagement of the Balinese Hindu people with sacred places. Every temple in Bali is imbued with particular meaning depending upon its history and background, purpose and category. Each is given a status, whether it is a public
worship temple (e.g. sad kahyangan, kahyangan jagat),\textsuperscript{22} an exclusive temple, such as tri kahyangan and pura swagina\textsuperscript{23} or a family kinship temple like pura kawitan and sanggah pemerajan. Therefore, ritual ceremonies in each temple have a different schedule and are undertaken by a different group of worshippers or community. The Balinese Hindu community in temples say that is not simply about the worship or ritual ceremonies. Ritual ceremonies can be found in temples all over the island. In this regard, piodalan\textsuperscript{24} or a temple festival or ceremony is conducted in a regular manner by its regular community of worshippers. When conducting and organising the piodalan, the communities do the ngayah (or voluntary work) of preparing the ceremony, demonstrating their enthusiasm for every ritual occasion. Conducting piodalan in temples, therefore, has become one of the most important spiritual obligations of the Balinese Hindu community.

\section*{2.14 Tri Hita Karana}

Derived from the Hindu concept, \textit{Tri Hita Karana}, or three causes of goodness, has been adopted by the Balinese as a concept of harmonious balance, a philosophy whereby it is believed that in its application people can achieve prosperity and welfare—a tenet conveyed by religious teachings (Sulistyawati, 2000; Wiana, 2004b;

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} \textit{Sad kahyangan} (six major temples) and \textit{kahyangan jagad} (the universal temples) are among Balinese Hindu temple categories.
\item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{Pura swagina} is a category of dedication to a temple by a particular community in a specific area in Bali. For example, farmers and fishers have their own separate temples to worship within, an action that supports their occupational community.
\item \textsuperscript{24} The relationship between Balinese and their \textit{pura} is reflected in the cultural practices within the temples, called piodalan or pura ceremonies, to celebrate the founding of the temple. Piodalan, as widely addressed in Balinese Hindu references, occurs once every six months (210 days) in the Balinese Wariga calendar, and once every seven months in the Gregorian calendar. Some people shorten it ‘odalan’, the process of devotion—an ongoing commitment of attachment with one’s heritage, which is a product of ‘past’. As continuously practised by Balinese societies, piodalan becomes a regular event over generations from the time of the temple’s foundation, and consists of characterising particular places through the process of learning. In this regard, \textit{pura} in Bali can be considered as living heritage: as heritage, temples for Balinese are not merely something of the past, but of the present.
\end{itemize}
Wiranatha, 2000; Yudiata, 2000). This philosophy aims to establish a harmonious relationship between human beings and God, between human beings and nature, and between human beings themselves that, in turn, describe the personal relationships to pawongan (among people), palemahan (the living and supporting environment) and parahyangan (Gods as the creators). These three sources of happiness, it is believed, achieve harmony in life. *Tri Hita Karana*, in turn, inspires the formulation of *Tri Angga* or the division of space into three: spaces as holy or sacred space, spaces for human inhabitants and space for nature. In this respect, spaces have a hierarchical structure with sacred space as utama (upper level), madya (neutral or middle level) and nista (profane or lower level).

In relation to *Tri Angga* (the division of space into sacred and profane), the island of Bali is divided into utama (the holy, the head, with high status), madya (middle level) and nista (lowest level). The highest orientation in Bali is the sacred mountainous area. *Gunung Agung*, the highest volcano in Bali, stands 3,142 m above sea level in the north-east part of the island. Sacred mountains are believed to be the dwelling place of the Hindu Gods. There are spatial and spiritual orientation according to eight compass directions applicable in Bali consist of four cardinal points: kaja (north), kelod (south), kangin (east) and kauh (west), with four inter-cardinal positions, and to these are added another important position—tengah (centre). Towards the mountain is called kaja. As *Gunung Agung* is in a central location, kaja is a variable direction. It is north for inhabitants of South Bali and south for those of North Bali. Whether north or south, the sacred direction is always ‘up’ towards God; the opposite to kaja is kelod, the seaward orientation, which is towards the lower altitudes and away from the holy mountain; that is, to the less sacred area (Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Salain, 2000).
In their book *Sekala Niskala (Volume I)*, Eiseman and Eiseman (1989) elaborate this concept in order to emphasise the Balinese awareness of cardinal direction and their respect for Mount Agung, as the highest mountain in Bali, and thus designated as the centre of the Balinese world, the home of the Gods and deified ancestors and, consequently, a holy mountain. Hence, a move towards this *kaja* (mountain) is a move towards the more sacred or the more socially and culturally valued. *Kangin*, or the east, is the direction of the rising sun and represents the birth of life, something considered more sacred than *kauh* or the west. *Desa adat* customary villages are also aligned *kaja-kelod*. For example, *pura desa*, the village temple, is located on the *kaja* (‘up’), while the cemetery and the temple called *pura dalem*, dedicated to the God Siwa or to his wife Goddess Durga, are located at the *kelod*, the south end of the village.

Not only is the sacred–profane division applied in larger areas, but the Balinese also adopt this positioning in their own individual settlements. From an ethnographic study in Bali during the 1960s and 1970s, Eiseman & Eiseman (1989) observed that every Balinese house complex was oriented *kaja-kelod*. The family temple within the house was in the most sacred position, *kaja-kangin* (northeast). The head of the household lived in the most *kaja* building in the compound. Everyone slept with their heads towards either *kaja* (north) or *kangin* (east). The kitchen and the garbage dump, on the other hand, were usually placed furthest *kelod* (south). However, in contemporary Bali there has been a shift away from directional sacredness and an acceptance that more sacred directions are not necessarily ‘better’ than more profane ones (Samadhi, 2004).

The daily attitudes and behaviour of the Balinese reflect this concept of a highly oriented directional space. In situations in which foreigners would point to, say, ‘left’
or ‘right’, or here or there, the Balinese use compass directions. Eiseman and Eiseman (1989) recorded anecdotes that reflected how the Balinese locate themselves in a directional manner:

If a group of men are carrying a heavy load that must be placed in a particular spot they will shout to each other: ‘a little more kaja (north)—now a bit kangin (east)—there, now set it down’ (p. 5).

Another example given is also a frequent conversation heard between Balinese and foreigners asking for directions. A Balinese usually answers: ‘Go a little farther kangin (east), turn kaja (north) at the crossroads, and you will find his house on the kauh (west) side of the road’ (p. 5). Sensitivity to compass direction among Balinese people contributes to their relationship to the place. The local perception that north is more sacred than south influences their notion of place, and is reflected in the space division in different types and scale of places, such as houses, temples, villages and towns.

2.15 Desa Kala Patra

Desa Kala Patra or the Balinese ‘place–time’ concept is a way of putting human activities into the context of the universal and of nature (Herbst, 1997; Manuaba, 1995; Salain, 2000) in order to understand how human activity is an interaction with forces greater than the individual. Herbst (1997) also suggests that this concept provides a ‘sense of place’ at both the social and metaphysical levels. The trilogy of desa (place), kala (time) and patra (occasion) guides Balinese people in determining the best way to do their daily activities (Sulistyawati, 2000). The fundamental idea, in keeping with Desa Kala Patra, is to avoid anything being out of context socially, spiritually or ecologically. In addition, Desa Kala Patra is considered to be where
things come from, where meanings and life forces are manifested. It also applies to ethics and civil behaviour such as the use of everyday language to reflect status (Herbst, 1997).

In this philosophy, existence, for both living and non-living objects, is a matter of occupying the right space at the right time; this participation is, in fact, life. Additionally, for human beings, this idea is related to the concept of place as humanity’s existential space that brings the notion of place as a vessel of human participation in the cosmological balancing process. In *Desa Kala Patra*, the object as a microcosm must be correctly composed of all its elements and it must complete its own lifecycle of gestation, birth, maturation, ageing, death and, finally, returning back to nature. According to this principle, any distortion of or neglect of this balance should be avoided, as it may incur misfortune or disaster. Therefore, Balinese strive to ensure their life is in balance with place, time and occasion and in so doing, the universe works their way continuously.

In relation to time, the Balinese have their own calendar, namely *Pawukon/Wariga*. It provides the reference system for most of the religious ceremonies in Bali, including *tri kahyangan* and family temple festivals or *piodalan*, as well as personal anniversaries like birthdays, and auspicious and inauspicious days (*dewasa*) for doing regular, special and seasonal activities such as weddings, farming, planting, vending, fishing and so forth. These remain strongly held beliefs and practices. Each *dewasa*, rather than being counted in a linear way, is a merging of a myriad of qualities and energies (Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Herbst, 1997). Until now, the Balinese calendar has been widely used in Bali in tandem with the widely accepted Gregorian calendar used to follow national and international days.

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25 The Balinese calendar is based on a *pawukon* year that lasts 210 days as a cycle, a system initially brought to Bali in the fourteenth century from the Majapahit Kingdom of Java. Later, this calendar was used in Bali more than in Java, as Hinduism flourishes on the island.
Changes of space function require a ritual ceremony, called pemlaspas that aims to connect people with the novel meaning of place. This ceremony is usually practised before using a new building or temple because, according to beliefs, it brings good spirits to the building and good energy will be radiated to the whole property thereby creating a spiritual ambience that people call taksu, a state registered after the completion of the ceremony. Like other ceremonies, pemlaspas can be performed only on certain auspicious days referred to in the Balinese calendar, and these are not on the same day in any one month. The Balinese give respect to a place after this pemlaspas ceremony. For the Balinese, this ceremony is obligatory; otherwise, the Balinese will feel ‘incompleteness’, as though there is an absence of ‘spirit’ safeguarding the place. The situation will further influence, psychologically, the place and the people inhabiting it.

2.16 Desa Adat, the Balinese Customary Village

Balinese live in traditional communities across the island. They are bounded within this traditional institution where the material and spiritual interrelationships can be observed. As the spatial setting of local communities in Bali, desa adat or the Balinese traditional village is the place where the Balinese people belong to a particular spatially bonded community. There are currently 1,488 desa adat across eight regencies and one municipality in Bali (Pemerintah Provinsi Bali, 2014). The Government of Bali Province has decreed, in a formal law, provincial regulations (Perda No.3, 2001; Perda No.06, 1986), about the role and

26 Taksu or Pelinggih Taksu is a shrine in the family temple dedicated to the spirit that gives one the power to perform certain acts. It can be taken as the spirit of one’s profession or talent or it can be taken to mean the spirit that allows one, for example, to communicate with supernatural forces. An object is called ‘mataksu’ if it has been empowered with divine spirits.
position of desa adat as a traditional institution in the Province of Bali. According to this regulation, desa adat refers to:

a unit of an adat-bounded community, which possesses a tradition and Hinduism based society values and norms within the boundary of tri kahyangan, which has its own territory and possessions, and a right to manage its own internal affairs (Perda No.06, 1986).

In its role, desa adat governs the process of the making and the re-making of Balinese places by local community. This settlement unit is considered a distinctive cosmological unit that is self-contained and composed of a particular territory or village (Diantha, 2004; Manuaba, 1995; Samadhi, 2001; Sugira, 2004). In general, desa adat possesses spatial structural patterns. Every Balinese, including those temporarily or permanently living outside Bali, belong to one and only one tri kahyangan congregation, and everyone in the congregation belongs to the same desa adat. Each desa adat possesses an awig-awig, a body of customary laws defining the social organisation and procedures, including the environmental management, of the village. Most desa adat hold regular meetings, a sangkep or paruman that decrees desa policies concerning village affairs (Diantha, 2004; Sugira, 2004).

The spatially and cosmologically cohesive nature of a desa adat is also enhanced by the fact that krama or the desa adat residents practise similar temple worship and develop their local values and knowledge systems to be formulated in awig-awig. Desa adat becomes an autonomous culture with all the traits of a higher culture: harmonious philosophy, local ontology and value system, aesthetics, social

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27 Tri Kahyangan (three village great temples)—consisting of Pura Puseh (central/navel temple), Pura Desa and Bale Agung (village temple) and Pura Dalem (temple of the dead), which function as a unit—exist all over Bali. The socio-cultural and moral unity of the village domain is represented conceptually by this triad of temples.
hierarchy and so on. Therefore, desa adat is the only Balinese settlement unit based on traditional religious spatial conceptions (Perda No.3, 2001; Perda No.06, 1986).

Desa adat is spatially divided based on Tri Hita Karana principles. In every desa adat settlement, spaces consist of sacred places for parahyangan purposes, settlement areas to cater for pawongan and the utilities or supporting places for palemahan functions. Desa adat as Balinese space separates the village into three categories representing the Balinese relationship with Gods, humans and the environment within the village setting. First, parahyangan indicated by tri kahyangan, represents the relationship between humans and Gods and is located in the sacred parts of the area. Second, pawongan—as indicated by the spaces where villagers can meet each other for daily activities such as housing compounds, bale banjar (community hall), pasar (traditional market) and school—represent the relationships among people. Third, palemahan or spaces deemed for public access such as lapangan (field), tukad (creek or river), pasih (beach/sea) and tegal (orchard) are all located within the village territory. This typical spatial organisation has been applied in most of desa adat in Bali, and that Balinese from traditional communities are familiar with in their everyday life.

2.16.1 Adat Land

Awig-awig or desa adat customary law is practised in many parts of Indonesia, where land ownership is handed down in accordance with traditions. In the case of Bali, this system is contained within the adat (Suartika, 2007, 2010). The history of adat land in Balinese society started with the emergence of desa adat. As desa adat is constituted by adat inheritance, it has a collection of written and unwritten codes and practices accepted by the entire community. The governance of adat land is in
the hands of a desa adat institution, representing both its krama adat or desa adat villagers and the ancestors. This institution has the right to manage and record the land in a piagam or pangeling-ngeling on behalf of the community members, and to distribute land among the krama adat. This land is referred to as ‘tanah adat’.

There are two types of adat land tenancy in Bali (Suartika, 2007):

1) Land held by the desa adat institution, which has its use dedicated to the needs of the community such as:

a. Tanah desa (also named druwe desa or tanah druwe) is land managed and reserved for the common needs of its members. Tanah desa includes tanah pasar (land used for markets), tanah alun–alun (land used for community squares), tanah setra (land used for communal cemeteries) and tanah bukti (cultivated land whose harvests are awarded to the prajuru desa or community leaders within their leadership period). Tanah desa also takes the form of agricultural land, which is cultivated by sharecroppers that are members of krama adat. Harvests from this land are used to ensure the material provision of various community activities.

b. Tanah laba pura or pelaba pura land is used for community temples and secondary activities. Every temple has its own pelaba pura, whose cultivation is organised by a pemangku or priest.

There are two types of tanah laba pura:

i. Pelaba pura is desa adat land used for the actual building(s) of the temple.

ii. Pelaba pura is desa adat land whose harvest is utilised to support regular temple activities and ritual ceremonies.
2) Land held by *krama adat*. This category accommodates the individual needs of the *krama adat*. This includes *tanah pekarangan desa* and *tanah ayahan desa*.

   a. *Tanah pekarangan desa* is *adat* land that is given to the *krama adat*, or villagers, to build their houses. A site for a house compound is known as *tanah sikut satak* (Suartika, 2007). The size of this land is similar for each household, enforced by the *desa adat* institution through the consensus of its members. In return, the krama adat is obligated to provide *ayahan* and *patus* (contributions) when required. Whereas *ayahan* is a duty to provide voluntary physical labour, *patus* is a responsibility to provide material goods in the form of coconuts, oil, palm leaves, banana leaves, eggs, rice, bamboo and similar goods.

   b. *Tanah ayahan desa* is *adat* land in the form of wet or dry farmed land. Cultivation rights over this land are transferred to the villagers who may afterwards harvest the land. In return, the people are obligated to provide the *desa adat* with *ayahan* and *patus* when required.

   Given the above, there are three important points that can be inferred in terms of relationships between Balinese people and their living environment. First, the *desa adat* and its members have a philosophical, ritual and symbolic relationship with their territory/land. It is not merely a matter of possessing land to live on, but more about a relationship between the *krama adat* and their Gods as creator and ancestors. Second, the *adat* land operates according to customary values and related principles. It does not recognise exchange values of land for monetary purposes or any other

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28 *Ayahan* or *ngayah* is a tradition of Balinese as custodians of a *desa adat* (customary village). This obligation is performed by making many kinds of contribution, such as physical attendance and assistance (*ngayah*), and material contribution (*patus*) within a customary village and dedicated to village members. The avoidance of and failure to *ngayah* will incur some social ‘consequences’, from the softest charges of fee payments, to the hardest sanction as expulsion (*kasepekeng*) from the *desa adat*. 
form of reward. This contrasts with a market-based society in which land has an economic value that can be transferred or acquired through the marketplace. Third, adat land is used for the collective benefits of the desa adat and its community in their territory such as the desa adat institution, temples and the villagers (Suartika, 2007).

2.16.2 Tri Kahyangan

Of the great variety of pura, by far the most important to the Balinese are the kahyangan–tiga. Kahyangan is an honorary term for temple and literally means the ‘place of the Gods’, indicating a pura of exceptional significance, and tiga means three—thus, the three great temples. There are probably over a thousand sets of such temples in Bali, with membership ranging from 50 up to several thousand families.

Every desa adat is endowed with three village temples by its founding community. The first temple is pura desa lan bale agung, or ‘great council temple’ (of the Gods), dedicated primarily to maintaining the fertility of the surrounding rice fields. The second is pura puseh, or navel temple, supposedly the temple built at the time of the first settlement of the area. The third is pura dalem, or graveyard temple for the spirits of the local dead. Each temple holds a piodalan or temple festival once in every 210-day Balinese year (or every seven months in the Gregorian calendar), or on a specific day, depending upon the tradition (Wiana, 2004b). At such festival times, it is believed that the Gods descend from heaven and remain for three days before they return to their home. The congregation is obligated to entertain them during the time of their stay through complex offerings, elaborate rituals, and skilful artistic performances under the general direction of the temple priest and the secular
head of the temple. The cost of the festivals, the rather large amount of labour involved, and the general upkeep of the temples falls on equally on the worshippers, who are typically organised in a fairly complicated manner to achieve these ends (Wiana, 2004a, 2004b). As previously mentioned, temple membership is defined territorially, with each Balinese belonging to just one of the sets in a desa adat. The worshippers of the Kahyangan Tiga come together only for the obligatory temple festivals; not for any other social function—political, economic and familiar or any other (Geertz, 1959; Suacana, Janamijaya & Suantina, 2008; Wiana, 2004b).

Besides the –, there are dozens of other types of temples in Balinese Hinduism. Within a particular irrigation society the subak or rice field temple, is used by the people who own land for their worship. Prasanak or kinship temples are associational temples formed on a voluntary basis, their associated obligations being inherited from the worshipper’s descendants. There are state temples attended by people subject to a single lord, and so on. Again, some of these temples correspond to concrete social groups but for other, non-religious purposes, some do not, some are obligatory for all people and some are voluntary. Categorising temples in a village area in some ways shapes the local social structure.

2.16.3 Banjar

The Balinese relationship to place is reflected in social settings. Concerning place attachment, the Balinese are bound to a particular geographical location and affix themselves there by a permanent home address. It is very unusual in traditional Balinese society for people to have a second home. Through the personal attachment to their homes, locations become part of their personal identity as Balinese and this place–identity is used when they introduce themselves to others. Every Balinese has
a responsibility to take care of the particular village to which they belong through a
neighbourhood mechanism called banjar. This obligation is designed to maintain
social traditions. The banjar, as social hub of village life, is a neighbourhood
organisation, a community group consisting of families that manage the traditional
life within a desa adat customary village. The banjar engages in village cultural and
religious functions and projects, such as temple ceremonies where members worship
together. The size of the banjar varies considerably, depending on the population of
the area. For example, a banjar in a city may have 500 families as members, whereas
in a rural area it may have as few as 50. As part of customary village desa adat life,
banjar is ruled by awig-awig or traditional customary law that all are obligated to
obey. Administratively, banjar is organised by kelian banjar, and all members are
supposed to give respect to his commands (Eiseman, 1990; Suacana, 2004; Sugira,
2004; Wiana, 2004a).

Considering Balinese traditional values about place, it is necessary to explore
how Balinese people live in their desa adat traditional village in the context of local
philosophies while facing the challenges of current development in Bali in a time of
intense globalisation.

2.16.4 Pampatan Agung

In the same way that the kaja-kelod concept is deeply ingrained in Balinese people,
the associated concept of centre is also important to the Balinese in religious,
cosmological and political terms. One of the physical manifestations of the concept
of the centre in a Balinese living environment is pampatan agung, a town or village’s
grand crossroad (Samadhi, 2001, 2004). Figure 2.2 illustrates the typical desa adat or
town setting in Bali,
This crossroad is the place where all directions meet physically and spiritually, where Gods and demons are greeted by human beings. Therefore, Balinese people believe that offerings must be placed in the centre of the crossroad to cater for these spiritual forces. Important Balinese town or village landmarks such as *puri* (palace), *pura* (temple), *griya* (the priest’s house), *wantilan/bale banjar* (public meeting hall) and *pasar* (market place) are accordingly arranged in the surrounding areas of the crossroad to concentrate religious, socio-economics and political power in one place. These landmarks are also typically found in most of the *desa adat*, depending on the availability of space in each village. As such, the crossroad becomes a landmark and identity maker for Balinese towns and settlements (as illustrated in Figure 2.2).

Where there is no *puri*, the space will be occupied by *pura* or a temple. In addition to

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29 The landmarks, together with cardinal directions, therefore have become the basis of identity of most places in Bali. It is notable that the Balinese give names to place in terms of both, especially in towns where most landmarks exist, *dauh puri* (*dauh* or *kauh*, means to the west of a place), or *delod peken* (*delod* or *kelod*, means to the south of market). In Denpasar, some districts are named with this landmark–direction pairing.
this setting, a Balinese plant is used as a landmark: the Banyan tree is the most common tree found in the main crossroad or pampatan agung. This significant tree is for the Balinese a symbol related to the accumulation of natural and spiritual power that strengthens the character of a Balinese village settlement (Samadhi, 2001).

### 2.17 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed Western theories including place attachment, place identity, place commitment, placemaking and spirit of place in exploring the local sense of place in Bali, following the rationale that these will assist in analysing this people and place relationship from an academic perspective. The absence of formal discourse on Balinese sense of place requires me to theorise about local concepts with the support of Western concepts. Sense of place as defined by Western theory is implicitly addressed in the Balinese local context, even though the phenomenon is not described *per se*. Western theorisation on sense of place in this situation is required to provide a framework of scholarly thinking to express and formalise ideas around Balinese sense of place.

Balinese concepts of place illustrating the integration between tangible and intangible values of place constitute desirable traits among which place best suits the Balinese to achieve harmonious living. Together, elements of place such as physical environment, socio-cultural events and socially constructed meanings of place engender the context of Balinese living—both physically and spiritually. By definition, the Balinese sense of place is the emotional attachment of the Balinese people to their places, something that is constructed through a consistent application of Balinese Hindu spiritual values. This people–place relationship intensifies the Balinese identity by promoting Balinese culture in a particular geographic location.
Place identities are strongly associated with Balinese people living through their traditions, rules, names, language, buildings, architecture, streets, arts, Balinese Hinduism, costumes, food and manners, and so on. *Desa adat* as the Balinese territory-based community that is located only on Bali Island is the most appropriate place to reveal the Balinese sense of place.

The review of the literature indicated the need for a deeper understanding of place attachment and place identity in Bali, especially in the context of modern development as has occurred on the island. In this regard, Balinese communities are explored after their place (village or neighbourhood) has been transformed into a tourist destination that alters the meanings of place, by investigating Bali from a local perspective, asking how Balinese deal with social and environmental issues in the particular place (where they live). Reflecting the notion of Balinese sense of place, this thesis proposes that, when developing Bali on a platform of ‘Balinese cultural tourism’, these human–spatial relationships should be taken into account, so that everyone involved in the industry will develop tourism responsibly. Although Bali has become highly dependent on tourism, Balinese people should not lose their control over their place, because this has consequences for their wellbeing and quality of life.
Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, the research focus of this thesis is on the local community’s sense of place in tourist places in Bali, using Jimbaran and Kuta as case studies. This chapter describes the research design in order to explore place attachment and place identity for those who live in tourist places in Bali, with the aim of understanding how tourism placemaking affects local identity. I present my justifications for the chosen research methodology, as well as the approaches I employed to analyse the collected data. These data address the construction of meanings of place by the Balinese people, how individuals and communities in Bali perform place attachment, and how they (re) construct place identity after extensive tourism development in their village. This chapter also discusses the ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

3.2 Strategies for Researching Sense of Place

As this study was undertaken in two Balinese communities, a qualitative approach was employed with ethnography as the main method to gather the information. An ethnographic approach involves multiple methods of data gathering, such as participant observation, interviews, photographs (pictures) and document analysis (Bryman, 2008; 2011). As O’Leary explains, this method aims to explore a cultural group to understand, discover, describe and interpret a way of life from the point of view of its participants (O'Leary, 2004).

In this research, I used both fieldwork (in Jimbaran) and online research methods (in Kuta). I conducted the fieldwork and online research to collect data through my
physical presence in the study areas and my participation and observation on a community group’s online discussion. This approach aims to observe how local people work and interact, things and thoughts they produce, and the social processes. In other words, I researched the communities in their natural settings, to capture the social meanings of place in the everyday life of the villagers.

This study is ontologically constructionist, conducting ethnography in two Balinese villages, illuminating how reality is assembled, examining narrative construction, observing everyday procedures and revealing unexpected practices (Silverman, 2011). In this regard, the social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals where meaning is the process of construction, rather than phenomena ‘out there’ from those involved in its construction (Crotty, 2003). In addition, constructionism acknowledges that social phenomena and their meaning are continually being accomplished by social actors and are not only produced by social interaction but are in a constant state of revision.

Relph (1976) persuasively asserts that place is not merely a physical environment; rather, place is a meaningful phenomenon in which humans imbue the meanings of places. Through repeated human experience, the relationships then accumulate as phenomena in social landscapes. Therefore, a sense of place is best approached with interpretivist epistemology, through examination of the interpretation of the world by its inhabitants to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2008). Since meaning is not created but constructed from culturally defined and historically situated interpretations and personal experience (Crotty, 2003; Robson, 2002; Sarantakos, 2005), researching a sense of place is about perceptions of reality based on people’s experiences of a place, which includes people and their activities in particular environments.
In interpreting the meaning of place, a phenomenological approach was also adopted in this study to gain a deeper understanding of how a local community’s relationship with their place has special meanings in everyday life. To go beyond the surface expressions or explicit meanings and to understand what lies behind the happenings, I consciously approached the research with the attitudes that my preconceptions concerning the selected study areas should not influence my approach.\textsuperscript{30} Doing ethnography parallel with a phenomenology approach leads to highly descriptive writing about a particular group of people (Silverman, 2006). Geertz (1973) has termed this ethnographical output as a \textit{thick description} to reference to research reports that analyse the various levels of meaning and social phenomena in a particular setting or situation. This method starts with empirical data collected from observation in the field and on social network sites, to be synthesised into a contextual description of research findings; followed by interpretation of these findings with the researcher’s commentary including the theoretical perspectives that inform this interpretation. The aim of this approach here is to understand how people define or construct meanings that, in turn, inform us how local place and a sense of place are constructed and performed.

Because the sense of place is multidimensional in nature, capturing people’s sense of place as social phenomenon is a challenge. Therefore, multi-methods were used in this research. The advantage of ethnography, as suggested by O’Leary (2004), is its capacity to enable the researcher to explore the working nature of culture, symbols and norms. This methodology can open a dialogue with existing

\textsuperscript{30} In phenomenology, the researcher should bracket out preconception concerning their grasp of the world (Bryman, 2008). The researcher must hold back past knowledge about the phenomenon they are researching in order to be present to the concrete instance of the phenomenon as presented by the subject’s description; and no existential claim is being made for the description. As suggested by Husserl’s theory, the phenomenological claim can be sustained when the researcher adopts the attitude of the phenomenological reduction: see Giorgi, A. (1997). The theory, practice, and evaluation of the phenomenological method as a qualitative research procedure. \textit{Journal of Phenomenological Psychology}, 28(2).
theory, as well as providing insights that can lead to the development of new theory. This method is noted for its strength in studying a sense of place as it offers in-depth exploration of the values, beliefs and practices of cultural groups (intrinsically interesting), and its approach to a topic with rich information and understanding about human behaviour (Altheide, 1987).

The case study method was employed as it enables a detailed and intensive analysis of a case in a single community (Bryman, 2008). Members of a Balinese community (the indigenous Balinese who live in a particular desa adat or customary village where adat rules are applied and where tourism has been developed) were selected as research participants. The local sense of place was examined in two such villages to explore villagers’ perceptions of place and tourism development in each of the areas. A number of researchers have previously applied this case study approach to examine the sense of place and its relationship to tourism (Brakman, 2011; Harrington, 2007; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Kianicka et al., 2006; Kim, 2000; Kyle & Chick, 2007; Morgan, 1997). Via a similar approach as in these earlier studies, Jimbaran and Kuta were selected for their popularity among tourists and their advanced stages of tourism development. They are also very suitable examples for Balinese desa adat, because substantial numbers of indigenous residents still live and practise their traditional culture in these villages. The two villages were explored with different approaches. Traditional fieldwork was undertaken in Jimbaran, whereas Kuta was examined using the online community’s social media.

The following table summarises the research methodologies used in the two case studies.
Table 3.1  
Summary of Research Methodologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Area</th>
<th>Jimbaran</th>
<th>Kuta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Ethnography</td>
<td>Digital Ethnography</td>
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| Data Collection Methods | • Fieldworks Observation  
  • Photo Elicitation (Photographs taken by participants)  
  • Interview  
  • Focus group  
  • Document Studies | • Facebook Networked Community Online Participation and Observation  
  • Selecting photographs posted by group members and from other relevant online references  
  • Online conversations in social media  
  • Site Visit  
  • Document Studies |
| Participants | • 25 desa adat members (villagers) from different neighborhoods  
  • 4 focus groups:  
    A: 4 villagers  
    B: 4 villagers  
    C: 4 persons  
    D: 11 persons | • Kuta Facebook Community: members (1000+) and uploaded photographs (500+), This group has average 3 activities/posts/conversations per week |
| Periods of Study | 2011-2012 | 2012-2013 |
| Data Analysis | • Thematic analysis of participants photographs, comments and opinions of local community  
  • Discourse analysis of participants photographs, comments, conversations and opinions | • Thematic analysis of different photographs, topics and issues discussed by local community in social media  
  • Discourse analysis of participants photographs, comments, conversations, and opinions |
3.3 Research Methods for the Jimbaran Case Study

In exploring the local community’s sense of place in Bali, I was in the position of *indigenous-outsider* (Banks, 1998). I am an indigenous Balinese and hold the same cultural values as participants. However, because I live outside the study area and belong to another *desa adat* community in Bali, I am considered as an *outsider* by the study participants. Besides, I do not identify with the study area as my place identity. Nonetheless, as a Balinese, I have the advantage of having a comprehensive understanding of Balinese culture, which assists in the data collection process, such as interviews and conducting of focus group sessions, and facilitates the gaining of trust from the Jimbaran villagers, because of cultural and language familiarity. Being an *outsider* living outside the studied community required me to introduce myself to the local community leaders and people of Jimbaran in order to obtain formal access to conduct the research in their community.

The fieldwork visits were conducted between 2011 and 2012 in *desa adat* Jimbaran, an area that has been exposed to tourism development in recent years. Jimbaran is now a growing tourism area, previously well known as a small, traditional fishing village, located in the southern part of Bali. Geographically, the village is located between two main tourism areas: Kuta in the north, which has

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31 According to Banks (1998), the *indigenous-insider* endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviours, beliefs and knowledge of their indigenous community and culture and is perceived by people within the community as a legitimate community member who can speak with authority about it. A second type, the *indigenous-outsider* socialised within their indigenous community but has experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into an outsider or oppositional culture. The values, beliefs, perspectives and knowledge of this individual are identical to those of the outside community. The indigenous-outsider is perceived by indigenous people in the community as an outsider. The *external-insider* was socialised within another culture and acquires its beliefs, values, behaviours, attitudes and knowledge. However, because of their unique experiences, such individuals reject many of the values, beliefs and knowledge claims of their indigenous community and endorse those of the studied community. The external-insider is viewed by the new community as an ‘adopted’ insider. The last type is the *external outsider*, who is socialised within a community different from the one in which they are doing research. The external-outsider category is usually applied when Westerners research indigenous communities, as they have only a partial understanding of and little appreciation for the values, perspectives, and knowledge of the community they are studying, and consequently often misunderstand and misinterpret behaviours within the studied community.
developed for saturated mass tourism and Nusa Dua Resort in the southeast, an enclavistic space of highly planned and managed tourism. A similar ethnographic investigation was undertaken in the village from 1960 to the late 1970s by the American anthropologist, Fred B. Eiseman. However, that study focused on the practices of Balinese culture during that period. It did not consider people’s sense of place or tourism development in the village (Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989; Eiseman, 1990). Jimbaran today is vastly different from how it was described in Eiseman’s (1990) book *Bali: Sekala Niskala*, at a time when the main income predominantly stemmed from traditional fishing and agriculture. Jimbaran in the current research was assessed in terms of the influences of tourism, as it has become one of the most popular tourist places, known for its luxury resorts and dining destinations.

### 3.3.1 Accessing a Balinese Village

Access and approval for conducting research in the village was made through direct contact with the local community leader. The fieldwork was conducted after obtaining the approval of the University of Western Sydney’s Human Ethics Committee. The fieldwork was conducted in two stages over 12 weeks. The first field visit was conducted between 16 April and 20 May 2011 and the second, between 20 December 2011 and 10 February 2012. To validate the collected data in qualitative research, Silverman (2006) suggests two steps. First, the findings should be validated and verified by the participants themselves. The second step, triangulation, is the process of comparing the results of different methods used in research on the same topic to obtain the correct position of an object (Silverman, 2006). For this reason, I maintained post-fieldwork contacts with the key informants.
(the village leader, neighbourhood and coordinators) and the villagers for verification regarding the collected data.

Being Balinese does not automatically give me privilege in researching places in Bali. Since a Balinese person belongs to only one desa adat, entering the territory of another desa adat that has no affiliation to one’s family roots, to conduct research on the community is considered unethical. As Bryman (2008) indicates, in the ethnographic tradition, gaining access, trust and recommendations, requires the cooperation of key informants. Certain requirements should be fulfilled prior to data collection to ensure the trustworthiness of the researcher, including their credibility, dependability and confirmability, and the authenticity of the research. These were important in my project in desa adat Jimbaran. As a person with no personal affiliation with Jimbaran and its people, obtaining permission in a limited period and gaining the trust from people for their supportive participation in my research became a significant challenge at the beginning of my fieldwork.

In dealing with desa adat, the person I should first contact is bendesa adat, the traditional community leader of that desa adat (Perda No.06, 1986). The bendesa (usually a male) is elected by krama—the village members of desa adat—for a period of five years and can be re-elected for a second period. Through a professional network established prior to commencing this study, I was recommended by a colleague in Nusa Dua who was acquainted with the bendesa adat (the traditional village leader) of Jimbaran and who introduced me to him.\(^\text{32}\) His name is Made B.\(^\text{33}\) and he is a retired teacher and high school principal who has served as bendesa adat since 2005. He is now in the second period of his leadership in desa adat Jimbaran

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\(^{32}\) On Friday, 14 January 2011, I visited bendesa adat's house at Ulun Swi Jimbaran Street, wearing the Balinese traditional costume, to introduce myself as a PhD researcher.

\(^{33}\) Names of participants have been changed and a pseudonym is used for all participants and informants.
after being re-elected in 2009. He welcomed me warmly and accepted my research proposal to conduct fieldwork in his village. A letter outlining the proposal was sent to the bendesa adat office in Jimbaran. Due to my unfamiliarity with the structure of the village, especially desa adat Jimbaran, my first interview was conducted with Made B, who explained socio-cultural life in Jimbaran and his role as the community leader.

As a Balinese–Hindu researcher, I was also very concerned with my spiritual connection with Jimbaran village, in other words: how to be ‘spiritually’ welcome by the place. Therefore, I requested the permission from bendesa adat to conduct the Balinese rituals of matur piuning at the village temples. Matur Piuning is a spiritual activity of Balinese Hinduism, commonly practiced by Balinese in a request for ‘spiritual support’ or permission from the Gods, Goddesses and divinities at the local sacred temples before conducting any activities in a particular place, for a safe and successful project. To this end, I undertook worship at the tri kahyangan temple, the three village temples in Jimbaran (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2), at which worship was usually conducted only by the villagers of Jimbaran. Temple permission had to be secured, because as a Balinese, I am only obliged to pray in the tri kahyangan temple of the desa adat to which I belong, and it is very uncommon for Balinese to worship at tri kahyangan temples located in another desa adat.

The bendesa adat appreciated my high respect to the spirituality of desa adat Jimbaran based on my request and granted permission for matur piuning in

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34 *Tri kahyangan* (three village great temples) or *kahyangan tiga* consists of *pura puseh* (central/navel temple), *pura desa* and *bale agung* (village temple) and *pura dalem* (temple of the dead), which function together, exist all over Bali. The socio-cultural and moral unity of the village domain is represented conceptually by this triad of temples. The Balinese-Hindus in Bali, in addition to their kinship, each usually has the obligation to only one desa adat, and performs the tri kahyangan temple’s *piodalan* (festival) once every seven months. Bali currently has 1,483 desa adat across the eight regencies and a city (Bali Province, 2012).
Jimbaran’s *tri kahyangan: pura desa and pura puseh*—the village and navel temples (Figure 3.1) and *pura dalem kahyangan*—the death temple (Figure 3.2).

![Figure 3.1: Matur piuning ring pura desa and pura puseh, desa adat Jimbaran](photo: fieldwork, 2011)

![Figure 3.2: Matur piuning at pura dalem Kahyangan, desa adat Jimbaran](photo: fieldwork, 2011)
In addition, I would also pray in Pura Ulun Swi (Figure 3.3), a historical temple as the founder of Jimbaran, located at the corner of the village’s pampatan agung.\textsuperscript{35} After considering the appropriate day and time, it was decided that I should come to the temples on Friday, 30 April 2011. I knew from bendesa adat that Pura Ulun Swi should not be worshipped on Wednesdays, when visitors are not allowed to enter the temple for unexplainable reasons according to the paruman consensus among Balinese Hindu high priests.

\textbf{Figure 3.3 Matur Piuning ring Pura Ulun Swi, Jimbaran (photo: fieldwork, 2011)}

Finally, I received ‘spiritual blessing’ to begin my fieldwork soon after matur piuning with Banten Daksina\textsuperscript{36} in all three main village temples and also in Pura

\textsuperscript{35} The village’s grand crossroad.

\textsuperscript{36} Daksina are important offerings that consist of a cylindrical basket made of coconut leaves containing a shaved coconut; a porosan from base leaf; lime; coloured seeds that symbolise Trimurthi Gods: Brahma (the Creator), Wisnu (the sustainer) and Siwa (the destroyer); other different leaves; a green banana; a raw egg; rice and a canang. Canang is an offering with a square frame made of a folded coconut leaf about 10 cm along each side, filled with porosan and a slice of banana or sugar.
Ulun Swi Jimbaran. Worshipping and obtaining holy water from the temples in Jimbaran as part of *matur piuning* made me feel a sense of ‘the real welcome’ by the village as a Balinese Hindu researcher, both in *sekala* (physical sphere) and *niskala* (metaphysical sphere). The experience of becoming physically and spiritually attached with Jimbaran enhanced my confidence, and I was ready to immerse myself into its ambience.

### 3.3.2 Recruiting the Informants

It is well known that sampling in qualitative research should be theoretically grounded (Silverman, 2006). This research involved sampling by selecting groups or categories to study based on their relevance to the research questions, theoretical position and explanation of what is being studied to assist the researcher in developing and explaining the theory. Theoretical sampling allows the researcher to choose an element because it illustrates some feature or process on which the research is focused. Many qualitative researchers employ this process to seek out groups, settings and individuals where the process being studied is most likely to occur (Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Mason, 1996).

For the fieldwork, the participants from the local community were selected, with assistance from the local community leader, from different categories of age, gender, length of residency, neighbourhood, role in the community and occupation. The participants were also recommended by other participants to join the research based on relevance and their role in the community. They were assessed based on their cane, which is then topped with colourful flowers and green shredded pandanus leaves.

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37 Theoretical sampling is supposed to continue until the point of theoretical saturation is reached. In grounded theory, the sampling will achieve the point of theoretical saturation, when emerging concepts have been fully explored and no new insights are being generated. This sampling method also has the advantage of allowing flexibility to expand: as new factors emerge it is possible for the researcher to increase the sample in order to gain more data: Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.). (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage.
capacity to provide answers to interview questions. With this sampling method it is important to make initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then use them to establish contact with other prospective participants (Bryman, 2008). As noted, fieldwork was conducted in Jimbaran village from April 2011 until February 2012, following my long-term observation of this place\textsuperscript{38} since 1991. Twenty-five Balinese Hindu members of desa adat Jimbaran were selected as research participants (see Table 3.1). The first participants were recommended by bendesa adat. They then started to introduce me to other participants. Involvement was voluntary and no participant had a personal relationship with the researcher.

Table 3.1 illustrates the demographic profiles of the 25 villagers that participated in this study, with their different levels of affiliation with the Jimbaran village. It also presents information about their length of residency to indicate their ‘rootedness’ in the village. At the beginning of the research it was expected that there should be a balance amount of male and female participants through the recommendation and invitation to an interview or focus groups, however, the participation rate of women remained low. It is also observable that women are quiet inferior and not showing their enthusiasm during the research. At the end of the second fieldworks, the gender proportion consists of 68% of males and 32% of females. Yet, this figure may represent the male domination in Balinese ‘patriarchal’ culture that endures until today.\textsuperscript{39}

Table 3.2 outlines the occupation and gender of the participants, and serves as a reference for the discussion chapter. Occupation also indicates socio-economic attachment with Jimbaran places or neighbouring areas.

\textsuperscript{38} I have lived in South Bali for the last 20 years.

\textsuperscript{39} The male’s domination over female residents’ is even more distinct within desa adat system because of the patriarchal system in Bali.
Table 3.2: Research participant profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant characteristics</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age (years)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>19–70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Jimbaran</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born outside Jimbaran</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residential mobility</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have been living in same place since birth</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to area within the village (marriage, new house)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved from outside the village (woman/marriage)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved from the village to outside (woman/marriage)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture/Fisheries</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism related (hotel, restaurants, cafés, services)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public (health, education, administration)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of working</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Jimbaran area</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Jimbaran area</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, April 2011–February 2012

Some participants were also identified as business owners or side income earners.
Table 3.3: Research participant occupations and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name(^{\text{a1}})</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Made B</td>
<td><em>Bendesa adat</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Made T</td>
<td>Head of Administration Office</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Wayan S</td>
<td>Administration Office/Neighbourhood leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Made A</td>
<td>Village Security Leader/Hotel Security Head</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Wayan R</td>
<td>Neighbourhood leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ketut Y</td>
<td><em>Desa adat</em> officer</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Made K</td>
<td>Seafood café owner</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ketut S</td>
<td>Neighbourhood leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ketut K</td>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Wayan K</td>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Wayan T</td>
<td>Tourism employee</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Made M</td>
<td>Hotel employee</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Made W</td>
<td>Hotel employee</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Made S</td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Wayan M</td>
<td>School headmaster/teacher</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Nyoman W</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Nyoman B</td>
<td>Seafood café owner</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Made N</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Made D</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Made L</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Ketut D</td>
<td>Beach cleaner</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Wayan H</td>
<td>Tourism employee</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Made Y</td>
<td>Hotel employee</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Wayan I</td>
<td>Hotel employee</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Wayan A</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork in Jimbaran, from April 2011 to February 2012

### 3.3.3 Ways to Capture Villagers’ Expressions

Data for this study were obtained using multi-methods of research, such as participant observation, visual ethnography (photo elicitation), interviews, focus groups and document studies. At the beginning of my research in Jimbaran, the most common questions asked by study participants were, ‘What do you mean by ‘sense of place’?’; ‘What do you mean by attachment and identity?’ and so on. The absence

\(^{a1}\) Pseudonyms only are provided.
of an equivalent local term was a challenge during the fieldwork. This situation also occurs in Western contexts: when people are asking about the sense of place, responses may vary across related terms and understandings (Orange, 2011). By acknowledging that place and sense of place are multi-layered processes, the questions I posed focused on two related terms: place attachment and place identity. Although the questions related to ‘place attachment’, I inquired about the local’s positive emotional relationship with a particular place(s), a technique employed in earlier sense of place studies (Altman & Low, 1992; Lewicka, 2011; Vanclay, 2008). The questions on ‘place identity’ include space(s) and human actions that construct the character of the place (Rose, 1995), which serve as symbols in a cultural landscape. For this reason, at the beginning of my research, I had to clarify the term and avoid confusion by using questions that were relevant to sense of place and more explicit to the participants, (see details in Appendix 1) such as:

1) What are the places that have significant meaning to local community? Would you take photographs of those places?

2) Why do locals think those places are important?

3) Are there stories or personal and communal experience with those places?

4) What would you think if such places were no longer to exist?

Researching an ‘important’ place does not necessarily mean iconic places, such as buildings, which have ‘special historic interest’, or monuments of ‘national importance’, which are typically promoted as tourist objects. Rather, the place should possess special meaning to the local people that is valued by them to characterise a local area and gives a place a distinctive quality that sets it apart from other places (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011). Later, I found that what locals consider of importance are not only places important in everyday life, but also abandoned places
or hope for a place that locals consider to have cultural significance and hence planning implications.

Methods such as photo elicitation, qualitative interviews and focus groups have been recommended to obtain deeper insights about the meanings associated with places (Farnum et al., 2005). As the nature of a sense of place is like other human senses, a viable way to visualise this aspect is by capturing the landscapes or places photographed or illustrated by study participants, followed by verbal explanations through semi-structured interviews and/or focus group discussion to elicit collective meanings and to answer the research questions.

### 3.3.3.1 Photo Elicitation: A Visual Ethnography

The photo elicitation technique is a visual ethnographic method, which helps participants to express their feelings about a place by creating visual images of a sense of place, which by nature, is difficult to explain (Bryman, 2008). Photo elicitation was employed as one of the research methods in this study. Unlike extant visual materials collected from sources such as newspapers, magazines and online media, these photographs were research driven, through visual images taken by either the researcher or the research participants. The images are later used as a springboard for discussion concerning the meaning and significance of the image (Bryman, 2008). The use of photographs can reveal and demonstrate the relationships between humans and place that in a real setting may be subtle and easily overlooked. Through photographs, feelings can be communicated, as well as the imparted emotions from activities, interactions and the environment. Compared to other methods, such as a survey with questionnaires or interviews, photographs as visual material can be a useful tool for social research because they offer evidence of
historically, culturally and socially specific ways of seeing the world (Rose, 2000). The photographs can be utilised to evoke comments, memory and discussion in the subsequent qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2008; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). The use of research-generated photographs in this study was preferable to that of extant photographs. Besides the spontaneity of being taken by participants, this method also aims to ensure the spatial distribution of places in the study areas (Stedman, et.al, 2004).

Research using photographs with qualitative interview has some advantages, especially in developing the relationship between the researchers and the study participants. Besides providing a meaningful context for discussion, photographs help engage participants with the objects of study and stimulate the interviewee to recall the situations or events that might have been forgotten (Harper, 2002). This technique may also add validity and reliability to word-based research, as photographs can be examined scientifically as visual inventories of objects, people and artefacts. However, in revealing the meaning of place, photographs also have limitations in identifying values, as they expose only visible objects. Although researchers can study the social identity that can be seen (such as artefacts and social activities), they still have difficulties in examining intangible identity from photographs taken by participants. For instance, local residents may have more difficulties than visitors in expressing aesthetic quality because they are ‘insiders’ and may be less conscious of their aesthetic quality (Stedman et al., 2004). This condition occurred in this research: some photographs were taken unskilfully, and had a lack of focus and aesthetics, and incomplete explanations about the meanings.

Note that one participant in Jimbaran contributed her photo collection regarding the place that was being discussed.
This shortcoming lessened the researcher’s opportunities when questioning participants in further discussions in focus groups or interviews.

I was aware that this study was highly dependent on the villagers with technical limitations, being ‘untrained’ or inexperienced in taking photographs, so to some extent they may overlook important moments, activities or places. In addition, photo elicitation has an attribute of subjectivity, in which the reality perceived by the participants depends on a number of factors. Therefore, as recommended by Bryman (2008) I took into account the role of informants and participants’ socio-demographic backgrounds (such as age, gender, occupation and education), and photo-taking experience because these factors might influence what is captured.

Photo elicitation involves multiple activities. To enable this process, I met the participants in their own village or settings, sought their permission, explained the agenda and provided a camera for their use. For their convenience, I also allowed participants to utilise their own digital or phone camera to take photographs for this research. Further, I provided them with technical instructions related to the research before the photo-taking process began. The participant profiles satisfy the need for heterogeneity of photographs, as they had different backgrounds and lived in different parts of the village, which maximised the opportunities to discover variations in responses.

The fieldwork in Jimbaran resulted in 88 photographs with different arrays of object and meaning selected from 155 photographs taken by all participants. These were further analysed after discussions with participants. The selection criteria included clarity of the appearance, that the photograph should not be blurred and should have a clear focus of an area or an object. Not surprisingly, some participants photographed similar places or similar objects in the same and/or different locations.
For this reason, the villagers and I decided to choose the most appropriate photographs, which represented the village for this study. The selected photographs were then grouped into types of places. This stage was followed by the descriptions and assignment of meanings associated with those places given by respondents during interviews. Photographs generally possess multiple values for participants (a photo may combine at least two meanings), such as personal interest or spiritual, social economic, social community, cultural, traditional, historical, memorable, aesthetical and commemorative connotations of places or activities. Subsequently, the pictures in Jimbaran are grouped based on the emerging themes in this research, following the gathering of data from interviews and focus groups. However, the photo elicitation had some limitations, including that some places mentioned during the interviews and focus group discussions were not included in the participants’ photos. Therefore, I took some of my own photographs during the fieldwork to support the commentaries of the participants.

3.3.3.2 Listening to the People’s Voices: Interviews and Focus Groups

Interviews (especially during the fieldwork in Jimbaran) were conducted in semi-structured form using (mostly research-generated) photographs as prompts. At this stage, I prepared a list of questions, but was careful to ensure that responses would be ‘in favor of the interviewees with some degree of flexibility’ (Bryman, 2008). A principal advantage of using photographs in interviews was that the photographs were of assistance in the research as a ‘neutral’ third party between the researcher and the participant. In this case, a photograph helped ease the ‘tension’ that participants might feel being examined by the researcher, by supporting minimal eye contact between the two parties. Further, the existence of the photograph helps
overcome difficulties in social studies using in-depth interview, especially when the researcher and participant have different perspectives and conditions (such as age, gender, education) (Harper, 2002).

With this technique, further questions were also generated from the interviewees’ responses, in addition to the ones outlined on the researcher’s list. However, for consistency, similar question formats were applied to all interviewees. The interview also allowed participants to interpret their own collection of photographs, to explain meanings and help in the analysis of shared constructs about themes related to sense of place. The interviews varied in length and were recorded with participants’ permission. The recordings were transcribed verbatim and translated into English, as all participants provided responses in Balinese and Indonesian national languages. The use of interview techniques in the research also facilitated the inclusion of illiterate people in the village, such as an old fisherman, who was able to express verbally his opinions. Figure 3.4 was taken during the fieldwork in Jimbaran in May 2011.

Figure 3.4: In the community in Jimbaran (photo: fieldwork, 2011)
During the conversations, as the researcher, I acted mostly as a listener, being attentive to what the interviewee was saying (or not saying), and attempted a balance of being ‘active but not intrusive’. With my awareness that interviewees might lose interest in answering my questions because they were too familiar with the mundane—the everyday of places or topics they explained, as suggested by Harper (2002), I tried to maintain their enthusiasm by asking them about the meanings of photographs they had taken with open questions. For example, questions such as ‘Why is this thing or place important to you?’ and ‘Why would you miss this thing or place if it moved away?’ were among those I used at the beginning of interviews. This approach aimed to record local residents’ explanations of the place in order to analyse their attachment to it (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). Besides allowing for flexibility in answering, the use of open-ended questions in qualitative interviewing has some further advantages as apparent in this study. These advantages include encouraging respondents to raise an issue, allowing creative responses, reflecting the participant’s understanding of an issue, and exploring new things of which the researcher has limited knowledge.

In addition, follow-up questions emerged beyond the initial two questions above, such as inquiries about the villagers’ activities related to the places, regular events, personal memories, what they ‘liked’ and ‘disliked’ about the place, and so on. The findings also include discussions about ‘other places’ or objects that were not captured in the photographs (that respondents might consider equally important). At the end of the discussions, I took photographs that were seen as accompaniments to the ‘incidentally mentioned’ areas during the interviews. The rich amassed data, including visual (photographs) and texts in local languages (Balinese and Indonesian) were then recorded, translated into English, transcribed, interpreted,
triangulated and analysed with discourse and thematic analysis, which collectively have shaped the findings.

In order to delve into the local community’s sense of place, I conducted focus groups to understand the joint production of place meanings. Focus groups are typically a form of group interview in which there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator). They emphasise questioning on a particular or pre-defined topic. The focus is upon interaction within the group and the shared construction of meaning (Bryman, 2008). In this study, focus group participants brought issues related to a pre-determined topic about the Balinese sense of place, including their daily experience as members of a desa adat community who live in Jimbaran. As moderator, I allowed participants to discuss anything interesting to them with minimal interruption. The emerging issues were unpredictable: I later used these issues as a point of departure in data analysis. Even though focus groups are not intended to teach, to inform or to tell, according to a research experience about community-based tourism (Cole, 2004), the focus groups held in the villages could also become the locus for the transfer of knowledge about tourism, as discussions often become a situation of the villagers probing the researcher’s knowledge and experience.

Another advantage of focus group discussion is that this method allows participating community members to state their feelings and opinions about their places (which is essential in community-based planning) (Stedman et al., 2004). For this reason, this method has also been used in formulation of planning and policy involving communities (Davies, 1999). As happened in Jimbaran, participants felt honoured that they were selected and allowed to contribute their ideas to local planning through this research, a situation that rarely occurs in their everyday village
life. In this study, the focus group discussions helped determine community values about sense of place by involving several people in a group discussing places and tourism in their village. This method is useful in a sense of place study, as the focus group reflects the process through which communal meanings are constructed, from the emerging themes that can be explored more deeply in a group discussion than in individual interviews.

I conducted four focus groups in Jimbaran during the fieldwork. The first group was focused on fishing (four villagers); the second was about the youth community (four villagers); the third was about tourism (four villagers); and the last discussed living in desa adat with 11 villagers (see Figure 3.5).

![Figure 3.5: A focus group with desa adat Jimbaran villagers and coordinators](photo: fieldwork, 2012)

The participants varied and were selected from among the interviewees as well as non-interviewed villagers who wanted to contribute their knowledge voluntarily. I adopted Bryman’s (2008) recommendation that in determining the number of participants, the researcher should consider socio-demographic factors. The reason
for small numbers of participants was the limited ‘feasible’ time for both participants and the researcher. Time constraints affected our ability to meet during the fieldwork.

Local residents were asked to discuss their opinions about each topic and I acted as facilitator or moderator. I had less control over the discussions than with the individual interviews, but the conversations were still driven by the researcher’s agenda and interests (Morgan, 1997; Neuman, 2006). Despite the alignment of the method with the study objectives, I also encountered some challenges in conducting the focus groups. I needed to ensure that each participant contributed to the discussion, but was sometimes dealing with some participants’ silence and others’ dominance. I also observed the interesting process that as people gathered in the same conversation, they were more interested not only in ‘what’ other people said, but also in ‘how’ they said it—with diverse expressions and emphasis (Morgan, 1997). This highlighted how my comprehensive understanding of Balinese culture as the background of the participants was vital to being able to interpret the data effectively.

The discussions in the focus group revealed community perspectives on various topics. The questions posed for each group can be found in Appendix 2. With this guidance, all group conversations followed the discourses and expected patterns aligned with the research questions. First, I sought community opinions about places of significance for individuals and communities in Jimbaran. Second, the discussions revealed why some places in this village are more visited and utilised by the locals. Third, the participants explained their attachment with some places, indicating village and community identity. Finally, the focus groups discussed the impacts of tourism in their village from different perspectives, such as the fishermen
community, young people, tourism employees and desa adat villagers. These results were extremely helpful in formulating the answers to research questions about place attachments and place identity in Jimbaran.

At the end of each focus group, I conducted a ‘participant check’ to validate data from some participants and the village leader. In this process, I asked participants’ feedback on the accuracy of data that had been recorded during the focus group discussions and interviews to meet my soundness and reliability criteria. I made another visit to Bali in January 2013 to confirm my findings with some of the villagers I had previously interviewed and whose statements and photographs were selected and analysed in this thesis.

3.4 Research Methods for Kuta Case Study

As everyday life for much of the world is becoming increasingly technologically mediated, social interactions increasingly move online, which can also provide a focus for research (Hosera & Nitschkeb, 2010). In addition to ‘traditional’ ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Jimbaran, this study also employed digital ethnography to explore the expressions of the villagers of Kuta—another Balinese village well known as the most popular tourist place in Bali, following its long-term development as a tourist destination on this island since the 1930s. With this digital approach, the use of technology changes only the way people tell their stories, as with traditional ethnography, it does not change the richness of the stories nor its epistemological position (Murthy, 2008). Social network sites (SNS),\footnote{Boyd and Ellison (2007) define SNS as ‘web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system’: see Boyd, D. M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13(1), 210-230.} such as Facebook, Twitter and many other contemporary online social media create virtual
places. Through this technology, people communicate concurrently with the assistance of internet-connected devices once they register in the same SNS. Functioning as an online community that is subject to connectivity to the internet, such networks serve as media for people to share interests, views, or activities to audiences with diverse or common identities, such as language, gender, religion, age or nationality. With their increasing use, one of the important effects of online social networks is that their members have integrated these sites into their everyday practices (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

The internet not only liberates community in developing new networks, but also reconceptualises the value of community relationships. Purcell (2006) argues that rather than meeting people in physical proximity, the members of a networked community have a greater focus on the quality of relationships. Users can control how often they are in contact with other users and how far they develop familiarity in relationships; a factor that is prominent in maintaining community cohesiveness both online and offline. As the use of the networked community becomes more intensive, the ways that internet-mediated communications intersect with community life have become an emerging area of research (Kayahara, 2006). As part of computer-mediated communication, SNSs are unique, as the programmes enable people to expand their networks, with both people already known and with strangers. According to Boyd and Ellison (2007), in these networks, people do not necessarily make new acquaintances; instead, the majority of users communicate initially with those they already know in real life, such as family and friends. From this perspective, online communities are supplementary to the ‘offline’ community in the real setting. In other words, the co-presence of online and offline communities has enhanced the sense of community and their connection with one another.
One of the most popular SNS is Facebook—a virtual venue for sharing ideas, passions, and social and political issues, or just creating a place to connect (Facebook, 2012). This type of group aims to gather members that are generally organised around a common interest, such as a hobby, a favourite topic, or a cause that can vary from frivolous to serious in meaning, with people joining groups with different motivations (Kinkoph Gunter, 2011). Such groups also benefit their members when used in conjunction with local community activities in a real setting to invite participation to local community events and to share information about past.

3.4.1 Kuta Facebook Community

During the early stages of this study, Facebook groups enabled me to establish acquaintances with a number of Balinese communities. Many Facebook groups offer discussion boards and opportunities for members to find somebody willing to offer information sought and they can be a powerful tool to spread a message, organising people into grassroots movements, social causes and other issues (Kinkoph Gunter, 2011).

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44 Founded in 2004, Facebook is a social networking website, an online community to provide a virtual place where people can meet and interact, to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what is going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them: see Facebook. (2012). http://www.facebook.com/facebook. Retrieved 4 May 4 2012; Kinkoph Gunter, S. (2011). Sams Teach Yourself Facebook® in 10 Minutes: Pearson Education Inc.. As outlined by the founders, Facebook's mission is 'to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected': see Facebook. (2012). http://www.facebook.com/facebook. Retrieved 4 May 2012.

As a US-based company that introduced the network to the American scholarly community during its initial launch (between 2004 and 2006), Facebook has gained most of its initial popularity in the home country, where it has more than 150 million current users: Socialbakers. (2012). www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/ Retrieved 5 May 2012. Now it has been accessed worldwide in 213 countries, with approximately 80% of its active monthly users being from outside the US and Canada. It is reported that Indonesia is the fourth-ranked Facebook user after the US, Brazil and India, with 42.25 million users by the first quarter of 2012. This is a large proportion of Indonesia’s 240 million population considering that only 21% of Indonesians between the ages of 15 and 49 had access to the internet in 2011. Although many in rural areas struggle to be connected, the social media phenomenon is widespread amongst Indonesia’s urban elite. This was highlighted by the British Broadcasting Commission (BBC) News (16 February 2012). Indonesia’s love affair with social media, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-17054056. Retrieved 5 May 2012.

45 People are bound to find groups that suit their needs. There are endless possibilities for members to decide about joining or creating a group with a different interest and inviting others to join. Members can become fans of companies, celebrities, musicians, television shows or products and may share hobbies or political views.
Some online communities I followed were place based, which were relevant to my research about sense of place.

One of the Balinese online groups I followed from the commencement of my PhD was ‘Kuta Mu, Kuta Ku, Kuta Kita’ (hereafter referred to as Kuta Kita), an open Facebook group with 10 members, although more than 50 non-members had also posted their opinions on this site. Kuta Kita’s first post was created in April 2009, followed by many commentaries based on the group mission: ‘from, by, and for Kuta’. The main activities were discussions by local community members about many different topics relating to Kuta, including social, cultural and other ongoing issues, such as tourism. This group was founded by LSW, an organising member of Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LPM, a community empowerment body) Kuta—the community empowerment division of Kuta village—who later became my connection and informant in this digital research. I soon became interested in following Kuta Kita on Facebook, as some group members actively posted their collections of photographs about Kuta, and their archives in this group are accessible to the public (see Figure 3.6). At that point, Kuta Kita conversations became active and I found interesting posts by participants (both members and non-members).

The photographs and commentaries in Kuta Kita were not only about present Kuta: some of them illustrated Kuta and Bali in the past, including both tourism and non-tourism-related issues. From this online community, I acknowledge that I learned about Kuta from the perspectives of its community members since following

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46 This open Facebook group is not exclusive to its members. As such, anyone has access to retrieve information, post comments and upload files and photographs.
47 Last viewed in October 2013.
48 Names for Kuta online community members such as Kuta Kita and Kuta Facebook Community (KFC) are indicated by their initial or abbreviated name.
this group, and I found that Kuta Kita had significant potential as a valuable source of data in my research.⁴⁹

![Kuta Kita Facebook Group](image)

**Figure 3.6: Kuta Ku Kuta Mu Kuta Kita: a rudimentary online Kuta Facebook Community (Kuta Kita, 2012)**

In November 2010, another Facebook group about Kuta emerged, also founded by LSW—the administrator of Kuta Kita and a senior villager of Kuta identified as MJK. This group was called Kuta Facebook Community (hereafter referred to as KFC). This new networked community was an enhancement of Kuta Kita that aimed to discuss ongoing community issues exclusively relating to Kuta village. Figure 3.7 shows the Kuta Kita Facebook group invitation to join KFC.

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⁴⁹ In the process of this research and analysis, some data were also obtained from Kuta Kita.
Figure 3.7: The founder of Kuta Ku Kuta Mu Kuta Kita invited Facebook users to join the new Kuta Facebook Community group (Kuta Kita, 2012)

As a host community since its early tourism development in the 1930s, the villagers of Kuta have immersed themselves in the daily activities of serving tourist needs (see KFC profile photo in Figure 3.8). Nowadays, most villagers work as employees in the public and private sector or run their (small, family) business, as they live together in the area of desa adat Kuta (DAK) and practise traditional Balinese culture. KFC was established with the purpose of maintaining social cohesion and identity among this locally based community, as well as to promote a bottom-up approach of development in providing opportunities for local people to have their say.

According to the administrators of KFC, this social network group was developed as a forum to facilitate communication among the dispersed local community of Kuta, especially in the current situation following growing tourism, which has increased mobility in the village. Various types of villager activities have been reported on KFC in stories about events, usually with photographs on website.

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50 In an interview on 18 April 2012 in Kuta.
pages such as those in Kuta Kita. Since being promoted more actively by the initiators, in a relatively short period KFC has been thriving and has attracted more members.

Figure 3.8: A Kuta Facebook Community profile picture: a busy night on Legian Street, Kuta (photo: KFC, 2013)

In my initial observations of this group, there were only 728 members (at 30 March 2012). Membership is increasing, and as of 7 August 2014, KFC has 1,737 members. However, unlike Kuta Kita, KFC is a ‘closed’ Facebook group. This system enables the administrators to control the membership and to watch the ongoing discussions to keep them relevant to the group’s objectives, as well as to avoid participation by uninvited individuals who might promote irrelevant side activities. Following KFC’s steadily increasing membership, Kuta Kita’s administration announced its migration into KFC, at which time Kuta Kita automatically became inactive, although it is still retrievable (Figure 3.7).

The members of KFC are mostly local Kutanese. However, the organisers also invite non-locals who have concerns about development in Kuta and welcome any ideas and solutions for ongoing community problems; however, these outsiders are few in number. KFC also includes some expatriate and non-Balinese residents of Kuta who have lived and worked in Kuta for a long period (which can be discerned
by their names, identity, photographs and commentaries). However, in joining the
KFC group, we are unable to know exactly the identity of each member, since it
depends upon the (member) individual’s privacy settings in their Facebook account.
Demographically, KFC members include both adult men and women with different
roles in the local community, such as traditional community leaders, neighbourhood
leaders, pecalang (village security), public service officers, politicians, teachers,
tourism and hospitality workers, hotel and restaurant owners, other business owners,
university students, architects, photographers, women activists and regular villagers.
According to the group administration, members also can invite others to become
members if they think they may provide a positive contribution to KFC. In order to
regulate group interactions, the creators set the rule that all members must
communicate in the national language (Bahasa Indonesia):

This is an alternative media of communication for the Kuta community.
Please post your comments responsibly for my Kuta, your Kuta and our
Kuta. Do not only protest, but also find the solutions for us. If any problems
have been solved, do not put any more comments that incur endless
arguments. Rather, new post is preferable for emerging ideas for the past
topic of discussion. Admin has the authority to delete the out of topic posts
and such an endless argument (KFC group page, 31 October 2013, see
Figure 3.9).
As a non-Kutanese approved member since August 2011, I have the privilege to participate in the online activities of KFC without restrictions. I have been given access to observe and to contribute to this group by sharing my knowledge and becoming involved in various discussions about people, their activities and places in Kuta. After around six months of observation of this group and encouragement by my supervisors to use this group as a source of data, I included KFC in my research on the Balinese sense of place. A formal email was sent to the administrators to request their permission to research the group’s online postings relating to my study. A confirmation email that approved my study was received in January 2012 from LSW, and was followed by a meeting with the administrators and several organising villagers of DAK on 18 April 2012 (see Figure 3.10).
Although globalisation to a certain degree undermines local community values and its rich past (Friedman, 2007), networked communities are the product of globalisation and interconnect people in the modern world. In terms of online place-based community groups like KFC, this facility builds and strengthens local residents’ experience to reconceptualise lasting values of the community and to give a meaning to life (McCluskey, 2006; Purcell, 2006). From my preliminary observation of the group’s activities, the posts and discussion topics are mostly concerned with the impacts of tourism in Kuta, in addition to people’s expectations and dissatisfaction, social justice, history, local places, events, interests, memories, ideas and opportunities. There were 1,286 photographs related to places and people in Kuta uploaded by members by 7 August 2014, and this number is increasing. The five areas of discussion are (1) local economic challenges, (2) social problems, (3) environmental issues (4) Balinese cultural traditions, community events and special features about Kuta, and (5) village administration and desa adat programmes.
People use a mix of languages in the interactions among members, including Bahasa Indonesia (the national language), Balinese (in both formal and informal language) and informal English. As a Balinese researcher, I am familiar with all these languages, which are also commonly spoken in the everyday life of tourism-affected local communities in Bali. As the Facebook group can also be accessed through personal mobile phones, KFC is reasonably active, with at least two posts or comments daily; and a number of posts raising thought-provoking issues received more than 50 responses. Data-mining processes focused on the various personal and community members’ emotional attachments to Kuta village, the local perception of place identity and the impacts of tourism on place, and sense of place in Kuta.

3.4.2 The Advantages of Kuta Facebook Community

KFC is largely a representation of a Balinese village community. In this regard, the KFC embodies and embraces Wellman’s (2001) assertion about place-based community,51 which signifies the importance of neighbourhood characteristics. It also conforms to Delanty’s (2010) definition of a (spatially based) community subscribed to in this research because the members of this Facebook group are ‘a group of people who share their sense of inhabiting a common spatial life world’. This condition is reflected in the utilisation of Kuta Kita and KFC by members of the local community of Kuta to mediate communication among residents who have the same or similar spatial interests.

According to Kayahara (2006), internet-based communities allow the researcher to explore the different views of a community in online community debates. In this regard, KFC provides opportunities for Kuta villagers to share their Balinese life experience in their village, particularly in their roles as members of DAK. By utilising the networked community in this research, I could access the problems as well as local knowledge in the community, which are not widely shared among community members in a real setting, for a number of reasons. For example, it is possible to discuss and explore the loss of oral tradition and the reluctance of sharing experience with others in face-to-face communication (McCluskey, 2006). Thus, the use of networked communities as adopted in this research is of advantage to encourage individuals to overcome such barriers in sharing their experience and to examine how their contribution could be of value to others, as well as to create mutual confidence.

Numerous studies including ‘traditional’ ethnography have been conducted about Kuta community and tourism in this area. Kuta and its development has been extensively researched by specialists in different disciplines including sociology, anthropology, architecture, history, urban development, tourism and other studies by Indonesian and international scholars (Hussey, 1989; Lindsay, 1997; Mabbett, 1987; Nurhayati, 8 March 2011; Paturisi, 1988; Picard, 2009; Sulistyawati, 2005; Suputra, Ambarawati & Tenaya, 2012). Some authors have mentioned Kuta in their research about tourism in Bali (Cassrels, 2011; Covarrubias, 1937; Cukier, 1998; Darma Putra, 2011; Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Picard, 1992; Pringle, 2004; Vickers, 1989). This diversity reflects Kuta’s role and identity as a popular tourist site that is experiencing the various impacts of tourism, and as an example of unplanned development. These studies provide the background stories to how Kuta has
developed, but none of them could serve as a more reliable source than KFC as a factual reference of the current situation in Kuta. In this regard, KFC has several strong points in terms of active participation, local contribution and initiative, and a high degree of local responsiveness to the current issues that reflect the dynamics of community and place in Kuta.

As its members reported about their everyday life as residents of Kuta, KFC is useful to observe local residents’ experiences of living in their village communally, especially after they encountered mass tourism and terrorism in the 2002 and 2005 Bali Bombings, and since. In this forum, people provide information about how they ‘live together’ with tourism, surrounded by tourists, as well as their relatives or families (their kin) and neighbours. This intersecting relationship between online and offline communities on KFC indicates that the social relationship in real life (such as friendship, family and acquaintance or memberships of formal and informal organisations within the same village administration and traditional institution as in desa adat) can similarly be conducted online. KFC also fits into Balinese traditional community values, as this forum has no consequences in terms of social status in formal institutions: the role and the rule in the offline community migrate naturally to the online community (Kavanaugh et al., 2005). This online community is even more democratic, as there is no hierarchical structure in the informal online group, where members are treated equally. These traits explain why KFC group membership has grown so quickly and why the group has the capacity to attract more members.

The villagers voluntarily share their knowledge about the village, in their roles as a community leader or village member. At some point, they have also displayed their personal emotional relationships with their place. Members posted about the condition of their neighbourhood, streets in Kuta, their business and work in Kuta, or
their traditional and ritual activities. Some others also reported problems in their village that create inconvenience to villagers and visitors. Local perceptions about Kuta locate the community in a position of being ‘the owners’ of the place, indicating their rights and obligations as members of DAK. The locals’ intention of making sense of their own village was also observable after the considerable change in the cultural landscape of their village. I also found the discourse about Balinese sense of place addressed in individual and communal expressions in the KFC, as members share concerns about improving the quality of life of local community and the future of tourism development in Kuta.

The ability of social networks to develop norms of trust and reciprocity is an important investment for a local community group in order to engage successfully in collective activities, similar to their participation in a neighbourhood association. Valenzuela, Park and Kee (2009) point out that this condition is necessary for improving individuals’ wellbeing and quality of life. The above discussion leads to the conclusion that KFC can be considered a valuable resource in researching the local community of Kuta to gather up-to-date information reported by locals about what has taken place in the real situation in the community.

3.5 Canvassing the Findings

Analysing data collected from both Jimbaran and Kuta was a complex activity. Besides discovering the richness of information with the combination of texts and photographs, I also found that the collected data, such as the participants’ explanations in interviews and the statements of the Facebook members, were not ‘ready’ for analysis. Given that this ethnographic study deals with a large body of
data, during the analysis I sought a balance between *thick descriptions* of some phenomena to be intertwined with the research findings and supporting theories.

### 3.5.1 Working with the Documents

Different kinds of documents used in this study were collected and reviewed in terms of their credibility and trustworthiness, triangulated and analysed in various forms as a primary source of data (O’Leary, 2004). Data from both study areas were retrieved from personal archives in written and visual forms, such as family photo albums and personal digital files, as well as official documents produced by organisations (public, private and non-government (NGOs)) at the international, national and local scale (such as tourism and development plans, government policies, local rules or *awig-awig desa adat* and regulations or *perda*, and articles from newspapers and websites). Glimpses of the history of Kuta highlighted in this study were derived from the works of Westerners who addressed Kuta in their books about Bali on visitors’ or travellers’ notes and stories during their visits to the island (Covarrubias, 1937; Hussey, 1989; Koke, 1987; Lindsay, 1997; Mabbett, 1987; Pringle, 2004; Tantri, 1981). Such past accounts about Kuta can be considered as a valid historical reference to provide the backdrop on how the emotional relationships of locals to their place were initially constructed. The texts were presented in tandem with photographs and narratives selected from KFC’s dialogues and relevant social media group and websites about Kuta.

### 3.5.2 Thematic Analysis

From the investigations of both the Jimbaran and Kuta case studies, the qualitative data include field notes, interview transcriptions and documents, which were all
examined and clustered into key themes that emerged. In this regard, visual data are complementary to the textual data. In determining each individual theme, I also involved the research participants as the ones who understand best their own place and the issues. In searching for themes, I also referred to Ryan and Bernard’s (2003) suggestion that themes could be determined from repetitions, indigenous typologies or categories, metaphors and analogies, transitions, similarities and differences, linguistic connectors, missing data and theory-related material. These themes subsequently assist in how the research findings are organised in this thesis. There are three themes emerged for both case studies derived from different methodologies. First, there are findings that show the place meanings and place attachment. The second theme is about the local community’s perception of their place after tourism and the third is about the (re) construction of place identity after tourism.

3.5.3 Discourse Analysis

According to Silverman (2006), discourse analysis is a useful technique in the analysis of talk and is commonly used to analyse verbal expression that emphasises the way in which versions of reality are accomplished through language. In their book on tourism discourse, Thurlow and Jaworsky (2010, p. 10) define discourse analysis as both ‘a theoretical framework for explaining how language works in everyday use and a collection of methods for investigating the social workings of language and the ways language constructs everyday social life’. They explain that language is not merely a vehicle for representing or reflecting social realities; rather, ‘it is through language and other symbolic meaning-making activities that social realities come to be understood (to make meaning) and to be organised the way they are’. The discourse analysis approach aims to provide a means of gaining insight into
formalising the discourse of local sense of place that may have further implications for planning and policy. This method was used in this study, particularly to interpret interviews and focus group discussions. Discourse analysis was also used to interpret texts from local newspapers, the discussions by Facebook group pages and other media, as well as the language used in local documents to learn about the way people express the Balinese sense of place. The discourse analysis approach aims to provide a means of gaining insight into formalising the discourse of local sense of place that may also have implications for planning and policy. In Jimbaran, the discourses are organised in three chapters. The local meanings of place, and individual and community place attachments is presented in Chapter 4, local interpretation of place identity in Jimbaran is discussed in Chapter 5 and the impact of tourism on local sense of place is analysed in Chapter 6. Kuta case study is also organised into three chapters. The discourse on tourism development and its impact in Kuta is included in Chapter 7, the reconstruction of place attachment is presented in Chapter 8 and the recuperation of place identity in Kuta is examined in Chapter 9. A summary of the research findings and major themes identified for the Jimbaran and Kuta case studies is provided in Table 3.4.
Table 3.4
Summary of Major Themes and Research Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study</th>
<th>Themes 1</th>
<th>Theme 2</th>
<th>Theme 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jimbaran</td>
<td>Place Meanings and Place attachments</td>
<td>Local community’s perception of their place after tourism</td>
<td>(Re) construction of place identity after tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>Social and cultural significance of places, the role of desa adat</td>
<td>Local interpretation of places, place attachments and place identity</td>
<td>Residents’ attitudes to tourism, place transformation, the role of desa adat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>15 thematic photographs</td>
<td>16 thematic photographs</td>
<td>14 thematic photographs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuta</td>
<td>Historical background, place transformation, tourism impact</td>
<td>Tourism Impact, reconstruction of place attachments, residents’ attitude to tourism, the role of desa adat</td>
<td>Local community’s sense of place, place identity after tourism, the role of desa adat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>25 photographs, 2 online dialogs</td>
<td>3 photographs, 2 online community aspirations</td>
<td>16 photographs, 3 online dialogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>25 photographs, 2 online dialogs</td>
<td>3 photographs, 2 online community aspirations</td>
<td>16 photographs, 3 online dialogs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Ethical Concerns

Even though the study of sense of place is not considered potentially threatening to participants, it was necessary to consider the ethical concerns because this research entered into the domains of individuals’ privacy, personal possessions (such as photos) and restricted places (such as sacred places). As a researcher undertaking ethnography, I acknowledge that my research dealt mostly with human subjects. For this reason, participants were asked to sign the informed consent forms prior to the commencement of my data collection: this aimed to protect the rights of the participants concerning the purpose of the study, to inform them of their rights, protect their privacy and gain permission to use their photographs. Most importantly,
in order to access a Balinese village, it was essential to also obtain the formal permission from the local authorities. I also respected the local residents’ privacy by considering the confidentiality of their participation and have used pseudonyms throughout as common recourse.

This study complies with human ethics following clearance via the National Ethics Application Form (NEAF) before conducting data collection in the fieldwork, especially for those methods directly dealing with human participants. The ethics approval for this research was received on 11 April 2011, from the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC), with approval number H8927. The informed consent forms accordingly were prepared to gain participants’ approval before conducting the research (particularly in interview and focus group sessions). In the case of Jimbaran village, an informed consent form was signed by participants prior to their involvement. The consent form addressed some important points such as the voluntary nature of the study, and that signing of the form indicated the free decision to join and withdraw from the research at any time. Participants were also given the option to withdraw their data with prior notice to the researcher. I also made clear that participants’ statements were to be recorded, analysed and included in this thesis.

Conducting fieldwork in Bali requires formal approvals from government institutions, such as Bali Provincial Government and Badung Regency Local Government where the fieldwork is conducted. A letter of research proposal must be sent through Kesatuan Bangsa, Politik dan Perlindungan Masyarakat or Kesbanglinmas (The Department of National Union, Politics and Community Protection) seeking their permission to gain access for data collection in several local government departments such as Dinas Pariwisata Bali and Badung Regency
(Tourism Office), Dinas Kesehatan (Community Health Office) and Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah/Bappeda (Planning and Development Agency). In addition, at the local community level, permission was sought via written correspondence with the local community leader before conducting the fieldwork in desa adat Jimbaran. This letter was a very important means of gaining the villagers’ trust to join this research.

In the other case study, KFC was considered a public domain with exclusive access. The covert participant observations I conducted within this group were justified in order to avoid participants changing their behaviour if they knew they were being studied (Bryman, 2008). Concerning members’ statements and photographs in this group, I adopted the general consensus that ‘what people do in public places is by definition there for all to observe’ (Silverman, 2011, pp. 100, 107-108). However, according to Hookway (2008), it is also important to highlight the differences between ‘personal access’ (members-only) and ‘private domain’ (privacy). In the case of KFC, conducting this research required permission from the website administrators to join this group. Responding to my request to conduct an ethnographic study in this group, written consent for this online research (see Appendix 1), was given by the KFC administrators as the representatives of the Kuta villagers, on 18 April 2012, in a meeting in Kuta. The terms and conditions of this informed consent are similar to ones received in Jimbaran. Since then, I have been

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52 Public statements such as newspaper articles and similar sources are considered to be in the public domain and a researcher only needs to cite the author and the source. Nonetheless, there are some ethical considerations in online research. First, participant consent is not necessary when the archived material on the internet is publicly available. This position often rests on an analogy between online forums and public space, where observations and recordings are publicly accessible. In this case, internet research can be treated like research on television content or a piece of art in a public gallery. Second, some claim that publicly accessible online postings are written with an expectation of privacy and should be treated as such. Third, the online interaction defies clear-cut prescription as either public or private, which warns online researchers about confusing public accessibility of online forums with the public nature of the interactions, instead emphasising how actors themselves construe their participation in the online environment: see Silverman, D. (2011). Interpreting Qualitative Data. London: Sage.
recognised and endorsed as a covert observer, as I was able to conduct the research and had access as a common group member to keep the discussions going naturally. Considering the exclusivity of the group membership, the selected people’s commentaries in this research were also presented using pseudonyms to protect members’ privacy. Unlike Jimbaran where the names of participants’ were replaced by their common Balinese names with a capital letter (Putu A, Made B, Nyoman C, Ketut D, and so on), in Kuta participants in the Facebook discussions are indicated by three letters representing their Facebook account initials (ABC, DEF, XYZ, and so on).

### 3.7 Limitations of the Methodology

Consistent with qualitative research, the study of sense of place cannot be generalised because every place has its own character. However, this study has revealed—from a methodological perspective—that studying sense of place in a particular place should be valued for its contribution to knowledge. I acknowledge that the limited period for research and scholarship, and decisions for the use of specific methodology were made according to the feasibility and the optimum results in answering the research questions. The limited time for fieldwork was mitigated by maintaining contact with research participants after the fieldwork. They were able to be reached by different communication methods, such as email and telephone.

Gender proportion was also an issue for the ethnographic research in Bali, both in fieldwork and online. Few local women participated in this study despite much effort on my part to recruit female participants. In addition to the women being introverted, their answers were relatively modest, with very simple and operational descriptions. This made it difficult to me to explore and reveal a deeper local
meaning of a place. The male participants, on the other hand, were mostly supportive and welcoming, providing me with elaborative answers to my questions that provided rich data and perspectives. The males’ contributions consequently dominate in shaping the results of this study.

Further, being a Balinese resident familiar with both study areas provided considerable advantage for me, yet my village ‘outsider’ status avoided bias. Although beginning with the village leader and his suggested contact might lead to some bias, some participants were recruited via other community contacts. As a Balinese ethnographer with a tourism background I also attempted to minimise predisposition during photograph selection and data analysis, by rigorously following the participants’ descriptions of places and avoiding leading the participants to particular places to satisfy my intentions. Although some of the photos featured in the thesis were taken by me, this was subsequent to the interviews and focus group discussions, and was done to provide a complete photographic record of relevant places, rather than representing data collection per se.

It is important to recognise a number of shortcomings of the online research. First, access in digital communities is restricted to the digital ‘haves’ (or those who have digital social capital) rather than the ‘have nots’—those not equipped with internet-connected devices. The ethnic and gender divides in online media are acknowledged (Murthy, 2008). The patriarchal nature of Balinese society is reflected in Jimbaran and KFC discussions, which are generally dominated by male members. This research thus reflects the general cultural norms regarding the nature of a ‘traditional’ Balinese community: in general, women remain secondary to men. Nonetheless, I have endeavoured, as a Balinese woman, to ensure that the voice of women and their ideas have been included. My subjectivity is apparent in my
preference for data and photographs relating to particular issues compatible with the
research questions. However, only minimal bias is expected in my interpretation of
the online data as I collected naturally available or occurring data, which were not
driven by this research.

3.8 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has elaborated the implementation of the research design to reveal place
attachment, place identity and the impact of tourism on a local sense of place in
Jimbaran and Kuta as the case studies. I have also included explanations of how data
in the two tourist villages were collected and analysed within the limitations and the
ethical concerns. The following chapters will present the discussion of research
findings in Jimbaran and Kuta.
Chapter 4: Place Attachments in Jimbaran

4.1 Introduction

In contemporary Bali after exposure to tourism development in the space of traditional communities, it is necessary to understand how people (re)construct their place through attachment or the emotional people-place relationship in their everyday life. The fieldwork I conducted reveals how Jimbaran village has been constructed through traversing values as the Jimbarans signify their ‘own’ places, both individually and communally. Aligned with Crouch’s (2000) suggestion that place is something through which and with which lives are lived, and that identity and myth is constantly ‘in the making’, some interesting features of the local community’s relation to place are evident in their expressions through the images and narratives. Jimbaran, as revealed in this chapter, represents the Balinese traditional and present-day emotional relationship with the environment, such as their interactions with places including activities within those settings.

This chapter begins with a brief exploration of the background of Jimbaran, as well as the institutions that govern the village. The focus of this chapter is the emotional connection between place and people by thinking about their identity, with reference to community, history, spirituality, traditional culture and memory. My research sheds light on how local residents make sense of themselves, since the meanings given to a place may be so strong that they become a central part of the identity of the people experiencing them (Rose, 1995). In this regard, I discuss how the villagers and the village reciprocally associate.
4.2 Jimbaran at a Glance: Desa Adat and Desa Dinas

In order to examine the emotional attachment between people and place where places are infused with meaning and feeling, it is necessary to identify Jimbaran from political and geographical perspectives. This will reveal some of the power relationships that choreograph and shape the village in an institutional manner. As a subdistrict in the southern part of Bali Island, Jimbaran is currently administered by the local government of Badung Regency and the Bali Province of Indonesia. Originally a fishing village, desa adat Jimbaran lies in the district of Kuta Selatan (south Kuta) (see Figure 4.1) and covers an area of ~21 km² (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Badung, 2010).

![Figure 4.1: Map of South Bali: Jimbaran is situated near local and tourist places](image)

53 Badung is a kabupaten or regency in Bali Province, Indonesia, covering an area of ~418 km², stretching from the middle of North, to South Bali. In 2010, the population was 388,514 (Badung Dalam Angka, 2010) with a density of 928 people km⁻², and a growth rate of 1.21% per annum. Badung Regency includes the prominent tourist places in Bali along the south beaches: Kuta, Legian, Seminyak, Nusa Dua, Jimbaran, Uluwatu and Canggu. Unlike in the south of Badung, the majority of local residents in northern Badung make a living through farming and agriculture. The regency is adjacent to Denpasar, the capital of Bali, and contains the Ngurah Rai International Airport.

54 Source: Keputusan Bupati Badung Nomor 639, 2003, reproduced in Google Earth in 2014 for the
Its location between the two major tourist areas of Kuta and Nusa Dua has resulted in Jimbaran being developed incrementally rather than by design. Endowed with seaside natural and cultural resources and a central location, it has become popular for its luxury resorts, seafood dining and the prominent geographical feature of its white sandy beach, which stretches along Jimbaran Bay facing the Indian Ocean. There are villages and places of similar characters in its surroundings, including Kedonganan village to the north, Bualu/Benoa village to the east, Ungasan and Pecatu village to the south and the Indian Ocean to the west. Together with Jimbaran these areas have been officially assigned as tourism development zones of Badung Regency and Bali Province (Keputusan Bupati Badung Nomor 639, 2003; Perda No. 16, 2009). Most of Jimbaran is located on the Bukit Peninsula \(^{55}\) (referred to as bukit \(^{56}\) in this thesis).

According to awig-awig or traditional rule (desa adat Jimbaran, 2004), the village covers 2,073 ha of land. The land in this village belongs to a range of owners including desa adat (~96 ha), private (1658 ha), public/government (59 ha), and Udayana University and Polytechnic (250 ha). Jimbaran has 12 banjars or traditional neighbourhood associations, organised by desa adat: banjar Ubung, banjar Pantai Sari, banjar Menega, banjar Pesalakan, banjar Teba, banjar Jerokuta, banjar Kalanganyar, banjar Tegal, banjar Perarudan, banjar Angga Swara, banjar Bhuana Gubug and banjar mekar sari (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). Each banjar adat \(^{57}\) possesses a balai banjar where members gather to hold neighbourhood meetings.

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\(^{55}\) The bukit is the elevated area in the southern part of the village, which is geographically wide and arid. Prior to tourism development in the early 1970s, this land suffered from drought. The people of bukit had been highly dependent on rainwater. Bukit encompasses highland villages including Jimbaran, Pecatu, Ungasan, and Kampil.

\(^{56}\) The Indonesian and Balinese term for hill or mountainous area. Bukit Jimbaran is an elevated area or highland in the south peninsula of Bali island.

\(^{57}\) Each banjar is commanded by the kelian banjar, or traditional neighbourhood coordinator, elected every five years.
Residential arrangements in Jimbaran are unlike those of other desa adat in Bali, in that people who are registered to a banjar may live adjacent to their balai banjar as a krama banjar (banjar community member), and not necessarily within the boundary of their association. In Jimbaran, villagers can decide to build and live in the family compound anywhere in the territory of desa adat Jimbaran. With the merged banjar and lingkungan system, the desa adat is stronger, which has implications for place attachment and place identity in this Balinese settlement.

National and local government control in Jimbaran is administered through kelurahan (or desa dinas) institutions, which work in tandem with desa adat. The kelurahan institution is the lowest level of formal government. Its mission is to manage the demographic and geographical issues in the village, such as population, residential administration, employment, health, education, community empowerment and social works, and is financed by all levels of local and national government. The distinction between kelurahan and desa adat relates to authority and memberships.

In Jimbaran, desa adat has the authority to manage Balinese Hindu rituals among members within their adat land. Desa adat oversees most Balinese traditional and cultural activities within their territory, which is not the role of desa dinas.

Kelurahan (or desa dinas) on the other hand, manage administrative issues such as issuing residential registration documents. According to the demographic data from Kelurahan Jimbaran (2012), 38,792 people (from 5,693 families) were

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58 Kelurahan is commanded by lurah Jimbaran, who is appointed by the higher local government of Camat Kuta Selatan (the head of kecamatan or district of South Kuta), and functions under the higher authorities such as the Bupati Badung (the head of Badung Regency), the Bali governor (the head of Bali Province), and the Indonesian national government, for its sequence of reporting. These chains of commands represent a top-down approach of government with respect to Jimbaran village in Bali. Jimbaran village, within this government system, is subordinate to Kecamatan Kuta Selatan (the district of South Kuta), Kabupaten Badung (the Badung Regency) and Provinsi Bali (Bali Province).

59 A description of desa adat can be found in Chapter 2.
registered as permanent residents (KTP\textsuperscript{60} holders) in Jimbaran village in 2010. Of these, only 2,729 families are members of desa adat Jimbaran (Kantor desa adat Jimbaran, 2011). Kelurahan divides the village into smaller development precincts called lingkungan, the spatial division according to the rule of national government. In Jimbaran, there are 14 lingkungan areas, which share the same space as 12 banjars of desa adat. Unlike the banjar system, lingkungan applies to both the locals and the registered long-term residents (those who are not originated from Jimbaran) who live together in this village,\textsuperscript{61} and this spatial division is based on where they live geographically. More than half of the residents in Jimbaran nowadays are non-members of desa adat, which is made up of long-term residents,\textsuperscript{62} and the majority of them occupy new housing clusters located on the fringes of Jimbaran (lingkungan Taman Griya), but their residency does not entail socio-cultural obligations to desa adat Jimbaran. This highlights the key difference between desa adat and desa dinas: desa adat through its banjars orchestrates the activities of the local Balinese traditional community, whereas desa dinas only focuses on residential administrative tasks.

The dichotomy of neighbourhood division between desa adat (with the banjar community group) and desa dinas (kelurahan with lingkungan space division) suggests different approaches have been applied in governing the spaces and places

\textsuperscript{60} Kartu Tanda Penduduk, or KTP, is the national identity card based on residency. The number of KTP holders reflect the number of adult residents (above 17 years old) registered in a kecamatan or district. The system is applied nationally and the card is issued by the local government administration, in this regard, by kelurahan, or the village administration office.

\textsuperscript{61} Lingkungan in Jimbaran village have the same names as their banjars with the exception of Lingkungan Taman Griya and Lingkungan Cengiling\textsuperscript{61} (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). These two lingkungan are the extension of residential areas occupied by non-Jimbaran people who own or rent properties there.

\textsuperscript{62} These people come from different parts of Bali Island (they are Balinese but do not belong to desa adat Jimbaran) or are Indonesian nationals from other islands of Indonesia, such as Java and Lombok, and include a small number of expatriates from a range of other countries. The numbers of residents of Jimbaran do not include temporary residents such as university students and visitors who stay for a relatively short period and are seasonal, as they do not intend to undertake work or do business in this area.
in the village. Members of desa adat have an inherent attachment to the village, both physical and spiritual, with obligations to their family temples (such as kawitan and mrajan) and the village temples such as pura desa, pura puseh, pura dalem, pura swagina and other temples belonging to and located within the village. Migrants, who are non-desa adat members and come from different cultural and religious backgrounds moved to the village for residential and economic or educational reasons. Therefore, they are not bound by traditional and religious obligations to any temples in Jimbaran village except—in the case of Balinese Hindus from other parts of Bali—by shrines located on their own property.

Space, as theorised by Tuan (1977) is the embodiment of the feelings, images and thoughts of those who live, work, and deal with the space. Communities are essential to places and placemaking process, so the community’s role in a sense of place and identity is central (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). For this reason, the research participants for this study were selected from among resident members of the desa adat Jimbaran community, to represent the Balinese Hindu community who have a strong sense of place. The exclusion of non-locals in this study is because they are not deeply rooted, have no spiritual attachment to the village and are not involved in the spatial–ritual attachments in desa adat Jimbaran. On the other hand, the members of desa adat Jimbaran as a rooted, place-based community are justifiably able to demonstrate the relationship of the Balinese and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land. In this case, the desa adat system frames the typical Balinese cultural landscapes, shapes the local sense of place through mediating perception and controlling the physical setting, and nurtures the notion of ‘a Balinese home’ for the Jimbaran people. From a desa adat perspective in making a Balinese place, the way local community defines, understands and regards a place is
dependent upon the meanings and Balinese values they assign to various social, physical and economic features of a place. In turn, this has a profound effect upon the way in which they engage and interact with their village, how it develops and the subjective ‘Jimbaran’ identities it assumes over time.

4.3 Desa Adat Community Characters

The photos, interviews and focus group discussions reveal how the local community of Jimbaran attributes special meanings to their village and community. This includes places that are peculiar to Jimbaran, as well as places that characterise a typical Balinese village, which can be a single entity or building. Important objects are also associated with people, occasions, daily activities, history, and spirituality.

4.3.1 Balai Banjar in Jimbaran

Neighbourhoods are defined by both social and physical features, such as the types of people who live in a given area, their common values, activities and approaches to problems, and usually some kinds of physical boundaries that delineate neighbourhoods (Steele, 1981). Balai banjar or bale banjar can be found in all desa adat in Bali, as a representation of the community bonding with the village, signposting a traditional Balinese community in a particular area. Every desa adat should have (a minimum of) one balai banjar. The main purpose of this building is as a meeting hall, but it is also a place to do collaborative work prior to local events, such as piodalan preparation and Balinese dance and gamelan music practice.

Balai banjar was also one of the most photographed places by research participants in Jimbaran. Wayan A, a young woman from the neighbourhood of banjar Ubung mentioned that in her place, balai banjar (Figure 4.2) has many
purposes as one of her neighbourhood’s identities, in addition to its function as a meeting venue:

Banjar symbolises togetherness and bale banjar is the place where the community can do their work together. Balai banjar is also a village landmark: residents usually indicate their address relative to one bale banjar, whether their house is near or far from it. This place is also used by our community to perform cultural practices such as Balinese dances, or Balinese gamelan orchestras of sekan gong, ngayah mejejahitan, to prepare the offerings for village ceremonies by all krama banjar, and to organise the annual event of Nyepi. This is the place where the villagers prepare ogoh-ogoh for the pengerupukan\(^\text{63}\) parade. In this photo, that is ogoh-ogoh, of banjar Ubung, which was the winner of this year’s Nyepi festival in Jimbaran village (Wayan A).

![Image of inside balai banjar Ubung with ogoh-ogoh on display](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

**Figure 4.2: Inside balai banjar Ubung\(^\text{64}\) with ogoh-ogoh\(^\text{65}\) on display (photo: Wayan A, 2011)**

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\(^{63}\) *Pengerupukan* is one day before *Nyepi* (seclusion) Day of the Balinese *Caka* New Year Celebration.

\(^{64}\) *Banjar* Ubung is one of the neighbourhood associations in *desa adat* Jimbaran located in the beach area and supported by the fisher community and their families.

\(^{65}\) *Ogoh-ogoh* is an artistic statue representing *Bhuta kala* (demon), created by Balinese villagers as part of the *Nyepi* celebration: see Glossary.
For the majority of Balinese, *balai banjar* can serve as spatial identity, because its physical (architectural) dimensions are distinct from common houses in the village. This attribute can bound, intensify and provide a spatial locus for identification and community attachment linked to social group identity (Fried, 2000). As suggested by Wayan A, the *balai banjar* Ubung can foster the local community’s self-esteem, as people feel proud of their achievement in community events in Jimbaran. Although displaying *ogoh-ogoh* in each *balai banjar* is common in many villages, *ogoh-ogoh* from the *banjar* community viewpoint is the representation of the community existence and participation in village cultural events. The *balai banjar* is also the place for cultural sustainability as Balinese art and ritual practices are conducted in this place.

Like Wayan A, 42-year-old Made W, a restaurant waiter in a five-star hotel, suggested that people’s participation in *banjar* activities in *bale banjar* Menega (Figure 4.3) promotes what Fried (2000) means by sense of continuity of the place. My big family is from *banjar* Menega; we are fishermen offspring. This is our *balai banjar* located in the centre of the village, on the main street. Behind our *banjar* is the fishing village. Through the generations, people in our *banjar* are a fishermen community: despite more people working in the hotels like me, many of us including young people still go fishing. I usually come to *balai banjar* for village meeting or ceremonies, to meet people in my neighbourhood. I think it is good for us to catch up regularly with people with similar historical background (Made W).
From his narrative, he valued *bale banjar* Menega\(^{67}\) for its relation to the family history and heritage arising from fishing culture as the original way of life of Jimbaran people. In addition, as long-term residents meeting with old associates originating from the same place, they express the desire that Jimbaran ‘stay the same’. As tourism employment increases for the villagers, people preserve fishing as their lifestyle, although for some people like Made W this is not their source of income. Fishing in this regard is maintained as part of villager identity, as a characteristic involving skill and lifelong practice in Jimbaran. For the fisher community, *balai banjar* Menega provides a forum for enduring social cohesion to enliven the local spirit.

### 4.3.2 Pecalang in Jimbaran: the Symbolic Power of Desa Adat

It is argued that a strong place attachment can lead to place commitment, especially in culturally identified territories (Fried, 2000). Local community contributes the creation of this climate; a good portion of it is maintained by the ways in which the social system impacts on villagers with its norms, rules, policies, expectations and

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\(^{66}\) *Banjar* Menega is one of the village landmarks located in the centre of the village. It is near Jimbaran’s grand crossroad and next to Pura Ulun Swi.

\(^{67}\) The word ‘menega’ is derived from the Balinese word ‘bendega’, meaning fishing or fisherman.
management style (Steele, 1981). Desa adat imparts a distinct feel or atmosphere to those who live within, both physically and socially. As Balinese identity is central to a Balinese sense of place, the presence of the pecalang is part of the cultural landscape of desa adat in Bali. As the instrument of desa adat, the pecalang has an obligation to provide security services for families or individuals who are members of desa adat during traditional ceremony or other community events (desa adat Jimbaran, 2004), as shown in Figure 4.4.

![Figure 4.4: Pecalang at the front gate during the piodalan at Pura Ulun Swi](photo: Ketut Y, 2012)

According to Kelian Pecalang or the leader of pecalang of desa adat Jimbaran, Made A, the tasks are demanding as there are many orders from the villagers:

Our organisation has a mission of jaga baya or safeguarding, that we are available to protect pawongan or the people, palemahan or place and

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68 In the desa adat system, the pecalang or village guard organisation has the obligation of ensuring the safety and protection of the village environment. Their physical appearance is also distinctive: a male person or a group of men who wear black and white checked cloth in the vicinity of Balinese conducting a ritual ceremony or traditional event (Figure 3.4). Thus, pecalang has a significant role in strengthening the traditional Balinese landscape. As Bali becomes modernised, with formal government security organisations such as police (organised by national government) and Hansip or civil defence (organised by desa dinas or kelurahan), as well as the use of technology and modern vehicles, finding pecalang on the street provides a sense of ‘Balinese traditional living’. This is because of not only their distinct uniform but also the superior authority attached to them. The members of seka pecalang are selected among the male villagers who are members of desa adat. Operating within desa adat authority gives pecalang the authority to control areas within village land, particularly in the traditional environment.
parahyangan or the spiritual activities; but people know that we have more emphasis on safeguarding our people and place in the village (Made A).

Made A explained that despite pecalang working at the local level, the pecalang in Jimbaran should adhere to the higher pecalang organisation of Bali. As Kelian Pecalang, he actively participates in island-wide meetings and seminars to ensure that his team has met the island’s rules and to cooperate with pecalang from other villages.

With its hegemonic control over the village, the pecalang has the authority to ensure desa adat rule is well implemented. In other words, the pecalang symbolises the ‘power’ of desa adat people as stated in awig-awig or village traditional rule. However, the pecalang is not limited to Jimbaran: this traditional security system is widely practised across the island. Nonetheless, their presence embellishes a sense of place in Jimbaran as a Balinese village.

4.4 The Spiritual Constructions of Jimbaran

Foucault (1966) in The Archaeology of Knowledge, asserts the role of place in history, by illustrating that place serves as a location—topographical evidence that something has happened in the past. Having historical significance also attracts people’s attention, and invites their responses to it. Better identified and more interpreted as a tourist place nowadays, very few people know that as a customary village Jimbaran has been included in Balinese historical references.69 Among the dynamic processes of the making of places in Bali, the history of Jimbaran is one of

69 The history is based on the Purana-Balinese Hindu references written in ancient Kawi (ancient Javanese) language; however, it has been generally communicated through stories via word of mouth. Pura Ulun Swi as the founding landmark of Jimbaran village is also briefly mentioned in the preamble of Jimbaran village’s official document of Kelurahan Jimbaran (2006) and Babad (historical references) on pura sad kahyangan and kahyangan jagat temples (Tim Redaksi, 2010)
the important references. It is indicated from the various stories derived from several babad or Balinese history accounts, that Jimbaran marks the onset of the establishment of the first villages with the desa adat system in Bali, in the eleventh century. This is something that is deeply ingrained with local significance and is special to those who live in a place, and illustrates how the village was initially constructed physically and spiritually. It reveals local values and memories existing around the discourses of identity and the symbolic meanings attached to places.

4.4.1 Pura Ulun Swi: The Founding Spirit

According to local stories, the indigenous people of Jimbaran originated from the eastern part of Bali. Jimbaran, as local people believe, was established by Ki Dhalem Putih70 (also known as Ki Tambyak); the son of Sri Ratu Dalem, the ruler of the Klungkung Empire in east Bali. ‘Jimbaran’, according to etymology, stems from jimbar, meaning wide. Pura Ulun Swi (Figure 4.5), a meru71 tumpang 11 (or a temple with 11 levels of roof) is among the first Balinese Hindu temples or parahyangan72 established by Ki Dhalem Putih. Pura Ulun Swi, or Ulunsiwi as the largest and most important temple in Jimbaran village, is located in the centre of the village, and

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70 In his childhood, Ki Dhalem Putih, his brother Ki Dalem Ireng, and their mother were abandoned by the king, as the king had another wife, so they left Klungkung and travelled far south. However, only Ki Dhalem Putih continued the passage, and settled in a forest. He then walked by himself along the shoreline, and arrived in the land called Pecatu in South Bali. Ki Dhalem Putih built a pasraman (guesthouse) at Telajakan Uluwatu. His brother Ki Dalem Ireng who had lived separately for a long time, one day arrived in the Pasraman. Without permission he consumed a meal prepared for Dhalem Putih, making him furious. He took his small sword or dagger ‘keris pusaka’ to fight Dhalem Ireng, but because they were equally supreme, they discovered they were siblings. They named the battle place ‘Desa Kali’ referring to the small creek that still exists at the place of their resolution. Later Dhalem Putih played an important role in the history of Jimbaran. He married a local woman called Luh Gading, and their family lived in a forest on Pecatu—the south peninsula of Bali. Dhalem Putih stayed there until he had his son Petak Jingga. His family lived a solitary life in the forest, as there were no other inhabitants at that time. After his long-term residency, he named the forest.

71 A tall pagoda-like shrine with an odd number of tumpang (roofs level) that stack up and are smaller in size towards the top.

72 Other shrines besides Pura Ulun Swi are Kahyangan Ulun Setra, currently called Dhalem Kahyangan, Meru Tumpang 3—or a village temple with three levels of roof—and a Paibon (Dadia ancestral temple compound) called Pura Dukuh.
designated as a *kahyangan jagat*\(^\text{73}\) temple (Figure 4.5). A number of artefacts\(^\text{74}\) revealing the initial establishment of the temple were found, and are now preserved in Pura Ulun Swi (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006; Tim Redaksi, 2010).

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\(^{73}\) The group of Balinese Hindu temples dedicated for Gods in their functions relating to human wealth and safety.

\(^{74}\) The artefacts were found and are now preserved in Pura Ulun Swi revealing the initial establishment of the temple Kelurahan Jimbaran. (2006). *Profil Pembangunan Kelurahan Jimbaran Tahun 2004-2005*, Tim Redaksi, B. P. (2010). *Mengenal Pura Sud Kahyangan dan Kahyangan Jagat* (Cetakan Ketiga ed.). Denpasar: Pustaka Bali Post. There are three ancient statues lined up from south to north. In the south is the *Ludra* (one of the nine Gods from *Dewa Nawa Sanga* who gives protection according to the nine compass directions) statue indicating the number ‘nine’. In the middle is the *Bima* (one of the five Pandawa brothers in the Mahabharata epic and symbolic of power and strength) statue indicating the number ‘five’. In the north is the *Gana* (or Guna Patya, one of the eight semi-Gods *Asta Wasu* or *Wasu wolu* (in Javanese) in the Mahabharata epic) statue indicating the number ‘eight’. Evidence suggests that Pura Ulun Swi was built in 958–960 year (the ancient Java Hinduism year begins at year 78). In the Gregorian calendar, this equals the year 1036, during the eleventh century. Pura Ulun Swi retains some artefacts including a bronze vessel and *tombak* (lance) such as (a) *tombak* in bajak or plough shaped; (b) *tombak* in cakra shaped (the God Wisnu’s discus-like weapon); and (c) *keris* (short sword or dagger) and other weapons. Pura Dhalem Kahyangan in the village stores some ancient coins and skin–leather shadow puppets in a small case including *Tualen* (a wayang servant character), *Ludra*, *Bima* and *Gana*, and other artefacts about Mahabharata’s epic of *Dewa Ruci* played in shadow puppet performances. Other literature suggests it is made from copper.
was built in a cultural and spiritual manner. Pura Ulun Swi is distinct from the majority of temples in Bali for its westerly direction of worshipping using Mount Semeru in East Java as the orientation. It is not facing north or east towards Mount Agung in north-east Bali, as is the common orientation of temples in Bali. This may indicate that this temple has an affiliation to Java as the higher ruler of the place at the time it was built. However, later evidence suggests that Jimbaran was previously affiliated with the former Kingdom of Mengwi, the ruler in North Badung regency.75 The importance of Pura Ulun Swi Jimbaran in fostering agricultural practices on the island during that period is also evident through statements in the local archives.76 From the narratives, it can be inferred that the history of Jimbaran has been associated with the establishment of Pura Ulun Swi.

Our words, stories, narratives, discourses and texts systematically form an object (Foucault, 1969). Place, as an object, is likewise established through discursive process; it is not an entity per se. The relationship between place and stories can be observed through existing stories devoted to what is being practised in the place. The two are established through a constructed and reconstructed idea on how the area was developed and how it is being developed towards future desires. There are also causal links between the narratives to which we are exposed, the way we see and understand the world and our behaviour in it, since narratives offer powerful insights for those of us who want to effect positive change in the places we love (Findlay, 2008). Through commentary on the history of place, people will portray the beauty and aesthetics, ingenuity and skills, mystery and sacredness, romance and nostalgia

75 Mengwi is located in northern Badung Regency, the kingdom that ruled South Bali in the past, based on references such as Babad Mengwi, the literature collection of the Faculty of Letter Udayana University in Denpasar, Babad Jimbaran, and personal collection—based on the literature collection of I Ketut Suweca, a local resident of Jimbaran who is a collector of Pura Ulun Swi literature: Tim Redaksi, B. P. (2010). Mengenal Pura Sad Kahyangan dan Kahyangan Jagat (Cetakan Ketiga ed.). Denpasar: Pustaka Bali Post.
76 The archives include texts from Lontar Ilikita, the collection of Puri Gede Mengwi and Babad Jimbaran page 8, the collection of I Ketut Suweca from Jimbaran (Tim Redaksi, 2010, p.82-82).
of the place (Relph, 2008; Vanclay, 2008). At the same time, there is a reflection on
the ongoing activities: the endemic, the emerging and those that are disappearing.
Stories include places that have cultural significance, or local or national importance,
but they are often ordinary, mundane and become everyday places. However, people
do not realise the cognitive process by which those places are intensely fixed through
an iterative storytelling practice (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977).

The strong relationship between Jimbaran and Pura Ulun Swi is evident from the
temple’s historic role in agricultural culture, in spiritually protecting the rice paddies.
According to Lontar Kutara Kanda Dewa Purana Bangsul, the Balinese literature
describing the history of Pura Ulun Swi (Tim Redaksi, 2010, p. 87), there is a
spiritual compulsion for agricultural people to worship at Pura Ulun Swi, which
translates as:

if people fail to make a ritual ceremony for the Gods at Pura Ulun Swi, they
will be cursed by all Bhatara\textsuperscript{77} that they will not make it, whatever they do
despite not be successful; nothing will come from the rice fields or the rice
plants; the lumbung,\textsuperscript{78} the rice storage, the portion, the plates will be empty;
no blessings in everything they eat, all will be withdrawn by Bhatara to be
taken to Mount Agung; thereafter, Bhatara will send pests to attack the
crops.

The narrative suggests a strong faith among locals with respect to this founding
temple as the place for worship for successful farming, which demonstrates the
emotional attachment between the people and this temple.

One of the key aspects of place attachment is temporality, that certain
environments and events have a role in linking the past with the present and the

\textsuperscript{77} Gods.

\textsuperscript{78} Or Jineng, a large storage of harvested rice in a Balinese house.
future (Low & Altman, 1992). For the people of Jimbaran, the history of Pura Ulun Swi serves as a foundation, from which the highly respected local values in Jimbaran are derived. When being asked about their village today, the discourses on sense of place at Jimbaran relate to the past, the present and the ‘future’ of the place. Pura Ulun Swi as the historical landmark of this place was mentioned in most conversations with participants. For Wayan T, a 28-year-old local resident who works in a tourism business, Pura Ulun Swi is an integral part of the villagers’ life (Figure 4.6):

This is Pura Ulun Swi. Everyone is permitted to pray here, so the temple is not exclusive for Jimbaran people. I have visited Pura Ulun Swi since I was born … my parents did *matur Pakeling*⁷⁹ in this temple on my birth. We do *ngayah*⁸⁰ there every *piodalan*.⁸¹ The big banyan tree at the front is a hundred years old I think (Wayan T).

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³⁹ Permission of life.
⁷⁰ Voluntary social work as a regular dedication before a ritual ceremony.
⁸¹ Temple ceremony or festival once every seven months.
His expression suggests that the temple has a historic dimension in Jimbaran as a place where an indigenous person has been nurtured for a long time. There is a totality of involvements that are related to both the idea of history or the past, and ‘things on the ground’ or the present. This narrative affirms the fundamental idea that places do not exist outside the understandings of those who engage with them (Townend & Whittaker, 2011). The engagement between Wayan T, as a villager of desa adat Jimbaran and Pura Ulun Swi is shown from the strong attachment through regular visitations since he was born. His experience started when he grew up becoming attached to this temple. As childhood curiosity with the place can evoke an awareness of its surroundings (Tuan, 1977), he consciously mentioned that the banyan tree has been there for more than a century. Engagement with the place also requires skill and knowledge, as he labels the experience as ngayah, the Balinese values relating to commitment in preserving the temple through voluntary works. It can be seen here how Pura Ulun Swi has acquired a deep meaning for people of Jimbaran through a steady accretion of emotional attachment over many years.

Details about this important temple are also found in official (written) village documents such as awig-awig desa adat Jimbaran and the Jimbaran village development profile (desa adat Jimbaran, 2004; Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). Designated as pura kahyangan jagat, this temple has several rules with which people must conform. The announcement boards at the entrance to the temple (Figure 4.7) state that visitors must adhere to the following rules:

According to the declaration on kahyangan jagat Pura Ulun Swi, people are not allowed to enter the temple on Buda Wage\textsuperscript{82} or ‘Wage’ Wednesday and

\textsuperscript{82} Also called Buda Cemeng in the Balinese Wariga calendar.
Buda Kliwon or ‘Kliwon’ Wednesday. Thank you (Figure 4.7, right-hand board).

Do not enter the kahyangan jagat Ulun Swi if you are (1) not wearing the Balinese outfit, or (2) are menstruating or bleeding (Figure 4.7, left-hand board).

In the interview with Made B, the bendesa adat Jimbaran, he emphasised that this rule should never be violated.

People are not allowed to enter the temple on Wednesdays, based on Bhisama.\(^{83}\) If this rule is violated, something bad or unexpected will happen (Made B).

Figure 4.7: Rules and regulations at Pura Ulun Swi Jimbaran (photo: fieldwork, 2011)

The local innate sense of protection of this site from any potential harm is noticeable, and strongly reminds people (especially outsiders) of the importance of the site for them. Similarly, a villager Wayan K, one of the village’s sekeha barong\(^{84}\)

\(^{83}\) Consensus among Balinese Hindu priests.

\(^{84}\) Sacred barong dancer society in a particular village or location.
members, showed his respect for this rule by expressing the possible consequences with fear on his face:

Never try to pray on Wednesdays at Pura Ulun Swi. I cannot imagine what will happen with this village. Never ever do that. It is strongly not allowed (Wayan K).

There is a consensus that ‘individual and social actions are lived stories’ or from another perspective, ‘we become who we are through telling stories about our lives and living the stories we tell’ (Findlay, 2008). Despite acknowledging that stories may work in particular circumstances, such stories must be ‘believed or accepted’ if people are to live with them. From the prevailing rules in Pura Ulun Swi, it can be concluded that local people have a strong commitment to this temple as the spirit of Jimbaran. In this regard, Jimbaran people ‘accept’ and ‘believe’ what is being communicated within their circle, they apply the values with which they live to outsiders as well. I myself consider the rule of this temple as a precaution, reminding people to always behave appropriately within their village. From my perspective as an outsider (researcher), local people had an intention of limiting my activities in their village: this message was intended to ensure that any activities I conducted in Jimbaran would be successful by acknowledging the spiritual forces in this area.

For its historical significance, Pura Ulun Swi is the ‘spirit of place’ of Jimbaran. Made up of tangible (the temple) and the intangible (the memories, narratives, written documents, temple festivals, traditional knowledge and values), this very old temple meaningfully contributes to the identity of the village and gives it the spirit. It exists through continuous construction by local people—the traditional societies that inhabit the place, in response to their social needs. In this regard, the local communities have direct responsibility for the protection of its ‘memory, vitality,
continuity and spirituality’ (ICOMOS, 2008). Further, Pura Ulun Swi has an extensive influence on the sense of place in Jimbaran, not only for its historical and spiritual centrality but also because it has become the identity of the place.

The village administration designated this temple as the village symbol and made it the formal logo of Jimbaran (Figure 4.8). The picture shows candi bentar or the traditional gate wall and the meru shrine of Pura Ulun Swi, part of the local community’s pride to be sustained and preserved (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). This symbol also mentions the village slogan ‘Dharma Raka Mandala’, which is made up of dharma (the true), raksa (take care) and mandala (place or nature). In other words, Jimbaran villagers need to look after their place and nature for the wellbeing of the people. People of Jimbaran (and many other Balinese Hindus) also have a strong spiritual connection to this temple and the subsequent rules are part of their values and belief system. For the Jimbarans, Pura Ulun Swi has a superior meaning to their spiritual life, as this temple represents the conservation of their history and heritage. As shown in Figure 4.9, Pura Ulun Swi contributes to a sense of place in Jimbaran, giving a character to this area (Jiven & Larkham, 2003).

85 Being physically located further inside a jeroan (inner ground) area covered with two bordering walls and concealed by two banyan trees, Pura Ulun Swi cannot be directly viewed from the main road. However, from the opposite corner people may see the top roofs of the shrine. Despite it being open to the public daily (except on Wednesdays as regulated), it is not listed as a recommended temple to be visited. Therefore, nothing from the interviews indicates that this temple is perceived as a tourist object. Rather, locals and other Balinese Hindus identify Pura Ulun Swi as one of the most important temples in Bali that they should worship during their lifetime. During piyudalan, Uluwatu Street at the front of the temple is closed by desa adat and guarded by pecalang or village security. However, adjacent streets such as Jalan Ulun Swi, are still accessible for people going to the seafood cafés or Jimbaran Beach. It is clear that local community has been protective of this temple, by limiting access by visitors.
Figure 4.8: The old welcoming monument of desa adat Jimbaran (photo: fieldwork, 2011)

Figure 4.9: Melasti parade through the pampatan agung of Jimbaran: Pura Ulun Swi appears as the place identity (photo: fieldwork, 2011)

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86 This photo was taken in 2011. At the end of the fieldwork in 2012, the north main gate of the village was refurbished and a new candi bentar was built. The logo of Jimbaran was no longer on this stone monument, but it is now carved on the gate.
4.4.2 Piødalan Series in Jimbaran

Time and change are multifarious and should be considered as aspects of psychological, social and cultural phenomena. Temporal features can be seen as linear (past, present, and future), and cyclical or recurring through meanings and activities. Places change with regard to past, present and future periods, as well as the experience of events, activities and the rhythms of events in the area. This time dynamic consequently affects the people who experience the place (Altman & Low, 1992; Steele, 1981). de Carteau (1984) suggested that any event requires a plot of action, which involves not only a temporal movement but also spatial practices. The supporters denote meanings to the events in which they participate, from their point of view. The narratives related to such events and routines articulate the discourse of a spatialising practice that is important to understand about people’s relationship with their places.

The community of desa adat Jimbaran are the supporters and carers of the temples in their village. They conduct and organise temple ceremonies. Locals’ attachment to the pura within and around the village indicates their spiritual commitment with Jimbaran as their homeland. To protect the proprietorship, those temples are also designated as part of palemahan desa (customary village land), which is called tanah pelaba pura or temple land, on a field of around 25 ha. The krama adat—the villagers of Jimbaran—have the spiritual obligation to conduct the piødalan in each temple mentioned in awig-awig (Table 4.1).

87 According to awig-awig desa adat about Indik Druen Desa (village property lists), Pura Ulun Swi is pura kahyangan desa, under the responsibility of desa adat Jimbaran. This is obligatory, similar to pura kahyangan tiga (pura desa, pura puseh and pura dalem kahyangan) and Pura Samuaya awig-awig desa adat Jimbaran (2004). It is also indicated as the temples where Dewa Yajnya, the rituals of worshipping Gods and Goddesses are conducted by the village members within desa adat Jimbaran (referred to in awig-awig desa adat Jimbaran).
Table 4.1: *Piodalan* schedules for some of the major temples in desa adat Jimbaran

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple (pura) name</th>
<th>Temple ceremony day (<em>Rahina Piodalan</em>)&lt;sup&gt;88&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pura Puseh lan Pura Desa</td>
<td>Coma (Monday) Kliwon wuku Kuningan (or Pamacekan Agung Day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Dalem Kahyangan, Penataran, lan Mrajapati</td>
<td>Saniscara (Saturday) Pon wuku Dungulan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Ulun Siwi/Susunan</td>
<td>Sukra (Friday) Pahing wuku Dungulan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Samuaya</td>
<td>Purnama (Full moon) in Sasih Kalima (October–November) with pangusabhan desa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Sarin Buana</td>
<td>Coma (Monday) Pon wuku Sinta (or Coma Ribek Day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Tegal Wangi/ Segara</td>
<td>Radite (Sunday) Pahing wuku Sinta (or Banyu Pinaruh Day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida Betara Dewa Ayu</td>
<td>Sukra (Friday) Pon wuku Medangsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Dalem Balangan</td>
<td>Anggara (Tuesday) Kasih wuku Medangsia (the same piodalan day as for pura uluwatu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Jimbaran holds most of its temple festivals during *Galungan* and *Kuningan* weeks:<sup>89</sup> other villages may or may not hold the same *piodalan* schedule. As we can see from the village’s ritual schedules, some *piodalan* occur during this period. For example, in *wuku Dungulan*, there are ceremonies at Pura Ulun Swi on *Sukra* (on the Friday), and at Pura Dalem Kahyangan and Pura Penataran lan Mrajapati on *Saniscara* (on the Saturday). The role of desa adat Jimbaran in organising the ritual events is central, to ensure that all ceremonies are conducted properly in every

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<sup>88</sup> Every temple has its own *piodalan* ceremony day once every seven days (210 days) based on the Balinese *Pawarigan* Calendar’s *wuku* system, or on a *purnama* (full moon) or *tilem* (new moon) day every year (in *sasih* system), depending on the consensus. A *Wuku* (week) cycle consists of 30 weeks. *Sinta* is the first week in the *wuku* cycle, *Dungulan* is the 11th week, *Kuningan* is the 12th week, and *Medangsia* is the 14th week according to the Balinese *Wariga* calendar, whereas *Sasih* (*month*) *kalima* is commensurate with October or November.

<sup>89</sup> As widely known in Bali, *Dungulan* Week holds the most important series of Hindu ritual ceremonies of *Galungan*, including *Penyekeban* Day (on the Sunday of *Dungulan* Week), *Penyajaan* Day (on the Monday), *Penampahan* Day (on the Tuesday), *Galungan* Day (on the Wednesday), and *Manis Galungan* Day (on the Thursday). *Kuningan* is the week after *Dungulan*, and *Kuningan* Day is celebrated on Saturday, ten days after *Galungan* Day, once every seven months.
temple within the community. Experiencing a place like Jimbaran during *Galungan–Kuningan–piodalan* weeks is very different to experiencing it on normal days. Using time as a reference can also create the sense of place (Tuan, 1977). The series of *piodalan* ceremonies create occasions, as explained in Chapter 2 because the Balinese ‘place–time’ concept—or desa, kala, patra—is indicative of a certain place and certain time for a certain occasion. The preparation of *Galungan* celebrations is observable in Jimbaran, as captured by Ketut Y, one of the villagers (Figure 4.10).

Local excitement about Balinese Hindu rituals during *Galungan* and *Kuningan* Festive Week in Jimbaran were described by Ketut Y:

The week of *Wuku Dungulan* and *Kuningan* is a very busy time for us. Besides the Hindu festivals here, we have our village’s main temple festivals three weeks in a row. The mothers usually do the preparations but all family members get involved too, since the school-aged children in Bali are given official school holidays for two weeks to celebrate *Galungan* and *Kuningan Day*. We make offerings, but there are also shops selling festival decorations. The Prada Bali shop on Uluwatu Street is the biggest Balinese ceremony equipment shop in Jimbaran. It has complete collections such as *sampian penjor*,90 *umbul-umbul*91 and many others. I know it has been there for years. As I remember, it was small but now it has more customers so the shop is getting bigger (Ketut Y).

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90 *Penjor* is a bamboo pole set at the entrance, decorated with natural ingredients and coconut leaves, as a winning symbol in a ritual ceremony and celebration by Balinese Hindus (see Figure 3.11).
91 *Umbul-umbul* is a decorative cloth flag on a tall bamboo pole indicating an event or celebration.
Ketut Y’s narrative about the festival season in Jimbaran indicates that such temporality has also shaped attachment with the place, which preserves cosmological and local identity, or *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). It is also clear that the schedules of *piodalan* in Jimbaran indicate *Desa Kala Patra* (place, time and occasion), distinguishing Jimbaran among other *desa adat* (villages) on the island. However, the proliferation of ritual decoration shops in Jimbaran as indicated by Ketut Y suggests that there are increasing numbers of people seeking ready-to-use ritual ornaments. Within the community nowadays, more people are involved in tourism (such as tourism employees or other professional workers), which has limited the time available at home for preparing decorations for *Galungan* festivals.

The Balinese community visits temples with family and relatives on *Galungan* Day, so the village is quiet, as there are no village gatherings on that day (see Figure 4.11):

*Galungan* Day is really quiet in our *balai banjar* if there is no bazaar or youth event. We usually install *penjor* at the front gate, and leave it there. On *Penampahan* Day (one day before *Galungan*), local people concentrate on preparing for ceremonies conducted in family temples and village
temples such as Mrajin. People do rituals in almost all sacred places, except at Pura Ulun Swi, since we are not allowed to enter this temple on Wednesday. The Galungan ritual starts from home temples sanggah mrajan (family temple), placing the offerings on tugu (house shrine). There are people who go to setra for memujung (ritual in the cemetery for the deceased) and mebanten (place the offering) to Pura Parerepan (Ketut Y).

The community of desa adat Jimbaran has the responsibility to conduct the piodalan at all village temples. Due to its kahyangan jagad status, piodalan at Pura Ulun Swi provides interactions among worshippers—both non-Jimbaran people\(^2\) and locals (Figure 4.12). In this regard, Jimbaran and its community become the hosts of this ritual process, by ensuring the success of the event as well as providing for the ancillaries such as parking, security and other facilities, as described by Made B the bendesa adat Jimbaran: Piodalan at Pura Ulun Swi takes place on the Friday two days after Galungan Day. Because it is pura kahyangan jagad, this temple is not only worshipped by the Jimbaran residents but also by Hindus with a spiritual commitment with it. As it is located within desa adat Jimbaran, we have the obligation to organise the piodalan, from start to completion, every seven months. Villagers from nearby banjar such as banjar Menega have been appointed as the committee for this ritual event (Made B).

\(^2\) During the fieldwork in 2012, I attended the piodalan at this temple on the auspicious day on Friday, 3 February 2012, commensurate with Sukra Pahing Dungulan in the Balinese pawarigan calendar.
Figure 4.11: *Balai banjar Jero Kuta in Jimbaran: tranquillity on Galungan Day*  
(photo: Ketut Y, 2012)

Figure 4.12: *Piodalan at Pura Ulun Swi on Friday, 3 February 2012* (photo: Ketut Y, 2012)

Tuan (1977, 1980) argued that attachment is shaped over time through accumulation. Attachment of a deep though subconscious sort may come simply with familiarity and ease, with the assurance of nurture and security, with the memory of sounds and smells, of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time. Tuan described this relationship as ‘quiet attachment’ (Tuan, 1977, p. 159). *Piodalan* at Pura Ulun Swi has a very strong contribution in constructing a sense of place since it has been celebrated for centuries by the local villagers and Balinese
Hindu worshippers, demonstrating the community’s attachment to this temple for its
historical and spiritual significance.

The various kinds of cyclical scheduled temple ceremonies in Jimbaran
demonstrate the temporal aspects of place attachment in the village. This ritual,
spatial and temporal nexus of attachment has become the place identity, through
iterations that have been conducted through generations,\textsuperscript{93} which also proves its
continuity. In this way, the Jimbaran people have demonstrated that their place
attachment includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place, which
Low (1992) describes as ‘symbolic ties that bind’. This study found that local people
deliberately and voluntarily prepare, organise and follow through the \emph{piodalan} as
scheduled in the designated temples in each cycle, once every seven months for each
temple. The \emph{piodalan} series over a consecutive four weeks of temple festivals in
Jimbaran indicates that place is the representation of community that is facilitated by
the role of its community and the role of places for community interaction (Fried,
2000). In this regard, the regularised settings for activities and interactions dominate
the sense of community identity rather than the purely physical quality of the places
themselves. This study affirms that the role of place indicates the continuous
relationship between the patterns of role behaviour (\emph{piodalan} as cultural practices)
and the social spaces and physical places (the Jimbaran village and its temples) of
community life.

\textsuperscript{93} In addition to the religious elements of Balinese Hindu ceremonies, such as offerings and ritual
processes, historical evidence is also put on display to remind people that the rituals in this temple
have been conducted since the eleventh century.
4.5 Interpretation of Niskala: Sacredness in Jimbaran

Like other psychological phenomena in human perception, sacredness is a state of mind. There is a relationship between the sacredness of place and the sense of place: a place can only be sacred through emotional investment. In the placemaking process, since ‘sacred’ is an emotional construction like a sense of place, sacredness can be either promoted or prevented. Speed (2003) asserts that for a place to become sacred it must have a spiritual experience that is promoted by a person, and this practice can be shared by others. Anthropological evidence suggests that experience and traditions are closely related; therefore, in making sacred places it is not about the sacred, but rather what is important is the ritual through practices establishing emotional attachment to resources and place. Thus, experiencing a ‘sacred place’ can provide a rich texture of emotion and experience with the emotional attachment. According to Speed (2003) the production of ‘sacred place’ is the individual perception about surroundings, things and situations through experience that shapes attitude and behaviour towards it. This experience has a moral consequence, through an emotional investment indicated as sacredness. Low (1992) suggests that cosmological place attachment is maintained through believing in a place, and by religious practices that bind the people and the sacred place. For the Balinese people, in this case the villagers of Jimbaran, places signified as sacred are termed in the cosmological realm as niskala by the people.94 With respect to the emotional–spiritual investment by individuals and community, there are some places associated with an object or materiality and an event or processes that are religiously significant, involving local values and beliefs with Balinese Hindu culture as the substance.

94 The intangibles or spirituality, sacredness and the unseen environment (see Chapter 2).
4.5.1 Ida Sesuhunan Barong Dewa Ayu: Taksu of Jimbaran

One of the key elements of the Balinese culture is *taksu*, which carries a wide range of meanings and implications related to the power, inspiration and divine charisma of the physical, including human and place. The *taksu* itself in the Balinese language signifies the God of one’s profession, or talent. The word *taksu* has multiple meanings; however, it must be associated with something with spiritual significance. For the Balinese, *taksu* belongs to the realm of *niskala*, with an emphasis on the intangible aspect of material culture. Something can be called ‘*metaksu*’ if it holds such a divine power and charisma; for example, if this thing is dancing, a dancer can perform the dance with a high degree of talent. When it is related to a place, *taksu* provides such a talent for the place to make people live comfortably with its friendly and attractive ambience. In my question about the existence of *taksu* in Jimbaran, the people always responded that Jimbaran’s *taksu* is *Dewa Ayu* as *Ida Sesuhunan* ring Jimbaran. The existence of *taksu* in Jimbaran is confirmed by the *bendesa adat* Made B:

*Taksu* definitely presents in Jimbaran. We have *Sesuhunan, Dewa Ayu*, which elsewhere is nothing like here. We have a great respect for our *Ida Sesuhunan*, manifested in our *barong*. We never know when *Barong Dewa Ayu* will occur, since it is based on the sacred order, and this is not conducted regularly. So if the divine spirit intends to perform, we should organise the ritual ceremony and performance as requested (Made B).

Pura Parerepan is the temple of Jimbaran *Barong Dewa Ayu*, as the ‘house’ of the equipment when the *barong* is not assembled and performing (Figure 4.13).

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95 *Sesuhunan* or *susunan* translates literally as ‘adore or put something above the head’. It means the adoration of the Spirit who is highly esteemed.

96 The name of the temple comes from the Balinese word *sirep*, to spend the night. When the
According to the *bendesa adat* Jimbaran and all participants, the *barong* is not always active, and the staging of the dance follows a complex calendar based on religious (and financial) dictates.

![Image of Pura Parerepan](image)

**Figure 4.13: Pura Parerepan, The Temple of Jimbaran’s *Barong Sesuhunan* Dewa Ayu (photo: Wayan A, daughter of a seka barong member, 2011)**

A place is made up of the system formed by the people’s interlinked paths and pedestrian movements (de Carteau, 1984). These movements constitute the social aspect of the area, the ‘ways of doing’, how people decide to interact with topographical constraints or landscape. For Jimbarans—as evident in the interviews with all participants and also witnessed by Eiseman and Eiseman (1989)—*Dewa Ayu* is their highly respected divine spirit who protects Jimbaran against bad things. *Barong Dewa Ayu* is the manifestation of *taksu* in Jimbaran, and is an extremely important part of the religious life of the local community. *Dewa Ayu* fits into the life of Jimbaran community, as a kind of beneficent patron deity of this place. The awakening ritual of *Barong Dewa Ayu* is called *metangi*, and usually occurs over 199 days. However, this awakening does not necessarily mean that *Dewa Ayu* is performance is dormant, the masks of the *barongs* and the performers such as *Omangs* and *Sandar* (the two character performers in a *barong* dance) are kept in this temple (Eiseman & Eiseman, 1989). People pray in this temple on the *piodalan* every *Kajeng Kliwon*, *Sukra Pon* and other days. The *piodalan* of Pura Parerepan is every seven months, on Friday *Pon* of the wuku Medangsia (16 days after *Galungan Day*): see Table 4.11.

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performing, but the ritual indicates the barong has been brought to life through the proper ceremonies, and it is ready to perform. The barong is stored when it is necessary to refurbish the costumes. The activity of the barong is important to the village of Jimbaran, since when it is mesimpen its spirit remains in Pura Parerepan and thus so does the full power of Dewa Ayu. When the barong is active, it performs every Kajeng Kliwon, every 15 days, and often more frequently. It must be performed at the piodalan of all of the major temples in the Jimbaran area. When the barong is assembled after the divine request, the Jimbaran villagers and sekan barong—consisting of around 100 people—accompanies the barong on a 16-km walk each way to the pura luhur uluwatu on Pecatu Hill to mark the start of each cycle of performances.

The cultural route for the Barong Dewa Ayu parade is also special for locals and follows the same route each time: starting from central Jimbaran village on the way to the pura uluwatu in Pecatu village. Made D, like all participants, described this ritual as the moment that ‘halts’ the village:

We were able to walk up to the uluwatu temple to accompany our Barong Sesuhunan Dewa Ayu for the ritual of mepasupati. Although people can now ride in vehicles, we always retain the ‘ritual walks’ in this highly respected ceremony. We follow the barong, walking together in this long parade through the shoreline then up to the hill in the daytime. We stop by several temples when approaching uluwatu, and eat together. During this ritual, the market, shops and businesses are closed; as are seafood cafés. People don’t work, to respect this special occasion (Made D).

The ritual walk, as described in Made D’s narrative, demonstrates the ritual, spatial and temporal relationship performed in Jimbaran during the mepasupati
ceremony for the *Ida Sesuhunan Barong Dewa Ayu*—the village’s most respected *taksu*. As indicated above, a number of Jimbaran roads and beaches as spatial elements contribute to the special qualities of this ritual process. It is obvious that the route is a significant element of this procession, which allows interaction and facilitates the devotion of the people and their highly respected spirit of place.

The *barong* performance is called *mapajar*, referring to the conversation between Rangda and Barong at the end of the show. The setting for the *mapajar* itself is rather unglamorous, being simply the main north-south street through Jimbaran. During the dance, the road is closed for a distance of 300 m from the entrance to Pura Parerepan, including the hallway of Pura Ulun Swi. As the dance is performed in the afternoon, the big banyan tree next to the east wall in the middle courtyard of Pura Ulun Swi provides shade for the *sekan gong* and some members of the audience on hot days. The main street of the village Jalan Uluwatu is where the action takes place, not inside the temples. Wayan S, a chief of the neighbourhood of Jero Kuta noted that nobody has been successful in capturing a performance of Jimbaran’s *barong* with video or camera—including Fred Eiseman, the American ethnographer who is currently a permanent resident in Jimbaran and a naturalised member of *sekan barong*:

Many have tried to photograph our *Barong Sesuhunan* but none have produced a good photograph. Pak Fred has tried to do this but he cannot. This is so sacred. I could say that unlike at the other villages or *barong* dances, our *barong* performance is definitely not for tourist consumption (Wayan S).

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97 The term *mapajar* derives from the Balinese word *pajar* or to speak.
98 People in Jimbaran give Fred B. Eiseman the Indonesian salutation ‘Pak’, which means Mr.
The peculiarity of Barong Dewa Ayu as Wayan S indicated is that there are two different realms of barong performance. First, the barong dance can be a cultural entertainment found in any barong performance for tourist interests and second, the barong dance is associated with taksu of a place, as performed in Jimbaran. In this regard, barong as the symbol of sacredness has become the place identity that fosters the spirit of place and is more than just a ritual performance. The performance of ritual events of Barong Dewa Ayu in Jimbaran illustrates transcendent qualities (Lawrence, 1992) that produce the Jimbaran identity, and that individuals experience something ‘bigger’ than themselves and their (physical) place.

4.5.2 Sacred Places in the House Compound

As in any typical Balinese family house compound, the presence of temples within houses indicates the sacred life of the Balinese. These temples are private and only worshipped by those affiliated in kinship or bloodline, so entering this private zone is a challenge for outsiders who are not part of the family. A Balinese house represents continuity derived from the owner’s aspirations for his or her place from time to time. Mrajan or the family temple is signified by work and rework since its initial establishment, as it is inherited from older generations. It consists of shrines dedicated to manifestations of the Hindu God Sang Hyang Widhi, and focuses on the worshipped ancestors of the family. Wayan M, a school principal, described the importance of mrajan to him and his family (Figure 4.14):

Our mrajan temple within our house is so significant for my whole family, and we are really very proud of it. This is a manifestation of our dedication to our ancestors and our land. This is where my family and extended families from the same kinship meet every seven months for piyodalan. In
addition, we designated a spiritual room in our home as a secured place for our spiritual artefact collection. For us, the Balinese house\(^9\) is very important. I invested family money obtained from selling and renting our land to renovate our house and family temple. You can see it is made from high-quality black mountain stones. My obsession is to make it as similar as possible to an ideal Balinese traditional house. The land was inherited from my father, but I did the renovations. This is all that I can give to my future generations (Wayan M).

Figure 4.14: Mrajan Temple (photo: the son of Wayan M, 2011)

*Mrajan*, as described by Wayan M, is a place for worship to establish the spiritual attachment to Gods and ancestors and a regular gathering place with those who come from the same ancestors. *Mrajan*, as well as being the spiritual room (Figure 4.15), represents home and endurance for Balinese families, since it engenders intra and inter-generational relationships and responsibilities. It is also evident that tourism contributes to support the local spirit of continuity as reflected in Wayan M’s obsession with temple refurbishment, funded by the family’s side

\(^9\) In Balinese terms, this house refers to *rumah tua* (old house), inherited house or land property. The house condition is somewhat different to the townhouses in new residential (urban) areas in Bali, which are not necessarily complemented by *mrajan* temples inside the compound.
income from renting their land to a hotel company. Moreover, the (artistic) mrajan temple denotes the Balinese passion for arts and their ability to ‘invest’ spirit within their home.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 4.15: The spiritual room (photo: the son of Wayan M, 2011)**

### 4.5.3 Natural Sacredness in Jimbaran

The relationship between natural sacredness and placemaking that strengthens the sense of place is evident in Jimbaran. Speed (2003) asserted that across cultures and religions throughout history, many people have paid their respects to natural environments such as mountains, caves, rocks, trees and water, which they consider sacred. Particularly in traditional culture, the relationship between people and place is represented by attributing meanings to something people encounter in everyday life in their surroundings. Some people may think that a particular tree can share its positive energy, in addition to its role in providing shelter or shade. It is also the case in Bali, including in Jimbaran,\(^{100}\) that some trees are regarded as sacred and respected.

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\(^{100}\) Jimbaran has numerous sacred places that relate to nature. One of the prominent natural sacred places in Jimbaran is the cave Goa Gong and its temple, which are located in bukit Jimbaran area, near the complex of Udayana University. Goa Gong is a large cave on the north face of the top of the hill, inside which hangs a large stalactite. It gives the temple its name because when struck with the palm of hand, the stalactite emits a booming, Balinese *gamelan* gong-like sound. None of the participants
by people through regular ritual offerings. Similarly, water can be worshipped as symbolic of ‘life’, as nurturing a relationship between humans and the creators sourced from the earth: in this case, people take pure water from natural springs or wells for ritual purposes.

However, being ‘sacred’ is also purposeful in our secular world, although such practises tend to be dismissed as irrational superstition. Today, people pay more attention to what is ‘real’ based on rationality and empirical evidence; therefore, the ‘sacred’ nowadays gets less support in modern societies (Speed, 2003). Although Jimbaran has been modernised, the local people’s perception about sacredness remains strong. Wayan A, a young villager, indicated this sacred element of a natural place visited by the Balinese Hindu community. It is believed that its holy water can purify the soul:

This rock is important to Jimbaran people. It is located in Muaya Beach, near Four Seasons Resort. It has *yeh klebutan*¹⁰¹ or the holy spring water people use for *mlukat* or the bathing ritual as a symbol to cleanse humans physically and spiritually (Wayan A).

Wayan A’s description about the location of the sacred rock also indicates that a sacred thing or place can be located contiguous to non-religious places like hotels and tourist resorts. However, locals make a clear distinction between the sacredness and profanity of an area, as observed at Jimbaran Beach. At this point, places with

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¹⁰¹ Natural spring water location treated as a holy water resource for ritual ceremony.
sacred sites should be viewed as politically powerful and wealthy in terms of authenticity, and local influence to the site. This nature of authenticity lies in the function, continuity and livingness of the site with its associated communities (Weerasinghe, 2011). All of these local spiritual attachments and investments need to be taken into consideration in managing and planning the place beyond its material fabric. Sacredness from a local perspective is a very sensitive issue in terms of both ethics and politics.

Figure 4.16: The sacred rock on Muaya Beach Jimbaran (photo: Wayan A, 2011)

4.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents a parallel structure of community and place, to illustrate how both are intertwined in the construction of local sense of place. The presence of indigenous inhabitants is important because they have a sense of guardianship in protecting and preserving their places (Malpas, 2008). This sense is important in understanding the real nature of people connection to place, beyond place ownership and control, and the indigenous perspective of place and their real sense of place. Jimbaran people use their perceptions of community, in this regard desa adat, as a frame of reference when describing their attachment to place.
As revealed in this chapter, the local meanings of Jimbaran places are characterised by the amalgamation of Balinese values of sekala niskala (the tangibles and the intangibles): desa, kala and patra (place, time and occasion), pawongan, palemahan and parahyangan (human social, environmental and spiritual relationships), and taksu (power, inspiration and charisma) of the place. Together these characteristic values provide the main setting for the local contemporary and traditional landscape. Local residents also mentioned places that have personal significance, and pointed out the unexpected development in their area. From the perspectives of local community, Jimbaran holds multiple values. First, they see the place as part of history, where the history and myths have contributed to what happens now in their place. Second, as Balinese live in both the physical and spiritual worlds, the villagers of Jimbaran are concerned to maintain the spirit of their places and promote their sacredness. Thirdly, they maintain their traditional approach of spatial division of the village in the contemporary setting.
Chapter 5: Local Interpretations of Place Identity in Jimbaran

5.1 Introduction

Emotional attachments are generated through cumulative, direct experiences, with features of everyday life by local people who are entrenched inherently in a dwelling. Locales are places created and known through common experiences, symbols and meanings. They may be rooms, houses, monuments, meeting places or settlements. Fundamental to the establishment of personal and group identities and the formation of biographies, places and ‘their contents’ have metonymical qualities. Sampson and Goodrich (2009) underline that as symbolic locales; places are important passages in the cultural production of the self. In this regard, places as settings have the potential to contribute to the manner in which individuals develop and maintain a sense of place, community attachment or belonging and identity.

According to Knudsen et.al (2008) a place is ‘open to interpretation’ by those who have been in that place because it is an object produced by the interaction between nature and culture, between natural forces and history. Physical features could be similar in typology; there are mountains and beaches in many places in the world. However, when people talk about a specific landscape in a specific place, the significance cannot be disconnected from the activities of the area. Indigenous conceptions of place indeed assert an essential belonging of human beings to the place they inhabit.

In interpreting a landscape, people may refer to their attachment to the place where the landscape is located. As found in this study, the villagers of desa adat Jimbaran develop their sense of place in a meaningful way, as individuals or
community. This chapter examines the identity of Jimbaran from the relationships between the local people of Jimbaran with their place through long-term engagement or rootedness as they assign the places in their village with meanings. It explicitly deals with the circulation of local knowledge on sense of place through practical methods, examining how it operates in the narratives of the residents including the embedded qualities (cultural values) of place and placemaking processes in Jimbaran.

5.2 *Dimel, Teba, Desa: Memories of Living in Bukit*

Sense of place can be associated with memories, meanings, moving events and personal identity and concerns (Perkins & Thorns, 2012). Memories of previous moves in a landscape are essential to understanding, a remembrance established from things and spatial encounters. In this regard, personal biographies, social identities and a biography of place are intimately connected (Tilley, 1994). Memories continually provide modifications to a sense of place which can never be exactly the same place twice, although there may be ideological attempts to provide ‘stability’ or perceptual and cognitive fixity to a place, to reproduce sets of dominant meanings, understandings, representations and images. According to locals, before tourism development most places in Jimbaran were anonymous. Instead, there were three indicators of spatiality, namely *dimel, teba and desa*. Wayan S, a former *kelihan banjar* explained his familiarity with the area division:

*Long before tourism developed in South Bali (Nusa Dua), most Jimbaran people were concentrated in *desa* (central village), and the *bukit* area is considered as *dimel*, which means outer. In our terms, *dimel* has a lower value than *desa*. The area in between is what we call *teba* in the past*
located near (the present) Hotel Intercontinental, along the way up to the slope of 
*bukit* after the Hotel Four Seasons (Wayan S).

*Dimel or mel* is the local alternative name for *bukit*, the elevated terrain of Jimbaran. Thus, of people who lived in *bukit* in that period, it was said ‘they lived in *dimel*—the village’s outer space. *Desa*, in contrast, is the name of the area of the central village where the main activities of the villagers were located. In contrast to *bukit* or *dimel*, *desa* has the highest grade in terms of importance. Thus, *teba* is the area in between connecting the two spaces, although closer to *desa*, which has a higher importance than *dimel*. Since it was on the periphery of *desa*, *dimel* space was occupied by less housing or settlement in the past, and was dominated by vegetation. Wayan M, who lived there during his childhood, described the past physical appearance of the *dimel* environment:

*Dimel* is out of the central village, but it is still in Jimbaran, in *bukit* area. In that place, we found seasonal plants *padi gogo*[^102], *bangkuang*[^103] and cassava, which are not water demanding. There were also shrubs and big trees, so basically it was an arid land, but people did farming (Wayan M).

Malpas (2008) asserts that for many indigenous cultures, the relationship to place is established and sustained not through the exercise of authority over the place, like ownership, but rather through ‘journeying across it and through the stories such journeying embodies and expresses’ (p. 329). These ‘indigenous accounts of place’, as Malpas suggests emphasise the way in which place is formed and sustained through journey and movement, pathway and track. The local sense of place is essentially relational in character, emerged through active engagement with that place. Wayan M illustrated his connection to *bukit* as the place he grew up and was

[^102]: *Padi gogo/gaga*, a rice variety that needs less water.
[^103]: Fruit of the cassava family.
nurtured. He also described the hardship of living in *bukit*, considered a ‘remote’ area with limited transportation, making Jimbaran village only accessible by a long walk. Unlike today, farming was still dominant in the landscape (Figure 5.1):

*Dimel* is my home, located in the *bukit* area near Udayana University. That was my ancestors’ land. I grew up there … but the schools were only at ‘*desa*’ area of the SD 1 Jimbaran Public School and the SMP Taman Sastra High School. I used to watch the cows, our cattle. That was the time I helped my father to work as a farmer of *padi gaga* in our field of 3.5 hectares (Wayan M).

![Cattle in *bukit* Jimbaran](image)

**Figure 5.1: Cattle in *bukit* Jimbaran (photo: Wayan M, 2011)**

As long-term residents have local family roots coupled with their sense of place, the villagers of *bukit* Jimbaran share a collective memory and meaning about living in the *dimel* zone. ‘*Mel*’ in this regard is constructed from longevity of residence and familiarity with the *bukit* landscape, especially, as Wayan M described, in their experience of water scarcity—people depended on natural resources to obtain water (Figure 5.2):

I used to wake up early in the morning at four o’clock to take the cattle to the water. There is a small water reservoir containing rain water near my
house. We (people) could drink that water: 50 families used it as source of drinking water. It was safe enough to drink, nobody got sick from drinking that water. Since infrastructure development in this area in the 1970s, the government has provided a pipeline for distribution of drinking water and five to six metre deep spring wells. Before that, the water from the rainwater in the reservoir had to be purified with kapur sirih—a white substance like chalk powder added to the water before we could drink it, which made the water look a bit white. We had to wait for one night to get clear water that was safe to consume the day after (Wayan M).

Figure 5.2: An old water catchment in bukit (Photo: Wayan M, 2011)

Wayan M talked about the bukit community in Jimbaran, having lived there in the past and inevitably having a sense of ownership of the place, knowing it intimately and having memories and stories woven into its fabric:

I lived there until I was 15, before my father brought his family including myself to move to this house. If you asked me about the future of our bukit land, I really hope that the land is still ours, because it holds the memory of my childhood, as when I was gardening, watching the cattle,

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104 His new house is located in the ‘desa’ area or village centre, in the Banjar Pesalakan neighbourhood.
ploughing the soil. Now my brother and cousins look after the land and continue doing what I did in the past. We also still sell groceries to the people in *bukit*.

Attachment depends not only on the physical appearance of the place, but also ‘upon personality, needs, life course concerns, and one’s own interpretation of one’s life’ (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). It is argued that place attachment is a more energised, compelling or vivid affectual state born of one’s link to significant life events, key developmental themes or identity processes. Thus, the place where Wayan M was raised as a child, gained his education and helped his family as a farmer, takes on a special meaning in relation to his life course context, personal meanings and life achievements. This array of this individual’s unique experiences plays a strong role in his development of affective bonds with *bukit* Jimbaran, by shaping the nature of his interactions with the interpretation of physical environment. The relationship between place and human being is one in which human beings are shaped by place. It can be inferred that the *bukit* has the capacity to provide lessons to Jimbaran people to make them learn from the past about how to deal with their environment.

Indigenous early migration within the village from *dimel* or *bukit* to *desa* area, to get closer to public facilities, also leaves the individual memory of place. The discourse featuring *dimel* experience comprising the particular activity of a farmer’s family and character of place distinguishes this place from other parts of Jimbaran:

> I remember my family planted cassava, and so did other people. I remember I harvested it by myself and steamed it. We enjoyed the warm steamed cassava together in our house, especially on rainy days. *Dimel* was
so quiet at that time. Unlike in desa, dimel was not dwelled in by many people (breathing) I miss living in dimel (Wayan M).

People have their own stories that matter to them, about the ways in which their lives have been affected and even shaped by the places in which they live (Malpas, 2008). The relationship between place and human being should be seen as a mutualism: human beings are shaped by place, and in turn may have a responsibility to respect and care for it. Wayan M’s narrative reveals this two-way relationship, that this attachment should not be seen merely as a ‘dwelling’ experience; rather, this is clearly ‘emotional’. He also indicates a sensuous experience in the mixture of place, time, activity, atmosphere, and with whom the experience is shared. There is also an emphasis on specific times such as rainy days (something that bukit people looked forward to, since rain rarely falls in bukit area), how the rain turned the dimel drought character into something desirable. Here, home is represented by past living in the dimel, that is experienced by most Jimbaran farmers.

Bukit in the memory of the villagers also held a lower status, as explained by bendesa adat Jimbaran Made B. Besides this area having natural and geographical characteristics, it also had social values that imposed limits on the residents:

In the past, according to our custom, pregnant women of Jimbaran could not deliver their babies in the bukit ‘dimel’ area and they had to do it in the ‘desa’ area or central village. As I remember, after a ritual ceremony in Pura Samuaya the Upacara Ngusaba Nini in 1967, we changed this rule. Since then, women have been allowed to give birth in any area of the village, based on their residency (Made B).

In this regard, living in bukit during childhood makes local community members carry with them the quality of being a dimel person. This quality develops a historical
significance for people from bukit, establishing their sense of identity and belonging to their place, which has since been modified. For most of the Jimbaran community, living in bukit and its surroundings has become their identity, and they have become familiar with the natural features of their land, and foster a spirit of guardianship.

5.3 *Pasar Desa Adat Jimbaran: Attachment to Traditional Setting*

*Pasar* Jimbaran or the Jimbaran traditional market is the largest traditional market in the south Kuta district. Built on desa adat land of around 0.6 ha, it is situated in the heart of the village, adjacent to pampatan agung of Jimbaran, across from the village landmark—Pura Ulun Swi. People can find various kinds of food, groceries and goods they need for everyday living in the village. Vendors\(^\text{105}\) and buyers meet from around 3 a.m. and some stalls are open until late afternoon. Trading in *pasar* Jimbaran keeps the village vibrant during the day and early evening, with street food kiosks attracting people who stroll on Jimbaran’s streets, and stop to buy take away food or snacks to share at home. In addition to food, this market provides various equipment and materials for Balinese Hindu ritual ceremonies, and ‘ready-made’ *canang* (flower offerings), which are required by people daily. Entering the market, people experience the mixed aroma of fish, fruit, flowers, Balinese ritual incense and musk, and the cooked traditional food and cakes, with the smoke of ‘sate penyu’\(^\text{106}\) barbeque at the corner outside the market.

\(^{105}\) Since this facility is desa adat’s property, the vendors give a contribution to desa adat for space rental. The space tenancy have been rolled over for generations, as bendesa adat said, the vendors run their business in this market through their family connections.

\(^{106}\) *Sate penyu* or sea turtle satay is a local snack meal popular among Balinese in south coastal areas, including in Jimbaran. It includes a *tipat* (rice cake) and turtle satay skewer, which is served hot with *sambal tabia* (red hot chilli) and salt. This is not a speciality of Jimbaran as it can be found in many places in South Bali. However, since the *penyu* has had the status of an endangered animal, the Bali government issued restrictions on selling *penyu* meat, for conservation purposes. Therefore, the *penyu* has been replaced by pork in this dish. Nonetheless, people still call it *satay penyu* as this name is already popular.
None of the research participants could explain when exactly *pasar* Jimbaran was founded. Most villagers confirmed that this market has been there since they were born. One of them, Made L, a homemaker, explained what she knows about this market:

*Pasar* Jimbaran is an old market located near Jimbaran village’s grand crossroad, which was there when I was born, so I do not know exactly when it was founded. It is usually open from early morning (3 a.m.) until the afternoon. It is where people buy groceries and materials for ritual ceremony. I also like the Balinese cakes and sweets sold inside (Made L).

The sense of Balinese trading place in *pasar* Jimbaran is provided through the mixture of the pattern of movement, sequences, traditionality and familiarity between the people and this place. The movements of people make this *pasar* function as the village’s centre of economic activity. This place is also clearly engendered with the presence of Balinese women as the majority of buyers and traders. Some of these women wear *kamben*—the waistcloth, and *senteng*—the sash, with a common t-shirt and blouse on the top, indicating that they are Balinese Hindu homemakers preparing for ritual ceremony and domestic work.

\[107\] Other than certain gender domination, another characteristic of Balinese traditional markets is the use of Balinese language as the way of communication. Unlike in modern trading places such as the supermarkets and convenience or department stores found in most urban areas in Bali, people speak Balinese in *pasar*, rather than the national language—Bahasa Indonesia. With foreign visitors, the vendors sometimes try to speak in very basic English. The use of the Balinese language does not define a ‘Jimbaran’ place, since Balinese is commonly spoken in traditional communities in Bali.
Sense of place is something acquired through an active, creative process that draws attention to the ‘how’ as much as the ‘what’ (Firth, 2011). Therefore, although the place may be the same, the sense of it may be many-fold. In this regard, people will deal not so much in what they see in the environment, but in how they see. Ni Made N, a Jimbaran villager who lives near Nusa Dua—several kilometres from central Jimbaran—is a regular patron of this market.

Fruits and flowers are needed for ritual ceremonies. The canang vendors in pasar Jimbaran appropriately produce a good quality of canang and to some extent they are very thorough; they do not just give us the basics. The market has all that we need, so we do not need to go further to pasar Kuta or peken Badung in Denpasar. It really saves my time and money (Made N).

Ni Made T also asserted her preference to this market over the others and modern ones. Yet, she could not specify the reason for her choice:

I live in lingkungan Taman Griya, a few kilometres away, and I know there are closer traditional markets near my house, such as pasar Taman Griya in
my neighbourhood and pasar mekar sari in bukit Jimbaran, which were built later. But I like pasar Jimbaran best. People may say all traditional markets sell the same things, but I feel that no other market here is as complete as pasar Jimbaran (Made T).

Made D, another homemaker from banjar Karanganyar explains her preference in terms of familiarity with pasar Jimbaran, and identifies the non-material elements she finds in this market:

We prefer this old market. Why? Perhaps, because I am already familiar with its vendors, the layout, the goods, the food … and I think because it is already metaksu (Made D).

Rather than material-related reasons, Made D used the word metaksu108 to illustrate the value of pasar Jimbaran, meaning that she honoured this market beyond its function of public facility. Balinese people usually associate the meaning taksu with power, talent and divine characters. Therefore, when the market is described using the word taksu by a Balinese person, this suggests a deep (spiritual) meaning and value beyond mere material space.

The strong connection between residents and pasar Jimbaran is reflected in local objection to a relocation proposal for this market. Desa adat, who administer pasar Jimbaran, once planned to move it to an empty space near the soccer field, around 300 m south of the grand crossroad, because the market often causes traffic jams during trading hours and during piodalan in several temples. It was planned by the village that the site would be utilised as an extension parking area provided for temple visitors. However, this relocation project was cancelled due to the strong objections of most residents, who wanted the market to stay in its current position.

108 The word ‘metaksu’ is derived from ‘taksu’, which like the Sanskrit word ‘caksu’, means eye.
Criticism of the relocation plan in this context reveals the residents’ concerns about the potential instability, unfamiliarity and loss of the ‘spirit’: the current market has the capacity to turn on ‘the pulse’ of Jimbaran, bringing people together in the same place every day. The place attachment in this regard promotes and provides a feeling of stability, familiarity and security (Manzo, 2008). The place meanings the residents ascribe to pasar Jimbaran demonstrate their strong attachment to this market over a long period. In this regard, pasar Jimbaran has been embraced as an inseparable part of the Jimbaran traditional community.

5.4 Jimbaran Beach: for Leisure and Wellbeing

Distinctive natural features such as bukit, sea cliff, rocks and the white beach, as well as the group of temples located in its surroundings, leave the locals with the impression of Jimbaran landscape as the amalgamation of both cultural and natural heritage. This is similar to the findings of Orange (2011) in her research on local understanding of sense of place: that people mostly talk about the intrinsic character or the atmosphere of place and belonging. The Jimbarans develop their identity and their way of life in response to their immersion in the landscape.

Knowledge of a place or landscape is relative. Knowledge can be accumulated over days, weeks or generations. Familiar places and areas of landscape are also reference points that according to Relph (1985) construct our memories and affections; however, peoples’ opinions on the value of these places and areas will vary. Natural features are the most dominant element of landscapes to which people usually refer when expressing the sense of place. In an interview with Made B, Jimbaran is shaped from geography combined with the various local activities:
Jimbaran has both a beautiful beach (Figure 5.4) and a hill as our landscape characters. We have a wide land stretching in between. That is why our place is well known and well liked. Besides, we also have many heritage temples and sacred places within our village, which is why we hold so many ritual activities (Made B).

![Figure 5.4: Jimbaran Beach (fieldwork, 2011)](image)

Made T, 45-year-old homemaker, also expressed her opinion about the attractiveness of Jimbaran beaches. In particular, she praised the Jimbaran view as being highly cherished, not only as enjoyment for locals but for others also:

Jimbaran Bay has a very good shape: you can see the airport on the right side and the hill on the left side (of the village). The beach has white sand, and is wide enough for people to walk enjoying the view and sunset. Our bukit is the natural landmark of Jimbaran. When the weather is good, the beach is beautiful and romantic. We have Jimbaran Beach, Muaya Beach, Tegal Wangi Beach and other beaches in our village that are so beautiful. I know some people also use it as a background for wedding photography (Made T).
In the context of leisure, the environment is interpreted as a ‘setting for action’ possessing the characteristics necessary for the pursuit of specific desired activities such as a river for rafting, snow for skiing, paths for walking, and so on (Williams & Patterson, 2008). In this case, Jimbaran Beach is utilised by locals for exercising, recreational fishing, as a meeting place or just for gazing at the ocean. Both solitary and social recreations are considered important in the local community’s sense of place. The natural endowments Jimbaran possesses, such as the beach and the hill, provide a wide range of recreational activities\textsuperscript{109} for both locals and visitors. It is very common in Jimbaran to find people undertaking leisure and sport activities around the village.

\begin{figure}
  \centering
  \includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
  \caption{Satria Nusantara—a meditative physical exercise in Jimbaran \hspace{1cm} (photo: fieldwork, 2011)}
\end{figure}

With respect to the beach, research participants agreed that this place allows people to interact with each other. For the local community, pantai Jimbaran or Jimbaran Beach is the nearest leisure space to which people can escape from their routine after hours. This relationship to the beach through leisure contributes to their

\textsuperscript{109} People in Jimbaran can do recreational and sporting activities such as fishing, boating, hiking, fruit picking, kite flying, biking, playing beach sport, jogging and meditating on the beach and in hilly areas.
sense of belonging and identity as they maintain this people-place bonding. Made B articulated that he and his group use the beach regularly:

Our *Satria Nusantara*\(^{110}\) group uses Jimbaran Beach near Keraton Hotel to exercise. We have 80 members now, mostly from Jimbaran, and we meet there every week. The beach is the most feasible place to do physical exercise, not only because it is nearby, but the beach is also relaxing and not so crowded, which makes it easier to concentrate and get full advantage from this activity (Made B).

The beach is not only a landscape, but is a lived experience. The local villagers have been there since they were children. Made S, 19, explained why this beach has such social and recreational importance, by taking a photograph of local children playing soccer on Jimbaran Beach. Jimbaran actually has several soccer fields in the village area, but playing on the beach has become a ‘ritual’ for the children.

The beach is our playground. The kids shown in my photo remind me of my childhood. I used to go to the beach with my schoolmates to play soccer in the late afternoon and stayed there until it got dark and we returned home. We are blessed that we have a spacious area to play free. I hope that we (Jimbaran people) always be given access to the beach in the future (Made S).

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\(^{110}\) A meditative physical exercise society.
Participants felt that the beach was inseparable from the Jimbaran community. Afternoon leisure time on the beach has been the tradition for locals. Nyoman B, 50 years old, the pioneer of Jimbaran seafood cafés (as the owner of Warung Ramayana café) also mentioned that playing soccer on Jimbaran Beach was one of his activities growing up. As he comes from the fisherman families of banjar Ubung, the beach area has been his home and play land. Afternoon is the favourite time for Jimbaran people to go to the beach and stay until sunset. Nothing serious is involved, just leisure.

Fishing is a leisure pursuit for some participants, which connects them with their natural environment. For Made W, a five-star hotel worker, the beach is where local people go for recreation:

My big family are fishermen. They own the boats and still go fishing. In spite of working in a hotel as a waiter, I still go to the beach for recreational fishing (Made W).
Made W illustrated the place–activity nexus through the meaning of the beach environment not only for recreation, but also as a way of ‘returning’ to his roots. This metaphor signifies that beach is where the villagers belong, despite alteration to one’s occupation. In other words, this place is part of this person.

Figure 5.7: Fishing on Jimbaran Beach (photo: Made W, 2011)

Similarly, Wayan H, a 24-year-old polytechnic graduate now working in a travel services company, described the beach as a specific, place-based experience. Wayan H talked about Jimbaran Beach using the specific name Muaya Beach, after a nearby pura swagina or professional temple that is worshipped at by a farmer community called Pura Samuaya, but also by Jimbaran villagers in general.

I am used to visiting Muaya Beach, which is located near Four Seasons Hotel. Particularly during the weekends, many people go there in the afternoon. Looking at a wide landscape and meeting with other villagers reinvigorates me after stressful work in the office on weekdays. There are also local vendors walking around the beach, approaching people with their homemade snacks,\textsuperscript{111} such as jagung bakar\textsuperscript{112} and rujak.\textsuperscript{113} We may also

\textsuperscript{111} The existence of street food around the beach identifies it as a popular place during the weekend for locals, drawing people together and delighting them with local refreshments. Like other Indonesians, Balinese are fond of local hawker food, as is also true in many places in the world.
\textsuperscript{112} Grilled spicy corn.
\textsuperscript{113} Tropical fruit salad with brown sugar spicy sauce.
have someone selling *lumpia*\(^{114}\) on Sundays. They are something that we cannot miss (Wayan H).

In her description about the beach, she valued the place not only because of the atmosphere it provides, but also because of the amenity available for visitors. In the case of Muaya Beach, this place is signified by locals as a ‘whole’, for its capacity to embrace other elements (such as street vendors) in this place, and not just the landscape *per se*.

Narratives and photographs shared by the locals reveal that the natural landscape features and settings of Jimbaran Beach construct it as a leisure place through meanings and values ascribed to it. Given that leisure affords the individual the opportunity to affiliate with places and activities of their choosing, this attachment to leisure places typically focuses on positive relationships, with the beach as a leisure space serving as a powerful symbol of individual identity (Williams & Patterson, 2008). From the narratives of locals, residents’ attachment to the beach is not only ‘for escaping’ or recreational. There are also aspirations to preserve the beach to maintain and enhance a sense of collective identity and community, as people develop their attachment to this site as their beloved leisure setting.

### 5.5 Kampung Nelayan: the Fishermen’s Land

Jimbaran Bay is the second largest fishing area in Bali, home to Jimbaran, Kedonganan and Kelan fishing villages. Most of the fishermen today still use *jukung*, as people call the small wooden traditional boats (around 0.5 m wide and 5 m long). Nowadays some *jukung* are motorised. As in Jimbaran, fishing villages and the *jukung* can be spotted along the Jimbaran shoreline. Such places have become

\(^{114}\) Local-style Spring roll.
'home’ to more than a thousand people who make a living from fishing, utilising the shoreline areas registered as national government land. A routine can be observed from early morning until evening, when the fish are being brought in from the boats. Many people prepare the jukungs for launching, while others prepare jaring or gill nets on the beachside. There are food stalls and warung minuman that sell cold drinks that most people look for during busy lunch or lazy afternoon times. The presence of tourists, whether they walk, jog, sit or swim has also become part of this place. In the latest tourist development plan, the future of this fishing village is deemed vulnerable, since Jimbaran has been designated a tourism development area (Keputusan Bupati Badung Nomor 639, 2003). With this land use status, landowners can build any tourism-related facility, including in the fishing village areas. However, these small clusters of kampung nelayan remain important for the fisherman communities and are part of the place identity of Jimbaran and its neighbouring area.

It is thus interesting to understand how the local community define their traditional fishing village nowadays. Ketut K, a 70-year-old fisherman from banjar Pesalakan neighbourhood expressed his long-term relationship with this place:

This is the kampung nelayan\textsuperscript{115} in banjar Pesalakan. There are only 60 of us now, and this is the place I spend most my time. We hold fishermen’s gatherings, nap in the afternoon, cook and have our lunch here … this is where I have started and finished the day since I was a child. You see, it is shaded and so breezy. My wife has a warung\textsuperscript{116} in front of it. The tourists staying in nearby hotels also often sit around our warung during the hot

\textsuperscript{115} Fisherman village cluster: fisher community clustering in Jimbaran is based on their working area on the beach, such as Sekeha Nelayan Ubung, Menega, Pesalakan, Muaya or Balangan.

\textsuperscript{116} Small booth selling traditional light food and drinks.
sunny day to have some cold beers. This place is so relaxing, for us and for the tourists (Ketut K).

![Figure 5.8: Kampung Nelayan (photo: Ketut K, 2011)](image)

The *kampung nelayan* described by Ketut K is situated between Keraton Jimbaran Resort and Café Sembilan. Ketut K’s account of place indicates that his economic and social dependency to *kampung nelayan banjar* Pesalakan is very strong after long engagement. It implies dependency on the place where he and his wife make a living. The emotional relationship between Ketut and his *kampung nelayan* implies the idea of home, a cluster that cannot be separated from community existence. Even though this fishing village was never intended for tourism, as Ketut K mentioned, tourists also appreciate this place as they immerse themselves in the local community’s setting.

Attachment to place allows individuals to construct identity because the array of symbolic meanings that are drawn on during the process of attachment provides what Hummon (1992) describes as a ‘locus of the self’. Individual experiences within particular locales imbue landscape with shared and individual meanings as a consequence of lived experience. Another fisher, Wayan K, a 42-year-old man from
banjar Ubung neighbourhood similarly showed his strong attachment to Jimbaran. His comment is about the regular activities he is used to doing before, during and after fishing:

We (fishermen) have our temples near Jimbaran beaches such as Pura Dalem Segara in the fishing village, and Pura Tegalwangi on the beach near bukit. Our ritual before fishing every day follows this pattern: we place canang haturan (ritual offerings) in Pura Dalem Segara, on the beach in our fishing village, in karang-karang (sea reefs) near Pura Tegal Wangi and in our boats. We supplicate there for blessing, hoping for successful daily work on the sea (Wayan K).

Figure 5.9: Pura Dalem Segara, worshipped at by the fisherman community
(photo: fieldwork, 2011)

Local experience of the environment can be expressed through behaviour, local tradition, lore and myth (Tuan, 1974). The above description of fishermens’ tasks indicates that their work is not limited to the act of fishing, but they also have spiritual responsibility to the area where they conduct this activity. Attachment, as stated by Wayan K embraces daily rituals and belief in the place and the surrounding areas where they work. Such cognitive aspects represent the local orientation towards
person, space and time, illuminating how the fishermen of Jimbaran inscribe and inhabit the fishing village:

This picture is about our fishermen who just arrived back on the beach after fishing for hours. We are very tired but very glad that we returned home safely. This is what we always expect. We start early morning: leaving my house before dawn, preparing everything we need on our boat so we are ready to depart. We can spend like 10 hours on our boat, fishing around the Indian Ocean or Bali Strait. We can go wherever we want. To become a fisherman you have to be brave, have no fear: the waves are often too wild for us, but in the ocean I feel like there is nothing to stop us. We can go to Tanah Lot, Nusa Penida, everywhe. We can feel freedom of boating around in the ocean, until we return home after this long trip, with our catch (Wayan K).

Figure 5.10: Munjur (photo: Wayan K, 2011)

His everyday life as a fisherman makes the ocean and the fishing village another home for Wayan K, as he spends more of his time in these two places than in his

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117 Tanah Lot is a beach area in south-west Bali, and Nusa Penida is a small island in south-east Bali.
118 Lifting a fishing boat, coming ashore after fishing.
Relph (2008) suggests that sense of place has three aspects: one ontological, one focused on a particular place and one that opens out to acknowledge differences and interactions between many places. As someone who maintains a traditional occupation like fishing, the sense of place Wayan K creates and preserves is through his long-term relationship with places (both the land and the sea), his family roots, his working skill as a fisherman and localities with which he is familiar. This rootedness is generally considered positive for him as an individual, as he finds contentment that contributes to his happiness and his quality of life by the ability to undertake work about which he is passionate. In this regard, Wayan K perceives the fisherman community of Jimbaran as his place, his collective identity, which is created, constructed, shaped and maintained through his engagement in practices and behaviours that connect him to this particular landscape (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009), such as the kampung nelayan and Jimbaran Beach, where he spends most of his time.

There is also a practical aspect to sense of place implied from his combination of skills, interest, commitment and professional orientation (Vanclay, 2008), which can extend responsibility to the area in which he lives and works, and in effect, gives him a role in placemaking. For this reason, the existing fishermen in Jimbaran are vital in strengthening the character of Jimbaran and distinguishing this village from an ordinary beach area. It is important to distinguish between the beach and fishing village because different users can be found in one site. Jimbaran should be interpreted taking account of the fisherman community, which, as found in this study, has a strong sense of pride and belonging in what the community of Jimbaran stands for.

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119 When I came to his house on 15 May 2011, it was around 3 p.m. on a work day. However, as he became suddenly ill a few days before my visit, he decided to stay home, which was why I could meet him in person for an interview.
5.6 Taste of Jimbaran

Even though taste is not among the attributes that stimulate human perceptions to invoke awareness of setting such as sights, smells and sounds (Steele, 1981), in a tourism context, a sense of place through unique local taste has the capacity to differentiate one destination with another. Haven-Tang and Jones’ (2005) culinary study in Wales suggests that local food and drink can be utilised to enhance the quality of a destination, develop community pride and preserve place identity. For the natives of Jimbaran—whose ancestors were farmers and fishermen—preferred foods are mostly made from natural ingredients obtained from home-grown vegetables and fish, and most of them are spicy. Their immersion in bukit and the beach environment has led to the adoption of locally obtained food as the main meals of local families. According to Made A, who lives near bukit, such foods are favoured by most villagers:

People ask me what Jimbaran food is: do you know jukut don tuwi?120 We have those plants around Jimbaran. The leaves and the flowers can be cooked in our kitchen (Made A).

Similarly, Wayan K’s family is used to consuming the fish he catches:

We eat fish. I think most Jimbaran people eat fish; most of us have fresh fish every day. We do not use preservatives to make the fish last longer. We just have them within several hours of them being caught: after that they should be cooked, grilled or made into soup (Wayan K).

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120 A type of local vegetation in bukit.
Another taste of Jimbaran is the chilli side dish called *sambal matah*. Ketut D, 42, a homemaker with a fishing background, has a recipe for *sambal matah* and grilled fish Jimbaran style that includes details of how the grilled fish should be prepared. She explained how to make a Jimbaran’s style *sambal matah*:

*Sambal matah* usually accompanies the grilled fish and this recipe is inherited from our great grandparents, or like people say this is from *jaman nak odah*.\(^{121}\) *Sambal Matah* is the complement for grilled fish. We need red chilli, small chilli, red onion, oil, salt and lime to make it. These raw ingredients should be sliced and mixed. We can give it stronger flavour with a little grilled shrimp paste and sliced of lime (Ketut D).

Wayan S, the neighbourhood leader of *banjar* Jero Kuta, also confirmed that *jukut don tuwi* and vegetables as mentioned by Made A are the traditional foods of the Jimbaran people that have been consumed for generations:

Well, I can say that there are two original foods of Jimbaran. First, the fish we call *be pindang*\(^ {122}\) or *mebejek tabia*,\(^ {123}\) which is the food fishermen are

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\(^{121}\) The older generation.

\(^{122}\) A salt water fish.
used to having. Second, *jukut don tuwi* accompanied by shredded coconut called *roroban* is known as the food of our farmers. So, in the past our farmers used to trade fish with vegetables, so the fishermen who lived on the beach area could have *don tuwi*, while the farmers who lived up in *bukit* could have fish on their plate. These foods are not commonly sold in the markets or stalls but we have to make them at home (Wayan S).

From all descriptions about the ‘native’ food of Jimbaran, it is clear that there is a relationship between the topographical features and the diet consumed by indigenous people in Jimbaran. Their homemade food in this regard represents the place they inhabit, in either *bukit* or the beach area, perceived as natural and authentic from their perspective. The foodstuffs as described above indicate local distinctiveness through the link between the food and the landscape. Local people are cognizant of where their food comes from and who produces it, as well as how to define its features.

*Warung* or traditional food kiosks are among culinary places photographed by research participants, for their role in selling traditional meals for the residents as well as a place to interact with other villagers. Figure 5.12 shows a *warung*, named after its owner Mrs Men Leder, as a place where local people are likely to greet and meet other villagers while getting one of their favourite take away foods in Jimbaran. Made S, a 21-year-old university student articulated why this *warung* is special to him:

I took a picture of my favourite local food stall in Jimbaran, named *warung* Men Leder. It is located near *banjar* Pesalakan. It is where my lunch sometimes comes from. Even though my mother makes good meals every

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123 Mixed with chilli.
day I also want to have something that I can take away from outside, like from this vendor. She is old now and I think the family has run the business since a long time ago. What I love most is their *tipat kuah*—*tipat*¹²⁴ with Balinese spicy fish gravy. For Jimbaran people and me, rice and fish are just fit being on one plate, in such ways. I have been enjoying it since I was in primary school as it used to be a stopover before I got home (Made S).

![Figure 5.12: Warung Men Leder (photo: Made S, 2011)](image)

The above narrative indicates that Made S has been familiar with this *warung* through frequent visitation since his childhood. Some participants also claimed that this kind of ‘rice and fish’ dish was Jimbaran people’s favourite, and mentioned in particular obtaining this meal from *warung* Men Leder.

The long-standing notion of place as an exclusive entity with single identity, yet in the present day as found in the contemporary Jimbaran, place is also ‘the dynamic container of pluralism, exchange and creativity’ (McKay, 2006). Particularly after the introduction to tourism in surrounding areas and the fact that Jimbaran has also become the residential place for tourism workers and migrants, facilities have been emerging to cater to those peoples’ needs. This is reflected in local preference on daily meals as the non-local (non-Balinese) foods are now supplied by non-local

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¹²⁴ *Tipat* or *ketipat* is a traditional Balinese rice cake.
food vendors in Jimbaran. According to Wayan H, despite her Balinese (Jimbaranese) origin, she has a different preference for food. As shown in her photograph (Figure 5.29), one of her favourite places as a Jimbaran villager is *Warung Nasi Pedas*—a Javanese food court located across the Jimbaran traditional market selling a menu of Javanese halal food.\(^{125}\) It has a strategic location adjacent to the village grand crossroad, on the busy roads where most vehicles enter Jimbaran village:

This *warung*\(^ {126}\) is where I used to stop before and after work to have lunch or dinner or take away. It is a popular food court, I suppose. This warung has many choices of rice meals, or what people call *nasi campur*. The sambal sauce is very hot, which is why they call it *nasi pedas*. I really like the taste. I also buy food here because the price is affordable for workers like me (Wayan H).

![Figure 5.13: Javanese warung in central Jimbaran (photo: Wayan H, 2011)](image)

As implied by Wayan H’s statement, nowadays this *warung* has also been adopted by the locals. It is obvious from the local expression that cultural diversity in

\(^{125}\) Since it is originally from Java, the meals are prepared and served by Javanese ladies. This *warung* was initially intended to serve as food for migrants working and living in Jimbaran, especially those requiring *halal* food.

\(^{126}\) Local food shop or coffee shop.
Jimbaran has bestowed different perceptions on what constitutes ‘local’, notwithstanding its inauthenticity to Jimbaran. In association with ‘taste’, a sense of place can be interpreted as ‘an area’s unique … tastes that form our relationship with a place’ (Hopley & Mahony, 2011, p. 33). However, from local expressions on their preference for places to visit for food, it can also be inferred that some present-day villagers have adopted external ‘taste’ as their preference. In its place of origin, this food, which is classified as *nasi campur*, is usually sold in *warung tegal* food court. Unlike the international fast food that does not really fit the locals’ taste, the Javanese flavour of *nasi pedas* ‘enhances’ the local sense through its ability to satisfy the villagers’ enjoyment of an earthy and ‘village-like’ traditional Indonesian food.

From my own observations, *warung* Men Leder is popular only among the natives, and it is specifically known as a traditional food vendor among Jimbaran families. Its location is also concealed, as it has no ‘shop name’ at the entrance. People call this warung by the owner’s name. (The Javanese) Warung Nasi Pedas, on the other hand, gains popularity from a broader range of people due to its visibility and accessibility—it can be seen and visited by anyone who passes by the central village areas (e.g. migrants, workers, day visitors and the customers of Jimbaran traditional market). The case of the adopted Javanese food in Jimbaran, is relevant also to what Appadurai (1995) refers to as ‘translocality’ that is (re)produced within the sedentary and circulating population, as Jimbaran is currently characterised by mobility.

Apart from Javanese warung, the burgeoning number of international fast food restaurants reflects the dominance of global franchised operators (Ritzer, 2004) that

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127 *Warung tegal* or *warteg* is the Indonesian term for food courts in Indonesian cities, towns or villages that serve ‘home-style’ steamed rice and various spicy meats, vegetables and *sambals* at affordable prices for the middle–lower class. The suffix *tegal* also means fruit and vegetable garden or orchard, also the name of a small town in Central Java (as it has a Javanese root).
is also evident in Jimbaran in the last decade. Prominent brands include McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Domino’s Pizza, which can be found in the village’s proximity. As Jimbaran becomes a tourist resort, residential and educational places those restaurants targeting migrants, workers and visitors around the village. Some participants referred unfavourably to such modern restaurants, unlike their attitude to Balinese or Javanese warung. From the participants’ point of view, fast food restaurants were established for the non-locals. In fact Made S, a 37-year-old, stay-at-home mother, said that her school-age children do not really like the fast food:

No, they (my children) never ask me to take them there (McDonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken in Jimbaran). I do not know why, perhaps this is because my food at home is better (laugh). Well, yes, it is quite costly, but our families are not accustomed to fast food I suppose. I heard that it is not fresh and has too many additive substances and preservatives that make it unhealthy for us. We also do not really like its taste. It is very rare among Jimbaran people to buy this kind of food, since we prefer our local food. The most likely time to have it is when the youth groups of Jimbaran hold a community event that needs extra funding, so they sell meal coupons from McDonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken with a little mark-up so they can make a profit. But this is a once-a-year event (Made S).

From her perspective, there is a clear relationship between the belonging and the attachment to place, which may explain Jimbaran people very rarely eat in the international fast food restaurants. There are two reasons suggested by this study: first, they lack ‘nativeness’, and second, they fail to satisfy local tastes. The examples of the ‘Jimbaranese’ warung Men Leder, (the Javanese) Warung Nasi Pedas and McDonalds in Jimbaran demonstrate that local values and preferences are implicated
in the construction and maintenance of place and in the attachment of people and place. However, the younger generation of Jimbaran has been accustomed to the presence of fast food restaurants in the village’s surroundings from their early childhood and teenage groups use them to support their socio-cultural activities. Although they and the older generation are steadfast in their preference for traditional food, it is possible that they will decide to consume more fast food for its convenience, as they gradually change their lifestyle.

5.7 Nurturing Places for Young Jimbarans

Places are also pedagogical as they provide spaces for people to learn to become citizens of the future and custodians of their world (Cormack, Green & Reid, 2008). Jimbaran is where their children grow up and some areas of the village are the setting of their ‘life course’ as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Apart from the beach, there are other places that are considered important by the young villagers, as those places provide spaces for them to ‘prepare their future’ as community members of desa adat Jimbaran.

Referring to his photo (Figure 5.14), Made S said that during his childhood a decade ago, the children in Jimbaran played in small alleys to imitate the cultural practices that were carried out by the older people:

This is Gang Celuk Sari, a small quiet lane in our village where children play together. I remember I used to play with my friends here after school, flying kites or playing buten-butenan,128 or rangda–rangdaan129 … you know we made our own keris,130 we carved tree branches or wood, so we

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128 Imitating Bebuten, the members of seka barong who trance and heal in a barong dance performance.
129 Rangda, a demon character in barong dance performances.
130 A small traditional dagger.
could play at barong dancing. The girls played at cooking and market trading, used picked leaves as ‘money’ (Made S).

Figure 5.14: Celuk Sari Lane (photo: Made S, 2011)

Gang Celuk Sari as described by Made S is a place that can take him back to the reminiscence of his childhood, role playing the Balinese traditional lifestyle and experiencing social life with Balinese friends in his neighbourhood. According to Wilson (1997), sense of place also plays an important role in early child development processes. She discriminates between places that help to shape a sense of place in children and argues that different characteristics of place help aid in the developmental process. The characteristics that are conducive in nurturing a sense of place include a peaceful atmosphere and settings that invite creative thought and involvement and are capable of providing a memorable experience (Wilson, 1997). Among children’s places, play spaces can provide a nurturing environment that contributes to their growth, development and wellbeing. In the case of Made and his playground, this place contributed to his personal development as a Balinese. As suggested by his story, early place attachments developed by children formed their indigenous qualities and had enduring effects after childhood (Chawla, 1992).
Public buildings can also contribute to place attachment as they allow people to interact with others who live in the same area. Individuals with social sense of place regard the place where they reside as important because it is a means of facilitating contact with friends and relatives (DeMiglio & Williams, 2008). In reflecting about such place, some form their opinions based on the present, while others recall from the past. Some participants who are young people from Jimbaran mentioned the places they usually meet for youth events: in balai banjar as described in the chapters, or in wantilan—the village public ballroom. It is multi-purpose, and the activities held here are not necessarily traditional. It is also spacious enough to accommodate the members of Sekeha Teruna Teruni (STT), the desa adat youth organisation consisting of young males and females who are single. Wayan T’s picture of wantilan (Figure 5.15) shows this place where young people get together to practise and perform in community events:

This is wantilan or people may call it aula Jimbaran, a hall that villagers use for different purposes. The building is located in the village centre, next to kelurahan (the village administration office). To my knowledge, it has been there since the 1980s. When I was single, I actively participated in STT. I was on the organising committee. It was voluntary work, to make a sense of community among young people in our village. In that place, we do many things, such as meeting, training, practicing arts and culture as well as performing our talents. People not only perform Balinese dances and gamelan, but also contemporary dances and pop music.

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131 Balinese traditional orchestra.
Wayan T’s narrative demonstrates that the existence of the youth community in Jimbaran is a central element in sense of place of the village. The youth group’s activities are indicative of the interactions among people who are bonded territorially and engage in forms of collective action, evidenced by the organised events held in the wantilan. It also indicates a process of bonding among members created through shared experience in this place. The above examples also suggest that place is a combination of physical (buildings, streets and so on) and social factors (social group and a network of friends) that produces a richer and expansive atmosphere than would either factor alone (Steele, 1981). As Jimbaran village and its community grow, the amalgamation will have a cumulative effect over time, strengthening the attachment and identity of this place.

5.8 Jimbaran without Two Balinese Identities

Landscape and its subsequent sense of place and identity are culturally constructed through the values that people embed in their common place (Taylor, 2008). The local leaders’ descriptions of everyday traditional life in Jimbaran indicate their
landscape is also perceived based on ordinary people’s beliefs about their place. Their mental awareness of things to ‘do and not to do’ in their village strengthens the local distinctiveness in terms of lore and non-physical notions of place. In this research, it was interesting to find that some participants also perceived Jimbaran places as not only functional, but also mythological space with their traditional beliefs constructed from stories taken from personal and communal experience. Many villagers consider this belief as something they need to preserve. As suggested by a *kelihan banjar* (neighbourhood leader) during the focus group discussion attended by representatives of the villagers:

In this area there are many mysteries about Jimbaran. In our opinion, this should remain a mystery (focus group, 2012).

A peculiarity of Jimbaran was also revealed during the focus group, in relation to the absence of *griya*—the dwelling of *pedanda*—from the village. According to one of participants, Jimbaran is a place not suitable for the high priest:

In everyday life Jimbaran area also is mysterious in a way that cannot be explained. For example, old people say point out that the *Ida Bagus* or Brahmin caste have never settled in Jimbaran. This is taboo: people of this caste and those of *pedanda* status would not buy land or a house in Jimbaran. This area in the past was separated from the main island by the seawater, starting from Ceking—an area of Tuban in South Kuta down to where there is no *pedanda* because this place is spiritually not suitable for people from this caste … Apparently the tradition of ‘no *pedanda* house’ in Jimbaran has been carried over to the present (focus group, 2012).

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132 The highest Hindu priest, from the Brahmin caste.
133 The bypass road of Jimbaran was initially a swamp that separated the village from the mainland. Reclaiming of the swamp and building of the road in the 1970s allowed extensive development of Bali International Airport and Nusa Dua Resort.
In Bali, *griya* are present in most villages (especially in southern parts of the island) and religious practices in temples and in high caste societies are usually conducted by the *pedanda*. The local belief in Jimbaran about their place is an exception, because the *pedanda*, or *Ida Bagus* caste housing, is ‘spiritually not allowed’ to be built. This prevalent belief within the community influences their perception and attitudes to the village (Low & Altman, 1992).

Another peculiarity of Jimbaran is the absence of *warung babi guling*¹³⁴ or suckling pig vendors, which was also raised in the group discussion. The participants mentioned that it is uncommon for a highly populated Balinese village like Jimbaran not to have this special Balinese culinary food stall, a well-known part of the island’s identity, explaining:

Here (in Jimbaran) one must not breed sows or pig herds. (In the past) people tried to reproduce them (in their farmhouse), but then there was the battle of sows. They had also attempted to raise them at home but ultimately failed because only a few baby pigs survived. (We know that) once someone tried to open a food stall selling pork dishes of suckling pig, but for some reason it didn’t stay long and the shop closed. So we have come to believe that this place does not fit with anything associated with pigs (focus group, 2012).

Such a belief has existed in the minds of the villagers for a long time and as confirmed by the *bendesa* it is the reason there are no *warung babi guling* in Jimbaran:

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¹³⁴ Balinese popular dish of suckling pig in special Balinese spices, served with rice. Besides as a food street, *Babi guling* is also part of the *banten* or offering in Balinese Hindu ritual ceremonies.
We believe that this place is not suitable for pigs and pork. So if we want *babi guling* food, we have to go to Kedonganan to find it, or in any other places (focus group, 2012).

The absence of *griya* and *warung babi guling* from Jimbaran as revealed in this study indicates that it is possible for a place in Bali such as Jimbaran, which has historical and strong spiritual attachment like, to lack common Balinese features. As a Balinese village, Jimbaran identities are specially constructed through the absence of a number of Balinese identities. This enhances the notion of place identity (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983), that the memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings and concepts of behaviour and experience in the physical setting are not always consistent with those functioning in an island-wide context—as seen in Jimbaran. Such peculiarities thus define everyday life in the village and serve as its psychological identification.

5.9 A Place without a Jimbaran Identity

Research participants highlighted the places significant for them, both as individuals and as part of the community. However, they also photographed places in their village that are considered by locals to be unconnected to Jimbaran. Most of them are places built intentionally for tourism or other purposes, with which the locals have no affiliation. Considering that place attachment and place identity are related to each other, how people give meanings to a place is essential. Thus, the construction of sense of place adopts a ‘view from the bottom’ (Carter et al., 2007), not a ‘view from the top’. Otherwise, such places will become ‘no one’s place’, due to the absence of emotional attachment. This issue was also raised in the neighbourhood leaders’ focus group discussion about important places of Jimbaran village, using its Veteran
Monument as an example (Figure 5.16). It was revealed in the discussions that the monument (built using traditional Balinese architecture) is unlikely to become part of the identity of the place for locals:

We actually do not need another monument in Jimbaran as we have enough landmarks, such as temples and other important buildings like village offices, balai banjars, wantilan, hotels, villas, cafés and so on. They can indicate the place. Take the Veteran Monument (as an example)—What is it for? We have no idea who should be responsible for this unfinished project. Since the very beginning, we have not been informed about the purpose of its development. Well, it was built in our village but the land is owned by the Veteran Corps of Bali Province. It has a good design but now it looks abandoned. How can we utilise this place? If the land was ours, we could turn it into a recreational park or playground for our community (focus group, 2012).

Figure 5.16: Veteran Monument in Jimbaran (photo: Wayan T, 2011)

This case is an example of ‘placelessness’ (Relph, 1976), a sort of non-place quality manifested through disconnection from context. The identification of a place should involve perception generated by the people (Hummon, 1992). Based on the villagers’ explanations, the monument does not possess any meaning comprehensible
to local residents. The existence of the Veteran Monument has nothing to do with Jimbaran identity; it does not represent Jimbaran in any way. In local perception, its utilisation is not necessarily associated with battlefields or history; rather, they value the place for its potential as recreational space, or a play area or exhibition square, which would be useful today for the community. As people may identify themselves with specific locations—for example, specific social and cultural groups—places may be used to articulate or manifest such group identities (Ashworth, 2008). Sites become a place identity when they are imbued with personal and social meaning; such symbolic locales can serve in turn as an important sign or locus of the self (Proshansky et al., 1983). As this monument was built by outsiders of the village and is not connected to the villagers, the community in its vicinity has failed to promote or to establish local attachment and support as community identity. As a result, the locals gave different interpretations of the site to this built environment.

5.10 Concluding Remarks

The local community of Jimbaran distinguishes itself from other Balinese and strongly associates with its own territory. Although it is a Balinese village, Jimbaran has its own characteristics, as recognised by the villagers. As revealed by the analysis in this chapter, their identities of Jimbaran are reflected from their expressions on how they experience their place, as they are rooted, born, grow up and make a living. This finding is consistent with the theories that place is socially constructed spatially—the physical setting of a social action consisting of interpersonal interaction and practices (Lefebvre, 1984; Soja, 1989) through the various kinds of emotional attachments between Jimbaran people and their places.
This chapter also demonstrates that the intersection of many aspects of human relationships with their place is elusive, dynamic, progressive and subjective (Massey, 1991; Williams & Stewart, 1998). For instance, the way of living in *bukit* (which has become only a memory for many) and the enduring preference for the traditional market of *pasar* Jimbaran expressed by locals suggest that place identity can be constructed through place attachments (and vice versa, see Chapter 4), by long-term engagements with—and the utilisation of—places. The findings throughout this chapter indicate that there are some places that bond the locals with their community and the village, and that shape the personal and communal identity that classifies them as ‘Jimbaran people’. As Malpas (2008) proposes, ‘to have a sense of place is not to own, but rather to be owned by the place we inhabit; it is to own up to the complexity and mutuality of both place and human being’ (p. 331)—the role of community is central to the construction of place identity.
Chapter 6: Jimbaran after Exposure to Tourism

6.1 Introduction

Emotional ties with the land are related to economic dependencies (Tilley, 1994) in relation to resource and landscape utilisation. As local people have become familiar with tourism activities in their areas and provide services and facilities to the visitors, the Jimbaran landscape has changed from a primarily traditional community into a tourism-oriented community. Although it is claimed that tourism improves local wealth and to some extent traditional community life and work, its development has had a significant damaging effect. Salazar and Bushell (2013) suggested that despite the positives that tourism potentially brings, in places where undemocratic development models operate with poor governance, policy and/or management, tourism will be counter-productive for local people, as development will facilitate the fragmentation of local culture and the exploitation of natural resources.

Tourism development has also been challenged in terms of the production of ‘constructed’ space for representation (Frisvoll, 2012). Further, tourism itself acts as a vehicle enabling modernity to disrupt ‘small scale, static, and well-ordered’ customary places like a village (OECD, 1994), which has negative impacts on its traditional culture. In addition, tourism leaves places susceptible to the issue of gentrification (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001; Smith, 2007), by which development and industrial growth can lead to the displacement of indigenous residents due to rising costs brought about by the upgrading of the physical environment of neighbourhoods, and the changes to place characteristics. Due to such material forces, there are questions over how place meanings and identity are (re)created, represented and shared after tourism development in Jimbaran. This chapter
examines how the community of Jimbaran perceives that tourism has shaped their village. It reveals both the desired and undesired impacts of tourism on local sense of place in Jimbaran through the villagers’ attitudes about tourism activities in their area. Moreover, it highlights local approaches in negotiating and managing place transformation while maintaining local attachment with the village and reconstructing place identity. In order to elucidate the intersection of place, local community, and tourism development it is essential to analyse the impacts of tourism development on places and local sense of place. For this reason, I also map the role of tourism (as a representation of globalisation and modernity) in placemaking in this Balinese village. The discussion focuses on the ways in which tourism affects place attachment and identity, highlighting the shifts in local values of landscapes, as well as existing traditional qualities.

6.2 Jimbaran: A Tourist Destination in Bali

Jimbaran tourism development is associated with the development of Nusa Dua Resort in the 1970s under the Bali tourism area development master plan (Pacific Consultants, 1973). As a subsidiary region connecting Nusa Dua to the northern areas as planned by SCETO\textsuperscript{135} in 1971, Jimbaran greatly benefits from its proximity to an area that has developed as one of main tourist places in Bali in recent years. In recent developments, according to the Regional Planning and Development Agency of Badung Regency, Jimbaran as part of Kecamatan Kuta Selatan (South Kuta District) is also designated as a tourism zone (Dinas Pariwisata Kabupaten Badung, \textsuperscript{135}SCETO (Société Centrale pour l’equipment Touristique Outre-mer) is a French firm consultant engaged by the Indonesian Government to formulate a master plan for the development of tourism in Bali in a sustainable manner, with its outcome known as the ‘Bali Tourism Study’ or Master Plan 1971. The plan proposed a self-contained resort complex on the beach in the Nusa Dua area, remote from the main population centres to minimise the negative impacts of tourism on Balinese culture on the rest of mainland. Details about the plan are included in Chapter 3. }

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2010; Keputusan Bupati Badung Nomor 639, 2003; Perda No. 16, 2009). The regulations reflect local government support for the growth of tourism in South Bali, including in Jimbaran.

Long before tourism development, land prices in Jimbaran (particularly in bukit) were undervalued compared to other areas in South Bali. An anecdote among Balinese people suggests that in the past, people were refused land grants in bukit because of the absence of water and fertile soil: there was ‘nothing’ there, which would cause hardship for people living there. Following the growth of tourism and consequent development, Jimbaran—a place that was out of favour half a century ago—has become a very desirable place for investors, and land now has a considerably higher commercial value. Burgeoning development in surrounding areas has led to the selling and renting of private land located in bukit and around the beach, following the opening of resorts in Nusa Dua in the early 1980s. As local people have treated places (land) as a commodity, such land exchange practices to some extent have accelerated place transformation in Jimbaran.

Jimbaran’s encounter with tourism initially began when Bali International Airport underwent expansion and runway extension in the early 1970s. Building materials for this development included the white limestone taken from the wall of bukit in Jimbaran (Figure 6.1). According to bendesa adat, before limestone mining activities, this area was government land, but the government finally yielded this arid land (83 ha in total) to Jimbaran village136 and mining profits were given to the village to maintain the wellbeing of the community. The airport project provided financial compensation to the village for the mining.

136 This land has now been formally registered as the property of desa adat Jimbaran with status pelaba pura. Mining has been terminated and this place is used for the ceremony of Ngaben masal in desa adat Jimbaran.
Major tourist accommodation was not established in Jimbaran village during that initial period. The remaining limestone walls along the way to the resort area in *bukit* Jimbaran are still visible. Unlike heritage places or planned tourist sites, Jimbaran is neither constructed nor interpreted for visitors. This place has not been developed according to any standard to meet the requirements of either a tourist destination or a heritage place. It has grown spontaneously in response to the flourishing tourism and hospitality industry in South Bali over the last 40 years (Figure 6.2).

Among the first tourism accommodations in this area were Puri Bali and Keraton Jimbaran Resort, established in the early 1980s by the beach not far from the central village. They were followed by international beach resorts developed along the beach to *bukit*, such as Bali Intercontinental Resort, Four Seasons Jimbaran Resort and The Ritz Carlton Bali (currently known as Ayana) in the early 1990s—properties with 100-500 hotel rooms. Smaller hotels and villas also have been built throughout Jimbaran, both in the *bukit* and beach areas. Jimbaran is now well known for its tourist accommodation: for example, Agoda\(^\text{137}\) lists 80 hotels in Jimbaran.
Adding to its international luxury collection, a Le Méridien hotel opened in January 2013 (Starwood Hotels & Resorts, 2013), which, along with several hotel development proposals (Dinas Pariwisata Kabupaten Badung, 2011) indicates the relentless growth of tourism in this area.\(^{139}\)

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138 Jimbaran and its nearby areas.
139 Jimbaran hotels and resorts are currently the main competitors to Nusa Dua Resort\(^{139}\) for upscale tourists; and Kuta for middle–lower scale tourists.
140 Garuda Wisnu Kencana (GWK) is a mega-project cultural park in Bukit Peninsula, intended to create a landmark for Bali. It is located in the sub-district of South Kuta, in the customary village of Ungasan, on the border with Jimbaran. This iconic statue was devoted to the God Vishnu, in his role of ‘sustenance’, accompanied by his mount, the mythical bird of Garuda. However, the project remains unfinished: see http://gwk-culturalpark.com

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Figure 6.2: A backpacker on a Jimbaran street, in front of the banyan tree of Pura Ulun Swi. This photo was taken outside pasar Jimbaran (photo: fieldwork, 2012)

Since the official opening of Garuda Wisnu Kencana\(^{140}\) or GWK cultural park in 2000, the village has been on the tourist route.\(^{141}\) Jimbaran is now where many tours
conclude to enjoy a grilled seafood dinner. Thus, Jimbaran experiences tourists having dinner beside the beach in the evening at the end of the tour. There are two clusters of seafood cafés in desa adat Jimbaran. The buses and cars bringing the tourists to the seafood cafés are causing an increase in traffic on Jimbaran’s roads during the early evening. Tourists in Jimbaran are ‘collectors’ of places, just gazing upon and experiencing only the surface (Urry & Larsen, 2011), visiting places on routes designed by the travel industry.

The presence of tourists and tourism facilities such as hotels and tourist dining sites in Jimbaran has modified the perception of place by the locals. The extensive development that has taken place in bukit, beach areas and many parts of the village is leading to the loss of a ‘special feeling’ compared to some decades ago. Made B, the village leader, described bukit condition before and after tourism development:

Jimbaran people used to associate bukit with a place of spiritual value because in the past it was forest, full of big trees and shrubs. Unlike today, people very rarely lived in that space but the area has many sacred places, and people still worship in the temples of bukit. In the past, our people believed that there were many tenget places. At night, when the hill was very dark, it looked frightening, especially for children and young people.

We had no courage to even look at bukit in the dark. Parents prevented their

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141 The GWK statue outside the Uluwatu Temple and Jimbaran Beach are designated as tourist objects by Badung Regency of Bali (Dinas Pariwisata Kabupaten Badung, 2010). Tour operators package them into a ‘Sunset Uluwatu tour’ as those places are in close proximity, making tours time and distance efficient. On these popular half-day trips tourists can enjoy the sunset along the new tourist route of South Bali. The GWK monument is located in Ungasan village, on the south border of Jimbaran. Several hours before seeing the sunset, tourists visit this new landmark to enjoy the beautiful landscape of South Bali from the height of bukit. After that, they proceed to the south-west village of Pecatu, photograph the stunning views of the sunset from the sea cliff located near Uluwatu Temple, an ancient temple in Pecatu village—one of the Sad Kahyangan (six major temples) in Bali, which has an important affiliation with some temples in Jimbaran village. Tourists also enjoy the Kecak Dance (monkey troop dance) performance by local dancers, and if they are lucky, they will meet some monkeys, which are endemic to the sites in bukit.

142 Local perception of the qualities of a place or an object (mask, tree, and so on) related to veneration, fear and respect, and the possession of mysterious power.
children from going to *bukit* unless they had to visit temples. Compared with today, the hill has more lights in the evening, since we have electricity throughout the village and there are hotels and villas in that area. It is different from what I saw long time ago when I was a child. Now it is no longer green, it does not look frightening, and I think it is generally no longer *tenget*. People may say *bukit* looks more beautiful because of the villas’ glowing lights (Made B).

The *bukit* he admired because of its spiritual values and sacredness in the past has gradually turned into the ‘profane’, the place now occupied by numerous buildings: hotels and tourist accommodation, businesses and upmarket residential areas. For Made B, this situation is also a challenge. As the village leader, he sees that the community now faces a very complex situation because people from other places come to Jimbaran with different agendas. Mostly uncontrollable, the changes in geographical setting can be perceived as a potential threat and possible invasion:

It is not easy to lead the village now, especially when we are talking about the land and landscape. Many people come from different backgrounds, having different interests and intentions for our place. There are investors in our village. *Desa adat* owns less than 2% of the total land in Jimbaran while the rest is private land, which could be easily leased and sold by its owners to the investors. *Desa adat* as a traditional community institution has limited control of private land (Made B).

The current landscape in *desa adat* Jimbaran\(^\text{143}\) comprises a mixture of local and tourist places (Figure 6.3). The land ownership is varied, consisting of *desa adat* land (temples, traditional market, cemeteries, village streets and *balai banjar* or

\^\text{143}\) This map is based on observations during fieldwork in 2011.
community halls), private land (local residential housing, hotels and villas or accommodation, and local businesses) and government land (beaches and fishing villages) in the central area of Jimbaran village.

Figure 6.3: Local and tourist places in the heart of Jimbaran village (source: fieldwork mapping, 2011)

Despite the integration of tourist infrastructure into the traditional village environment, places in Jimbaran can be separated into local places and tourist places. In this regard, local places are spaces that are regularly utilised by locals in everyday life—in the flow of social existence that is routine and habitual, always embodied and temporal, and often taken for granted and localised (Perkins & Thorns, 2012). Tourist places, on the other hand, are spaces intended to fascinate tourists and deliberately developed for their gaze and consumption (Barenholdt et al., 2004; Urry, 1990, 1995). Tourism development in Bali has also induced considerable local migration, as tourist facilities provide employment and utility support from wider communities (Cukier & Wall, 1994; Wall, 1998). Jimbaran is among the most pleasant dwellings for the migrants in Bali, and new residential areas have been
developed on the fringe since emerging tourism in the late 1980s. As a general result, tourism has transformed the village, which is demographically diverse\textsuperscript{144} now that people from other places, both visitors and migrants, come to work and live.

6.2.1 The Naming of Places in Jimbaran

It is important to highlight that sense of place involves interpretations such as histories and the naming of place (Massey, 1994, 1995). My research found that tourism in its later stages of development in Jimbaran has influenced the naming and identification of specific topographical features, settlements and sites that are essential for establishing and maintaining place identity. Through the acts of naming and developing physical and mythological association, such places become endowed with meaning and significance (Tilley, 1994). Place names are of vital importance because they act to transform the tangible and intangible environment into something that is experienced socially and historically. The process of naming places and things is captured in social discourse. The name of a place can be a reminder of historic actions of individuals and groups, as every social interaction is associated with a particular setting. In a fundamental way, place names relate to specific landscapes and a nameless place on a map is empirically an empty space (Tilley, 1994).

Distance also encourages the sense of place, in that generally the closer is the place to people, the stronger is their emotional attachment to it. This study found that places in Jimbaran that were named later in conjunction with tourism and development in this area are mostly located in the mel, dimel or bukit area and the

\textsuperscript{144} Apart from international tourism, in Badung Regency where Jimbaran and other major tourist places in Bali are situated, there was a decrease in the Balinese Hindu population from 90.45\% in 2005 to 89.12\% in 2009. On the other hand, the number of Moslems increased from 6.40 to 7.53\%, and Christians also increased from 2.84 to 3.07\% (Badung Dalam Angka, 2010). In 2005, the composition of religions among residents in Jimbaran (including non-desa adat members) was 73.1\% Hindu, 17.9\% Moslem, 7.9\% Christian and 0.9\% Buddhist (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). There are increasing numbers of non-desa adat members live in this area with different socio-cultural backgrounds, including religion, place of origin, language and culture.
Places in the desa sector, on the other hand, remain the essential customary village, containing the old house compounds, village temples, most *balai banjars*, traditional markets and village organisations, which have been well looked after by the village inhabitants. For former landowners of Jimbaran, it was ‘easier’ to sell or lease their land if it was in *dimel* or *teba* space, which is located on the periphery, than if it was centrally located in the desa.

The history of development of Jimbaran has meant that naming of places in the village has been conducted by two different groups of people. Most of the names of places in the central village were given by local indigenous people, the pioneers of the village. The sites located in the *teba* and *dimel* zone have been sold or leased, and given names by investors or the government for the purposes of identification for development, and by businesses, as revealed by Ketut S, a neighbourhood leader:

Our village now is much more developed than decades ago. We have better residential places and roads. There are many *taman* here in Jimbaran. The word *taman* in the dictionary means garden, but here it means housing compound. After Taman Griya residence, recent housing complex names also use the word *taman*. (Here) you must have heard of Taman Penta, Taman Giri, Taman Jimbaran and other *taman*. We are now full of *taman* [smile]. Investors also gave names to our places but I think they did this for their own purposes, to promote their businesses. Local government usually names the roads, and some start with *bukit*: Bukit Permai, Bukit Indah, Bukit Sari, Bukit A, Bukit B … since they are located in *bukit* areas. This is Jalan Bukit Permai, near the Four Seasons (Figure 6.4). This street looks beautiful because of (the contribution from) tourism investors. We thank
both government and investors for their commitment in developing our village (Ketut S).

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 6.4: Jalan Bukit Permai near the Four Seasons, Jimbaran (photo: Ketut S, 2011)**

Place names used in Jimbaran spatial divisions in the past provided a situational or contextualising device for locating narratives in a physical setting. This is expressed by Wayan M when he explains about his place of origin in *bukit*:

Before living here (central village), I originally came from *dimel*. Only old people know it probably … young people like you only know mall.\(^{145}\) No wonder we no longer have *dimel* here … that is why we do not use this term anymore here (Wayan M).

In contemporary discourse on place, narratives of loss may arise through the process of place transformation (Arefi, 1999). It is clear that locals hold different perceptions of their area and that development inevitably may result in the loss of local names, as the local term ‘*dimel*’ is deemed old fashioned by younger generations and is no longer used to describe areas in *bukit* Jimbaran. The change and loss is especially evident to farmers in Jimbaran, whose land has been converted

\(^{145}\) Mall or shopping mall: he used these terms for their similar sound to *mel* or *dimel*.  

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to residential, educational and tourist areas. Nowadays, the *dimel* physically and verbally no longer exists.

According to participants, villagers, government and investors are involved in the place naming process in Jimbaran. Wayan R from Banjar Angga Swara Batu Ngongkong, a neighbourhood in *bukit* area, pointed out that names given by investors and others have been accepted by the public and local residents indicating that they live in Jimbaran area. The names are not only business related, but also affect the public domain such as housing complexes, road names and many place names. However, he argued that investors make more effort to provide identity of the place than the Jimbaran village or local government. There are important places that remain unidentified publicly and are known only by the community elders. Speaking specifically about his neighbourhood, he insisted that either *desa adat* or *kelurahan* (village administration office) must take action on this issue:

We also named some places in our village, but not all. For example in my neighbourhood of Banjar Angga Swara Batu Ngongkong in *bukit*, there are 75 place names started with the word ‘goa’,\(^\text{146}\) such as Goa Peteng, Goa Gong … I think it is important to notice that there are caves and temples like in Banjar Angga Swara Batu Ngongkong. However, due to our distant location from the central village, it is ironic that many Jimbaran villagers, especially children, do not know where the caves are. Many sacred places in this village still have no signage indicating their names. We hope that *desa adat*—the organiser of this village—will add local names to public maps to identify our important sacred places. We should encourage people to use the native names of place (Wayan R).

\(^{146}\) *Goa* in Bahasa Indonesia and the Balinese language means natural cave.
A sense of placelessness (Arefi, 1999; Miles, 2010; Relph, 1976) as experienced in contemporary society is mostly to do with the systematic erosion of locality. The practice of place naming in Jimbaran indicates that sense of place and place identity here are not well associated because some place names in Jimbaran do not fit with the local meanings. This situation is exacerbated by land ownership by nonlocals. As exemplified in Jimbaran, indigenous values have been overlooked, and to some extent this ‘disconnects’ locals from their place.

6.2.2 Jimbaran Seafood Cafés: Dining Sites in the Fishing Village

It is said that tourism and leisure have been associated with commodification, which has transformed local communities and culture (Cohen, 1988). In this regard, objects including places are transfigured for commercial purposes. Staiff et al. (2013) suggested that ‘tourism both makes places and transforms them’, and this change often becomes permanent, as it involves spatial reorganisation. In this regard, the transfigured space entails reinterpretations and generates new meaning, as people will value the place differently. Once the place becomes a tourist destination, a series of transformations begin to affect the site and influence the sense of place.

As found in this study, Jimbaran is known for its seafood dining along the beach. There are two seafood café clusters in desa adat Jimbaran. Café Sembilan consists of nine food stalls near the fishing villages of Pesalakan and Menega in central village (Figure 6.5). This cluster was the first dining site, built in 1995. Café Sembilan Belas consists of 19 stalls built in 1999 near the fishing village of Muaya Beach, in the southern part of Jimbaran on the way to bukit. The two sites were created through collaboration between local communities (entrepreneurs and fishermen), desa adat
Jimbaran and the government. However, from the perspective of placemaking, the Jimbaran seafood cafés were initially derived from a local idea.

![Figure 6.5: Café Sembilan’s table setting on Jimbaran Beach (photo: fieldwork, 2011)]

The founder of seafood cafés, 50-year-old Nyoman B, is a villager from banjar Ubung who never imagined that his idea might turn to be a prominent tourism business in the village as well as other places in Bali. Nyoman, who came from a fishing family background, has been familiar with fishing villages and Jimbaran Beach for his whole life. He and his friends used to play on the beach and help the Javanese fishers who needed their boats to be dragged in. In return, the helpers received fish to eat or sell at the market. Nurtured in the fishing environment as he grew up, in the 1980s Nyoman faced a new hotel being built next to his fishing village and he started to meet tourists and hotel guests who walked around the beach.

Recognising the potential for earnings, Nyoman (who was recently married) opened a small warung selling cold drinks on the site and maintained a good relationship with the tourists he met. Like many other Balinese men who can cook, he prepared his own grilled fish in the fishing village. One day, he offered the grilled fish he had prepared to several tourists from Germany who stayed at the Keraton
Resort, turning his cold drink wooden case into a ‘dining table’ for his first guests to dine at (Figure 6.6). He then created his rudimentary ‘Jimbaran seafood’ set menu: steamed rice, grilled fish, sautéed water spinach and *sambal matah* (raw chilli sauce), which soon became the tourist’s favourite (Figure 6.7).

**Figure 6.6: Photo stories at Ramayana ‘pioneer’ Seafood Café (photo: fieldwork, 2011)**

**Figure 6.7: Jimbaran seafood at Café Ubung (left) and at Warung Ramayana (right) (photo: fieldwork, 2011)**

Dining in a natural setting on the beach seemed to be attractive to some European hotel guests. Some even declined the buffet dinner for which they had paid in the hotel, preferring to dine in the fishing village in Nyoman B’s *warung*. Some
guests also used unused fishing boats as their seats. The stall was very modest as it used klangsah—a temporary roof made from coconut leaves. There are deliberative acts of creating and maintaining place for which speech, gesture and the making of things are the common means (Tuan, 1980). The birth of the first Jimbaran seafood café as described by Nyoman B used the power of ‘word of mouth’ in creating the place. As visitors themselves disseminated the news about this new food stall next to the hotel, it soon became a thriving business for Nyoman B. As he admitted during interview, tourists also played an important role in the initial development of his café:

Yes, I can say that, some of my guests helped me at the beginning of my business. They bought some equipment from the market and worked together with me to build a good food stall. They gave their feedback on the food I made. A French–Italian guest also helped create the salad menu—as you can see my salad is special (French style). More importantly, they also recommended my warung to their friends (Nyoman B).

Nyoman B described how his stall was renovated gradually, because he had limited resources both technically and financially to renovate the hut into a proper place for dining. The transformation from fishing village to dining site began voluntarily and in a very non-invasive way. His food stall, as explained by Nyoman, was co-developed by tourists, as it responded to their values and desires.

As his seafood stall flourished, another villager set up a similar café next to Nyoman B’s, with the same menu, same style of service and same stall design. People became aware that there were two small cafés in Jimbaran visited every evening by many tourists. The space in the fishing village was no longer ‘exclusive’ for the fishermen community, since people identified the site as a new dining place.
Later the cafés became popular among local visitors in addition to the foreign tourists.\(^{147}\) The phrase *ikan bakar* Jimbaran, or fish grilled in the Jimbaran style, has become the identity of the place that promoted the village as a new destination.\(^{148}\)

![Figure 6.8: Entrance to Café Sembilan and the fishing village (photo: fieldwork, 2011)](image)

The success of Café Sembilan managed by the fisherman community inspired the wider community of *desa adat* Jimbaran to create a similar seafood cluster at the southern part of Jimbaran Beach. After some discussion with villagers, *desa adat* finally decided to turn an old cemetery plot—one of the properties of *desa adat*, into a new seafood café cluster at the south of the village near Muaya Beach fishing village. A number of ritual ceremonies were conducted to establish the new business place spiritually according to Balinese beliefs. Not long after, the land was emptied.

\(^{147}\) The business was so successful it allowed Nyoman B to purchase land at *bukit*, across from the Four Seasons Resort Jimbaran with the money obtained from selling grilled seafood. He then built his family house and tourist accommodation on that land.

\(^{148}\) The government considered the potential of Jimbaran seafood cafés to contribute to local economy and at the same time, this scheme supports the fishing culture in Jimbaran community. In 1994, the Governor of Bali and the Minister of Tourism of Indonesia visited the place and met with Nyoman B and the fisherman community in Jimbaran, resulting in their approval and support for the expansion of the dining site into nine seafood stalls, known as Café Sembilan at the fishing village of Menega in Jimbaran. The permit was issued by Dinas Perikanan of the Badung Regency and gave the fisherman community the right to occupy the beach space (which is government land) to run their seafood café businesses, managed by fisherman families. The government also provided an access road for the café cluster and fishing village (Figure 6.8).
and divided into 19 sections for 19 new cafés and called Café Sembilan Belas. Made B, the *bendesa adat*, explained why the *desa adat* at that time decided to open cafés on village land:

The location of the new café cluster is much better than the older one: this place is much larger, about 1.5 ha in total. It has more parking spaces in front of Taman Sastra private school, as part of *desa adat* land. It is also located near Four Seasons Resort and other luxury hotels in that area. Café Sembilan Belas opened in 1999. By renting the space as cafés, *desa adat* can increase village earnings (Made B).

Fourteen of the 19 cafés are managed by owners representing 14 neighbourhoods of Jimbaran, and are re-auctioned every five years. The other five cafés are allocated to fishermen communities.¹⁴⁹ According to Steele (1981), perception is only half of the process of linking a person to a setting. After perception comes awareness, whereby the person uses incoming information as raw material for thoughts and feelings about the setting. Awareness can be about specific elements in the setting such as colours, building design and odours, or about patterns and relationships among elements such as distances, locations or contrasting textures. Steele (1981) argued that people shape their perceptions of the setting based on what they are accustomed to seeing or expect to see. This happened to Café Sembilan Belas in the first year of opening (1999). The owners faced a big challenge to promote their business, according to Made K, one of the owners of Café Sembilan Belas. As the place was formerly known as a local cemetery and was transformed into a new dining site, it required

¹⁴⁹ As explained by Made B, the income goes directly to *desa adat* and is managed by a village financial institution called *Lembaga Perkreditan Rakyat* or LPD. The money can later be used to conduct the village temple's *piodalan*, village ritual ceremonies and other local events, as well as temple renovations in Jimbaran.
some time to invoke people’s awareness. Made K described his struggle to find customers for his new café:

At the beginning it was so hard because the tourists only knew the older café location, and travel agents only recommended Café Sembilan to their guests. I slept at the airport at night just to wait for the latest Russian charter flight and approach the tour leader to bring their group to my café. After a year of struggling to promote my new café, I got my regular customers, travel agents wanted to make contracts with me and more guests started to come to Café Sembilan Belas. It is very difficult to win their trust unless they come and dine in my café. Finally, they found that this place is much better than the older one, as it has more seats, a larger parking area and much better landscape than Café Sembilan. It has a better view of the bukit, which is very pleasing in the evening. As we have more space, we can handle group customers here (Made K).

A destination’s image is all about the reputation of a place as perceived and experienced by local communities and visitors; it is what a place is known and recognised for, the reason why someone may choose to visit (Hopley & Mahony, 2011). Hopley and Mahony (2011) asserted that the essence of a destination brand lies in the hearts and minds of local communities, businesses, visitors and other stakeholders, which cannot be shaped and controlled as easily as can a logo or a publicity campaign. It is commensurate with sense of place, as it is not a single tangible product but an amalgamation of the various features that make a place special or unique.

A few years later, following the success of the two clusters of seafood cafés in Jimbaran, Kedonganan, the neighbouring village to the north, also opened a larger
seafood café cluster of about 30 cafés along the village beach. Kedonganan cafés later become competitors to those of Jimbaran. Made K outlined local policies to maintain Jimbaran seafood café distinctiveness:

In Jimbaran, the owners should be from Jimbaran village, well … not only the owners, but also the grill cooks. We just feel that we have to do that to give an (authentic) character to our business. We would feel improper if the grilling was done by non-Jimbaran villagers. We want to maintain the founder style of employing local villagers. Also, with regards to prices, ours are slightly more expensive than those in Kedonganan, because we want to maintain our quality, not only considering the profit. The name *ikan bakar* Jimbaran is also derived from our village’s name (not Kedonganan’s name). That is what makes us confident (Made K):

Employing local grill cooks and having only local owners gives Jimbaran seafood cafés the ‘sense of authenticity’. In this way, the business establishes a connection both with the history and with the place. Moreover, local ownership also ensures local support for tourism development. The local community’s strong backing for the existence of seafood cafés within their fishing village area is an interesting phenomenon. The cafés, they would argue, are the ‘salvation’ of the local economy. Wayan K, a member of the fisherman community, expressed his preference for local cafés over the hotels:

We are fortunate that we still have seafood cafés in Jimbaran that are owned and managed by local communities and *desa adat*. Otherwise there would be only hotels built along our beach (Wayan K).

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150 They built similar style cafés and menus, so it is difficult for customers to distinguish a Jimbaran and Kedonganan style. Tourism has inherently made the boundaries between places more open and porous, less physical. Therefore, tourists are unaware of whether they are taken to Kedonganan village to experience a Jimbaran seafood dinner. Nevertheless, the café owners in Jimbaran have strict regulations to distinguish their cafés with those of Kedonganan village.
The local support for Jimbaran seafood cafés as exhibited in this section highlights that place transformation is acceptable as long as the locals still have some control over the place. The fishermen whose places have been shared with the seafood places fully support the presence of the dining sites in their village. They recognise the advantage to fishermen and the wider community since desa adat and fishing villagers are still the proprietors of the sites. In the case of Jimbaran, the existence of local seafood cafés is an example of how tourism can ‘preserve’ the place, by enhancing the cultural landscape of their fishing villages. Belonging to desa adat Jimbaran and its fisherman community, the seafood cafés give the villagers power to control their place. As the place continues to transform, the economic activities demonstrated by seafood cafés reinforce the place attachment in desa adat and fishermen communities and the construction of a new identity for the village of Jimbaran.

6.2.3 Tourism and Local Entrepreneurship

As acknowledged by some participants, the people of Jimbaran are known for having good business sense: they know how to make a living by utilising various resources available in their surroundings. The residents of Jimbaran are active in socio-economic sectors such as agriculture, farming, fishing, trading, education, health and tourism (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). Growth in tourism as a form of economic development also had a major impact on fostering local entrepreneurship, especially after the development of hotels and seafood cafés.

Retail districts have always been places of special significance because they serve as centres for public shows and interaction (Lew, 1989). The shops display the life and vitality of a community. In response to the tourism phenomenon in their
village, the fishermen’s families, who are the members of kampung nelayan Menega and Pesalakan opened warung minuman or drink stalls and souvenir kiosks as their secondary income in this location. The fishing village now contains a small retail district in addition to dining sites. Stalls are integrated into a semi-permanent construction that fits in the setting of the fishing village (Figure 6.9). They target visitors who coincidently pass through Café Sembilan or walk around the fishing village and the beach. The local government developed this small street to connect the seafood cafés, shops and fishermen’s meeting hall, so visitors can walk through the entire fishing village. The presence of seafood cafés, souvenir stalls and cold drink warung generates a different sense of place.

Figure 6.9: Retail district in a Jimbaran fishing village (photo: fieldwork, 2011)

The fishermen’s intention to share their place with tourists is obviously in response to the economic opportunities tourism offers to their community. Warung minuman or drink stalls have been erected in a traditional ‘fishing village style’, semi-permanent structure (Figure 6.10). Ketut K, a fisherman from banjar Pesalakan said that tourism has encouraged his family to open a small drink stall in an unpretentious aspect:
This is our warung in kampung nelayan, and that is my wife. Sometimes visitors buy some drinks here, and in another warung. Tourists like to buy drinks here. They love beer. We sell beer cheaper here than in the hotels and that’s why the tourists like to come here (Ketut K).

Figure 6.10: Warung Minuman (photo: Ketut K, 2011)

As we can see from Ketut K’s photograph, the warung attended by his wife encourages a sense of intimacy with the fishing village, as it is surrounded by fishing equipment and wooden boats. Although tourists consume similar drinks to what they may have in the hotels, the setting provides them with a different experience through a closer attachment with the local environment. Ketut K’s narrative suggests that this tourist–local engagement leads to local community support for tourism and acceptance of tourists in this locality.

However, the practice of tourism retail in this fishing village has not substantially changed the fishermen’s’ activity, since fishing is still their dominant occupation and the homemakers still do their traditional activities. While tending their souvenir stalls, the vendors (mostly women) are busy making ritual offerings for the forthcoming piodalan (temple ceremonies) or rahinan (Balinese Hindu auspicious day for ritual ceremonies), as they wait for their husbands to return from
fishing and for visitors to come to their warung or shops. Vendors regard the shops as their secondary income because the level of tourist visitation is unreliable. Besides, most shopkeepers are homemakers who have obligations to prepare ritual ceremonies in temples and perform domestic work at home. Locals understand that they cannot rely on unpredictable tourism businesses and they prioritise their Balinese cultural obligations rather than tending their kiosks. The minor interest in tourism and the unreliable business suggests that the souvenir kiosks are subordinate to fishing activities. This indicates that kampung nelayan traditional life endures, as the transformation from fishing village into retail district is not far-reaching or complete.151

Another local business that has emerged in response to tourism is Jimbaran Taxi (Figure 6.11). Locally owned, it offers transport to guests from the major hotels in Jimbaran. Ketut S, one of the owners of Jimbaran Taxi, said locals should be able to benefit from tourism development in their village.

Figure 6.11: Jimbaran taxi at Ayana Resort (photo: Ketut S, 2011)

Like Jimbaran seafood cafés and souvenir stalls in the fishing village, Jimbaran Taxi adopts local management and ownership so that local villagers are positioned as

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151 During my brief visit on 31 January 2013, most of the souvenir kiosks in this fishing village had closed down due to slow business.
the ‘actor’ of this business. Jimbaran Taxi utilises ‘spatial authority’ to create an affiliation with the existing luxury resorts in Jimbaran to obtain privileges as a local business. The hotels’ positive response by allowing locals to operate taxis in their grounds indicates a good mutual relationship between tourism and local community. In this regard, Jimbaran Taxi also contributes to place attachment and identity through local community engagement with tourism activities in their area, while contributing to the local economy. The community-based tourism enterprise as demonstrated in Jimbaran is ingrained with a sense of place, where communities of interest are recognised and respected through empowerment (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011).

6.2.4 Jimbaran as a Host for International Events

To become a tourist place, (local) places are designed specifically with tourism in mind. The impact of tourist consumption on a (local) place will transform it to a significant extent (Miles, 2010). After about three decades of development resulting from the provision of a range of international-standard tourist facilities, hosting international events is a new role for Jimbaran as a tourist destination in Bali, and symptomatic of continuing broader changes in the form of commodification of the village. Miles (2010) suggests that such events are an increasingly important indicator of the symbolic impact of consumption on a global consumer society. A primary concern here is the degree to which consumers of those events are outsiders and (consequently) the local residents are inexorably inactive, and the local community is simply the subject of ideological processes beyond their control.

Conducted in designated tourist areas, such events establish the place’s credentials for a post-tourism industrial future. The host will gain ‘accreditation’
from international organisations (Ooi, 2011) and potential recognition as a ‘trusted destination’ through media coverage, support and publications indicating that the event plays a strategic role in the repositioning of place. However, from the viewpoint of the local community, the decision-making process for such events is often undemocratic and lacks transparency because the local government’s objective is to win the ‘competition’ over other places through more private than public discussions. Crucially, as a result, the events tend to be in the interests of event participants and stakeholders rather than local communities. It is apparent in Jimbaran that international events contribute to transformation of the place as an indirect consequence of the existing reliable tourist facilities. Three international resorts in Jimbaran (Ayana, Intercontinental Bali and Four Seasons) regularly host a number of international conferences, signifying their credentials.

Figure 6.12: Jimbaran as the host of an annual sporting event (Biznet Bali International Triathlon, 2013)

The Bali International Triathlon is held annually in Jimbaran. Managed by an international event organiser in association with a number of resorts in Jimbaran, this

152 The seventh event was held in June 2013. In 2012, this event attracted 900 athletes from 30 countries (Biznet Bali International Triathlon, 2013).
event utilises Jimbaran as its setting, comprising Jimbaran Beach, *bukit* and the Balinese village (Figure 6.12).

The combination of tourism infrastructure, local community and cultural landscape is bundled into activities of swimming, sprint biking and a 5-km run, giving a distinct sporting experience to the participating athletes (Biznet Bali International Triathlon, 2013). According to Made T, the *lurah* of Jimbaran, the Bali Triathlon event organisers always cooperate with Jimbaran as the hosting place, as they use the main roads and beach areas. As the organising partner from the beginning, the Jimbaran people have advantaged from the event and are very proud of hosting it:

We are fortunate that we have been chosen as the place for this annual event. Bali Triathlon organisers and the resorts trust our village, which means it is also good for Jimbaran’s profile. They only need half a day for the whole programme, and it is only once a year, so it does not change our village. Nevertheless, I think it is fine as long as they respect our place. I hope this good cooperation will be continued in the future (Made T).

Made T also discussed the organisers’ commitment to involve local villagers such as local youths and the *pecalang* on the organising committee, because they know Jimbaran very well. The event’s adherence to local values is confirmed by the *Kelian Pecalang*, Made A, who is also the chief security at the Four Seasons Resort:

We as one of the organisers give *ngaturang piuning* (blessing supplication) in village temples and all participants must follow a set of rituals before the race starts. They assemble near Bali Intercontinental and get the blessing of
our pemangku priest. Not only people, but bikes also need to be blessed so all are spiritually welcome in this place (Made A).

Emotional responses, knowledge and understanding are important components of sense of place, through people’s appreciation of the local environment (Orange, 2011). For the local community, visitors’ understanding of local values is important in order to maintain the local sense of place. As communities have such an emotional investment in their place, they in turn expect others to respect its character. From Made A’s description about pre-event activities, it is evident that local support for the event is the result of reciprocal arrangements in which the visitors respect the place, and the place respects the visitors.

6.3 Resident Attitudes towards Tourism Development in Jimbaran

Tourism introduces the influence of material and psychological exchange to resident attitudes about the practice of trading and sharing resources between individuals and groups. Resources can be any item, concrete or symbolic. They may be material, social or psychological in nature. Social exchange theory is relevant to Jimbaran in that tourism development comes with economic benefits in exchange for social and environmental impacts. According to Ap (1992), social exchange theory assumes that social relationships involve an exchange of resources among parties seeking mutual benefit from the exchange relationship. Presumably, the primary motive for exchange is improvement in the community’s social and economic wellbeing by tourism investors and public economic developers. The following sections explore how this ‘exchange’ is responded by locals through resistances or supports to development.
6.3.1 Local Resistance to Nearby Developments

It is argued that in areas of rapid landscape transformation, place understanding will be disrupted to varying degrees that reflect the views of change agents and resisters (Carter et al., 2007). As land availability nowadays has become ‘finite’ and is unquestionably vital for desa adat and the villagers, behind the ‘touristic’ landscape of the village there is local opposition as well as support for tourism and subsequent development. Local resistance to some development proposals reflects concerns around social equity and justice, and the disruption to relationships with familiar settings. The role of community in attachment to place, belonging and identity is central in preserving the cultural landscape. As Jimbaran becomes increasingly a tourist destination, locals retain a strong attachment that can be identified from their ‘defending’ spirit for their land. Ketut S, the neighbourhood leader, emphasised the ‘strong character’ of Jimbaran people as the key to defending the cultural landscape in Jimbaran:

- Our villagers are known as tenacious people. Maybe you heard that the indigenous landowners in Jimbaran have never easily released land to investors and government. There have been ongoing disputes about how they defend their land ownership, how they negotiated with investors and how they refused to be relocated. I think it has never been ‘easier’ for investors to acquire (buy) land in Jimbaran, than in other places (Ketut S).

- Local resistance to development in their area can also be seen from the objection to bukit relocations proposed by the government. Wayan M explained the ongoing plan of displacement offered to his family in bukit:

  I refuse to sell our land in bukit, which has been requested by the government for an Udayana University land extension. We did not sell it
because we want to keep our ancestors’ land in *bukit*, our old house, our family temples and our farms. My uncle’s and cousin’s families still live there as farmers and local vendors. The very low price they offered to us was of concern too. If we had to move, we could not afford to buy land with that amount. Therefore, we would rather stay. Consequently, the government will not issue building permits for the land and we only can build on 25% of the land, and only semi-permanent buildings (Wayan M).

Place attachment clearly promotes and reflects stability with a sense of a ‘controllable’ environment for the residents, creating life satisfaction that is important for wellbeing (Manzo, 2008). Unwanted relocation involves disruption that can be stressful, particularly when a place is a source of identity and meaningful behaviour (Brown & Perkins, 1992). In Wayan’s narrative, it is evident that the government has disregarded community as the social setting of Jimbaran, by attempting to coerce them into resettlement. This in turn creates resentment and objection by locals who have been living there for generations. In this case, displacement in Jimbaran is not only caused by tourism but was also initiated by a government project of expansion for the Udayana University campus that ignored the nature of people’s connection to place and refused to understand that connection other than in terms of ownership.

Because of tourism development, Jimbaran’s topography and cultural landscape are vulnerable, as the large amount of land owned by non-locals is leading to conflict between outsiders and local residents. Wayan K articulated this conflict, describing how the village’s emergent status as a tourist destination potentially damages places of importance:
This land is owned by someone (Figure 6.13), (he) maybe from Jakarta. It is located near Batas Kauh. The landowner wants to purchase our land to expand their property, but we do not want our fishing village to be relocated. This is our final decision. They want to build a new hotel and they asked us (the fishermen) to move. Therefore, we held a meeting for fishermen here in banjar Ubung, about 50 people. We decided to reject the proposal because we are afraid that we will not get access to the beach anymore (Wayan K).

Figure 6.13: Investor land on Banjar Ubung near the beach that is causing dispute with the fisherman community (photo: Wayan K, 2011)

The empty land planned as the site for a new hotel as indicated by Wayan K has created a disruption to local attachment and the village, as the owner demands an expansion in the fishing community in return for the hotel’s private access to the beach. The collective resistance from the fisherman community to the proposed relocation arose as the development undermined local aspirations: this place does not only have economic significance for fishermen villagers but is also valued historically and culturally by the Jimbaran people. In the case of banjar Ubung fishing village, even though the beach land is owned by the national government, the

153 There are five groups of fishermen in Jimbaran village, with a total membership of around 200. Source: Interview with Wayan K, 2011.
privilege to utilise it has been granted to the fishermen, who have occupied the land for generations and are thus stakeholders:

They offered us employment opportunities for our children (as compensation), but I think they will cheat us. In hotel projects in other fishing villages, even though they had been offered five job positions for each fisherman’s family, in reality almost no fishermen community members were given jobs in that hotel. Most of the vacancies are filled by non-locals. I suspect they (the hotel managers) sold job opportunities to outsiders. Because we learned from what has happened in the past, we decided not to let them build the hotel here (Wayan K).

Local resistance to the project also stems from its plan to convert the traditional work of fishing into tourism jobs. However, local distrust of the investors was affected by inconsistencies in past project plans, which created uncertainty for the fisherman community:

This land belongs to fishermen. It does not belong to the village. Even if we are given money as compensation, we will stay here and we will not move. As fishermen, we have the right to not move from here. We know that the beach areas are government land and we have been given the right to use them forever. Once we give access to the investor, I believe that we no longer can get the access to the beach (Wayan K).

The value of the bukit landscape is now more economic and less emotional, as most of Jimbaran including the bukit has been designated for residential and tourism land use (Keputusan Bupati Badung Nomor 639, 2003). This condition in turn influences the prevailing tax rate in South Bali including in Jimbaran, which creates hardship for the local community should they own the land without establishing any
ventures. Wayan M criticised the property tax policy applied to inherited land in *bukit*, which is unfavourable for locals:

Our challenge in keeping our land in *bukit* now is the land and property tax. Last year we paid 3.5 million rupiah for tax, but the land does not produce a good earning for us. Mine is just farmland with small semi-permanent buildings, so it is not fair for the government to apply the same tax calculation as for tourism businesses. Therefore, it is no wonder that many of our people have decided to release the land to investors, as the tax is unaffordable (Wayan M).

From his point of view, defending inherited land requires financial support from the government to enable locals to keep living in their homeland. The local community of Jimbaran is an inseparable part of the cultural landscape of *bukit*, which he says should be a place for farmers, cattle and horticulture. This is what Malpas (2008) suggests as the ‘indigenous accounts of place’, as they demonstrate both active engagement with that place and their embeddedness in the relationships that make it up.

As occurs in Jimbaran nowadays, people have to face the reality that the landscape in *bukit* has already changed and will continue to change, at least to some degree. The landscape has long been replaced by concrete buildings for housing, commercial activities, university business and tourist accommodation. Also, having many non-local land owners makes it difficult to protect the landscape in the way the locals want. This situation is aggravated by *bukit* land’s designation as ‘tourism and residential’, which promotes high mobility in their village. This new land status assigned by the government has boosted the commercial value of the land and turned *bukit* land into a commodity. More and more Jimbaran land is now owned by non-
locals, leading to the lack of attachment; however, Wayan M’s emotional relationship to his bukit land is unchanged despite the high tax applied to it:

*Bukit or dimel* is my home, and it always will be. That is why my family and I will fight for our land and will never sell it. We do not want to get compensation to resettle to other places. I hope that our government can make a better tax policy for local people like us (Wayan M).

### 6.3.2 Local Supports to Nearby (Tourism) Developments

Following tourism growth, place transformations in Jimbaran have also been instigated by government development policy in this area. Since the 1970s, both public and government institutions and property investors have had development plans\(^\text{154}\) for the Jimbaran area. The increase in market value of land in Jimbaran following these projects has led to land speculation practices, and thus change of land ownership through property sales. During the current research, previous owners of Jimbaran land explained this trade from their perspective. Wayan M said that the owner of Keraton Jimbaran Resort and Spa purchased half of his father’s land, so he and his family now have to share their land with the hotel. His house and the 102-room hotel are just a few metres apart across a small walking lane:

My family actually own half of the Keraton Hotel’s land. This is because in the 1980s, they initially wanted to buy all our land, but my parents decided to sell half to them and lease the rest. Therefore, there was an agreement between the owner of the Keraton Hotel and my family. First, the hotel

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\(^\text{154}\) Different land use has been granted, such as for education (including the development of an extension campus of University of Udayana and Polytechnic Negeri Bali), residential purposes (by PT Pembangunan Perumahan for Taman Griya Residence and other housing developers and Udayana University Lecturers’ residence) and hospitality and tourism. At the same time, a bypass road was developed connecting Kuta and Nusa Dua along the eastern part of Jimbaran, which increased the economic value of village land.
should provide access and streets to connect our house to the family temple near the hotel and to the street. Second, they had to seal the road and plant trees. They made this promise to us verbally in front of our temples. We had to do this because we have our family temples around this hotel (Wayan M).

Using a Balinese space for business purposes, as explained in Chapter 2, entails spiritual obligations to that land by both the user and the owner. Therefore, not only must the hotel owner provide access to the landlord’s house from the main road, but they are also expected to contribute to temple ceremonies and provide other forms of assistance:

The hotel usually gives a donation for piodalan of our family temple. Therefore, I think this is a ‘win–win’ solution for us: they built the hotel, and we still owned half the hotel land and got access. One of my sons now works at Keraton Hotel in the maintenance department (after finishing) his diploma at polytechnic. Our family also have been given privileges in employment at this hotel as part of the mutual agreement. We are also given the opportunity to perform our gamelan ensemble in the hotel’s temple piodalan. The hotel and our family maintain a good relationship so far. For example, in the last pemlaspas ceremony in our temple they gave a donation of five million rupiah without being asked. We really appreciate the hotel owner’s generosity. I think they respect the spirituality of this place, which means a lot to our family (Wayan M).

For the same reason, Made A, 55, currently leases his family’s land in Jimbaran to a McDonald’s restaurant and he and his family live adjacent to this fast food company. His attitude towards development is positive because the land lease has
provided his family a very good return in the last 10 years. This kind of mutual agreement between the locals and tourism businesses has been practised widely in Bali as well as in Jimbaran. Locals provide their land to be rented by private companies, and may live side by side by with the enterprises.

Tourism does not always create interruption between local people and their place. In many cases, including in Bali, tourism development generates employment opportunity for local communities that meet the requirements. In Jimbaran, many people have worked in this sector since the first hotels were established, which allows the villagers to stay and work in their place. Local employment becomes a way to remain attached to formerly-owned land. In Jimbaran, many families have members working in hotels and tourism-related companies around the village. However, according to most research participants, Jimbarans are mostly offered low-level jobs by the hotels, such as hotel security and housekeeping. Made A, chief security officer at Four Season Resorts Jimbaran explained why this is the case:

Our people were not ready for tourism in the beginning, so they were not well trained. As our land was sold in the 1980s and people needed a livelihood, we had no option but to take up the lower level positions for quick entry. It takes longer to get to another level of career but as villagers of Jimbaran, we were given the privilege to apply in nearby hotels. By working there, we can still live in our village, and lead a traditional life, without leaving our home (Made A).

Traditional farming and fishing are old-fashioned occupations not requiring formal education, whereas the tourism industry needs people with hospitality skills and knowledge certification obtained through a vocational degree and experience. In addition, tourism remuneration and career prospects are more interesting and
encourage younger generations in Bali to seek employment in this sector. The fact that most young people of Jimbaran who participated in this research work in tourism suggests that tourism will be the future of Jimbaran as it has gained support from the youth. Made M makes this point when expressing his aspiration about his village. He is currently working as a bartender at the Rock Bar—a high-profile tavern located at the prestigious Ayana Resort (formerly known as The Ritz Carlton Bali), which sits on the cliff of bukit Jimbaran (Figure 6.13):

Working in this bar is what all bartenders dream of in their career. The Rock Bar is one of the best in the world. As a local, I am so proud to be part of this team. There is very tough competition in this career (Made M).

Being part of the tourism community and qualified to work in a high-class resort is a source of pride for Made M. He suggested that the quality of the resort where he works also strengthens Jimbaran’s reputation as a tourist place.

The integration of tourism into place meaning in Jimbaran has also been created through individual experience. Made Y has been working with Intercontinental Resort Jimbaran for the last five years, from soon after her graduation from university. As a local, her application was given priority, and she was offered a position in the human resources department, where one of her specific duties is to affiliate with employees and act as a liaison for local affairs. As a native from Jimbaran, she recalled the Jimbaran environment before tourism really began. This is her impression about the Jimbaran area in the early 1990s when tourism was not dominant in the landscape in her village, and how this earlier setting has left some imprints on the Intercontinental Jimbaran Hotel:
When I was a child, I remember how the future hotel site looked from the beach; like forest surrounded by different kinds of plants... The huge trees around the Intercontinental Hotel have been there since the past (Made Y).

Made Y explained the photograph of the Intercontinental Hotel project taken by her father (Figure 6.14). While comparing the past and the present condition of the place, she recalled her relationship with it during her childhood. ‘Topophilia’, as popularised by Yi-Fu Tuan (1974), is apparent in Made Y’s description of how she is emotionally attached to this hotel. This includes the remembrance of her past expectation and realisations today. A sense of fulfilment derived from her long-term aspirations can be found in her story: this hotel is a place that she was looking for:

My father worked on the Intercontinental Hotel project so we observed the surroundings before the hotel was developed. I remember that he sent some photographs that he took to the project’s head office in Jakarta. Intercontinental has been part of my life for the last 20 years since I was conscious that it was being developed in my village. Working with this hotel was my childhood dream. I was in Year 5 when it opened in 1993, and as I walked to school every day I hoped that one day I would work in this prestigious hotel.
Even though land and the hotel owners have changed several times and it is no longer owned by the locals, the Intercontinental Hotel has been adopted by Jimbaran people as part of their area and has become the profile of the destination. Made B, the bendesa adat, confirmed that people in Bali associate this hotel with the village because of its long-term establishment and central location:

People may associate Jimbaran with the Intercontinental Hotel and vice versa, or when people ask for an address in Jimbaran we most likely use the position of this hotel as a landmark so people can get a sense of direction (Made B).

According to Made Y, the hotel established a good relationship with the local community from the beginning. Besides employing around 200 Jimbaran villagers (of a total of 845 employees, in 2012), Bali Intercontinental Resort also has corporate

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155 According to Made Y, the owner of the land was the family of Mr Susun, a local resident who lives across from the hotel. His children now work in Bali Intercontinental Resort as part of the land sales agreement with the investors. Land was very cheap in the early 1980s. Mr Susun sold some of his family’s land to an investor before the land was taken over by one of President Suharto’s sons, Bambang Trihatmojo, at the end of the 1980s. Bambang was the first owner of this hotel, but now the resort belongs to Surya Paloh of Media Group, who is the new owner of PT Citra Jimbaran Indah Hotel—the owning company of Bali Intercontinental Resort since the reformation era, following changes to the economic and political situation in Indonesia.
social responsibility (CSR) programmes such as renovating a public school in Jimbaran and organising donations from hotel guests to local students. According to Made, the hotel’s contribution in repairing the local public school was more effective than if they had to wait for the government to conduct the project:

SD 7 Jimbaran Public School was so poorly developed. The classroom and toilet walls were damaged … the school did not even have a clean water supply or canteen. The hotel helped renovate the classrooms and installed water pipes and a new library. Our hotel guests also contributed some books to the students (Made Y).

In addition, the hotel donates to the desa adat pecalang organisation and the hotel in return receives security assistance from the pecalang when necessary. The good relationship as demonstrated by Bali Intercontinental and desa adat Jimbaran not only occurs with this hotel, but also with most hotels, villas and resorts in Jimbaran. The relationship is mutually beneficial and the tourism industry understands the role of desa adat and respects this institution as the ruler of the traditional community in the area:

This research found that in general, desa adat has a positive attitude to tourism development in Jimbaran. As representatives of the traditional community in the village, this institution gives its full support to tourism. Thus it is not surprising that the number of tourist accommodation places in Jimbaran keeps increasing. Recently built hotels are situated on smaller blocks of land, with consequent smaller guest rooms. Further, responding to market demand and trends, these hotels adopt modern minimalist architectural design, which does not represent Bali. Compared to resorts built in the 1980s and 1990s, which were more spacious and featured Balinese
elements in their building style, new resorts in Bali look modern and international (Figure 6.15).

![Figure 6.15: New Le Méridien Bali Jimbaran (Starwood Hotels & Resorts, 2013)](image)

The recently open five-star resort of Le Méridien Bali in Jimbaran is an example of this trend. The new hotel embraces a totally modern, state-of-the-art, minimalist design style, with the absence of details or ornaments reflecting Balinese traditional architecture. As widely reported in the media, the recent trend among tourist facilities in Bali (hotels, restaurants and entertainment centres) is to adopt (entirely) modern architecture and exclude Balinese features from their buildings. The leader of the traditional community of Jimbaran, Bendesa adat Made B explained his views on the architecture of the newly opened Le Méridien Jimbaran:

156 Failure of tourist facilities in Bali, such as hotels, restaurants and entertainment centres in not adopting the Balinese features in their buildings has been widely reported. Criticism from tourism experts and Balinese cultural conservationists seems to be ignored by developers. Many tourism projects continue to execute their proposed plans with entirely post-modern architectural style, ignoring prevailing local development regulation or perda, which oblige developers to include local architecture in building designs in major tourist places in Bali (Perda No. 5, 2005). According to this regulation, building in Bali requires a permit issued by the Dinas Bangunan or building department of the related regency. However, the regulation also underlines that the building permit will only be issued if the development proposal and the building design are approved by the local community in the development area. In other words, it is not entirely the government’s responsibility. If the building is in Jimbaran, for instance, the neighbourhood leaders and village leader of Jimbaran become the key people in this approval.
Yes I was invited by the management to the blessing ceremony of the hotel. I think they had completed the *pemlaspas*,\(^{157}\) and in my opinion, they have adhered to Balinese culture. We appreciate that the hotel has a temple inside to guard the place spiritually, and subsequent ceremonies will be conducted to maintain the spiritual character of the place. In my view, the management has a ‘good will’ to adopt our Balinese Hindu culture through ritual ceremonies undertaken on their property. Well, I would think that it does not really matter if they do not use Balinese architecture, as long as they maintain respect of the guardian spirit of this place. Besides, it should be the local government’s job to approve the design. I personally would prefer them to use Balinese architecture, but in this case we do not see any disrespect for our culture (Made B).

The architecture of building design and the physical appearance are considered important attributes of sense of place, as they provide character, and aesthetic and cultural values to a built environment that observers can appreciate, which is also an important reference to place identity (Steele, 1981). However, it is also argued that a sense of place can persist without the physical element as the representation. Scholars in this field suggest the involvement of cultural and social spirit in the place or *genius loci* and the sense of place (e.g. Jiven & Larkham, 2003; Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Although a focus on physical features may result in a place with identifiable character, they argue that it is the people—individuals and society—that integrate these features through their value systems, to form a sense of place. Jiven and Larkham (2003) assert that as the values and attitudes of individuals and of societies change over time, what is not valued now may well be valued in the future and vice

\(^{157}\) Balinese ritual ceremony for inaugurating a new building.
versa. In other words, the values and views of the people occupying or using places are important. Therefore, the continuity of place will be based on the dynamic values held by the people in addition to the (preserved) physical character.

From local responses to Le Méridien Jimbaran, it is obvious that Balinese people put more emphasis on spiritual values than on the appearance of the building. Made B’s statement implies that as a representative of desa adat he holds a different view of the inclusion of Balinese identity in tourism businesses in the village. From his perspective (and that of many other Balinese who are also tolerant of the non-Balinese character), the physical identity is a serious concern providing spiritual needs are fulfilled. The hotel could be modern in its appearance, but this condition is acceptable as long as Balinese ritual processes persist there. This suggests that the Balinese have maintained the notion of sekala niskala, that a place must have two realms: physical and spiritual. With respect to tourism-related issues, the spiritual realm is considered superior to the physical one. The Balinese ritual ceremony of pemlaspas at Le Méridien Jimbaran, attended by a representative of desa adat, was regarded more important than the hotel’s architecture. This absence of Balinese architecture in this latest building development has weakened the image of Bali as a cultural destination as it fails to display Balinese architectural brilliance in its visual elements. In contrast, cultural traditions such as Balinese Hindu ceremonies are maintained as people believe that ritual processes are vital to the spirit of place and the notion of ‘Balineseness’, and therefore are deemed more imperative than physical appearance.

Another tolerant attitude of locals to tourism in Jimbaran is their ‘acceptance’ of traffic congestion in their village at dinner time, due to the fact that ‘their place’ has become a popular dining destination. Between 5 and 9 p.m. there is a significant
increase in vehicle movements to Café Sembilan clusters, especially around the
grand crossroad near the hallway of Pura Ulun Swi because one dining site is located
behind this temple. Locals touched on this issue in the interviews, and Made S calls
for a solution from the local government authority in this area:

Everyone here is familiar with the temporary travel congestions around our
streets, before and after dinner time, especially during holiday seasons. The
buses, cars and taxis go to the seafood cafés, and when the parking area is
full they park outside residents’ houses. It is sometimes disturbing, so we
can only wait for local government to find traffic solutions for us (Made S).

Made S reinforces the local expectation that local government must be the
‘problem solver’ when the local community encounter issues with tourism.
Jimbarans have no authority to solve tourism-related problems in their own territory
due to the lack of relevant supporting local laws and regulations.

Tourism researchers have viewed the relationship between resident attitudes and
economic dependency across a range of perspectives, from the individual to an entire
community. The most predominant and clear assumption is that the more they are
economically dependent, the more positive their attitudes will be (Harrill, 2004).
Another resident Nyoman W, a lawyer whose land has been contracted by tourism
operators, also supports tourism as the future of Jimbaran:

I know that our old generations in Jimbaran were fishermen. They used to
work on the sea day and night. Now and in the future, the young
generations have the option to work in tourism. I think this is much better
because they will have a better education and working in tourism is good
for them. The fishermen can rent their boats to tourists. Part of their fishing
village land has already become cafés now. This is how they can make a
living from tourism, not only from fishing. So I think it is inevitable that tourism will prevail in Jimbaran.

During the focus group discussions, the neighbourhood leaders suggested that locals anticipate changes in traditional activities because of tourism, but this does not necessarily transform local values, especially with respect to the spiritual realm. As people expect the growth of tourism in their village, they also ponder on the future of the Jimbaran fisherman community and their temples:

Pura Segara and Pura Tegal Wangi have been worshipped by our fishermen communities through generations. As Balinese we never leave temples abandoned. It is possible that one day the Jimbaran people will no longer become fishermen because their children would rather work in the hotels and tourism industry; but we are sure their descendants will continue to pray there out of symbolic respect to their ancestors (focus group participant, 2012).

The Jimbaran community also expressed a degree of ‘acceptable’ change in their place. This study reveals that the desa adat Jimbaran community generally prefers the ‘current’ setting of their village: in others words, they want tourism to grow at its current rate, which continues to foster their traditional life. Wayan S, the neighbourhood leader of Jero Kuta, expressed his aspirations for tourism development in his village. In his mind, Kuta is an example of the undesirable type of tourism development in Bali, which should not be adopted for Jimbaran:

Our tourism development should stay like it is today. I think what we have now is sufficient. The village still looks like a village, so please no more development in our place. We hope there will be no nightclubs like those in Kuta. We also do not want to be relocated to another place because of
tourism. As you may know, many Kuta people now live in Denpasar and other places because their village has been exploited for tourism, so we don’t want to be like Kuta (Wayan S).

The local expression of feelings of attachment to Jimbaran refers to the traditional lifestyle sustained after exposure of tourism in their village. Hence, tourism allows the locals to maintain their character and nature of place. The key element of attachment and identity here is local participation, where residents as local resources also have their ‘share’ in tourism conducted in their area. They provide ideas and are involved in tourism activities, enabling them to be ‘good hosts’.

6.4 Tourism Industry Supports for Spirituality

People are more likely to protect places to which they are attached against outside threats that directly challenge their place meanings, and this will determine their support for any plan proposed in their place. Kudryavtsev et al. (2011) suggest that in the construction of sense of place, place attachment should be supported by place meaning to determine individual behaviour with respect to the place: the bond between people and place should be accompanied by the symbolic meanings ascribed to it. As demonstrated by previous examples, Jimbaran villagers would like to maintain not necessarily the physical feature, but the cultural and social meaning symbolising this place. During my visits, Pura Samuaya, a swagina temple supported by the farmers as a symbol of the wealth of the village, was under renovation (Figure 6.16).
Figure 6.16: The renovation of Pura Samuaya Jimbaran, 9 February 2012

(photo: fieldwork, 2012)

According to Made B, desa adat decided to renovate this temple in 2011, and this was the third refurbishment. The new design was created by a local architect who is a member of desa adat Jimbaran, but villagers were also given an opportunity to suggest improvements to his design. Funding came from villagers, desa adat savings and donations. The renovation was scheduled to be completed with a high level of karya piodalan utama on 19 November 2013 on the Purnama Kalima\footnote{Full moon in November.} (Figure 6.17):

Pura Samuaya is categorised as pura swagina, functioning as the Gods’ meeting place. This is where people ask for wealth. This temple belongs to the farmer communities in Jimbaran and surrounding areas and is looked after by our desa adat now as part of our heritage. This temple is a reminder of the existence of traditional ritual farming in Jimbaran. This is where we do the Ngusaba Nini ceremony to give thanks to Dewi Sri, the Goddess of rice, who is highly respected in Balinese agricultural practices (Made B).
In the minds of the local community farmers, as Made B described, this temple represents prosperity, which in the past was due to agriculture. The ceremonies held symbolised spiritual meaning involved in Balinese farming practices. However, since most of the land in Jimbaran has been converted into places for residential and tourism businesses, the meaning of the temple has changed: tourism now has economic significance for the village. In the village productivity report in 2005, for example, agriculture contributed less than 3.5 million rupiah, while tourism accounted for 90 billion rupiah for the village (Kelurahan Jimbaran, 2006). Agricultural activity in Jimbaran has become less significant than tourism in economic terms. At the same time, the local community uses tourism as an alternative way to achieve wealth, which should be supported both physically and spiritually. In addition, temple renovations require billions of rupiah, which in Jimbaran is mostly provided by tourism:

*Desa adat* has an obligation to preserve temples from the perspective of *yadnya*¹⁵⁹ and it is also our mission to sustain farming as our original way of life. We should understand that we have fewer farmers here, and more

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¹⁵⁹ Sacrificial ritual.
people are tourism workers or have their own business. Therefore, the meaning of Pura Samuaya should not be restricted to agriculture, but should be also associated with other sources of wealth, including tourism. Consequently, our supplications and ritual ceremonies are conducted to achieve the success of tourism industry in this area. People’s prosperity remains our ultimate objective (Made B).

Pura Samuaya as described above has been reinterpreted after tourism development in this area. Place meaning, as the reflection of an individual’s environmental, social, cultural, political and economic perspectives (Kudryavtsev et al., 2011), covers a spectrum from agriculture to tourism. In other words, tourism has now been incorporated into the ‘spiritual mind’ of local people. As indicated by Made B, tourism is another source of wealth that should be supported and the tourism relationship with desa adat should be mutual. As tourism development has social, economic and environmental trade-offs (Harrill, 2004), the opinions expressed by locals during this research provide evidence of how tourism contributes to the changes in place and sense of place for locals.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter explored the notion of Balinese sense of place in the contemporary setting, and local aspirations for the future of the place from the perspectives of participants from different generations and backgrounds, including the elderly and the young, tourism workers, and farmers or fishermen. The role of communities in place attachment and identity in Jimbaran is thus central in maintaining residents’ relationship with their place, particularly after tourism. The ‘loss’ of bukit as a home, farming, natural and sacred place, as indicated in this study, was caused by non-local
land ownership and the declining number of farmers in Jimbaran; representing the state of traditional farming in Jimbaran after tourism. In another part of the village, the Jimbaran seafood cafés exist through the support of the fishermen, who still work on the beach and maintain their place juxtaposed with tourism. In this regard, the traditional community has attempted to retain their sense of place in their fishing village through the ownership of seafood cafés. Further, this study found that tourism has altered the spiritual values of the place, evident from the enhancement of meaning of the Pura Samuaya temple as ‘prosperity beyond agriculture’.

In reflection on social exchange theory, the community’s support or rejection of tourism development in their backyards is highly influenced by their emotional relationship with the place. Those that resisted development found the exchange relationship is not mutual, as they have a strong attachment with their place—as demonstrated in bukit and fishing village narratives in this chapter. Presumably, tourism is not regarded by some people as a way to improve their social and economic wellbeing; or tourism is perceived as threatening or a disadvantage to them. A quite different story is told by those that benefit from tourism, particularly young people. Having been exposed to tourism at a young age, this generation of Jimbarans has a different perspective from their elders about their locality. Tourism, to some extent, has become their aspiration for the future: living and working in a luxury resort area like Jimbaran has made them proud. As revealed in this study, tourism has become part of the identity of Jimbaran, at least for its young people. Tourism is also supported by local people in general, for its capacity to contribute to the local economy and improve the village’s profile.

The desa adat role is thus significant in the construction of Jimbaran and its sense of place—in terms of fostering place attachment and strengthening Jimbaran
identity—and in the placemaking process. Place transformation, as in Café Sembilan Belas, is a response of desa adat to tourism demand that maintains local social and economic life. Balinese after tourism development grapple with the negotiations between sacredness and profanity, traditions and modernity. Hence, the support of the desa adat community is vital in the success of development of tourism in Bali. Given this, desa adat is in a strategic position to safeguard Balinese identity in the tourism era, and should take responsibility for cultural preservation of Bali, which is much broader than their cultural responsibility for the village.
Chapter 7: From Village to Tourist Town:
Transformations in Kuta

7.1 Introduction

Researching the affective bond of the local community in Kuta with their village was exceptionally challenging, due to the dynamic situation and progression of change in this, the most popular tourist place of Bali. The complexity increased when I investigated the components of personal identity—how people describe themselves in terms of belonging to this particular village in a present-day context. Given its perpetual volatility, as cited in many references and earlier in this thesis, Kuta nowadays is referred to as a popular tourist place where local communities have experienced the advantages and disadvantages of post-colonialism and tourism development in Bali. Kuta is also an example, as articulated by Jimbaran people in the previous chapter, of the unfavourable model of tourism development that other places should avoid and learn from. In the last four decades, the village has been highly visited and occupied by visitors and non-locals; and as it has become urbanised, vast numbers of commercial structures and facilities have been developed. These kinds of empirical features embody heightened concerns about how Kuta and its people have been affected by tourism and subsequent development, leading to concerns about the local sense of place.

This chapter examines the values and meanings associated with Kuta perceived by its local community, since this place has experienced tourism over the last century. As in my analysis of Jimbaran, I draw on Tuan’s (1977) idea that individuals assign meaning to their place by referencing their emotion, thoughts,
experiences and social relationships in exploring Kuta. This chapter explores the transformation of Kuta from a local village into a tourist town based on document studies, community discussions in online social media (KFC) and other online references. It begins with a brief description of Kuta as a Balinese community, followed by the historical background of the village prior to the onset of tourism in this area, as an evaluative construct in examining how place history becomes a foundation for the locals’ approach to making sense of their village. The last section describes various issues experienced by the local community in Kuta due to uncontrolled tourism.

7.2 About The Village of Kuta

Well known as a tourist place in Bali, Kuta actually consists of three Balinese traditional villages: desa adat Kuta (DAK), desa adat Legian and desa adat Seminyak, abbreviated as samigita in local district terms. The relationship between the Kutanese—the Balinese residents who are members of DAK—and Kuta is the focus of this case study. The village covers 723 ha (Figure 7.1). It borders with desa adat Legian in the north, desa adat Pemogan of Denpasar in the east, desa adat Tuban in the south and the Indian Ocean to its west. Located on the beach side, the area is relatively flat in contour, and less than 100 m above sea level.

The local population of Kuta has been increasing. In 2000, there were 10,043 local residents from 2,199 families (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Badung, 2011), whereas the number of residents registered in 2010 was 12,337, from 2,917 families. Kuta now has 13 banjar adat (traditional neighbourhoods)—namely banjar Anyar, banjar Segara, banjar Jaba Jero, banjar Teba Sari, banjar Pelasa, banjar Pengabetan, banjar Pering, banjar Temacun, banjar Pemamoran, banjar Pande Mas,
banjar Tegal, banjar Buni and banjar Mertajati (a new expansion)—distributed across the village (Figure 7.2). Banjars in Kuta are supported by around 1,700 Balinese Hindu families, who are the exclusive members of DAK.160

Banjars in Kuta, as in many other villages in Bali, enable local people to develop strong emotional bonds with their place. The balai banjar or neighbourhood halls serve as the landmarks of DAK and the activities held here foster a sense of community in Kuta, of living together in a traditional village under the rule of awig-awig DAK.

As explained on Kuta Facebook Community (KFC)162 by the newly elected bendesa adat (DAK village leader) of Kuta, some land163 is still owned by DAK.

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160 Not every resident belongs to desa adat Kuta. Only those Balinese Hindus who are supporters and members of one of the Banjars and the Tri Kahyangan Village Temples in Kuta can be titled ‘krama’ desa adat Kuta or Kutanese. Therefore, the residents of kelurahan Kuta are the karma or the members of desa adat, the Balinese but non-desa adat members of Kuta, the non-Balinese (other Indonesian) migrants and the expatriates. This research focuses on krama adat as the subjects as they are the members of desa adat.
161 Source: Keputusan Bupati Badung Nomor 638, 2003, reproduced in Google Earth in 2014 for the purpose of this research
162 During his campaign for re-election as bendesa (desa adat leader) on 22 February 2013, WYS (who was later re-elected) shared his knowledge and ideas about desa adat Kuta (DAK) via KFC by mentioning DAK’s land and building assets.
163 DAK land includes (1) the land occupied by LPD Kuta; (2) the land for Kantor Kas Pembantu
Most residents live in their private house compounds within the area of DAK, surrounded by tourist accommodation and facilities, and others live in neighbouring towns but maintain an affiliation with Kuta and community obligations to desa adat. Those that decided to relocate to Denpasar or other parts of Bali do so for a variety of reasons, such as building a second house to avoid living with tourism or for when their number of family members increases by marriage and birth of more children.\textsuperscript{164} However, as those people still have religious and community responsibilities to desa adat and their family temples, which are located in Kuta, they maintain a very close relationship with Kuta through regular visits, especially prior to and during temple festivals and community events, as well as through active participation in online discussions on KFC.

As in other villages in Bali, a two-fold governance system applies in Kuta. Besides desa adat, Kuta is also managed by kelurahan or desa dinas. This formal village institution organises community associations as in other kelurahan in Indonesia following the ‘national’ standard. Some of these organisations (Figure 7.3) include pendidikan dan kesejahteraan keluarga (PKK; family education and welfare), LPM, badan keswadayaan masyarakat (BKM; community self-reliance bodies), karang taruna yowana kerthi bhuwana (Kuta village youth associations), satgas linmas (task force for community protection) and satria jaga baya samudra (village security guards).

\textsuperscript{164} Personal interview with KFC members on 18 April 2012.
1. Banjar Anyar
2. Banjar Segara
3. Banjar Jaba Jero
4. Banjar Teba Sari
5. Banjar Pelasa
6. Banjar Pengabetan
7. Banjar Pering
8. Banjar Temacun
9. Banjar Pemamoran
10. Banjar Pande Mas
11. Banjar Tegal
12. Banjar Buni
13. Banjar Mertajati

Figure 7.2: Locations of balai banjar in Kuta (Pratiwi, 2009) (photo: fieldwork, 2012)

Figure 7.3: Community organisations in Kuta (photo: KFC, 2012)

KFC’s administrators (LSW and MJK) are also the organising members of LPM Kuta. In this regard, KFC as online social media for the Kuta resident community aims to provide space for the community to contribute their ideas and aspirations about development in Kuta village. Like other Balinese in their desa adat, krama DAK are also responsible for organising the piodalan of the village temples (Figure
7.4). The villagers are scheduled into piodalan in each temple, including pura desa, pura puseh, pura dalem kahyangan and other prominent village temples in Kuta.

Figure 7.4: Offering dance in a piodalan of a Balinese temple in Kuta (photo: KFC, 2013)

The richness of local community activities in Kuta indicates that the people of Kuta are traditionally and administratively occupied with community programmes in their everyday life. Local community activities occur simultaneously with daily tourism activities in their village. These ‘ways of operating’ establish the numerous practices by means of which the residents reappropriate the space through socio-cultural productions (de Carteau, 1984), and the socio-spatial interactions of everyday life, which help people create a sense of place, themselves and others (Perkins & Thorns, 2012). As they work, play and spend their time with their families and friends, walking in the neighbourhoods and immediate environments, the local community have both positive and negative experiences regarding their village. As a result, they ascribe meaning to them, themselves and other people with whom they interact.
The existence of the KFC online social media enables people to establish communication and discussion during their busy local lives in this ‘tourist town’. As both a Balinese village and a popular tourist place in Bali, Kuta has undergone steady transformation. Understanding current local attachment with the village and the construction of place identity are the main themes in the next section, which explores how this place was conceived, utilised and favoured, as it became Kuta today.

7.3 Kuta: Before and After Tourism

This segment describes the transformation of Kuta from a traditional village into a tourist town, by presenting how local residents make sense of history of the place they have inhabited to the present moment, which contributes to the character of them and Kuta. In interpreting Kuta’s past, I consider the dynamic perceptions of the village by its local inhabitants: Gustafson (2001, p. 6) asserts that the meanings of place ‘are continually produced and reproduced in interaction with their surroundings and thus may acquire new meanings over a period of time’. I would argue that local place attachment and place identity are very much associated with the past environment, the life course brought by the place to individuals and the memories people hold about the place (Low & Altman, 1992; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983; Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). From the perspective of locals, this section explores meaning that residents associate with Kuta: the multiple meanings represented by local community associated with the constant shifts in their social, cultural, political and economic environment.

For over a century, Kuta has been greatly transformed for different purposes. It is apparent that the village has been arranged, managed and considerably modified to encourage consumption. Because Kuta has been a local and tourist place, the
following section constructs the sequence of local place attachment and identity of place from a historical perspective. It highlights how Kuta evolved during initial development over the last century and as tourism restructured the village and transformed it into a tourist town.

7.3.1 Past Attachment, Identity and Early Tourism in Kuta

This section addresses how the initial settlement and early development of tourism in the village shaped modern Kuta, transformation processes and the disruption of place attachment after the village transfigured into a tourist town. Attachment to the environment is often considered inherent in, and typical of the human species. It is therefore important to understand the notion of attachment as a culturally determined phenomenon situated between the idea of human tendencies and that of landscape affection as specific to the individual (Riley, 1992). As is evident from KFC discussions, the members as individuals contribute to the community by sharing the photographs they possess of Kuta, and stories and other interesting facts and concerns about the village. While discussions on KFC mainly address current issues in Kuta, there are also a number of historical references by members indicating their connection with the past. These records are important for understanding how the past affects the local sense of place and constructs place identity.

One member (WKD),\textsuperscript{165} mentioned in his post that the name of Kuta was cited in a historical file of Babad Bali, and that the initial establishment of Kuta was related to a visit by Prime Minister Kebo Iwa—the prime minister of Bali in the fourteenth century—to South Bali. The story went that the main island of Bali was separated from the peninsula of South Bali and that Kebo Iwa wanted reclamation, so

\textsuperscript{165} Kuta history, as posted on KFC, personal manuscript of Watu Kembar Deglung (pseudo name), on 31 August 2013, titled \textit{Batu Kepan Tangan Kebo Iwa di Pura Panti Karang Buncing: Tonggak Awal Sejarah Desa Kuta}.
he threw a clump of soil that fell on one of Kuta’s area (where SDN 3 Kuta Public School now stands). This area, which people call Batu Kepalan Tangan Kebo Iwa (sandstone thrown by Kebo Iwa’s hand), is believed to be the founding site of Kuta.\footnote{166} Based on niskala insight, the local community conducted a special ritual to relocate this sacred ‘sandstone’ to the Pura Panti temple in Kuta.

The past is integral to both individual and communal representations of identity, and their connotation imbues human existence with meaning, purpose and value, and ‘inevitably … promotes the burdens of history, the atrocities, errors and crimes, which are called upon to legitimate the atrocities of the present’ (Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge 2007, p. 42). As is evident in previous studies about the history of Bali, suggestions of the inferiority of Kuta have existed since its initial settlement and are acknowledged by local communities in the village as part of their identity. To this day, unlike in other home villages in Bali, there is no pura kawitan (temple of origin) in Kuta, so the local villagers trace their ancestry back to other parts of the island. For centuries, as recorded in Babad Bali history, prominent people who visited Kuta regarded the place as Sudra’s\footnote{167} village, containing poor, low-class farmers, blacksmiths and fishermen. Kuta was also said to be a place of exile, where the ‘refuse’ of society was ‘thrown’—Balinese expelled from their villages for serious crimes, fugitives escaping the extraction of a prince or people afflicted with an ignominious disease, like leprosy.\footnote{168}

\footnote{166} In the Jimbaran story, Kuta is also identified as one of the places that past rulers of Bali and prominent priests temporarily visited; therefore, very few significant artefacts have been found in this area, compared with some other areas in Bali.\footnote{167} The lowest caste in Balinese Hindu communities.\footnote{168} See Kuta section in Picard, M. (1996). \textit{Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture} (D. Darling, Trans.). Singapore: Archipelago Press. pp. 77-83.
The fragility of Kuta was also evident when Kuta became the entrance point for outside invasion to Bali. Maha Patih, Gajah Mada of the Majapahit Empire, invaded southern Bali through Kuta around the fourteenth century. Gajah Mada might have built defence walls in this place to protect his rear guard. ‘Kuta’ as the invaders named this place, means ‘small fortresses’. Later, Kuta served as a port for Bali’s Majapahit colony. It was also in Kuta that the first Dutch ships landed in 1597, with a fleet of three Dutch war ships under the command of Cornellis de Houtman. In the eighteenth century, Kuta was recognised as an important collection point for the Balinese slave trade. During this period it was under the rule of south Badung lords, Badung and Mengwi Kingdom, from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century (Vickers, 1989), and these rulers shared access to Kuta as their natural harbour for slave trading during that period. This trading zone also welcomed foreigners, Chinese and European, who were restricted to the necessary role of intermediaries between the Balinese kings and neighbouring powers. The Chinese founded a temple by the river in Kuta over 300 years ago. Kuta village was known as a port of call for re-supplying and repairing European ships trading in spices. Like any port, it was settled for many different purposes including fishing, trading and farming. Kuta has been a multicultural and multi-religious village for centuries since people from different cultural and religious backgrounds came to live there. As in other villages in Bali, the locals (Balinese) were traditional farmers and fishermen, whereas the migrants were traders and shippers.

169 Prime Minister.
170 Majapahit was a fourteenth-century Hindu–Javanese kingdom, regarded by most Balinese as the source of their culture.
As the landscape of Kuta has been evolving for centuries, recorded history and memories remind people of how this village was constituted, although some stories are forgotten by locals. Such ‘existing’ histories are usually ‘selected’ by the community and limited to those that significantly contributed to the foundation of the village, or are acknowledged by the government. In some KFC discussions, local communities acknowledged the role of foreigners in constructing their place. As noted by locals, one of the historical expatriates in Kuta was a Danish trader, Mads Johansen Lange, who was trusted by the Kingdom of Badung as the authority of the docklands, and made Kuta his settlement (1839–1856). The local community regard him as one of the most notable foreign residents that Kuta has ever had. A member recently posted a photograph of his statue on KFC in recognition of the role of ‘Tuan Lange’ in the village (Figure 7.5).

During his life in Kuta, Lange established for himself comfortable houses and warehouses behind a high wall with a gateway at a commercial compound beside Kuta’s Tukad Mati river, on the site of the current pasar senggol (night market). During his years in Bali, Lange often acted as a diplomatic liaison between the Balinese rulers and the Dutch. He arranged a peace treaty after the Dutch attacked the south in 1848–9 and made his home in Kuta a meeting place for the two cultures. However, the war between the Dutch and Balinese was unavoidable and ended Lange’s business empire because of a shortfall in production of agricultural and farming commodities. Also, the trading port was moved to Ampenan in east Bali as

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174 Tuan is Mr or Sir in the Bahasa Indonesia language: the local people in Bali called Mads Johansen Lange Tuan Lange, and a small street in Kuta has this name.  
175 He also lived with dalmatian dogs. As he made successful trades with Java, Singapore and China, Lange and his family lived in luxury and held dinner parties for the European community and Balinese aristocrats. The local villagers had very little relationship with Lange’s family, only hearing classical music made by piano, flute and violin drifting over the high wall: see Mabbett (1987).

260
Kuta was not suitable for the larger steam ships that replaced the sailing ships used by Lange at the time. This was the end of Kuta as a trading port.

Lange died mysteriously in 1856 before leaving Bali, and his grave stands near Kuta’s night market by the river, with a small street near his graveyard named after him: Jalan Tuan Lange. Lange is also significant because ‘Kuta today becomes the only place in Bali with black and white coloured dogs in any numbers’: it is tantalising to believe these to be descendants of the breed of dog Lange left behind (Mabbett, 1987, p. 135). A member of KFC posted Lange’s photograph to remind people about this notable expatriate, as part of collective memory about past close encounters with foreigners in Kuta. As Lange was part of the landscape and contributed to the construction of the place and how it is now perceived, the memorial signifies Kuta’s character as a welcoming place for trading people (and foreigners).

![The statue of Mads Johansen Lange posted on Kuta Facebook Community](photo: KFC, 2011)

Figure 7.5: The statue of Mads Johansen Lange posted on Kuta Facebook Community

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176 Posted on KFC (2011) by LSW.
Tourism in Kuta began in the 1930s. Under Dutch colonial occupation in this period, Kuta was depicted as a humble village situated near a magnificent beach—an ordinary farming–fishing village with little economic or cultural importance for Bali. Kuta was considered solely in terms of its possession of a unique potential resource—the beach (Figure 7.6). However, in old Balinese culture, beach areas were considered spiritually impure and unproductive for agriculture, thus having a lower socio-cultural status—the opposite of mountainous areas. Consequently, for Balinese people, owning beach land was not esteemed as it had little economic value. Nonetheless, Kuta was considered ‘beautiful’ by foreign tourists because of its long, white, sandy beach as a natural endowment next to the Indian Ocean.\(^{177}\) Also, Kuta’s proximity to the landing strip (airport) in Tuban (2 km away) and to Denpasar City (9 km) made the village accessible.

![The fishing village as visitors saw it: Kuta Beach in 1930 (posted on KFC, 2012)](image)

*Figure 7.6: The fishing village as visitors saw it: Kuta Beach in 1930 (posted on KFC, 2012)*

\(^{177}\) Covarrubias was a US author among the first foreign visitors to Kuta, and according to his book *Island of Bali* (Covarrubias, M. (1937). *Island of Bali*. New York: Alfred A Knopf), the cultural landscape of Kuta traditional village was centred on its main crossroad, made of two main streets. A banyan tree housing a shrine grew in the middle of the crossroad. There was also a periodic market under the banyan tree and the area was used as the milieu for dramas and dances.
Land commercialisation for tourism in Kuta also began during the 1930s and it is evident that investors and visitors influenced indigenous perceptions about their place. As tourism was introduced to locals, there was also a change in perception about the land and the sea. Kuta Beach Hotel\textsuperscript{178} was the first hotel with international hospitality service in Bali (Koke, 1987), after a land lease from local villagers instigated by K‘tut Tantri.\textsuperscript{179} As the land included a small temple that was not relocated from its site near the new dining room, tourists could watch women coming frequently to make offerings. The rent paid to local villagers was very low, but the lease arrangements created awareness in Kuta residents that their land was of economic value, contrary to traditional belief that land near the beach was low grade.\textsuperscript{180} The role of foreigners in changing local perceptions about the place was also evident when Robert Koke\textsuperscript{181} promoted beach surfing to both visitors and his Balinese hotel workers, and encouraged people to surf on Kuta Beach. Since then, surfing has become a popular activity for both locals and visitors (Mabbett, 1987).

\textsuperscript{178} US artists Louise Garret and Robert Koke also discovered Kuta during a bicycle ride. Seeing the beauty of the site, they decided to build some local-style bungalows there to cater for tourists tired of Denpasar and the town comfort of the ‘Dutch’ Bali Hotel: see Koke, L. (1987). \textit{Our Hotel in Bali}. Wellington: January Books.

\textsuperscript{179} Historical literature suggests that Kuta’s new business emerged after 1936 when Muriel Pearson, also known as K‘tut Tantri, or Mrs Manx to the Balinese communities, visited Kuta for the first time, having lived in Bali for several years (Lindsay, T. (1997). \textit{The Romance of K’tut Tantri and Indonesia: Text and Scripts, History and Identity}. New York: Oxford University Press). She was a Scottish-born US citizen who visited Kuta in 1939, owned a hotel and lived there until the Japanese invaded in 1942. K‘tut Tantri was a propagandist for the Indonesian revolution and used different names (Vanine Walker, Soerabaya Sue, Mrs Oestermann and Sally Van De As, among others). More information about K‘tut Tantri and her hotel in Kuta can be found in ibid.

\textsuperscript{180} Having participated in the launching of the Kuta Beach Hotel, K‘tut Tantri built her own hotel nearby: the \textit{Suara Segara} (the Sound of the Sea). Kuta Beach Hotel was popular and busy, with foreigners staying for weeks, until the Japanese invaded in 1942 and destroyed the hotel. Many villagers were employed at that time in hotels. In 1955, after independence, the Indonesian state enterprise built a hotel with the same name, but 100 m south of Koke’s hotel. It adopted Koke’s bungalow style: separate thatched cottages built in spacious gardens and open plan dining rooms. During the current research in 2012, Kuta Beach Hotel was under renovation following new building style. As a pioneer of modern hotels in Kuta, Kuta Beach Hotel was acknowledged as a historic landmark for tourism in Kuta: as one KFC member posted in May 2012, ‘people missed Mrs Meng’, and wanted Kuta to be ‘like when she was there’. A member also shared a photograph of the former Kuta Beach Hotel in memory of K‘tut Tantri’s role, together with that of Louise Garret and Robert Koke, in developing a hospitality industry in Kuta.

\textsuperscript{181} Robert Koke claimed that he founded surfing in Kuta, as he used ‘a surfer and ocean wave illustration’ in the hotel’s logo, which was widely used including in the letterhead, and built surf boards in the long and heavy fashion of the time (Koke, 1987; Mabbett, 1987).
Before surfing was introduced to locals as a recreational activity, most people had an instinctive fear of the ocean.

In the 1960s, most Kuta villagers\textsuperscript{182} still made a living as farmers\textsuperscript{183} and fishermen.\textsuperscript{184} The dominant features of the village landscape were open fields and dry scrubby vegetation dotted with palm trees (Figure 7.7). Agricultural practices were mainly dry-crop farming of coconuts, groundnuts, soybeans and cassava. Some families raised pigs in their houses, and people also tended cattle in the surrounding fields. However, the productivity of land in Kuta was low due to lack of an irrigation system, and the majority of Kuta villagers lived in poverty. However, desa adat as an institution was already noticeable due to the presence of banjars, which supported communities and their activities (both religious and non-religious). By late in this period, Kuta had become a ‘beach and surf’ destination with cheap losmen,\textsuperscript{185} and a relaxed beach life that attracted a steady flow of hippies to Kuta, with its beautiful beach surrounded by coconut palms, its surfing and its rural setting (Hussey, 1989; Mabbett, 1987; Paturisi, 1988).

Small shops and warung selling local food and coffee were available in 12 neighbourhoods in the 1960s and 70s; there were also food hawkers in the main street and fishing huts at the southern end of the beach. The village contained no restaurants or other tourist facilities, except for two small hotels located on the border. To the east of the centre of Kuta village were the permanent covered market that served the entire district, and governmental and local administrative offices. Surrounding the main intersections were the balai banjars, as the meetinghouses of

\textsuperscript{182} As shown in Hussey’s map there was a clear distinction between DAK and desa adat Legian in the north, and the two communities were perceived separately. It is important to highlight that Kuta and Legian share Legian Street, although the southern one third of the street belongs to DAK.

\textsuperscript{183} Most farm land was located in Legian and Seminyak (see Figure 8).

\textsuperscript{184} There were 9,000 people living in Kuta at that time (Hussey obtained these data from unpublished governmental and village records, and via interviews with village residents from 1974 to 1985). Only those Balinese Hindus who belong to banjar in Kuta later become the members of DAK.

\textsuperscript{185} Cheap guesthouse with limited service
each neighbourhood (Figure 7.7). Lying south of the residential zone were the pura dalem—the death temple and graveyards. Residential districts of Kuta as illustrated by Hussey (1989) were situated between and around the two main roads stretching from east to west, namely Jalan Pantai Kuta and Jalan Bakung Sari. This area is where family compounds were established, surrounded by main intersections and extending to the alleys that connected the two main roads. Hussey reported that in the early 1970s this zone was ‘exclusively residential’.

The landscape of Kuta Beach area has been through a signifying process (Tilley, 1994), by which society is reproduced and transformed, explored and structured. As described by senior villager IGB, the precinct along Kuta Beach, as for many beaches in Bali, was perceived as frightening and ghostly by the residents as there were many graveyards. No one would consider entering this area at night. The Kuta Beach landscape was also ornamented by various trees and beach plants, such as coconut trees, kreket trees, katang-katang, padanggalak trees and pandanus. Katang-katang was useful for beach sand retention during high tides (Figure 7.8). In the 1960s, the beach was still tranquil, the sand was very white and the waves were excellent for surfing. IGB witnessed:

We could even count the number of tourists sunbathing on the beach. Kuta used to have a reputation for a relaxed, anything-goes-that’s-fun ambience. However, foreigners that equated Bali with toplessness or even nudity assumed that Kuta was the place to go native (IGB, 2011).186

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IGB stated that during that period ‘tourists could do anything they wanted on the beach as tourist nudity was observable’. The villagers tolerated the situation until local government took over tourism control in the area in the 1970s and perceived
nudity as an annoyance, introducing regulations prohibiting nudity in public spaces of Kuta Beach.

Figure 7.8: Kuta Beach, in 1972 and 2012 (photo: KFC, 2012)

Tourism development in Kuta occurred largely in a spontaneous fashion outside government plans, gained its momentum following the Indonesian government’s development of a mega-tourism project for Bali in the early 1970s (Pacific Consultants, 1973). The expansion of tourism in Kuta was observable following this project (Figure 7.9).

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187 The national government set the plan for tourism in Bali in 1971.
188 IGB explained that due to this restriction, tourists who had become accustomed to the nudity moved to other beaches, such as Legian, Seminyak, Camplung Tanduk and Canggu.
189 The Bali tourism master plan assumed that first-class international tourists would be the main threat to Bali’s cultural heritage, but did not anticipate the flood of budget travellers who were about to transform Kuta from village to neonised strip. Further, the plan failed to foresee the later development of domestic tourism, much less the secondary and tertiary economic spin offs from tourism that could not be contained to a limited area. While construction of the carefully planned, capital-intensive hotels of Nusa Dua was in progress, they were ‘upstaged’ by spontaneous development in nearby Kuta (Pringle, R. (2004). A Short History of Bali: Indonesia’s Hindu Realm. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin).
This plan developed major tourism infrastructure including the artery roads connecting Denpasar, Sanur, Kuta and Nusa Dua; a 20-year planned luxury resort complex in South Bali and the expansion of Ngurah Rai Airport. Although the Nusa Dua project was underdeveloped, foreign tourists in Bali in the 1970s were mostly accommodated in Denpasar, Sanur and Kuta.

It is evident from KFC that the local community of Kuta is attempting to reconnect themselves with the past, as seen from the posting of personal collections

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Kuta was still a small, traditional agricultural and fishing village in 1970—similar to Jimbaran, in that it stands on flat terrain with an arid climate. In the early 1970s, tourism accommodation and restaurants started to emerge. Kuta village was a place to position people who wanted more calm and peace, but has since became congested (Figure 7.10). The neighbouring Legian and Seminyak villages in the north were not significant tourist places in the 1960s and early 1970s. Both were still rural areas with no important public buildings other than their balai banjars and village temples. During that time, differences in density between Kuta and Legian were obvious.

In 1968, the national government decided to expand Ngurah Rai airport in Tuban into an international airport assisted by funds from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Foreign tourist arrivals immediately increased from 24,340 in 1970, to 119,095 in 1978. In the same period, in 1971, the first Bali tourism development master plan produced by the French tourism consultant SCETO was prepared to develop Nusa Dua’s luxury resort complex, home to 4,500 hotel rooms and a golf course to be developed over 20 years from 1973 to 1992 (Pacific Consultants, 1973).
of old photographs taken in Kuta. Photographs form the 1970s to the early 1980s represented the most dominant ‘oldies depictions’, and those periods were the most desirable episodes of Kuta in the memories of locals, when the local attachment with their place was strong at the time tourism was still a local business. In this era, Kuta was still under the control of locals in terms of tourism business and land ownership. Kuta accommodated budget travellers but mass tourism had not been introduced widely on the island. Hence, tourists more often interacted with local businesses: staying in locally owned homestays, drinking and eating in local pubs and restaurants, and making acquaintances among the locals.

As noted in previous studies, during the 1970s local entrepreneurship\textsuperscript{192} in Kuta was emerging as the local response to a high demand for tourism facilities and services.\textsuperscript{193} This transformation of agricultural and fishing people into proprietors and local entrepreneurs caused a significant shift in the village’s setting. Kuta was changed by villagers’ own decisions, when they commercialised their land, using the success of Koke’s and Tantri’s hotels in Kuta Beach in 1939–1941 as a model for generating business. Locals saw this as a way to improve their standard of living as well as to satisfy visitors’ needs.

The villagers anticipated that tourists came to their village with low expectations about service standards, being young foreigners and ‘hippies’ coming for a Bali holiday on a limited budget. However, visitors still paid more than local prices. In a current local accommodation website, Mrs MDZ is among notable residents of Kuta who opened her Poppies Cottages and Restaurant in the 1970s (Figure 7.10).\textsuperscript{192}

\textsuperscript{192} Hussey (1989) reported that in 1975 there were 27 restaurants in Kuta, 10 of which were owned by locals and eight by other Balinese (non-locals). There were also more than 100 locally owned accommodation establishments in Kuta at that time (whereas in 1970, there were only two hotels in Kuta).

\textsuperscript{193} Bali was heavily promoted by international tour operators and Indonesian Airline of Garuda in the 1970s, soon after the opening of Bali International Airport; however, at that time there were shortages in accommodation, restaurants, services and facilities for budget visitors, as Nusa Dua resort had not yet been completed, and in any case, Sanur accommodation was quite expensive: see Picard (1996).
‘Poppies’ was the name given by an American guest and it later also became the name of the adjacent lane: Gang Poppies—a popular tourist alley in Kuta. This model of business was promoted by villagers’ personal and professional relationships with foreign business customers.\footnote{See Balinese business partnerships with foreigners in Picard (1996, p. 79-80)}

Figure 7.10: Jenik’s warung in 1972 and the rudimentary Poppies Restaurant in 1973 (photo: Poppies Bali, 2013)

Foreign partnerships could be in the form of refurbishment of a local enterprise, financial assistance to support the business, or through marriage with the locals. In return, foreign investors would promote their joint business in Bali among their relatives at home, and locals and the government perceived these strategies positively. Poppies Cottages and Restaurant (Figure 7.11) was an example of a partnership between a local villager and foreigners. In this project, they worked together modifying the old warung into a restaurant, renovating the local house and designing the garden and cottages to create tourist accommodation with a blend of traditional and Western modern style (Poppies Bali, 2013).
Kuta was then transformed into a small town involved in more economic activities. The area near Kuta’s *pampatan agung*—the grand crossroad as the village landmark—was particularly seen as the backdrop to villagers’ activities, for its central location. This crossroad connects Jalan Pantai Street (east to west) with Jalan Legian Street (north) and Jalan Buni Sari Street (south). Being located near the Kuta traditional market and with access to the beach, this crossroad became the stopover for public transport vehicles known in Kuta in 1970s as *bemo*,¹⁹⁵ so it was known by locals as ‘Bemo Corner’ (Figure 7.12).

¹⁹⁵ This place was named *bemo* corner (after a mini passenger car, see Figure 7.12), where people waited for public transport. *Bemos* served urban areas of Bali until the early 1990s, before they were entirely replaced by taxis and *ojek* (motor taxi). Nowadays, *bemos* can only be found in rural areas.
Locals were aware of tourism opportunities and that the village’s beautiful beach was a tourism asset. Responding to this situation, they turned their local businesses such as warung into small restaurants or pubs (Figure 7.13), renovated their family compound into homestays and opened small shops in front of their family homes.\footnote{In the 1970s, 27 restaurants operated in Kuta on the street front (Hussey, 1989), 18 of which were Balinese owned: 10 by local villagers and eight by other Balinese, which were located on the street front. Losmen became more popular than restaurants as locals were not sufficiently skilled, and owning restaurants needed more investment in both financial and vocational education.} Renting rooms within the house compound and leasing shop spaces at the front of the house were considered by locals as the most affordable (and preferred) form of investment, along with opening losmen\footnote{Losmen or penginapan, in Indonesian terms, refers to simple accommodation for budget travellers, whose space is part of a local house or it may be independently operated with limited services such as room only, with or without breakfast.} and homestays, of which they were the proprietors. Losmen located behind the house compound were particularly popular. In this way, tourist accommodation physically was considered as intruding minimally on the village landscape. Many local residents also began to work in newly built accommodation, and other tourism business and services.

As most tourists visiting Kuta were budget travellers looking to enjoy the recreational activities on the beach, the local community with its limited knowledge...
and skill humbly responded to this situation by providing visitors\(^{198}\) (Figure 7.14) with basic supplies and the local ‘standard’ of food and lodging, which was ‘acceptable’ by this tourist segment.

![Figure 7.14: Western tourists in Kuta in the 1970s (photo: KFC, 2012)](image)

\(^{198}\) Australians and Japanese were the main visitors to Kuta during this period. Australians were also the prominent visitors to Bali in general, accounting for 26.82% of total foreign visitors, followed by Japan with 21.86% (Department of Tourism Denpasar figures from 1977, as analysed in McTaggart, W. D. (1980). Tourism and tradition in Bali. *World Development*, 8(5–6), 457-466.)
(Figure 7.15). It shows an advertising board for the barong dance as tourism entertainment in banjar Pande Mas, the neighbourhood area where MJK lives today, near the main street of Jalan Pantai Kuta. This demonstrates that the business of Balinese traditional entertainment with local community as the performers was popular in the 1970s in Kuta. Desa adat, through the banjars, played an important role in organising Balinese dance performances by providing space for this cultural performance.

Local attachment to Kuta in the 1970s is revealed through the photographs posted continuously on KFC. The members compare places in Kuta in the past with how it looks today, resulting in a ‘before and after’ gallery. The beginning of tourism was marked by land use change from agricultural land to commercial spaces, as villagers found tourism to be an opportunity to increase their income. The growth of tourism activities had resulted in increasing land prices that favoured commercial over agricultural value.199

Shops and space rentals were a favourite source of income for villagers, as they could earn money very quickly. Therefore, some streets in Kuta were quickly developed as shopping precincts, such as Jalan Legian, Jalan Pantai Kuta, and Jalan Bakung Sari (Figure 7.16). This converted the local community of Kuta into property owners who made their income through selling and leasing their land to investors.200

The Kuta landscape was modified considerably by the presence of restaurants, the majority of which were located on the street front, and this continues until now.

199 Some land in Kuta increased significantly in value between 1970 and 1984, such as land on the beachfront (from $12 to $10,000), Legian Street (from $12 to $7,000) and other central village main streets like Jalan Pantai and Jalan Bakung Sari (from $17 to $8,000). In contrast, the value of land used for rice production increased only slightly over the same period, from $150 to not more than $400 (Hussey, 1989).

200 Indonesian (and foreign) investors turned their attention to Kuta after a PATA meeting in Bali in 1974, and began purchasing and leasing land in the surrounding areas: see Picard (1996, pp. 78-79).
Businesses in Kuta such as shops and restaurants destroyed the previous landscape of Kuta as a Balinese traditional village by concealing the Balinese house compounds, where locals still live with their families. Kuta is thus perceived as a ‘commercial area’ by people on the street. As their homes were out of sight, residents started to become subordinate to the place, as less important than tourists.

An expatriate resident, PNL, compared Jalan Legian Street in 1975 and 2010 (Figure 7.17). Shown riding a bike, he used Legian Street as a backdrop indicating how the street has been considerably transformed in 35 years. In 1975, the dirt road setting looked natural, lined with coconut trees and other plants. By 2010, the street was sealed and packed with shops and taxis, and shelter trees had been planted along the sidewalk. Both photographs were taken on the ‘edge of Kuta’, 100 m from Bemo Corner, which today is adjacent to Perama Bakery and Surfer Girl Shop, ~200 m south of the Bali Bombing Monument.

Figure 7.16: Transformation of Jalan Bakung Sari Kuta, in 1972, 1980 and 2010 (photo: KFC, 2011)

Figure 7.17: Legian Street in 1975 and 2010 (photo: KFC, 2012)
The increasing numbers of new accommodation and other business ventures create job openings in South Bali areas including Kuta that Kuta residents alone would not be able to fill. In any case, it was a ‘better’ option for many locals to become property owners in their village. Consequently, migrants started to fill up the employment sectors such as in hotels, restaurants and shops. Meanwhile, the villagers owned their businesses and perceived migrants as potential tenants and partners, to whom they could rent space (rooms or shops) to make a living in Kuta. Even though many migrants had businesses and jobs in Kuta, the numbers of locals still exceeded them. Tourists also still experienced the services and businesses provided by the local villagers and made acquaintances among them.

After this time, the number of visitors increased dramatically: in 1980, 60,352 visitors stayed in Kuta, ~10 times more than in 1972. Kuta since then has grown into a popular tourist town in Bali, with upgraded facilities and infrastructure provided by both the private sector and government. However, a negative impact of tourism was perceived by DAK by the end of the 1970s, when local residents observed irresponsible tourism activities such as drugs abuse and prostitution. Street hawkers, mostly non-locals, were also considered a form of disturbance, and street crimes such as robbery and thefts were reported in Kuta. As the rooted community of the place, the villagers under the institution of DAK took responsibility for maintaining safety and the security in their village, and started to conduct ‘village

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201 The number of tourists staying in Kuta increased sharply according to data recorded by local accommodation: in 1972, there were only 6,095 visitors and only two years later in 1974, there were 18,010. Prior to 1970, there were only two hotels (one privately owned and one government owned) but by 1975 the area contained more than 100 locally owned accommodation establishments and 27 restaurants (Hussey, 1989; Picard, 1996, pp. 66-67).
202 Migrants in Kuta can be considered as (1) Balinese who are not from Kuta, (2) non-Balinese Indonesian nationals from other islands (such as the neighbouring Java, Madur, and Lombok), and (3) expatriates or foreigners from other countries who live and work in Kuta.
203 There were only 6,095 recorded visitors staying in Kuta in 1972, and this tripled to 18,010 in 1974, and slightly decreased to 14,852 in 1976. In 1980, 30% of tourists visiting Bali stayed in Kuta (Hussey, 1989).
204 Kuta villagers argue that most of the prostitutes in Kuta are migrants (Picard, 1989, p.82).
patrol’. However, this local initiative did not last because of their misconduct of ‘punishing the violators on spot’, which consisted of executing them, causing tensions between the police officers and the patrolling villagers. In the 1980s, the government decided that police should take over the authority for security in Kuta, but local community did not trust the officers because of their leniency and corruption.\textsuperscript{205}

The process of place transformation in Kuta was sufficiently rapid that a new tourist town in Bali was created in less than a decade. The 1980s can be viewed as a period of transition during which businesses in Kuta were no longer exclusively ‘locally owned’. Kuta after this time was very different from in the 1970s, because the dominance of local entrepreneurs during ‘Kuta’s glorious period’ had ended.\textsuperscript{206} Since then, the number of non-local entrepreneurs has surpassed that of locals, which causes local irritation regarding economic life in their village.

Since the increase in immigration in the early 1980s, Kuta has become more commercialised. By the mid-1980s, Kuta was experiencing environmental problems such as poor sanitation, beach abrasion, waste pollution and traffic congestion. The street-side businesses kept growing and creating considerable traffic, which proved detrimental to some of Kuta’s residents. The noise from motorcycles, automobiles, taxis, delivery trucks, buses and vans was inconvenient for both locals and tourists.\textsuperscript{207} This ‘growth’ period continued into the 1990s, when Kuta was recorded as the home of 17,600 hotel rooms, which contributed 60\% of the island’s accommodation

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{206} It was reported that the number of non-local entrepreneurs was growing: in 1977, 17\% of accommodation investors in Kuta were non-Balinese. A few years later, in 1980, 40\% of new investments in Legian were operated by nonlocals, from neighbouring villages or from Java and Madura. By 1983, around 44\% of Kuta bar and restaurant owners were foreigners: see Hussey, A. (1989). Tourism in a Balinese Village. \textit{Geographical Review}, 79(3), 311-325.
\textsuperscript{207} Ibid.
offerings. Whereas other places targeted the middle–upper market, Kuta still targets budget and middle-class travellers. During this time, Kuta began to offer pleasurable tourist activities that included drugs and alcohol, and a wide variety of nightlife. The town is now dense with restaurants, karaoke bars and pubs with live music, supermarkets, fast food outlets, hotels and shops of all description, a waterpark and bungee-jumping towers. This ‘new layout’ finally forced the local community to embrace tourism in their everyday life.

Figure 7.18 illustrates that the most significant changes to the built environment in Kuta occurred between the 1980s and 1990s, when it expanded to the north towards Legian and Seminyak and even to the east, towards the border of Denpasar. During this period, Legian and the village of Seminyak started to become urbanised: it is now hard to identify the borders between Kuta, Legian and Seminyak. As posted on KFC, this period was characterised by the new concept of Kuta as a shopping destination, with the early development of the retail precincts Kuta Square and Kuta Centre in early 1990 (Figure 7.19). The two projects are located a premier sites

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208 The number of hotel rooms in Kuta far surpassed that in Nusa Dua, which had 4,500 rooms (15\% of the total); Sanur, 3,200 (10\%); Ubud 2,200 (7\%); and other areas 2,400 (8\%) (Picard, 1989, p.67).

209 The middle-class resort style was also built in Kuta since the mid-1980s, copying the building structure of resorts in Nusa Dua but smaller in size. New Kuta resorts at that time included Santika, Kartika Plasa and the Sahid Hotel, which were owned by national investors and state-owned enterprises. Balinese investors (the non-Kutanese) who owned the land in Kuta through investment, developed hotels such as Rama Beach, Legian Beach, Bali Padma, Kuta Beach Club and others. There were also hotels owned by foreign investors. Nonetheless, local losmen and homestays still survived, targeting individual backpackers who are more resilient tourists than are groups.

210 One trademark was and still is male prostitution. Handsome young men, often from other areas of Indonesia, are available for lonely, middle-aged Western and Japanese women, or for younger groups of Japanese women known as single office ladies: the so-called Kuta Cowboys live by their charm. In the 1990s, HIV–AIDS cases were still relatively few in number, but there was justifiable concern that the disease could take off in Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia (Picard, 1989).

211 Kuta Square includes shopping arcades and a department store (Matahari) with underground parking, which has become more popular as it looks more compact. Kuta Centre, which opened later, consists of restaurants with entertainment, bungy jumping and shopping arcades, with plentiful ground-level parking.
concentrating shopping activities in Kuta. Along with Kuta Art Market, this has increased visitation to Kuta.\textsuperscript{212}

Figure 7.18: Changes in village building density in Kuta 1965–1995; a study by Widiastuti in 1997 (Pratiwi, 2009)

\textsuperscript{212} Mabbett, in his book (1987, p.158), mentioned that the shopping malls concept should be avoided in Kuta, and that allowing them would be a ‘disaster’.
New development projects proceeded relentlessly. Additional land access to Kuta—Sunset Road connecting Kuta and Legian—was constructed through a land consolidation project, converting agricultural land in the Kuta and Legian areas into main roads and commercial spaces. Since Kuta Square and Kuta Centre opened, taxis, motorbikes and private cars have become public transport in Kuta, along with komotra\(^{213}\) minibuses provided for tourists who come to Kuta by bus to minimise traffic congestion. Transportation for locals, on the other hand, was ignored as bemo—economical transportation from early times—was no longer operational.

Away from the beach, shopping and an urban life style has become the most appealing activity in Kuta,\(^{214}\) which is noted by visitors for its culture or history.

As the place is mostly focused on tourism and leisure, the existence of a local community in the village is overlooked. Most changes in Kuta have promoted the village as a destination to serve the interest of tourists, with the notion of tourism as a service industry (Urry, 1987). However, the local community still lives in the village,

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\(^{213}\) Komotra provides a minibus ‘drop in drop off’ service to Kuta from a central bus parking area, with stops at Pasar Seni (Kuta Art Market) and by Kuta Beach. A small fee is charged to passengers.

\(^{214}\) Kuta is famous only for its shops and entertainment, as mentioned in the most popular tourist guide books, including local ones.
along with their history and memories, and maintains the Balinese culture as cognitive elements of identity that shape values, ideas, feelings, attitudes, meanings and conceptions of behaviour and experience (Proshansky et al., 1983). Therefore, in the next section, this thesis continues by revealing how tourism activities in the village intrude on a local sense of place—compromising residents’ wellbeing.

7.3.2 Local Attachment to Kuta after Tourism

Tourism as the core of development activities can impact the meaning and values residents associate with the place, especially through good and poor business practices (King, Dwyer & Prideaux, 2006). In particular, when tourism is practised in the absence of planning, as in Kuta, undesirable outcomes are likely to be experienced by the locals. With respect to the routines of people living in Kuta, traditional and touristic culture juxtaposed: the kidung songs for Balinese rituals are chanted around the village temples, in competition with loud live music or acoustic guitars from surrounding pubs and cafés. Unlike in Jimbaran, there are no farmers and fishermen in Kuta. While locals work and do business, go to school, shop at the local markets, prepare and conduct Hindu ceremonies, tourists and visitors have their own agendas, checking in and out of hotels, strolling around carrying luggage and shopping bags, hanging out in cafés and lying on the beach. The everyday in Kuta is busy with shopping and dining—the central activities of people visiting Kuta—in addition to beach activities. The tourist nightlife extends from early evening until about 3 a.m. next day. It could be said that Kuta is the only village in Bali that ‘never sleeps’. The following section highlights the varying attachment of locals to their village because of rapid growth of tourism and its repercussions.

215 In a 2009 report Monograph Kelurahan Kuta, residents’ occupations were recorded as vendors (608), government staff and officers (397), mechanics (285), employees (468), and clerks and other jobs (1,227).
7.3.2.1 *Attachment to Tourism*

As the host community becomes overly dependent on tourism, the impact of tourism can extend beyond economy and be even more pervasive: it can shape and affect in adverse ways the entire fabric of society (Erisman, 1983), and tourism can become essential for locals. In Kuta, tourism is part of the community and the environment, and the absence of a particular tourist segment, that is the ‘Westerners’, was a topic of discussion on KFC.

**Dialogue 1: Where are the Western tourists?**

(Source: Kuta Facebook Community, 2013)

**JTD:** I miss Kuta Beach in the past, when it was crowded by sunbathing or surfing foreign tourists … where are they going for holidays now? Is this because we lack marketing promotion overseas?

**AAL:** Kuta is no longer the main destination, because it is not like Kuta in the past … and beyond Kuta there are many other places like Balangan Beach, Dreamland, Uluwatu and so on that are comparable to Kuta but more peaceful and convenient. Besides that, other destinations in Asia are better than our Kuta, such as Phuket in Thailand, Andaman and so on. They are Bali’s competitors; but from surveys we know that we are still better in terms of friendliness … but now that we are in the low season we may need more promotion. Kuta Beach is so chaotic with so many hawkers; talk about this is endless … the point is that Kuta needs management to control the migrants and visitors. In Kuta the entrance to the beach is free, unlike the other tourist beaches (in Bali).

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216 As appears in conversations on KFC posted on 29 April 2013.
Dialogue 1 illustrates the affection of the local community in Kuta for tourism, as this sector existed in their village as they grew up. They have adopted tourism as their way of life and inseparable from the village landscape, leading their ‘attachment to tourism’. The conversation among villagers indicates that tourism is associated with the appearance of ‘the Western tourists’. The local preference of a particular demographic of tourists suggests that the visits by Western tourists in the past (especially during the 1970s) construct residents’ expectations about how tourism should be performed at Kuta Beach (Figure 7.20). The strong competition among beach destinations in the South-East Asia region affects visits to Kuta by altering the tourist demographic segments. This situation has an impact on the tourism landscape in Kuta in that facilities and services now serve domestic and Asian tourists, as indicated by KFC conversation.

Domestic tourism has changed the landscape of Kuta considerably in the last two decades as the market segments have changed, and Kuta is the favorite place in Bali for Indonesian nationals. Australians remain dominant as other Western markets, especially Europeans and Americans, have plummeted or stagnated, while domestic and Asian tourist numbers grow exponentially. Around 8 million domestic tourists visited Bali in 2010, far surpassing all the foreign visitors combined (3 million) and this number is still growing. This growth is induced by a Bali national government promotional policy that includes setting more public holidays or long weekends, longer national school holidays and the growth of low-cost domestic airlines.

Souvenir shops, art markets, shopping malls, cafés, boutiques, halal Indonesian food restaurants and warung (mostly operated by migrants), Asian restaurants, bus parking space, religious praying places and small-room hotels are now available. The increase in numbers of budget hotels developed in small spaces and favoured by budget travellers is also true for Kuta.

Domestic tourists’ behaviour is somewhat different to that of Westerners from the perception of locals, particularly in terms of their beach activities. Whereas the foreign visitors utilise the beach for sunbathing (with swimming wear) and surfing, domestic tourists usually come to the beach as relatively ‘dry’ beach spectators, not wearing bikinis, and perform leisure activities in groups. It is not feasible for locals to change this situation as they need the visitation from domestic tourists as well.
Market-led development in Kuta has significant implications for the local area and its community, in that tourists rather than the community are regarded as the focal point in the tourism development exercise (Murphy & Murphy, 2004). In this case, local community is more concerned about attracting tourists to their place than thinking about their place, which has been considerably distorted. Kuta and Western tourists’ closeness since the 1970s has formed the identity of Kuta as an ‘international village’, making Kuta inseparable from the ‘West’. Tourism has developed through generations in Kuta and locals have established the perception of their village as a home for ‘Western’ tourists, not their place.

7.3.2.2 Living in a Sleepless Village

In some circumstances, tourists have a greater influence over planning processes than do others (Hall & Jenkins, 1995), so the level of public involvement can be described as a form of tokenism, in which decisions or the direction of decisions have already been prescribed by industry or government. Communities rarely have the opportunity to have their say in response to proposals that affect their quality of life. As the
Village is packed with tourist facilities, local communities in Kuta experience substantial inconvenience during both the day and night. The operations of pubs, bars and nightclubs in Kuta undeniably create tension for those who live in the village. Villagers’ resentment about noise pollution generated by the existing nightclubs in their village was a recent topic on KFC. The issue emerged and gained people’s attention when an entertainment complex in Legian Kuta requested that the villagers open their nightlife business until 4 a.m. Local government had approved opening until 2 a.m. each night but businesses remained open until 3 a.m. because of competition among nightclubs in other places in Kuta and its surroundings, with the assumption that longer operational hours were a better service for customers. This proposal was definitely objected to by local residents.\(^{220}\)

The community’s resentment was caused by an offer by the nightclub to pay 150,000 rupiah\(^{221}\) per night compensation to the community of DAK. Even though people in Kuta are used to the lively atmosphere in the evenings, they would not automatically consent to extended opening hours that only benefit the company. Locals insist that the offer was insufficient to pay the social, cultural and environmental costs incurred, whose economic value cannot be calculated.

The proposal letter was uploaded to the KFC and quickly received responses from the community. WSM is one of them, who expressed his grievances about nightlife in Kuta:

it is about the stubborn discotheques. We need to summon all of their managers and talk with them in the village office. I know there are village and neighbourhood leaders here on KFC but we don’t know why they didn’t say anything about this. They just let the discotheques close at 3 a.m.

\(^{220}\) Posted on KFC on 6 September 2012.
\(^{221}\) The equivalent of US$15.
like now. I want to ask anybody who has travelled overseas: are there any nightclubs overseas that make such noise pollution—their sounds heard from 1 km away, like those in Legian Kuta? I know that in some foreign countries nightclubs close at 1 a.m., so I’m sure that any foreigners with businesses in Kuta must know about this common rule. However, here in Bali, they (the nightclub businesses) are just stubborn. So what happens? The villagers from 13 neighbourhoods of Kuta who really care for our village should protest about such discotheques.

![Nightclubs in Kuta](photo: KFC, 2012)

**Figure 7.21: Nightclubs in Kuta (photo: KFC, 2012)**

Responding to local resentments expressed online, the administrators of KFC conducted a poll about which nightclubs produce the most annoying noise in Kuta at night, which had a high response rate. The aims of this online vote were not clear, but it created awareness among locals about which nightclubs were the source of most local inconvenience. Some respondents insisted that nightclubs on Legian Street should close earlier, as their extending hours are no longer tolerable. Most villagers blamed local government for allowing the nightclubs to open until late to increase revenue, which has the potential to promote corruption. Some also
commented on the authority of DAK on this issue, expecting this traditional institution to help the villagers to find solutions to this inconvenience.

Sleeplessness in Kuta is also contributed to by taxis that move around the village day and night. Other than komotra—the minibuses that transfer tour bus passengers to Kuta area—taxis nowadays are the most popular public transport that tourists utilise to take them to and from Kuta. Almost every street corner in Kuta is now congested by taxis lined up finding passengers. Lack of parking space also encourages people to take taxis rather than coming to Kuta with their own vehicles.

Being ‘integral’ with the Kuta streetscape nowadays, taxis are one of the most popular topics of discussions on KFC. The administrators post photographs featuring taxis as the profile picture for this online community (Figure 7.22). Many different taxi companies operate in the Kuta area, but unlike in Jimbaran, none belongs to the local community. Kuta villager NOF related an anecdote about taxi drivers:

Taxi drivers want to get passengers in Kuta, which is what makes our streets jammed! This is because in Kuta we have so many tourists that need transport, so taxi drivers go to Kuta! If a taxi driver goes to Karangasem or Buleleng,\(^{222}\) he must be stupid! (NOF, on KFC, 2012).

The long-term tension between Kuta and taxis recently has reached its culmination now that local residents view the presence of taxis in this area more as a ‘problem’ rather than a ‘solution’ for them. WSM also mentioned that taxis in Kuta have threatened other road users.\(^{223}\)

You know, the crowd and congestions in Legian Street have caused a lot of trouble for people trying to get to hospital in an emergency (WSM on KFC, 2012).

\(^{222}\) Karangasem is a regency in eastern Bali, and Buleleng is a regency in far north Bali.
\(^{223}\) Posted on KFC on 6 September 2012.
Another KFC member, HAJ, observed that taxis violate road rules in Kuta. He reported that in front of Centro,\textsuperscript{224} taxis deliberately park on the pedestrian walk; and NOF noticed that at 5 p.m. the day before, there were taxis parked on the pedestrian walk in front of Hard Rock Café even though police officers were patrolling in this area—they just took no action. Another villager, ALO, said that a vacant taxi might go around Kuta 4-10 times until it gets a passenger. He called for the village institution to charge an entrance fee to all taxis looking for passengers on the streets of Kuta as compensation for the problems they cause.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Taxis and nightlife on Legian Street Kuta (photo: KFC, 2013)}
\end{figure}

Tourism has been an urban concept, where the great majority of tourists visit and stay in urban areas (Hall & Page, 2006). With its urbanising influence, affected areas will experience changes to the economy, society, culture and environment due to increased construction and, consequently, traffic. The case of Kuta and taxis suggests that uneven tourism development in Bali facilities is concentrated in one area—Kuta and its surroundings, which making ‘everyone’ go to Kuta. As locals are ‘victims’ in this situation, problems caused by taxis and nightclubs always attract local peoples’

\textsuperscript{224} A popular department store at Discovery Shopping Mall Kuta.
attention. This finding also indicates that the government has not taken any significant action to address traffic and nightlife issues in Kuta.

7.3.2.3 Losing Control over the Place

The Spilled Sands\textsuperscript{225}

I don’t know where to start; this all just comes from my memory, from my mind: my brain cannot contain what has happened to the international village called Kuta. This mind is flying to open the old memories. The village was so modest, plain and green. The beachside was still singing ‘the green coconut trees’ but now this song has changed into ‘the thorned concrete’. On your shore, the white sands spread white as pearl, now they are sprinkled with blood that makes your white fade.

My worries increased when the graceful oleg tamulilingan dance with the classical instruments in each bale banjar was no more. This has changed to disco dancing with that ear-splitting rock music every night. A greeting among community people such as ‘please come to my place’ has gone, and all that remains are suspicious eyes that are so frightening. Will the friendship and the feeling of working together slowly disappear, be replaced by egocentric individuality? I don’t know when I will have the chance again to taste the pesan celengis and jukut meroroban\textsuperscript{226} sold by an old granny, when our fishermen will go to the beach to spread their fish nets on the sea. They all switched to fast food with preservatives. The more we recall this memory, the more anxious our hearts get. Will all memories be buried and sunk by time, and be marginalised because they are

\textsuperscript{225} A message written by MLP, a resident of Kuta, posted 13 March 2012 on KFC.

\textsuperscript{226} Balinese traditional homemade food.
oppressed and squeezed by the concrete storey buildings, made to go away and scream, ‘Is Kuta a fragile fort?’

This writing is the expression of an anxious heart. There is no intention to discredit or to address a person or a group of people—that is far from my mind. Honestly, (I just want) to awaken the spirit of social awareness that seems to have diminished and I hope that our Kuta is not gone too soon, eroded by time (MLP, on KFC, 2012).

Place attachment promotes and reflects stability, signifying long-term bonds between people and their homes and communities. When attachment is seen as being taken for granted, this implies a certain degree of stability, predictability and order in knowing what to expect from the environment (Low & Altman, 1992; Riley, 1992). However, once people change their values with respect to the place, the attachment becomes loose and unstable, as it is modified according to the people, processes and places involved in the attachments (Brown & Perkins, 1992). As the village is transformed into a tourist place, the local community perceives tourism as a change agent for their place. The expression by a Kuta villager in The Spilled Sands suggests that people in Kuta no longer experience the traditional community life and the old cultural landscape because their place has become modernised and individuals have become more self-interested. During the 1970s, there was strong social cohesion among Kutanese that seems to be absent today, yet the way tourism operated during that period was desirable. The local concern now is uncontrolled tourism that disrupts their sense of community and attachment with their village.

Tourism can disrupt place attachment because locals share their environment with other people and change their values along with their way of life (Brown & Perkins, 1992). The local expression indicates that tourism is an industry with
substantial externalities, with costs visited upon those who are not involved in tourism consumption. Based on the local experience in Kuta, tourism is even ‘parasitic upon culture, to which it may contribute nothing’ (Ashworth et al., 2007, p. 43). In this regard, Kuta experiences severe disruption in socio-cultural and environmental aspects. When those changes become so prominent that people have to work hard to define the thread of continuity or stability in life, they find this change overwhelming.

In popular tourist places, demand for space is great and land has become a valuable economic asset in light of the fast-growing number of tourist facilities. It is apparent today that tourism dominates the landscape in Kuta. Hotels are developed not only in the main tourist areas; they now penetrate into local neighbourhoods, built alongside local people’s houses. Locals have been curious about the purpose of ongoing building of hotels in Bali, especially in Kuta, since demand for hotel rooms in Bali has decreased. Even worse, Kuta is now no longer ‘green’ as it was in the early 1970s. It now is full of commercial buildings and local housing. Locals are concerned that visitors may no longer like Kuta and prefer the more natural and traditional places in Bali. Moreover, there are more visitors and migrants than locals in the village, which makes locals feel they are losing control over their place.

As demonstrated by their testimonies on KFC, locals feel ‘disconnected’ with their place and community through emergence of ‘commercial’ buildings in their surroundings. KFC discussions revealed their desperation in the face of uncontrolled development and irresponsible business practices in Kuta. The following is an expression of discontentment made by a young villager\(^\text{227}\) with respect to the present condition of his neighbourhood:

\(^\text{227}\) BMB posted on KFC on 27 November 2012.
My house is surrounded by hotels. Hotel Harris is in the north, Hotel Anya is in my south, and now we have many more hotels (in Kuta). It (Bali) is the island of a thousand hotels (BMB, on KFC, 2012).

Most villagers blame the government for issuing building permits to investors so easily without considering negative consequences, in their pursuit of property and tourism taxes. Others also blamed the local communities that live near the new building projects, as they also ‘too easily’ give their approval for investors’ projects. FKE, a villager previously employed by a hotel investor in Kuta, expressed his opinion investors’ actions in Kuta are only for the sake of investment:

If their (investors’) purpose is just to let hotel rooms for tourists, the hotels must be bankrupt! This happens because land and property prices in Bali are so high, that investors only think of land in Bali as a commodity, so they can speculate with pricing and increase their profit margin. You know every day and every minute, land prices in Bali increase. If they build a hotel, the price is even more multiplied! (Even if the hotel is empty without guests) investors will see the property value increasing every day. Let’s consider a 15 billion rupiah building with land: they can sell it for 30 billion rupiah or even more! No wonder hotels in Kuta are so crowded now: those people do not actually rent the hotel rooms—they make property business (here)! (FKE, on KFC, 2012).

Most participants in this discussion agreed with what FKE said. However, this chaotic setting is exacerbated when locals experience only social and environmental costs, such as higher living costs and pollution. The exponential growth of tourism in Kuta has created tensions and difficulties for locals, especially when they find their
neighbourhood disorderly, congested and environmentally unfriendly. MJK pointed out some issues currently faced by locals:

Such property speculation practices by investors take place at our expense. We (the locals) have to pay higher property and land taxes because of their actions. I just call for awareness of people on this matter, and ask they not give easy approval to building proposals in their neighbourhood. This is what we are supposed to do (MJK, on KFC, 2012).

The group administrator, MJK, also vents his frustration during the discussion, especially when it comes to environmental pollution caused by hotels. He mentioned that there was a hotel that discarded their solid wastes irresponsibly in the village drains. In response to this issue, the locals expressed their ‘hopeless feelings’ and left this conversation unfinished.

The multitude of tourist accommodation establishments in Kuta indicates a lack of awareness by locals regarding the socio-environmental impacts of any development proposal in their neighbourhood. As tourism to an extent is seen as an economic panacea by villagers, their decision to give approval to a proposal degrades their wellbeing subsequently. In this situation, the disruption of sense of place is self-created through villagers’ poor decisions in allowing place transformations in their vicinity. Compared to the situation in the early 1970s when house compounds were the heart of the village, long-term cumulative effects of progressive tourism development have a detrimental influence leading to the ‘loss’ of Balinese settlement. These changes obviously have social and environmental consequences, in the sense that they affect people’s lives or quality of life, and compromise a community’s or person’s sense of place (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011).
The ability of a person to control his or her environment is an important element of place attachment and psychological identification (Pellow, 1992). Tourism, as is evident in this case study, can contribute to a sense of loss of control and loss of place by residents (Urry, 1995). The role of KFC as an online community facilitating expressions of grievances and concerns about the village by local residents of Kuta is thus crucial. This method provides space for them to have their say; some members posted poems, messages, comments and even a report, illustrating a desire for their opinions to be counted. Kuta residents have never been involved in the decision-making process regarding the future of their village, and this reduces their sense of belonging and sense of control. Locals also identify the government and non-local investors as the ‘main actors’ who are the placemakers in their village. This disharmony between the government and the Kuta community, as well as the lack of social cohesion among the community itself, has led to mistrust and apathy. One of the villagers, GDA, responded to the endless local debates on KFC:

Let’s stop talking about Kuta. Even though we are all from Kuta, the concepts of Kuta we have are very different. I am bored, tired and really fed up with these discussions. There has never been the acknowledgement that Kuta is a place for foreigners. This is as accurate as the title: Kuta is like a milk cow—the mother cow whose milk is taken away without receiving any return of vitamins. Our governments close their eyes, close their ears, and even close their hearts to what is happening in Kuta … so, to whom should we send this grievance? Nobody listens to my (Kuta’s) protests, because the people of Kuta also close their eyes, their ears (and) their hearts, because they have been forced by ego to prioritise their own concerns (GDA, on KFC, 2012).
This comment is indicative of ongoing issues in Kuta that local communities have experienced since the expansion of tourism. As everyone in the village seem to be trapped into competition, they now become more selfish. The statement also implies that the local community of Kuta has an issue in coping with a consumptive lifestyle. In the age of globalisation, as Zygmunt Bauman (1998, p. 3) argues, localities lose ‘their meaning-generating and meaning-negotiating capacity and are increasingly dependent on sense-giving and interpreting actions which they do not control’. Tourism as part of this process has altered the social meanings of place (Hall, 1994), through the structural changes it initiates. As these happen at the local level in Kuta, individuals need to weigh the consequences of their actions upon other people: as GDA implies, what happens nowadays is a result of the local peoples’ attitudes and behaviours after pursuing individuals’ agendas.

The presence of technology-assisted media like Facebook in Kuta communities provides the ‘space and time’ to talk and to listen to others. This forum allows everyone in the village to reconnect by welcoming diverse perspectives in a way that people are not afraid of opposing views. It operates based on the values of freedom, mutuality and respect, and continually evaluates and invites everyone in the village to participate in imagining, deciding and reconstructing the future of Kuta collectively. KFC, if maintained properly, is a potential a way to manage these disruptions through its capacity for critical questioning of ‘the ostensibly unquestionable premises of our way of life’ (Bauman, 1998, p. 5). Such questioning can restore people’s meaning-generating and meaning-negotiating capacities.
7.3.3 Non-Balinese Identities in Kuta

As a result of contemporary development, Kuta has become a place with numerous buildings of post-modern design.\(^{228}\) It is apparent that the tourism landscape in Kuta has also changed from the ‘old’ Balinese style popular in hotel and resorts in Bali during the 1980s and '90s, to the ‘modern look, as the markets and era have changed. This condition leads to the issue of identity, where Bali retains the notion of ‘cultural tourism’.

It is clear that tourism with its globalisation and post-modernism effect has been instrumental in creating placelessness (Relph, 1976), producing a built environment that overrides local values (Smith, 2007). The current research revealed the absence of Balinese architectural elements in recent tourist buildings, including hotels built by modern construction not adopting Balinese cultural design. These practices confuse the local self-system, particularly with respect to how locals view themselves in relation to the environment. Recent renovations to a number of old hotels in Kuta have new designs that are totally non-Balinese. An example is the site of the former Sahid Bali Seaside Hotel,\(^{229}\) which operated between the 1980s and mid-2000s (see Figure 7.23).

Formerly, Balinese structural design of balai banjar was used in the hotel lobby with a bale kulku\(^{230}\) in the front courtyard (Figure 7.23, left). The hotel was replaced

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\(^{228}\) The growing number of post-modern buildings has led to a weakening of identity as they overwhelm the brilliance of Balinese architecture. A study on a number of Kuta business districts by Sulistyawati (2005) found that many shops and restaurant adopt non-traditional styles that represent the loss of identity and lack of authenticity. Some of the buildings appear to ‘borrow’ from the style of metropolitan cities, while others parody ethnic style, which undermines its cultural value. **Kitsch** style was also found in some ‘plain’ minimalist buildings, indicating the absence of aesthetics, while others were found to have too much in the way of detail, somehow distorting their function. Many buildings include Balinese ornaments in their design, but this is a mismatch, as they disregard the cultural values of those Balinese elements (Sulistyawati, 2005; *Arsitektur Posmodern di Kawasan Pariwisata Kuta, Bali*). Paper presented at the National Seminar on Architecture, Environment, and Tourism towards Sustainable Development, in Ubud, on September 10, 2005).

\(^{229}\) The hotel opened in the late 1980s, and was owned by the national hotel entrepreneur Sukamdani Sahid Gitosarjono.

\(^{230}\) The *balai kuluk* or *kuluk* (wooden tube) tower is the tower where the *kuluk* was placed and used
by the recently opened Sheraton Kuta Bali, located on the same site but adopting a non-Balinese, tropical modern style (Figure 7.23, right). The new resort is of modern appearance and lacks Balinese identity.

![Figure 7.23: A hotel site in Kuta before (left) and after (right) redevelopment](image)

Hotel developments in recent years in Bali have demonstrated that tourism developers deliberately disregard Balinese architecture in many aspects of the building. This discourse of identity also emerges when KFC members discuss their communal identities, to illustrate how local people perceive Balinese architecture in relation to the cultural landscape in Kuta. The following discussion is about local villagers’ responses to a beachfront shopping centre\(^{231}\) in Kuta.

**Dialogue 2: Non-Balinese Architecture**

*(Source: Kuta Facebook Community, 2013)*

**LSW:** Where will our Kuta be brought to? (referring to Figure 7.24)

**KTP:** There is no Balinese look at all; how will our children perceive this?

**CHB:** … waiting for a tsunami, it looks like ‘a big wave’, a concrete wave I mean. So vibrant (smiling icon).

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\(^{231}\) Discussions on KFC wall on 6 March 2013.
MBA: (That building has) no Balinese (identity), which is our government’s weakness in issuing building permits. Speechless!

LSW: The architect must have been inspired by the wave, that’s why the shape is like waves …

FKP: What does Balinese architecture look like? I never see any in Kuta, I suppose. Should the building be carved (in Balinese style), with *murda ikut celedu*,232 and *atap limas*,233 and made from *batu paras*?234 Do you think if they have all these ornaments the building is then ‘Balinese’? Do you think they should use *batu paras* completed with carvings; the doors and windows *mepra*235 until *bale daja*236 atau *jineng*?237 Are there any ‘sophisticated or luxurious Balinese buildings’ in Kuta now? Excuse me for asking you like this.

DEW: I hope the local communities in Kuta are not just watching.

EKW: So what can we do now? We can only ask why, but we have no power to control this kind of building in our place.

GNK: Whose rule is this? We have the *awig*-*awig* but it does not work: all has been swept away.

EBK: If *desa adat* does not give approval, would the hotel still be built? The IMB238 requires approval from surrounding residents.

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232 Balinese carving style like a head and tail.
233 Pyramid-style roof.
234 Limestone.
235 Gold colouring in Balinese carving or drawing design.
236 The north hall of the house, usually dedicated for important (elder) people in the family.
237 *Jineng* is the rice barn within the house compound, usually owned by Balinese farmers or farming land owners, becoming uncommon.
238 Building permit, or IMB (*Ijin Mendirikan Bangunan*).
AAS: I think community control does not work at all; the permit was issued by the local government. It’s about money.

BGK: Yes, this is about money.

KTP: God bless anyone who issued the license for that building.

DJM: (This is) Apocalypse in 2012.

WYS: I know that in the past all buildings in Bali had to apply Balinese architecture, including shops and hotels, but I don’t know whether this regulation is still applied or not.

FKP: The Balinese architects only made the design for the IMB permit application. In fact, the one who made the real design was an architect from Jakarta, or a foreigner! I’m 100% certain that the sketch picture in the application and the real building were very different!

KTP: To anyone responsible for this matter: I know in this group there are people from local government and desa adat village administration, and legislators and neighbourhood leaders; please provide comment about this.

LSW: The village leader, neighbourhood leaders and camat\textsuperscript{239} in this case are not liable to give permission. Yes they know about this, but the one who gave permission was Badung Regency, and its institution Dinas Cipta Karya\textsuperscript{240} issued the IMB. I think for this kind of building they should first ask our village leaders, desa adat and LPM, and then they can proceed to the village office and camat …

\textsuperscript{239} Camat is the head of the district, part of local government.

\textsuperscript{240} The government institution responsible for considering the building permit applications.
LSW: Perhaps we should refer to *Perda Propinsi Bali No. 5 tahun 2005*²⁴¹ about building regulations. You can Google it.

![Figure 7.24: Wave-like design of Kuta Beachside Shopping Centre (photo: KFC, 2012)](image)

The domain of ethnic-related issues around place has become a serious matter with respect to socio-cultural tradition and development in the modern age. As such, ethnic identity plays a significant role in the development of place attachment (Johnson, 1998). Emotional bonding to a place reflects the values and histories of cultural groups, and a place should encapsulate those qualities (Low et al., 2002). Dialogue 2 provides an example of the Balinese community’s reaction to the absence of Balinese elements in their physical environment. Through the discussion we can understand locals’ disappointment in the local government and the community for their inability to defend local values. In this case, locals expect that Balinese design should be inseparable from the touristic landscape in Kuta. As a prominent destination, Kuta is deemed to have a strategic role in representing the ‘overall image’ of Bali. From a local viewpoint as ‘owners’ of the place, there are questions about why non-Balinese designed buildings have been permitted by the

²⁴¹ The prevailing regulations on new building developments.
local government. The community also questions the legitimacy of building permits that violate building regulations recommending the adoption of Balinese design, including in tourist areas in Bali: it is compulsory for all commercial and public buildings to include Balinese style in their building plan and to adhere to local values (Perda No. 5, 2005). This widely practised lack of respect is seen as impertinent to Balinese values, and as threatening cultural sustainability.

Places are made real through the visual, but buildings and other aspects of the physical environment are representations of social identity; created and maintained to perpetuate the idea of place. Local concerns about the lack of local architectural elements in Kuta also identify Kuta as an example of how tourism in Bali is currently being developed based on investors’ desires, not Balinese intentions. In this case, villagers in Kuta have lost their identity—a sense of self-derived from their surroundings and subjective feelings embedded in social relations (Rose, 1995). Local dissatisfaction due to the absence of Balinese features in their village indicates an association between local sense of place and place identity. The residents are also distressed for their inability to modify the undesirable landscapes, although building regulations and Balinese values have been disrespected.

7.3.3.1 Beautification in Kuta: A Sense of Urban Character

Kuta has contributed greatly to the development of the rest of Badung Regency (especially in North Badung) through the payment of property and tourism taxes. KFC also demonstrates that a number of local government242 projects have ‘given something back’ to Kuta. There is a continuing programme of village revitalisation and upgrades to the environment.

242 The Regent recently received the President’s award as one of the best governments in Indonesia. Badung Regency (which is highly dependent on the tourism sector) has become one of the highest earners from taxes among all regencies in Indonesia.
Figure 7.25, posted on KFC by a congressperson of Badung Regency, WPN, demonstrates government intervention in the landscape of Kuta. Pilot schemes providing solar power lighting in Kuta main crossroads and paving in Jalan Legian Street were conducted as part of ‘green’ and beautification projects by Badung Regency. If this beautification is supported by the community, the project will be continued. Lack of public consultation about this programme has meant that local reactions have varied, although most are quite appreciative.

**Figure 7.25: The ‘green’ project (left) and new paving on Legian Street (right)**

*(photo: KFC, 2012)*

Some members supported this project for its capacity to create orderliness and favour if Kuta ‘goes green’. Other responses about the interpretation and meanings of the programmes, such as that from DNS, questioned why it does not adopt Balinese design values, and suggested it would be better to use wood or stone as ‘natural materials’ instead of iron. KSU responded that this is not how Kuta was in the past, and BCL and GRA expressed their misinterpretation about the idea behind the project by asking why the government planted green iron rather than real trees.
Besides the beautification of the Kuta Beach entrance (Figure 7.26) with its new main gate and fences, the local government conducted some environmental reclamation projects on the beach (Figure 7.27). The worst abrasion of Kuta Beach was caused by past airport runway development and the monsoon, requiring the government to take action to prevent further beach erosion.

7.3.3.2 Kuta Underpass: A New Landmark of the ‘Village’

The provincial and national governments attempted to solve traffic congestion problems in Kuta through the development of new underpass roads around Kuta’s
Dewa Ruci statue crossroads (Figure 7.28). The new underground road was built in response to the density of vehicles during peak working times and holiday seasons, to provide local road users with alternative routes and reduce ‘the bottle neck’ entering and exiting the Kuta area.

Figure 7.28: Dewa Ruci Underpass Road in Kuta (photo: KFC, 2013)

Even so, development programmes by government are in the interests of tourism; not intended to solve the problems of Kuta residents. Although the local community to some extent feels their place is being overly ‘exploited’, some residents consider the transformed landscape helpful in improving Kuta’s profile and thought people would welcome the new conditions. As Huff (2008) suggests, the landscape is a manifestation of ideology, culture and identity, and the analysis of landscapes as representations of local, regional, national and supranational identity forces us to think about the construction of identity around historically contingent places such as regions and nations. From the current landscape that constitutes Kuta today, we can understand relationships between humans and place in this area. Given Kuta’s current position as an international destination, government does not preserve or imbue this place with local meaning, Kuta is deemed to belong to everyone; not exclusively to its local residents. The various challenges Kuta faces today, have been

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243 This arterial road was completed in early 2000 to connect Kuta, Nusa Dua, Sanur and Denpasar, but in less than a decade its carrying capacity was found to be insufficient and was reviewed. The underpass project started in 2010 and was completed in June 2013. This road is the first underpass in Bali.
responded to by the government through ‘solutions’ that have resulted in a different landscape for Kuta. In this case, Kuta has been reproduced as concrete manifestations of conceptions of place representing the multiple values of different groups of people who now reside in the village.

It is also evident that the government’s actions strengthen the sense of the urban character of Kuta as an international tourist town, rather than presenting Kuta as a Balinese village. Compared to its social value in previous centuries, Kuta is now regarded more highly in its socio-economic status. However, development is not only viewed as its built forms, but also as the construction of social identity: a place with urban character is always in contention, and embodies contradiction (Dovey, Wood & Woodcock, 2008). The people’s feeling about the place is often unstable, raising questions about meanings and identity.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

Kuta has been considerably transformed after its long engagement with tourism. As explored in this chapter, Kuta has been shaped through different values through its history, traditions and the growth of tourism that together have constructed the meaning of places for local residents. Through narrative and visual expressions presented on KFC, the local community has indicated the significance of their past and present environment influencing the local sense of place in Kuta. As tourism has shifted the village’s social and economic status among other places in Bali, it correspondingly shapes place identity and people’s attachment to Kuta. This chapter also highlighted tourism impacts on place attachment, from the mild to the severe, including the change of landscapes and local values, disintegration of community, the shared place for visitors and migrants, safety and security concerns and loss of
control over the place. It is also evident that poor tourism planning in Kuta has distressed the locals. This discussion concluded that tourism and its repercussions as found in Kuta are perceived harmful to the local sense of place and community wellbeing.
Chapter 8: From Tourist Town to Local Village: Reconstruction of Place Attachment in Kuta

8.1 Introduction

A strong attachment to a place is indicated by a local community’s protective behaviour and their responses to social and environmental concerns (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Kudryavtsev, Stedman & Krasny, 2011; Stedman, 2003). Some members of Kuta Facebook Community in response to current development issues have also addressed local opinions about the future of Kuta. Locals also evaluate the positive and negative impacts of tourism development on their village and wellbeing. In this case, Kuta is not only characterised ecologically, but also for its cultural and social meanings symbolising the place. This chapter formulates the role of desa adat as the traditional institution with a role in reconstructing Kuta from the modern tourist town we know today into a contemporary ‘Balinese village’. This chapter further explores the importance of local community in the reconstruction of place attachments to re-establish Kuta as a home for Balinese villagers.

8.2 Local Aspirations about Development in Kuta

Some members of the community demonstrated their leadership by identifying development issues in Kuta. NBK offered an important commentary on his reflection of the future of Kuta and its villagers.²⁴⁴ KFC provides him with a forum for sharing his thoughts with the community to create awareness about current issues in Kuta.

²⁴⁴ A personal manuscript, titled Masa Depan Kuta, Masa Depan Kita or ‘The future of Kuta is our future’, written by NBK on 4 May 2006. His thoughts were posted by the KFC administrator, on 9 January 2012, six years later. When writing this paper NBK was a Member of Parliament of Badung Regency for the District of Kuta, the former head of LPM (village empowerment department) in Kuta village and the coordinator of DPD LPM in Badung Regency.
Because of NBK’s sense of responsibility as a senior villager of Kuta with long-term engagement in a number of local associations and the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD)\textsuperscript{245} in the parliament of Badung Regency, he summarised the challenges and the ‘uncontrollable’ situation encountered by Kuta (both the place and the community) because of mismanagement of tourism in the village:

\textit{First: Law, Security and Governance of Community Life.} According to NBK, the image of Kuta as a safe tourist place has been severely destroyed by numerous crime problems (mostly involving non-locals), such as cheating by unauthorised moneychangers, ATM machine pilfering, pickpocketing, frauds and other offenses. Many locals and visitors have complained about street thuggery and gangsterism, illegal tourist guides, time-share marketing scams, cheating hairplaters, ‘East Bali migrants’, homeless and child beggars, unregistered garbage collectors and prostitutes. The village still experiences the breaking of local rules and regulations, village security institutions\textsuperscript{246} are uncertain about their role and social duties, and methods of case handling require clarification. The Kuta Square security co-management has unclear mechanisms, and many villagers do not understand about the memorandum of understanding with the Kuta Square Management regarding their responsibility for security in the area. The village patrol system and village youth patrols need to be re-organised.

\textit{Second: Residential and Migrant Issues.} Among the issues are unregistered migrants: law enforcement regarding how to treat such rule violators is weak and there is inconsistency in issuing sanctions. Therefore, the village requires awareness and attention from locals about this issue.

\textsuperscript{245} DPRD Badung (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) equates to the House of Representatives in Badung Regency.

\textsuperscript{246} Hansip (pertahanan sipil or civil defence), linmas (perlindungan masyarakat, or community protection), and Bankamdes (badan keamanan desa, or village security institution), are village security institutions organised by local government.
**Third: Traffic Management System.** Problems include violation of road signs by car drivers and motorbike riders, insufficient parking space, parking on pedestrian walks, unregulated traffic by taxis and minibuses, and abandoned vehicles. There is also unresolved traffic congestion on Jalan Dewi Sartika Street, Jalan Pantai Kuta Street and others, as well as conflict over the use of roads by public and private users. Unregistered road markings and breaking of road rules are also reported.

**Fourth: Society and the Economy.** The local community believes that the visitor drop-off zone at Pasar Seni (Kuta Art Market) DAK by komotra minibus is not the key to increasing the income of the local art market. In fact, there has been a sharp decline in the local economy because of intense competition between local and non-local business owners. It is considered that the local community is incompetent in managing their businesses; too occupied with adat rituals and communal activities; passive in promoting small business and has limited financial capital. Villagers show a lack of awareness of their surroundings by letting outsiders do business on their promenades—such as street vending and night hawking—that is uncontrollable. *Pasar Kuta I* (the old Kuta market) also experiences disorder.

The local community of Kuta is experiencing hardship with living costs due to increasing property and land tax payments; they cannot afford these with their income.

**Fifth: Infrastructure Development**

It is apparent that public streets have been damaged through the high level of usage. The pedestrian walks, small lanes and subterranean drainage are no longer in good condition. As in many other places in Bali, advertising placements are intrusive and create a disordered appearance in the village. There is a call for follow up and
coordination among village officials and development watch, who have the ability to
deal with these issues.

Figure 8.1: Entrance to Pasar Seni Kuta Art Market (photo: LSW, KFC, 2010)

Sixth: Education and Human Resources. There is a local government plan to
relocate SMUN 1 Kuta High School and a rumour that an investor wants to set up
fences in SDN 3 Kuta Public School to isolate the school from their new building
nearby. With respect to education, an NGO study recorded a low level of interest
among locals in continuing to a higher degree (college or university). There is also a
large number of ‘dropout’ students in Kuta and a lack of nationalistic spirit among
villagers (especially the young). There is no institution in Kuta to document the
village’s history and maintain archives.

Seventh: Health and Environment. Kuta is an endemic area for dengue fever,
and the village needs socialisation and coordination with respect to this issue. Waste
disposal is a long-term problem (see Figure 8.2) and bad odours from the drains are
not only harmful to the environment but also disrupt the landscape of Kuta as a
tourist destination. There is also waste pollution on the beach and in Tukad Mati
river, produced by night vendors or food stalls, and hotels and restaurants. The
puskesmas (community health centre) in Kuta requires an upgrade to its facilities and services.

![Image of garbage on the street in Kuta](photo: KFC, 2012)

**Figure 8.2: Throwing garbage on the street: poor waste management in Kuta**

**Eighth: Arts and Culture.** Balinese art performance clubs need to be established in Kuta. In 2006, when this report was written, there were no special places (building) in Kuta for art and cultural clubs and communities to practise and perform. Hotels employ non-professional Balinese dancers or management asks their employees to perform dances to entertain the hotel guests. A special institution responsible for art and cultural activities in Kuta is thus recommended.

**Ninth: Youth and Sporting Activities.** The quality of human resources in Kuta still needs improvements, to enable the villagers to survive global competition. Young villagers need to be mentored to keep them away from (addiction to) alcohol, drugs and gambling. The village should encourage them to graduate from school, and provide facilities and assistance to foster cultural and sporting talents, and job opportunities.

**Tenth: Controlling Tourism Activities.** One reason for the low tourism employment rate among young villagers of Kuta is lack of interest in learning a foreign
language, a strong prerequisite for participation in this sector. Pubs, restaurants, karaoke bars and discotheques in Kuta need to be controlled, as their numbers are growing along with the problems they cause. As of 2006, there was no significant effort from government and industry to recover Kuta as a destination after the Bali Bombings in Kuta and Jimbaran on 1 October 2005. Tourist facilities and infrastructure in Kuta are in poor condition and need improvement.

**Eleventh: Village Governance.** There is still much work to be done in village administration of Kuta. First, the village borders of Kuta are inaccurate. Second, there is a lack of coordination and communication among villagers, and the legitimacy of important decision-making processes is unclear. Moreover, senior village members’ roles and participation do not enable them to share their ideas and experience. The village’s development concepts, programmes, plans, actualisation and control are unclear for people. The local community is puzzled by the disharmony among village coordinators (*Kelurahan* and LPM).

NBK summarised ‘almost all’ development issues in Kuta and suggested KFC members (Kuta villagers) should synchronise their perception and help them make sense of their current environment. Development as a process of placemaking is also one of human self-definition (Miller, McCall & Eyles, 2008). As places develop, so do the people who engage with them. As people make or undergo changes in their surroundings, they also make or undergo changes in the way they experience those environments. This is also true for the Kuta resident community, as addressed by NBK who showed that Kuta has experienced serious impacts from tourism in almost all aspects of life because of poor tourism planning. Further, the outcomes of current developments fail to empower the local community to participate in and gain advantage from tourism in their village. At the risk of generalising, one of the
negative impacts of tourism is the disconnection between local people and their village, as argued by NBK.

Facebook and specifically KFC unite the fragmented residents of Kuta, especially young people familiar with this social media technology. Having learned from online discussions and observed the real situation in their village, the youth of Kuta have taken a more aggressive approach in directly promoting their aspirations to the government of Bali. Understanding the effects of tourism on society and the environment in Kuta, a young group of Kuta villagers met the Bali governor. IGA represented the villagers in this meeting and forwarded to the governor ‘seven requests from the young villagers of DAK’ to overcome ongoing difficulties in their village. This petition was a summary developed by the youth leaders of 13 banjars in Kuta neighbourhoods. It requested:

First: Empowerment of local entrepreneurs. Locals argue that the majority of businesses in Kuta are now owned by foreigners (non-locals), while locals have been more and more marginalised: ‘We insist that government limits foreign investment in Kuta’. Further, Kuta villagers ask the government to control business permits, penalise enterprises that have no permit, and facilitate and prioritise permits for locals. IGA argues that local businesses have been unable to compete with foreign businesses due to lack of financial capital. In addition, foreign owners have a closer emotional relationship with their clients (foreign customers), which is important for gaining trust and securing their business, so locals cannot compete with foreign businessmen.

247 The governor received a group of young people from Kuta in a public hearing session in Wantilan DPRD Bali Province in Denpasar on 16 March 2013, prior to the 2013 Bali governor election.
248 IGA is a Kuta native, and is well known as the drummer of a popular rock band in Bali and Indonesia.
249 Reported directly by a young villager, PRM, to KFC discussion on 16 March 2013.
Second: Enhancement of police powers. As the gateway to tourism in Bali, Kuta should have been afforded priority in the safety and security of its areas as a responsibility of government and the police department. Until now, police in Bali have relied heavily on village security guards to safeguard Kuta, so villagers have the responsibility of patrolling the village. How can local people develop their knowledge and skills in business in order to compete with foreign businessmen if their daily task is to patrol their village?

Third: Regulation of nightclubs. The opening hours of discotheques and clubs in Kuta should be revisited. We suggest that they are not open after 2 a.m. Local residents quiet in order to sleep at night. Government should penalise clubs or discotheques that discriminate against local people.

Fourth: Selection of tourists. Kuta has a ‘very cheap’ image and the quality of visitors, particularly their behaviours and attitudes to Kuta, is degrading. Many issues have been reported regarding tourists’ irresponsible behaviour and their ‘low quality’. People need government to create a system to filter incoming visitors to Bali. For example, entry visa criteria should be established so that tourists will no longer perceive us as a ‘cheap’ destination. People should not have the opinion that Kuta or Bali is ‘on sale’.

Fifth: Restrictions on the number of vehicles in Kuta. Kuta is not only congested, but also experiences disorder in traffic and transport management. Villagers urge the government to regulate and educate motorbike businesses that rent their vehicles without informing their clients about the road rules. They also urge the government to restrict the number of taxis operating in Kuta, as this is the main cause of traffic congestion. Central Parkir Kuta parking spaces should be optimised and the number of vehicles in Kuta should be limited.
Sixth: Management of the built environment. The emergence of high-rise buildings conflicts with our village setting. The proposed rukos (house, office and shop buildings) have transformed into hotels, but without adequate parking area. Kuta has gradually become another city like Jakarta. There is no Balinese touch in building designs.

Seventh: Protection of local people’s dignity. People urge the government to seriously and intensively educate the local community to not be slaves to tourism. Tourists are the ones that need Bali, so the locals (Balinese) should not beg for tourists. High self-respect will engender appreciation for local culture and community.

In response to this petition, the Governor of Bali\(^{250}\) admitted that Kuta has changed severely and that it is difficult to find Balinese identity in Kuta: the landscape of Kuta is not ‘Bali’ anymore. However, the governor asserted that it is local villagers’ responsibility to preserve their local environment, especially its appearance, although in many discussions on KFC, villagers indicated that the endless problems in Kuta are due to the government’s inability to anticipate tourism impacts. People argue that the local government benefits from the substantial revenue from hotel and restaurant taxes paid by businesses in Kuta. Locals point to the government’s tendency to support new business development applications and issue building permits to investors without prior consultations to the villagers. Overall, tourism has created tension and distrust between local community and the government.

\(^{250}\) Reported on KFC in response to a petition from youth Kuta representatives (KFC, 2013).
8.3 Re-possessing the Village: Desa adat as Trajectory

As in many other places in Bali, desa adat nowadays is more trusted than local government by local villagers because this traditional institution represents the indigenous community. Its ‘bottom-up’ approach in resolving local issues is the opposite of the government’s mostly ‘top-down’ approach. This section discusses the efforts of the local community to reconstruct the local sense of place in Kuta. DAK, on its trajectory of restoring a local sense of place and identity, reunifies the ‘fragmented community’ of Kuta as documented on KFC. Fortuitously for this research, the newly elected bendesa adat Kuta (WYS) was very active on KFC, so most data were obtained from his explanations of community initiatives.

In KFC interactions, a strong sense of ‘us-ness’, or solidarity was evident; however, divisions, insularity and differences also exist. The membership of this group is exclusive, limited to those who are ‘concerned’ about Kuta, or are identified as a ‘stakeholder’—‘any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation’s objectives’ (Freeman, 1984, p. 46)—and have a ‘legitimate’ interest (Donaldson & Preston, 1995)

There is an indication that locals feel threatened because they are no longer the ‘exclusive owners’ of the place. JTN\(^{251}\) expressed this feeling, calling for the ‘awakening’ of all villagers and the Balinese people:

Let’s find a solution to the Balinese and people of Kuta being gradually marginalised from their homeland. Let’s find out who are the owners of tourism assets in Kuta and in Bali now. Who are the owners of shopping malls and supermarkets along the main streets that almost exterminate the small local shops and our traditional market? Who are the owners of large

\(^{251}\) Posted on Kuta Kita on 11 May 2009.
hotels along the (Kuta) beach, side by side with the temples built by our ancestors? Moreover, we have lost job opportunities in our village. Let us awake now, so we will not be disregarded in our own place, like Betawi people in Jakarta, or Hawaiian people in their land. This is expressed truly from my heart (JTN, in Kuta Kita, 2009).

Sense of place is a powerful instrument in shaping and reinforcing feelings of identification with specific areas for individuals, who in turn, by their reaction, further strengthen such identities (Ashworth, 1998). In this regard, communities simultaneously establish and reveal who they are by their acts of positioning in relation to their natural surroundings (Morris, 2011). The desa adat system as applied in Bali can be perceived as a living heritage; not something of the past, but of the present that demands respect for the importance of rituals and performance in imparting meaning both to sacred sites and to the devotees who make them part of their lifestyle (Weerasinghe, 2011). Once tourism has transformed a locality, the co-production of new meanings is ongoing, dynamic and collective. This section discusses local strategies to regain control of the village and re-establish the sense of a Balinese village.

### 8.3.1 Defining Village Territory

The production of locality is always historically grounded and thus contextual. However, this ‘ethnoscape’ (as Appadurai (1995) refers to neighbourhoods) in the present day is fundamentally unstable. As such, neighbourhoods are contexts in the

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Betawi people are the indigenous community of the Indonesia capital city of Jakarta. The place was named Batavia by the Dutch trading company VOC, which colonised the place in 1596, and the people are hence called ‘betawi’. Jakarta became the national capital upon Indonesian independence in 1945 and has attracted many migrants from other Indonesian islands seeking an improved livelihood. Due to the high level of urbanisation, similar to other metropolitan cities in the world, greater Jakarta is now home to about 20 million people, and Betawi now account for less than 1% of the population.
sense that they provide the frame or setting for various human activities so that meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted. DAK as a spatially bounded locality of Kuta cannot be separated from the actual settings in and through which the social life is reproduced. Since tourism development, people no longer perceive Kuta as a village but a destination, which leads to discrepancies in understanding its territoriality—the key to spatial control and place identity (Altman & Low, 1992; Pellow, 1992). People nowadays interpret Kuta from various perspectives relating to how it is imagined, reproduced and maintained.

Kuta Beach is a public area of the village and a tourism resource utilised by different stakeholders: visitors, companies, local vendors and the local community. The beach is now jointly managed by DAK and the Badung Regency government. The village is responsible for beach watch and organising local vendors at the western end of the beach near the Kuta Art Market. Villagers insist that the newly appointed bendesa strengthens DAK’s role in controlling the beach, as part of the village. WYS, the bendesa adat, agrees that Kuta should be given more say in beach management. However, in an integrated beach management programme involving DAK, the role of the Badung Regency government will be more significant, as they are the source of funding: village savings are prioritised for internal programmes such as piodalan ritual ceremonies in temples and socio-cultural activities in village organisations. Even though the Badung government has provided funding for the new Kuta Beach plan, WYS still wants DAK to manage Kuta Beach. According to the regency, tourism taxes should be returned to tourism facilities and infrastructure in Kuta. WYS also elucidated DAK’s role in future planning for Kuta Beach:

it is vital that we ensure the new blueprint of Kuta Beach management works for us. We should invite experts and highly educated Kuta villagers
to workshops to discuss these serious issues. I also plan to make a common playground, most likely to the west of the DAK Tourist Information office. I also plan to ban car parking along the paved road in front of Pura Segara, as those cars interrupts the beach view, and this place is the location for ritual ceremonies … It is a desa adat role to manage the spaces and places in Kuta. I think tourism can be in harmony with desa adat and this programme will involve all stakeholders.

The existence of KFC thus encourages good governance in the village and facilitates communication between the bendesa as the village leader and the local community, which develop through openness and trust. The fragmented nature of the community in Kuta makes it difficult for people to trust anyone in the village; therefore an online approach is the most viable in this situation.

Another issue discussed on KFC was allegations by locals that sponsorship by private companies in Kuta was motivated by ‘a hidden’ agenda. Locals commenting on KFC expressed their anxiety about Kuta Beach being full of Coca Cola attributes, and called for them to be removed. Some villagers assume that Kuta Beach now belongs to the Coca Cola Company, and they call it ‘Coca Cola Beach’. The community thus urged the bendesa to facilitate locals meeting with Coca Cola representatives in Bali, to ensure that DAK and the beach will not be dictated by Coca Cola programmes. On KFC, bendesa clarified253 Coca Cola’s role in supporting DAK by providing funding for beach cleaning teams through their CSR254 programme. This was an example of KFC facilitating communication between the village leader and the villagers to reduce uncertainty around issues of concern to them.

253 Posted by bendesa adat Kuta on 17 June 2013 on KFC.
254 A corporate social responsibility programme of Coca Cola.
Tourism in Kuta has also changed people’s perception of territoriality. KFC discussions suggest that local residents want clarification about the geographical locations of village borders, because people’s spatial understanding is shaped by tourist maps that make Kuta look smaller than it should. According to those maps, Kuta’s east entrance is near the Gelael Supermarket next to the Kuta Petrol station. In fact, the village’s eastern border is located around 3 km further south in Abian Base, very close to Denpasar. Village borders are an important issue for the residents. ‘Kuta semakin mencipt—Kuta is shrinking—was a topic of discussion on KFC. A member, NOF, suggested that knowledge of the location of the village borders will help local residents to look after their village. He reminds villagers that recognised village borders are important in preventing disputes with neighbouring villages. SIP, another member, confirmed that the past area of Kuta was larger than maps suggest nowadays, which he learned from senior villagers. DAK’s participation is required to confirm spatial boundaries. WYS recognised the importance of this issue and suggested that the boundaries should be checked on the ground, and recorded. He also said that because former village leaders have overlooked this issue for a long time, and that many territorial aspects have not been regulated in the village, solving this problem will take time.

255 Posted on KFC 27 April 2013.
256 A member, NOD, in response to this, commented on the eastern border, where there was pelinggih (a stone throne) placed between Kuta village and Abian base (a neighbourhood in Denpasar area), right at the front of Kuta’s Jalan Merdeka. However, someone said that the stone throne had been moved to the front of the Harris Hotel in the south, which is closer to Kuta than to Denpasar. Previously, Gelogor Carik (another neighbourhood in Denpasar) was the eastern border, indicated with a jelinjingan (loloan cenik) to the west of Pura Tanah Kilap. The southern border was the cemetery Padangseni on Jalan Kediri Street between Kuta and desa adat Tuban. The southern border was also at the south lane of The Stone Hotel Kuta; the place people know as Loloan Camplung, connected to Benesari Street and Jalan Patimura Street. NOD declared that he was told about these initial borders by the elder people in Kuta. NOF replied that the Kuta area is thus shrinking, as he remembers the last consensus made by the village leader in a ngusaba desa meeting, that Kuta’s eastern border is the male and female statues at the front of Gelael Supermarket at the south Kuta petrol station. This is why the penjo was there, to mark the village entrance. This makes people from other villages assume that site is the eastern border of Kuta.
As in Jimbaran, DAK manages and invests in property and derives income to finance community programmes and cultural events. The involvement of DAK with tourism emerged when the village began leasing their land for tourism business purposes. *Pasar Seni Kuta* (Kuta Art Market), built on DAK land in the 1970s, is an example of the use of *adat* land for commercial purposes. Moreover, DAK’s participation in tourism is due to its ‘cultural commitment’ to enable the village to conduct its ritual ceremonies. As many Balinese would agree, it is economically challenging to live a traditional Balinese lifestyle in Bali nowadays. Their income is not only spent on basic needs such as food, clothing, education, health and housing; most people acknowledge that Balinese traditions and rituals are expensive. The commercialisation of *desa adat* land, as has occurred in Kuta, has consequences for Balinese living in a tourist place because spaces become a source of village income to fund traditions. In such cases, *desa adat* has an important role in management of village property to ensure that local needs are prioritised and that attachment between the villagers and the village is fostered.

### 8.3.2 Patrolling the Village

Discussions on KFC revealed that some areas in Kuta have issues with safety and security. These ‘problematic zones’ were mentioned by locals who called for prompt

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257 The *bendesa adat* Kuta stated that some village land has recently attained commercial value, for instance, the land north of Pura Puseh and land on Jalan Kubu Anyar Street, known as *pasar senggol*, where there are twenty shops currently leased by tenants. DAK only charges its members (locals) 6–8 million rupiah per shop for three years, whereas non-members pay 12 million rupiah. This affordable shop rental fee is provided to support the villagers. The village now plans to expand Pura Puseh to the north, where the *pasar senggol* is located. It was agreed by DAK leaders and coordinators that the vendors of current *pasar senggol* will be relocated to another location on Jalan Kubu Anyar Street. Twenty new shop spaces built as a 16-year-return investment for DAK, are available for them. Due to the long investment return period, DAK must increase the rental price or use the space not only for shops, but also for the social benefit of DAK members. DAK also anticipates that any space rented by its members cannot be re-rented to non-members (outsiders) for individual benefits. Therefore, should the later expansion of Pura Puseh not include the area of the current *pasar senggol*, Kuta will have two *pasar senggols*. DAK still owns land east of the new *pasar senggol* that can be utilised for ritual events such as *Ngaben Masal* or mass cremation ceremony.
action by security officials such as police and village patrol teams. Several villagers including KMD identified Gang Dewa Berata lane on Jalan Legian as the site of regular incidents inconveniencing visitors, such as pickpocketing, money change cheating and harassment by ‘migrant’ vendors. He called for follow-up actions from local officers on this issue. (He also commented that specifying the island of origin of the non-locals might be perceived as ‘discourteous’ from a national perspective.)

In addition to taxis and nightclubs, Kuta has issues with street hawkers, who disturb the tourists enjoying their holiday.

DAK has reactivated its patrols by teams of villagers since the 2002 Bali Bombing (see Figure 8.3). However, villagers consider that this programme is ineffective in dealing with the criminality and disorder in Kuta. KFC discussions outlined the difficulties local community members face in patrolling the village. First, it is a big challenge for locals as krama adat with regular jobs and other commitments to be involved in the programme, because it operates on a daily basis. Also, patrols are risky for some age groups (the very young and very old) and not all villagers have appropriate skills for the task.

258 Posted on 2 May 2013 on KFC.
259 Village patrols by DAK were initially conducted in the late 1970s. However, due to restrictions issued by the police department after the killing of criminals by the villagers, DAK patrols were terminated. Thus, tourism development in Kuta has resulted in ‘removal of an important traditional function from the banjars or desa adat’. In this case, banjar has to surrender its authority to safeguard the village, to the provincial police. However, this system ceased after the 1998 political riots in Bali and the 2002 Bali Bombing in Kuta. The local villagers took over the security from the police, and since then the residents of every banjar have been scheduled to patrol the village. The new local security system has pros and cons for the villagers of Kuta, since some of them feel that their burden gets heavier when having to be responsible for village security and encountering its complexities.
Figure 8.3: Village patrol map in Kuta (photo: KFC, 2012)

*Krama adat* participating in patrols have no control over how legal action proceeds once they have detained violators or criminals. Some villagers were also undisciplined during night patrol duty; visiting nightclubs, cafés and karaoke for their own pleasure. Villagers also have difficulty in determining whether or not an incident is violating the law. For example, a motor cyclist with a guest or partner on the bike might mistakenly be suspected of being an *ojek liar* (unregistered motor taxi) operating illegally. *Krama adat* on security patrols also face the risk of physical encounters with visitors or tourists, particularly in the ‘alcohol permitted zone’, which might result in injury to the patroller.

In acknowledgment of these issues, *bendesa adat* revised the village regulations with respect to *pagebagan* or ‘*ronda malam*’ patrols by *krama desa adat* Kuta, the integrated security system of DAK (also known as *Pola Keamanan Terpadu DAK*).\(^{260}\) Important aspects of the new regulations include:

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\(^{260}\) Posted on KFC 4 May 2013.
1) *Pagebagan* (patrolling) in Kuta is conducted weekly for every *banjar*. If in the first week *banjar* A is on duty, then the next week *banjar* B will be scheduled, and so on.

2) In each week, every *banjar* must do the *pagebagan* at least two times, but up to seven times if possible.

3) The schedule for *pagebagan* is afternoon and evening, and is compulsory at night. One *banjar* will have their turn once every 12 weeks or every three months.

4) *Banjar* in charge of *pagebagan* must involve at least 50 villagers, but not elderly people, *pemangku* priests or minors. The field command should be the *kelian suka duka* or *kaling* or appointed *krama banjar*.

5) Night *pagebagan* must occur from 11 p.m. until 4 p.m., although this can be adjusted under certain circumstances.

6) *Banjar* can involve *Seka Teruna Lanang* (male youth association) members over 18 years old, and *kelian suka duka* or *kaling* will be responsible for their appointment.

7) In the future, *banjar* can establish a patrol team that is more suitable in terms of age and qualifications.

According to *bendesa*, the aims of security patrols by DAK members are to:

1) prevent and deal with fights and quarrels in the area of *desa adat*

2) monitor illegal *ojek* (motor taxi) activity, illegal tourist guides, beggars and homeless people, pickpockets, illegal street vendors, children vendors and prostitutes

3) anticipate vandalism of residential identity and taxis, and parking on walking paths
4) monitor the opening hours of nightclubs

5) implement the system described above by bendesa, whereby DAK supports Unit Pelayanan Terpadu Dishub\textsuperscript{261} Badung—who are in charge of six 24-hour patrol stands on Jalan Legian Street—by providing a pagebagan team from banjar. DAK also initiated a meeting with the disparda Badung tourist office, requesting the authority to take action on violations of nightclub opening times. Further, a call centre of pos pecalang DAK with pecalang as the core village security system has been established next to pura desa as the central patrol command.\textsuperscript{262} Feedback teams in each banjar will record any violation of awig-awig or adat rules.

Local community response to security issues in Kuta since the rise of tourism is evident through the activation of community patrols as a collective action. This collaborative action is indicative of place attachment and highlights the position of Kuta as both a home for locals and a tourist destination, by protecting Kuta using a Balinese village method, and enhancing its image as a tourist destination. This is also an example of the nexus between place attachment, place satisfaction and place dependence (Stedman, 2002), in that a strong place attachment can move people to action.

\textbf{8.3.3 Embracing Non-Locals}

Indigenous and non-indigenous people differ in their development of attachment to a place for either living or working. In Kuta, non-locals are more numerous than locals and have dominated village economic life, so their presence creates hardship for

\textsuperscript{261} Badung Regency authority for traffic and transportation.

\textsuperscript{262} Other relevant departments have given their support, including Polsek (police) of Kuta, taxi coordinators, Camat (district), social department, Lurah (head of kelurahan), LPM (village empowerment body), Jagabaya (village security), Linmas (community protection), Satgas Pantai (beach watch) and kepala lingkungan (neighbourhood leader) with their residents.
locals. Migrant issues in Kuta (and Bali in general) have been examined in a number of studies focusing on migrants’ entrepreneurial spirit, issues around commercial space rental and land purchase (Hussey, 1989), street vendors and informal employment (Cukier & Wall, 1994), and attitudes of locals to migrants with whom they share nationality (Vickers, 2003). Kuta’s increasingly serious migrant problem and struggles with this issue is evident since friction between locals and non-locals first arose more than a decade ago. As a desa adat, Kuta has an awig-awig that is applied to both krama (desa adat members) and non-villager temporary residents. As the Kuta environment has been so highly affected by tourism development, the local community called for bendesa adat’s response on how awig-awig might have a role in managing the practice of ‘responsible tourism’ in Kuta. NSD, a DAK member, raised the possibility of DAK involvement in controlling businesses that have an environmental impact in Kuta, many of which are run by non-locals:

I support the newly elected village team of technical experts to do the environmental assessment of AMDAL in our village. Do you think that

263 Hussey (1989), and Cukier and Wall (1994) addressed the equality of migrants with respect to the economic advantage of tourism growth in Kuta. Vickers (2003), more specifically, indicated that there has been a challenge for Kuta residents in determining who the locals are—they use the term ‘warga’, which has ambiguous meanings. In Bahasa Indonesia, warga could be perceived as ‘warga negara’ or citizen, or it could be interpreted as masyarakat or penduduk (resident communities), in which case warga Kuta may comprise not only Balinese indigenous people, but also the Javanese who live and work in Kuta. In the context of nationalism, it is problematic for Kuta residents to prevent warga non-locals (Indonesians originally from other islands) from making a living in their village, since they also hold the Indonesian identity. When the desa adat role became more important, the term warga was replaced by ‘krama desa adat’ or desa adat member, which implies the ‘Balinese Hindu villager’. This term clearly distinguishes local people from visitors and tourists, who are given the special title ‘krama tamii’ or guests. Vickers (2003) points out that in Balinese ways of talking about citizenship, nationality and being in the Indonesian state, the distinction between state and society is not clear. Bali’s distinctiveness from the rest of Indonesia is its quality, and being Indonesian has become problematic for the Balinese.

264 As reported by Vickers (2003), the attack on Javanese vendor kiosks by dozens of locals wearing adat costume in one of the Kuta Art Market areas on 29 April 1999 was ‘not only because those street sellers annoy tourists, but also they were seen as having taken over Kuta’. In this incident, the DAK leader denied responsibility because the village leaders in Kuta ‘had never planned’ the action.

265 Posted on KFC on 24 April 2013.

266 AMDAL stands for Analisis Mengenai Dampak Lingkungan (environmental impact assessment).
we can also apply *penanjung batu* to investors that buy land within DAK? I think they have an obligation to pay *penanjung batu* at 0.5% of the investment value, which will be collected by the land seller. We know that in other *desa adat* in Bali, such *penanjung batu* fees have been applied at a rate of one million rupiah per acre. If they refuse to pay, access to their land will be blocked by *desa adat* villagers. This fee is essential because new residents will use the land and produce sewage and pollution, and potentially create other problems for our village. So the fee will be distributed as follows: to *desa adat* (0.2), *desa dinas* (0.2) and *banjar* (neighbourhood) concerned (0.1) (NSD, on KFC, 2013).

The *bendesa adat* responded to NSD that in the current situation DAK should not get too involved with property businesses in its area:

Thanks my brother NSD. I am very cautious about such financial charges applied to non-residents, because the situation for DAK is quite different from other *desa adat* in Bali. Charging a fee like this to investors must only happen after comprehensive consideration by us. I do not want to be involved in further discussions on this matter at the moment. You know that every fee we charge, for example five hundred rupiah for a hotel room, will be under investigation by law officers such as KPK and the *kejaksan* (prosecutor). They sent me a ‘warning’ about charging fees to business people in Kuta. Today’s condition is different. Therefore, I think we can only ask (but not oblige) them to contribute voluntary ‘funds’ to DAK village activities (WYS, on KFC, 2013).

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267 Common fees charged to non-locals for utilising Balinese village areas and environment for personal advantage.

268 *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi*, a national law institution with a special task to overcome corruption in Indonesia.
The explanation by bendesa adat indicates that despite desa adat status, adat law in Kuta cannot be applied to migrants as it is to local residents. This situation creates tension between locals and residents, as the community expects that payments by non-locals should be regulated. DMW,\(^{269}\) for example, felt that migrants who run businesses in DAK should contribute financially to the village. This money could be used to support village security guards, who currently use their own money to purchase meals while on patrol duty. As krama adat, they do not mind spending their money for village security purposes, but the local community considers that it is not fair if migrants take this patrol for granted. A female KFC member, AHP, similarly pointed out that DAK should take control of semeton tamiu\(^{270}\) that make a living in Kuta. AHP called for bendesa adat to approach non-DAK members and request they be involved. Migrants should pay attention to the environment in which they work and do business: rather than just taking financial profits they should share the responsibility for social and environmental problems with the locals:

> We should hold a meeting with them to set ‘regulations’ about their rights and obligations as well as penalties to be given to those who disrespect and violate this consensus (AHP, on KFC, 2013).\(^{271}\)

MAM also referred to the challenges for locals—the community of DAK—and pointed out that non-locals should share both the obligation and benefits of village patrols:\(^{272}\)

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\(^{269}\) Posted on 4 May 2013 on KFC.

\(^{270}\) This term is used to describe non-locals who are not members of DAK but live, work or stay in Kuta.

\(^{271}\) Posted on 4 May 2013 by AHP on KFC.

\(^{272}\) Another concern raised by NLA was the administrative aspect of being a migrant in Kuta. He suggested that those without a kipem (temporary resident card) and KTP (national identity card) issued by the local district of Kuta be sent back to their place of origin through Departemen Sosial (social service department). WPC and NFL, other Kuta villagers, queried whether the bendesa adat should be responsible for detaining beggars around Kuta with no identity card. It seems that the local community can do nothing with them. If this is the social service’s responsibility, they should find the solution for Kuta. The beggars reportedly keep returning despite having been fined. DIM also reported
As locals (Balinese) we have so many obligations as our commitment to village life, in addition to family. Locals already have too many traditional ceremonies that must be conducted, and are also responsible for security patrols in areas where businesses are mostly owned by non-locals (MAM, on KFC, 2013).

The situation in Kuta occurs because non-locals or migrants have a different kind of emotional relationship with the place, for a variety of reasons (Stedman, 2006). First, newcomers do not share the values of the ‘real community’ because they have not contributed to the initial creation of the place. Second, newcomers are ‘consumers’ rather than ‘creators’ of the place. Third, because of a short-term encounter with the place they cannot develop an attachment to it. Finally, they alter the true character of the place by bringing in foreign ways of life. Lewicka (2011) suggests that migrants are attracted only to places with economic value and that this influences the process of their place attachment.

The presence of migrants in Kuta and their contribution to tourism in Bali are inevitable. Discussions on among locals on KFC reveal that the residents’ attitude towards the presence in Kuta of migrants with various cultural backgrounds remains unsupportive, as they believe that migrants can alter local attachment and identity rather than enhancing the Balinese sense of place. However, locals also acknowledge that the situation in Kuta has changed, and therefore that they need to seek the understanding of migrants that they should give something back to Kuta after receiving the advantages of living and working there.

the disturbing attitude of non-local art shop vendors who badger tourists into buying their goods, and many new hotels that charge low prices with which locally owned hotels cannot compete (posted on KFC 12 May 2013). Although he referred to non-locals as ‘brothers’ DIM emphasised the troubles caused by migrants and non-local investors in the chaotic environment of Kuta.
8.4 Concluding Remarks

Desa adat as the traditional institution in Kuta has a role to play in reassembling community attachment with the village because Kuta has been so significantly transformed by tourism, and lacks Balinese identity. KFC discussions as featured in this chapter revealed that DAK has been used by the villagers in their vision of Kuta as a Balinese village. The strong attachment of villagers to Kuta is evident through their expectations that DAK can ‘repossess’ their village and restore their control over it. DAK as a traditional institution has functioned to increase local awareness and participation in communal activities in the village. Further, the disorderly situation in Kuta has prompted community initiatives to find solutions from a local perspective. Such actions indicate the local community’s commitment to safeguard Kuta, not only as a tourism destination, but also as their home.
Chapter 9: Recuperation of Place Identity in Kuta

9.1 Introduction

Strong attachment to place as demonstrated in Kuta by the local residents is thought to foster a sense of wellbeing, coherence and continuity among past, present and future selves. In this case, Kuta as a place is an important representation of community identity. This cohesion composes the psychological identification and commitment to place (Pellow, 1992). Community provides a mechanism by which individuals are able to culturally (re)produce identity. Identity might be individualised in its interpretation, but it draws on a collective set of values, behaviours and actions that are embedded in shared community practices. As argued by Goodrich and Sampson (2008, p. 901), communities carry with them ‘a specificity that binds them to particular locales, while locales provide a set of parameters or boundaries to the possibilities of what can be symbolically drawn upon.’

It is therefore important to understand how the villagers perceive present-day Kuta and incorporate tourism in their attachment with the village and place identity. Although many claim Kuta has lost its ‘Balineseness’ (as discussed in Chapter 6), it is intriguing to investigate whether modern Kuta stills represents a ‘Balinese place’ or possesses Balinese characteristics. This chapter finds that in the face of substantial changes wrought by tourism on Kuta, which have disrupted local attachment to the village, the Kuta community makes every effort to restore place identity by communally organising and participating in local events. The case studies given here provide evidence for local residents attempting to make sense of living in Kuta—or ‘Kuta is home for Kutanese’—by distinguishing between Kuta and other Balinese places on Bali Island.
9.2 Identifying Kuta

The issue of local identity has been addressed in many discussions on KFC, suggesting that communal identity can be generated via this community forum. As Balinese adhere strongly to the principle of *Desa Kala Patra*, they apply this value both locally and contextually. In this regard, Balinese identity does not necessarily fit with local identity in a particular place in Bali. Dialogue 3 is an example of local perception of place identity, expressed in comments on KFC regarding the placement of Balinese statues on one of the village’s corners.

![Image of Balinese dancer statues on a street corner in Kuta](photo: KFC, 2012)

**Figure 9.1**: ‘Out of context’: Balinese dancer statues on a street corner in Kuta

**Dialogue 3: The Balinese statues and Kuta identity**

(Source: Kuta Facebook Community, 2012)

MBA: It seems that the Balinese dancer statues on the Pengkolan Jangkong corner do not match with the background (Figure 9.1). I think this

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273 The place–time–occasion Balinese Hinduism concept: see more in Chapter 2.
274 Posted on 11 April 2012 on KFC.
placement is inappropriate, and the statues appear unartistic. I think statues would be good to have there, but we must consider how they should look.

**MJK**: Should it be changed to a *Baruna* statue\(^{275}\) like the one at Segara Street junction?

**MBZ**: Change it to a surfing statue with waves like on Kuta Beach—that would be much better, Sir …

**MJK**: I agree with you, surfing is also an icon of Kuta. We are an international surfing destination …

**DAK**: If we placed them at the front of village temples, what would you think then?

**NGS**: Those statues were set up at Pengkolan Jangkong by local government to welcome President Obama to the last meeting in Nusa Dua. I think the placement of the statues in that location just does not fit …

The above conversation reveals that elements of Balinese in Kuta are by no means always appropriate. According to the principle of *Desa Kala Patra*, this is an example of things being ‘out of context’, which most Balinese would prefer to avoid. According to local people, Kuta possesses a number of symbols that better represent their village. In this case, they rejected the statue placed at the entrance to their village despite its representation of a Balinese dancer and traditional musician. Instead, they offer alternative ideas for statues that would better symbolise Kuta, such as the Hindu God Baruna statue, as Kuta is a coastal village, and also even a ‘surfer’ statue, unrelated to Balinese culture. Since the onset of tourism in Kuta, surfing has become a local subculture and has recently been adopted as the identity

\(^{275}\) *Dewa Baruna*, the God of the sea in the Balinese Hinduism belief.
of the village: villagers say that ‘Kuta and surfing are now inseparable’. The government should seek to understand this link between a place and its identity, as their programmes have neglected the crucial intermediary step of ‘community’. In this case, the identity of Kuta has been reconstructed through social processes undertaken within the bounds of a particular landscape with particular attributes. Therefore, identifying Kuta simply as ‘Bali’ seems no longer relevant: identity in Kuta is not necessarily derived from Balinese culture. The modern Kuta, as discussed in this chapter, has changed considerably. The influx of foreigners, investors and migrants to the village, like in other places in Bali, has changed not only land status and ownership but also traditional occupations and local identity. Fishing has been replaced by surfing, and agricultural land has been converted to residential areas (for migrants) and business districts. Locals also perceive tourism as part of their identity, as it has been practiced for a long time.

The indigenisation\textsuperscript{277} of tourism in Kuta is evident: surfing as its fabric has become adopted by locals to distinguish Kuta from other villages in Bali. Moreover, tourism is accepted in this ‘sudra’ (lower caste) village because the class background of the actors is irrelevant (tourism does not consider people based on their caste). However, tourism requires a mutually beneficial relationship between the locals (Balinese) and the non-Balinese, the local and Bali Province/national governments, and the Balinese and international communities (including the tourists), which obliges the locals to cooperate with others. Tourism brings direct income—in the case of Kuta, this prolonged reliance has cultivated the local spirit of

\textsuperscript{276}Posted on Kuta Kita discussion 8–14 October 2009.
\textsuperscript{277}Appadurai (1996) uses the term ‘indigenization’ to describe the process of adoption of non-indigenous culture into indigenous hard cultural and soft cultural forms. Hard cultural forms are those that come with a set of links between value, meaning and embodied practice that are difficult to break and hard to transform. Soft cultural forms, on the other hand, are those that permit relatively easy separation of embodied performance from meaning and value, and relatively successful transformation at each level. (Appadurai, A. (1996). \textit{Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization}. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
entrepreneurship, competition and talents among the villagers, so tourism can become internally ‘self-sustaining’. The acceptance of tourism has also occurred because of expediency, suggesting its communicability among locals. In light of all of these issues, the Kuta community experiences a more complex system of values than do Balinese on the rest of the island. Their look, their identity and their commitment as Balinese to a certain degree display ambivalence. Moreover, Kuta is associated with tourism, and tourism in Bali relates to Kuta, so the two cannot be easily separated in any discourse. This study also found that none of the contemporary opinions expressed by locals on KFC indicated a community intention to return to the previous designations of Kuta as a ‘fishing village’ or ‘trading port’. Nevertheless, the village needs to be reinvigorated with Kuta identity.

9.3 Lotring: Local Heritage and Identity

Conversations on KFC highlight the community’s attachment to Kuta and the identity of the village as constructed through a notable resident, I Wayan Lotring. Lotring is known as the creator of the famous Balinese Legong Keraton dance. He lived from 1898 until 1983 and was a highly respected local artist of Kuta, a maestro of Balinese music, and a dance composer who made significant contributions in popularising the Balinese lively arts to the world. Being of Kuta origin, Lotring is credited with teaching Balinese music and dance to large groups of both local and international performers. A Canadian ethnomusicologist, Colin McPhee,\(^{278}\) studied

\(^{278}\) At the end of World War I, Kuta was visited by US student Colin McPhee who learned about Balinese musical instruments. In his book, *A House in Bali*, he describes going there frequently to camp on the beach and meet Lotring, a local musician and composer of genius. Lotring’s musicians and dancers were so famous that they made records and went to Java to perform at the court of the Sultan of Surakarta. McPhee describes him as ‘warm, gentle, naïve, illiterate even, with a smile that went straight to your heart’, and the composer of the most beautiful music he heard in Bali. McPhee and Lotring were very close partners, and he was welcome to the village to allowed to build a hut on the beach: Lotring’s music club was revived with the help of McPhee’s financial support. McPhee’s
music with Lotring. Lotring’s music and dance studio is still run by his children and grandchildren. His *Legong Keraton* is an eminent Balinese dance that frequently features in Balinese performances. Kuta is rarely associated with Balinese arts, as there have only been a small number of traditional artists from this village; but Lotring is a very prominent one.

Graha Budaya Lotring, a cultural art house built in the district of Kuta in 2011 was named after the maestro (Figure 9.2). The building’s purpose is to facilitate the cultural talents and aspirations of local communities in Kuta and its surroundings, to nurture the artistic and creative spirit of Lotring. This spacious building functions as the centre of arts, creativity and local identity for Kuta and is the venue for a number of community events such as badminton and table tennis competitions, and local teachers’ workshops. *Gedung* Graha Budaya Lotring was a topic of discussion on KFC when people questioned its functions and its proprietor.

**Dialogue 4: Graha Budaya Lotring**279 (Kuta Facebook Community, 2012)

**HEK**: Excuse me. I would like to ask people about Graha Budaya Lotring,280 the building that was part of the former Kuta village administration centre. Who actually manages this building: *desa adat* or someone else? It is a shame. The Badung Regency built this expensive building for us, and now it looks abandoned. Nobody cares for it. We all know that this building was named after the famous Kuta-born artist. I know people used it for sports like badminton, and other things, but

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279 Posted on KFC on 28 April 2012.
280 Derived from Sanskrit words: *Graha* means house, *Budaya* means culture.
garbage is left everywhere in the building afterwards. I hope that in the future someone will be responsible for taking care of it because this is one of the facilities in our lovely Kuta village. Thank you for your attention.

AWW: This building is still owned by Badung Regency, given to Sub District Kuta. However, there is no maintenance budget, so whoever uses the building has to maintain its cleanliness and take care of it. Thank you.

KIW: Mr AWW, can you tell us how to maintain it? How can we clean it if we cannot even enter the building? The building is locked all the time. Village administrator, please visit the site; do not just sit at your office desk.

UDA: Please understand, sirs, nobody cares for this building. One day it will be haunted or become a birds’ nest!

KIW: Maybe it is intentionally abandoned for another billion rupiah project of the local government...

Me: What if Graha Budaya Lotring were utilised by students from kindergartens, primary schools and high schools in Kuta? They could practise art performances here, such as dancing, music, drama, letters, competitions and the like. Just ask them to contribute a little for electricity and maintenance costs. If there was a regular schedule of activities, the building would be full every day, rather than empty. I visited this building last month, but met nobody.  

281 Note: two KFC members liked my comment.
HAP: If the building still belongs to the regency, sub district or other government institution, I suggest that LPM Kuta\(^\text{282}\) and community leaders hold a meeting to make a decision. For example, the expected decision should address the following: (1) the villagers of DAK want to be given full access in using and maintaining the building; (2) the decision should be forwarded to Kuta village administration office and Kuta sub district office; (3) they must respond to our request because their offices are in Kuta; (4) if there is no response, all community leaders should forward our request to the Badung Regency office. (5) My question now is, who will voluntarily organise this action?

WID: Why does this have to be so complicated, friends? Whatever the result is, the most important is our sense of belonging in Kuta. We will do all that is possible to make Kuta sustainable (I hope).

Figure 9.2: Kuta Art and Cultural House: Graha Budaya Lotring (photo: KFC, 2012)

\(^{282}\) LPM (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat) is the community empowerment body in Kuta village.
In Dialogue 4, local community members claim Graha Budaya Lotring as a possession of the people of DAK. Nonetheless, the building is not easily accessible because of poor coordination and the hurdles of bureaucracy, as this project is government funded. Kuta villagers assumed that Graha Budaya Lotring belongs to them; in fact, it remains the local government’s property. The discourse of possession is apparent in this conversation, because the building is imbued with ‘Lotring’, which is meaningful for the locals. For local community, Lotring is a symbol of Kuta; therefore, the meaning of the building is inherently more important than its functions. In this regard, Lotring represents Kuta identity, which villagers are defending. As a result, they enquire about their rights to utilise this building, which will enable them to maintain this symbolic bond that binds them.

Lotring, as an identity of Kuta, can also be found spatially within the neighbourhoods of this village. Interestingly, few people are aware that in this popular tourist place there is one place that still ‘belongs to the Kutanese’. During his life, Lotring settled in banjar Tegal neighbourhood in Kuta where he is commemorated in the name of an alley near his home. Gang Lotring\(^\text{283}\) is in the heart of DAK, connecting the three busy tourist roads of Jalan Bakung Sari, Jalan Tegal Wangi and Jalan Pantai Kuta.

\[^{283}\text{A gang is a small alley for pedestrians accessible by bikes (but not car), pronounced locally as }/\text{igung}/. Many gangs exist between rows of village streets in Kuta village, including Gang Poppies, Gang Lotring, Gang Kreskek, Gang Ronta, Gang Sorga, Gang Merpati, Gang Sandat and others.\]
Figure 9.3: Balinese house compounds in Gang Lotring (photo: fieldwork, 2012)

Unlike other lanes in this tourist place, only a few tourist facilities exist in Gang Lotring because most buildings are Balinese houses occupied by indigenous residents existing in the central village of Kuta. Balinese design dominates the landscape in this neighbourhood as the villagers here still live in family houses. Some residences retain their original main gate and wall, which were built to distinguish the house (Figure 9.3). A flower garden as a feature of a Balinese house can also be seen by the entrance. Some houses also decorated with plants typical of a Balinese tropical garden, such as frangipani and bougainvillea. Gang Lotring thus holds cultural significance for the villagers and is part of the heritage of Kuta village as it displays elements of Balinese in a relatively small area.
Local people also depend on Gang Lotring to avoid peak hour traffic in Kuta (Figure 9.4). Unlike visitors and tourists, who mostly use the main roads with their vehicles or by taxi, local residents since the early beginnings of the village have preferred to ride their motorbike or bicycle and walk through small alleys every day.\(^{284}\) Only those familiar with the village know about this canny way, and there are no signs indicating the name of each lane. Gang Lotring, as described by IMD,\(^{285}\) a local high school teacher who lived there, is the only shortcut for local people to travel within the village during heavy traffic, when most of the roads in the village are congested. Sometimes, as IMD mentioned, people can also find long queues of vehicles in Gang Lotring, because too many motorbikes block this small alley, which can be entered from both ends. Having his house in Gang Lotring in Kuta, as IMD

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\(^{284}\) See Kuta map in the 1960s showing house compounds in the central village interconnected by small lanes and streets.

\(^{285}\) Interview with IMD on 18 April 2012.
says, makes him feel he is living in a traditional village, as the neighbours know each other, and their families have been there for generations. Moreover, he is proud to be part of Gang Lotring’s neighbourhood, because the passageway is associated with a famous Kuta artist. IMD is very proud that Pekak Lotring\textsuperscript{286} was a native of Kuta who once lived in his neighbourhood.

### 9.4 Fostering the Spirit of Kutaness

As place is a combination of tangible and intangible elements, spirit holds the meanings of the intangible genius of the founder of the place. The spirit of place has an important role as an engaging force in the emotional bonds between humans and a particular setting (Relph, 1976; Steele, 1981; Tuan, 1974) and place identity (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983). Known as genius loci, it is also the essence of human beings to be able to find identity based on the character of a place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). However, it is important to note that spirit of place also takes on a plural and dynamic character, capable of possessing multiple meanings, of changing over time and of belonging to different groups (ICOMOS, 2008). The indigenous residents interpret Kuta as a Balinese place from the perspective of niskala, the spiritual realm embraced by them. Among discussions about temple ceremonies on KFC, those about the sacred ritual of ‘nguleng’ illustrate how this tradition is perceived and understood as the spirit of place by the local community. Members’ participation in this discussion (see Dialogue 5) was prompted by a photograph posted by LSW (Figure 9.5) who took the picture during the temple ceremony at Pura Dalem Swan Pemamoran in Kuta.

\textsuperscript{286} IMD referred to Lotring as Pekak, which means ‘grandfather’ in Balinese, indicating his closeness to this person.
Figure 9.5: *Nguleng* in Pura Dalem Swan Pemamoran Kuta (photo: KFC, 2013)

**Dialogue 5: Nguleng tradition as Idiosyncrasy of Kuta**\(^{287}\) (Source: Kuta Facebook Community, 2013)

**MSU:** Brother, please find out from the history, why the cultural event of *Nguleng* can only be found in DAK … what is its actual meaning? Why is it called *Nguleng*, who were the dance and musical composers and so on … if you have information about the history, please share it here.

**LSW:** Finally, someone is asking about this. Looking forward to anyone who will give answers; maybe Mr WKD has something to say about this?

**MJK:** If it is not *Nguleng*, it is not in Kuta. What do you think of my answer?

**MSK:** Are people in trances like that?

**WKD:** Well it has been like this for generations, but we are not sure about this, Mr …

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\(^{287}\) Posted on KFC 6 January 2013.
LSW: … but *Nguleng* in Kuta when compared with similar practices in other *desa adat* in Bali must be different.

MSU: Well, the *Nguleng* tradition is unique and many questions come from other villages in Bali about this. As Kuta villagers we should have all given the same answer about this special ceremony … hopefully the ones who are accountable for this ceremony can provide credible answers, rather than just saying ‘*sube mula keto*’.\(^{288}\) We should remember that this tradition is only in Kuta, in the *Dewa Yadnya* ceremony in our temple. So far, no credible answers …

WKD: … can anyone explain the meaning of this *wali*\(^{289}\) dance?

MBA: It is *Ida Batara mesolah* (the Gods perform), my friend …

WKD: The word *Nguleng* is derived from phrases ‘*nguleng keneh*’ or focusing minds (become one), *kone*—people used to say.

WKD: Hahaha … Mr MBA, when you say *Ida Betara mesolah*, did you mean ‘the God dances for us?’ Who should do the dance—human beings whose supplications have been answered, or the Gods that answered their requests? This should be the other way round—the one whose request is fulfilled should give the rewards; this is how things usually work in this world.

MBZ: Yes, Mr WKD, this is similar to the *Plawatan Barong Mesolah*.\(^{290}\) No one can see the *Betara* physically, but we can feel the aura during *Nguleng*. That is why there is a trance, and those who are in a trance will

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\(^{288}\) *Suba mula keto* means as it is used to be, and is a Balinese popular phrase for something that has been going on since the past without explanation.

\(^{289}\) *Wali* dance is a very sacred Balinese dance performed as part of a ritual ceremony of a temple.

\(^{290}\) The *barong* performance.
say what has or has not been fulfilled during the ceremony after *Nguleng*.

*Nguleng* in my interpretation is the final stage of the *Dewa Yadnya* ritual ceremony in the sacred realm …

Traditional expressions comprise the richest source of information about the local experience of the environment. Tuan (1974) suggests that ‘the complex attitude of the native (toward his environment) can be expressed by him only with difficulty and indirectly through behaviour, local tradition, lore and myth’ (p. 63). Dialogue 4 demonstrates the collective interpretation of *Nguleng*, which is believed by locals to be an intangible quality of Kuta that makes the village distinct from other places in Bali. Even though it has been conducted for generations, this tradition is not followed consistently by the Balinese community in Kuta.

As can be inferred from the conversation, people have varied understandings about *Nguleng*. Several people questioned spiritual terminologies in the local language, suggesting that spiritual knowledge is maintained by only a few people. As this conversation was online, it plays an educational role and can be a source of knowledge for younger generations who are also the members of KFC, enhancing their spiritual thoughts and meanings relating to their village. It is the case throughout Bali that only a small number of communities have retained spiritual knowledge, while others remain supporters of culture with different interpretations. Intra-generation knowledge transfer about the interpretation of unworldliness is not widely practiced, which weakens the Balinese’s (the young generations) capacity in nurturing the spirit in their cultural places. As Kuta landscapes are dominated by the profane, KFC discussions about spirituality are vital for reshaping the present image of this Balinese village. In this regard, the spirit of societies is an edifice that is used to give ‘life’ to the community (Kiriama, 2009). The genre of place, whether it is
sacred or profane, is deeply implicated in the construction and maintenance of place, and in the attachment of people to places. Conversations on KFC facilitate understandings of this spiritual realm by prompting people to reflect upon it.

9.5 Enduring Village: Remembering and Forgetting

Terrorist bombing attacks\(^\text{291}\) occurred on 12 October 2002 in Kuta’s Legian Street nightclubs and on 1 October 2005 in one of Kuta Square’s restaurants, identifying Kuta as a place where terrorism has targeted international visitors (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Pringle, 2004). Even though the terrorists did not target the villagers of Kuta, those incidents were seen as a threat to their livelihood because tourism has become the major source of local income. Balinese people view the incidents as cause for introspection on security in their village. A new slogan ‘ajeg Bali’ (Allen & Palermo, 2005; Picard, 2009; Pitana, 2004; Sirtha, 2004; Wiana, 2004) was proclaimed, as Balinese indigenous life was seen as more vulnerable after the incidents. The affected locations were cleared and local people conducted a series of ritual Hindu ceremonies to spiritually cleanse the bomb sites. Local communities of Kuta (and Jimbaran in the second bombing in 2005) patiently conducted all of the rituals as they believed this would restore the positive aura of their village. Severe trauma to locals was reported in the aftermath, including physical and psychological conditions such as fear, anxiety and hearing problems, with some health assistance from government and foreign initiatives. The Bali Bombing memorial was erected at the site on Jalan Legian Street known as ‘ground zero’, as a landmark indicating that the tragedy of terrorism touched this area. Soon afterwards Jalan Legian Street

\(^{291}\) The bomb blasts in 2002 in Kuta killed 202 people, around three quarters of them foreigners of whom 88 were Australians. In 2005, there were 23 deaths in Kuta and Jimbaran restaurants.
became a tourist pilgrimage site and many visitors take photographs and pray at the monument.

The bombings were a traumatic event for everyone, especially people in Kuta. Some villagers experience trauma now when they hear explosive noises, and many have hearing problems requiring medical treatment.²⁹² The second bombs created even more distress for the locals. After business was restored, explosive noises were strongly prohibited in the Kuta area by the local government, and this included a ban on firecrackers during festivities. However, this regulation did not last long: a few years after the bombings, fireworks returned to Kuta for tourist celebrations. On KFC, NII²⁹³ protested about the ear-splitting firecrackers every night in Kuta during the countdown to New Year’s Eve. He drew village leaders’ attention to the issue that the ban on firecrackers in Kuta and surroundings is being ignored:

Every night we hear explosions: those firecrackers create a terrible noise. At the same time, from Legian Street we hear night-long loud music. I wonder who rules this village; nobody cares for us. Our residents live uncomfortably with all of these things every day … I think tourists are also unhappy with such noises. It’s alright, you can flare up your firecrackers until you are fed up and no one (locals or authorities) will take action against you (NII, on KFC, 2012).

²⁹² A study of the impact of the Bali Bombings on the Kuta community by Udayana University.
²⁹³ A young villager posted his comments on 21 December 2012.
The persistence of firework displays including on New Year’s Eve in Kuta (Figure 9.6) indicates that the local government, officers, industries and communities have forgotten the psychological effects of the bombings in Kuta. Simply for pleasure, event organisers in Kuta ignore local concerns about past traumas. Both tourists and locals enjoy the show on Kuta Beach. Local community enthusiasm for tourism suggests that the fear of terrorism no longer exists among the local community, and they believe in tourism resilience.

It is suggested that places have their own identity, independent of any single group of inhabitants. Different groups of people living in one place all contribute to the place’s distinctiveness and continuity in time (Lewicka, 2008). Place memories are filtered and modified accordingly, or in a more subtle way through selective forgetting or reinterpretation of events. With regards to place identity, memories of the place by locals also go through a selection mechanism in deciding what will be remembered and what will be forgotten. This also happens in Kuta, where locals and visitors received substantial support after the bombings, which has seen the village regain its confidence and has strengthened tourism as the local identity of Kuta. In

Figure 9.6: New Year’s Eve fireworks on Kuta Beach (photo: KFC, 2013)
this case, communities in Kuta prefer to talk about tourism, as ‘the better story’, rather than terrorism as ‘the bad story’.

9.6 Featuring Kutaness in Kuta Karnival

Kuta Karnival (KK) is not categorised as an organic local event. Rather, it was an event ‘created’ after the 2002 Bali Bombing incident\(^{294}\) that later turned into an annual tourist festival (see Figure 9.7).\(^{295}\) The programme was a join initiative between tourism industries and government to accelerate business recovery, which had slowed due to an unsafe image of Bali. Suggested by Kuta Small Business Association (KSBA), it was supported by the government and tourism associations.\(^{296}\)

The event marks the community’s commitment and spirit to keep going, as reflected in the tagline ‘A Celebration of Life’. Community celebrations such as street festivals and events are a method of community engagement that encourages people to participate in activities in the same place. KK runs for one week and attracts visitors with entertainment and beach games, including traditional and modern arts performances, sports tournaments and culinary festivals centred along the beachfront of Kuta. The first event held in 2003 aimed to promote Bali tourism, and this has continued annually ever since (see Figure 9.7). In 2011, it drew crowds of between 9,000 and 11,000 visitors each day. Interestingly, the celebration’s focus has gradually changed from tourism to a public–private–community partnership

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\(^{294}\) Terrorist attacks in Kuta on 12 October 2012, when 202 people died in the bombing of two nightspots.

\(^{295}\) The ceremonial events of Kuta Karnival include a cultural parade usually opened by local and national officials and embassies, and the visit of distinguished country leaders to the Bali Bombing Monument, marking the significance of this event locally, nationally and internationally.

\(^{296}\) This event is a collaboration between the Ministry of Tourism and the Creative Economy of Indonesia, the Bali provincial government, the local government of Badung Regency, Bali Tourism Board (BTB), district of Kuta, and the village empowerment body of Kuta, Legian and Seminyak.
programme oriented more towards Kuta and its villagers. Regular programmes of the annual KK aim to entertain visitors and encourage tourist participation.

In the festival’s early years, sporting and leisure activities included beach games, beach stalls, free skating, mini-ramp competition, sunset show, beach volleyball

Figure 9.7: Kuta Karnival posters 2003–2012 (source: Kuta Karnival official site, 2012, www.kutakarnival.com297)

Figure 9.8: ‘Paddle for Peace’ in 2009 (photo: Kuta Kita, 2010)

Currently deactivated.

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competition, kids’ playground, sea turtle hatchling release, fun walk, kite festival, rubbish-bin painting competition, modern dancing, DJ performance and surfing festival ‘Paddle for Peace’ (Figure 9.8). Cultural programmes were available, including a cultural parade, cultural show, Balinese dance competition, art display, Bali Islamic Festival and food festival. After organising this event for several years, the KK committee, which later consisted of more Kuta villagers than government officials and tourism industry representatives, developed the event not only for tourists but also for local communities. The 10th KK in 2012 chose giant *papier mache* *ogoh-ogoh* effigies of Bhatara Baruna and Dewi Sri as mascots. These were handcrafted by local artisans and represented prosperity in the symbols of Dewi Sri (the Goddess of rice and agriculture) and Baruna (the God of the sea), bundled into a sub theme of ‘The Prosperity World’. The selected symbols and theme reflect the local community’s expectations of tourism as the way to improve the wealth of people in Kuta.

It is also interesting to see that in the last two years, KK has changed from a tourism festival into a place-based event, as the local community had a larger role in managing and choosing the activities. Besides new events such as beach cricket and soccer tournaments, the programme in 2011 included parades of Balinese women in their traditional costume and in 2012, of *Legong Keraton* dancers. The *Legong Keraton* dance created by Lotring was featured in the 2012 KK poster (Figure 9.9), replacing the previous mascot of ‘Surfer and Bali Island’.

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298 The 10th KK was held for five days from 10–14 October 2012, which coincided with the 10th anniversary of the 2002 Bali Bombing.

299 Coinciding with the emergence of the online community KFC in 2011.
The event included a cultural beach parade featuring 300 *Legong Keraton* dancers, who were all villagers of Kuta (Figure 9.10). The inclusion of *Legong Keraton* represents ‘Kutaness’ and highlights how this tourism festival has evolved into a community event for the Kuta community to showcase their identity. The presence of indigenous characters in this international event is clear evidence that the local community is striving to promote cultural tourism and improve the long-term image of Kuta as a beach and nightlife destination.

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300 Kuta Photographers Community, or KPC is an open Facebook group whose members share their hobbies and talents as photographers. Members are not exclusively from Kuta, but the founders and administrators are.
Attachment, a feeling for the congruence of culture and landscape, is central to place identity. The tie between the culture of the people and their landscape is the key to understanding collective human activity (Riley, 1992). In this regard, the way in which people develop a specific geographic region gives particular colour to human institutions and habits. Cultural traditions, as well as local knowledge and skills, produce landscapes (Riley, 1992) that distinguish a region. As illustrated in previous sections, Balinese in Kuta have attempted to reconstruct their attachment with their village and the identity of Kuta, not only to preserve Balinese traditions with the support of desa adat, but also to distinguish them as Kutanese; different from other Balinese communities.

9.7 Reinventing Kutaness in Nyepi Celebration

Figure 9.10: Legong Keraton parade on the beach at Kuta Karnival (photo: KPC, 2012)
Nyepi is an annual ritual event celebrated in Bali, is a special occasion for the local community in Kuta. Whereas in Jimbaran Galungan week is the busiest time for the local community, Nyepi is the day that the community of Kuta look forward to every year. On this special day, there are no public activities in Bali, the airport and harbours do not operate for 24 hours, and the international community including airlines is advised that passengers cannot travel into or out of Bali Island on this day. Residents spend their time inside their houses, celebrating the isolation of Nyepi with their family. As no noise, crowds or work are expected on Nyepi Day, this is the only day of the year that Kuta community people are ‘free’ from the hustle and bustle of Kuta. In the minds of Kutanese, only Nyepi can make the sleepless village sleep.

Enthusiasm in the local community for celebrating Nyepi is evident every year in KFC posts regarding the event. According to Schofield and Szymanski (2011), sense of place is not only about local and home, but also engagement. Local participation becomes one of the methods for shaping the connections a community has to a place as they develop a sense of belonging to their place and (re)produce their culture through people’s interactions in a particular setting. In this regard, Nyepi and related events provide the opportunity for locals to engage with their community and the village. On the day before Nyepi—known as Ngrupuk or Pengerupukan—ogoh-ogoh sculptures prepared and created by each banjar in Bali are displayed in a community parade on Kuta’s main roads. The ogoh-ogoh parade (Figure 9.11) is the

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301 Nyepi, derived from the Indonesian and Balinese word of sepi, means quiet or no noise. More comprehensive references about Nyepi and its meaning and significance in terms of sustainability are required. It is a seclusion day, marking the Balinese Caka New Year, in Tilem Kesanga—a new moon occurs in March or April. In Balinese Hinduism it means the time for mulat sarira or introspection, represented by nature (cosmos) healing. Balinese Hindus conduct several series of ritual associated with Nyepi, such as a Melasti or purification ceremony several days before Nyepi Day. Preparations for this event at desa adat level begin several months in advance. The Balinese Hindus literally undergo Catur Bertha Penyepian, the four contemplations of the Nyepi ritual: meaning that there will be no work, no sound, no travel and no lighting. Hence, the Balinese must be at home for 24 hours from 6 a.m. until the following day.

302 See Ogoh-ogoh in the Glossary.
most popular tradition in Bali (besides the Bali Art Festival parade in June) as it is conducted in every *desa adat* in Bali before *Nyepi* Day and people look forward to it every year.\textsuperscript{303}

![Images of Ogoh-ogoh parade](image)

**Figure 9.11: Ogoh-ogoh parade the day before *Nyepi* in Kuta\textsuperscript{304} (photo: KPC, 2013)**

In Kuta, the parade also becomes a tourist attraction and tourists can participate to vote for their ‘favourite’ *ogoh-ogoh*. Young villagers from the 13 *banjars* of DAK display their craft work, which they have been preparing over the previous few

\textsuperscript{303} In 2010, when this event was cancelled by the Bali provincial government for the whole island due to security reasons, most Balinese people were disappointed.

\textsuperscript{304} Posted in March 2013 by GMT on KFC, one of 13 *banjar* participants of the *ogoh-ogoh* parade in Kuta in 2013.
months. To a great extent, banjar participation in the ogoh-ogoh parade highlights the existence of desa adat, fostering the inter-generational Balinese traditional community. School-age children sometimes join the parade with miniature ogoh-ogoh that fit their shoulders. The parade mostly showcases the creativity of STT youth organisations in every banjar of Kuta. Figure 9.12 shows a performance by the youth gamelan orchestra of banjar Pande Mas neighbourhood. The ogoh-ogoh parade is characteristic of a Balinese village and the involvement of every banjar gives a strong sense that Kuta is supported by its neighbourhood communities.

Figure 9.12: Performance by young villagers of desa adat Kuta (photo: KPC, 2013)

The significance of Nyepi for Kuta villagers is captured on KFC and other Facebook groups such as Kuta Photographer Community (KPC), where people share their photographs of this event every year.305 Some community members on duty as pecalang to patrol in the village during Nyepi Day post their photographs to report on

305 It is apparent that the Nyepi celebration in Kuta is a regular trending topic on Facebook, both by individuals and communities such as KFC and KPC.
the Kuta situation on that day. KPC and KFC members also post photographs from past Nyepi Days. Nyepi in Bali for the Balinese (including Kuta villagers) is special because this is the only day of the year when the Balinese can control their village. Nyepi is when Kuta villagers regain what Pellow’s (1992) speaks of as environmental control, which is central to place attachment. This is the only Balinese occasion that interrupts tourist activities that the villagers experience as a sense of loss of control and loss of place (Urry, 1995). This rarity is considered by residents as the moment when Kuta belongs to Kutanese, when villagers can feel the tranquility of their village that is absent for the rest of the year. Pecalang as a symbol of the power of the Balinese village that also functions in Kuta through the generations is a prominent feature of Nyepi Day (Figure 9.13).

Figure 9.13: Pecalang on duty to safeguard Nyepi Day in Kuta in 1970 (photo: KFC, 2012)

Nyepi enhances the community’s attachment to the village by strengthening the belonging to desa adat community because on this day everyone (locals and visitors) in Bali obeys the same rule. Nyepi for Kuta villagers also offers a temporary reprieve from the long-term emotional distress derived from various ecological disruptions in
their everyday life. Figure 9.14 shows Jalan Legian Street on *Nyepi* Day, a day in Kuta with no nightlife.

![Figure 9.14: A silent day: *Nyepi* in Kuta (photo: KPC, 2013)](image)

People in Bali continue the *Nyepi* celebration to *Ngembak Geni*—the day after *Nyepi*, when people return to their normal activities after 24 hours of being sedentary, although it is also a public holiday. In Kuta, this day is celebrated quite differently, as a market day called *Peken Majelangu*. The people of Kuta and visitors get together in the Kuta Beach area in this once-a-year festival, from 6 a.m. until 9 p.m. According to LSW—a key informant of this research—this has been a tradition of Kuta for a long time. LSW is uncertain of the history of *Peken Majelangu* market day, but thinks it may have a connection to Majapahit. Although he is unable to provide details of when it began, he remembers visiting this market since he was a small child:

This is a tradition in Kuta that we look forward to every year. Everyone who spent *Nyepi* Day in Kuta goes to the beach the following day. People

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306 Posted and labelled by TBL on KPC in March 2013.
307 The Majapahit Kingdom of Java, which invaded Bali and landed on Kuta Beach in the fourteenth century.
come with their family members and their friends, so most villagers can meet at the same place on that day. I think this is a very good event at which we can see each other, which is not easy to do on any other day of the year because people in Kuta are normally busy with their work. Before, this event only happened in Kuta, making Kuta different to other villages, with its beachfront market run by locals and organised by desa adat. However, nowadays Legian and Nusa Dua have created similar events (LSW, KFC, 2012).

For LSW and other villagers, *Peken Majelangu* remains special because it is the only time and place for people of Kuta to get together, as part of the *Nyepi* series of events celebrated in Kuta. The market day is also visited by many foreigners and domestic tourists who stay in Kuta.308 To attract more visitors, DAK as the organiser instructs that all shops must be closed on that day—only restaurants and food stalls are allowed to open for business, as the central market activities are all moved to the beachfront areas. In the 2012 event, there were 70 stalls selling different kinds of items such as souvenirs, handicrafts, accessories, clothing and other Balinese art works. There are also stalls selling traditional food.

However, it is evident that the Kuta community feels some dissatisfaction about the way in which *Peken Majelangu* is run, as expressed to its organisers via KFC. According to the villagers, *Peken Majelangu* does not fulfil their expectations in relation to the food on offer. For example, WIA decided not to attend, saying: ‘I cannot eat the food sold in *Majelangu*, because it is not my food’.309 Similarly,
NOD expressed his disappointment in finding Western, Asian and other types of Indonesian food, but almost no Balinese food served in the market. He posted a number of photographs of traditional Balinese street food along with a note expressing his hope that he will find those foods in Majelangu next year. His comments suggest that by providing mostly non-Balinese food, the organisers have demonstrated a focus mainly on foreign and Indonesian visitors rather than locals. Local community expect that they would find Balinese food in a community gathering that occurs once a year in Kuta following Nyepi Day.

There were also concerns about food prices, as mentioned by MAC, who asked why local people had to pay tourist prices: it is ironic that locals have to pay excessive prices to participate in their traditions. Likewise, UDA called for lower space rental costs for locals, to allow them to participate as vendors here. In his opinion, the high rental fee makes the locals reconsider their participation, which is why the vendors and therefore the food are mostly non-local: for example, from Java and Lombok Island. Other members of KFC also questioned the purpose of the event: asking who the market is for and who benefits from it.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, I found no photographs recording Peken Majelangu on KFC or any other site, other than personal Facebook accounts. This paucity of photographic evidence is indicative of the disapproval of the local community, since KFC members typically disseminate information about such local events. LKD, a member of KFC, posted a family photo taken at this event, showing the crowd in the background, but gave no specific information or comments about her impressions of

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310 Posted on KFC 14 March 2013.
311 Babi guling (suckling pig), jaja bali (Balinese cakes), serombotan (Balinese mixed salad), ayam betutu (chicken with betutu sauce) and lawar (roughly chopped meat mixed with vegetables, chilli and lawar sauce).
312 Posted on KFC 15 March 2013.
313 In fact, this local event had been reported in local and national media.
314 Posted on LKD’s personal Facebook page 13 March 2013.
the event. The local community in Kuta appeared to be discontented with the 2012 *Peken Majelangu* of *Nyepi*.

![Photographic exhibition](image)

**Figure 9.15: Photographic exhibition by the Kuta Photographer Community on *Peken Majelangu* market day (photo: KPC, 2012)**

A Kuta community photographic fair (Figure 9.15) was organised by KPC\textsuperscript{315} (see Figure 9.16) as part of the *Peken Majelangu* market days in 2012 and 2013. In this exhibition, visitors had the opportunity to appreciate photographs of Kuta taken by the Kuta Photographer Community (KPC) was established in 2012 following the success of Kuta Facebook Community (KFC). Unlike KFC, KPC is an open group that everyone can join to view the photographs posted by its members. The researcher is also a member of KPC and initiated the idea of a photographic exhibition by the villagers.

\textsuperscript{315}
the villagers. The exhibition also displayed the ‘old Kuta’ photograph collection,\textsuperscript{316} which impressed locals and visitors. Unlike locals’ responses to the \textit{Peken Majelangu}, KPC’s photographic exhibition was very much remarked upon on KPC and KFC, and attended by hundreds of visitors including locals and tourists. Particularly for locals, this event was deemed successful as it attracted more people than the ‘uninteresting’ and ‘non-Balinese’ \textit{Peken Majelangu}.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{The members of Kuta Photographers Community (photo: KPC, 2012)}
\end{figure}

Coinciding with \textit{Peken Majelangu}, the KPC exhibition attracted both locals and visitors by showing photographs with a Kuta theme. It provided reminiscence and healing for the local community, which has long been fragmented by burgeoning tourism in the village. Moreover, this event enabled local residents to develop the sense of togetherness and increase their awareness about their place by reconnecting them with the past.

Apart from the successful photographic exhibition, the event of \textit{Peken Majelangu} apparently failed to enhance a sense of being for Balinese villagers.

\textsuperscript{316}Old photographs were uploaded by the villagers in Kuta Kita, KFC and KPC, and some are included in this thesis.
because it ignored local interests, such as Balinese food at affordable prices. Local response to this event was negative and the lack of Balinese features at the market made the locals feel that it was not their event.

In the week of Nyepi Day, Kuta holds a series of local events (Melasti, Ogoh-Ogoh parade and Peken Majelangu) during which the community of Kuta displays themselves as Balinese, with those cultural values. As found during this research, Kutanese identity is treated as a specific kind of meaning that people associate with place, emphasising the transformation of the individual in the process of taking control over the physical environment (Lawrence, 1992; Low & Altman, 1992). As part of the heritage and identity of Kuta, the Nyepi rituals are desired by locals as part of their landscape (Ashworth, 2008). Ideally, Nyepi and its series of events would be an opportunity to cultivate the local meaning of being Kutanese, to distinguish them from other Balinese, and their place from other parts of Bali. However, in today’s multicultural Kuta variation in quality and values is unavoidable, and villagers need to find meaning in Peken Majelangu associated with Kuta. This once-a-year event needs interpretation from the local standpoint, so Kuta can foster a local sense of place.

9.8 Concluding Remarks

Although tourism is believed to have a considerable impact on local culture and is a disruption to place attachment, the local residents of Kuta have survived within the arrangement of desa adat community and strive to re-establish a network of community members by actively participating in online communities. Online social media is voluntary and is the most viable form of community cohesion since their places have been exploited for tourism purposes. Everyone who joins can contribute
to the persistence of Kuta as a Balinese village. From this point forward, the identity of Kuta is (re)constructed via the online interactions as well as through local participation in the organised desa adat activities, all of which create cultural resilience in the face of tourism.

As described in this chapter, the local community of Kuta have created their village in a way that is intrinsically ‘Kuta’ through creativity and participation in local events. The reinvention of ‘Kutaness’ is a local initiative to distinguish themselves among other Balinese on the island. It is also obvious that the local community has attempted to improve the image of Kuta and promote the village as a cultural tourism destination. This chapter also highlighted the challenges of reinventing the Kuta community in today’s multicultural society, as people struggle to re-make their identity. An important finding is that Kutanese is not essentially ‘Balinese’, as Kuta identity has evolved through history, traditions and tourism.

KFC and other related social media of Kuta therefore serve as media for communication among the villagers. They provide an instrument by which the villagers are able to (re)establish attachments to the village and to communally (re)produce identity and belonging in Kuta. The meanings of place developed and disseminated on social media to the members and villagers of Kuta are significant and strengthen local attachment to Kuta, facilitating the recuperation of place identity. The utilisation of online social networks also empowers the community with knowledge and enables people to express their aspirations.
Chapter 10: Epilogue: A Local Sense of Place and Tourism in Bali

You know everybody want [sic] to invest in Bali. On one side maybe that is good, creating jobs, moving the economy—but on the other side because some of this investor [sic] are greedy, exploitation of the environment, exploitation of the land, exploitation of the people, exploitation of the culture—that is the problem. Those who really love Bali, they will invest with their heart (Governor of Bali, 2012).317

10.1 Local Community Place Meanings and Place Attachments

I have investigated the meanings of place, place attachments, and place identity using two case study villages in Bali from the perspectives of their local communities. Although the Balinese villages of Jimbaran and Kuta are quite near to one another, they have very different senses of place. Each has demonstrated how local communities perform place attachments and how they construct an identity after tourism. The results of this study support the idea that places have multiple meanings that are socially and culturally constructed beyond geographical entity (de Carteau, 1984; Heidegger, 1962; Lefebvre, 1984; Massey, 1994; Tuan, 1974).

As exhibited in this thesis, Bali is about the Balinese who subscribe to strong local values that always attach them to a specific place physically and spiritually. There are multiple values involved in this attachment: Sekala Niskala, Tri Hita Karana, Desa Kala Patra and the desa adat organisation are embraced by the

Balinese people in their everyday life. Building on local values, the Balinese always position themselves within their environment. A Balinese sense of place is therefore related to the attachment between the Balinese people and the place with and to which they are engaged, and in accordance with a set of local principles that maintain physical, spiritual and cosmological balance. The Balinese sense of place is created when the Balinese attribute local values to the centre of their conception of place.

The Balinese sense of place is—the Balinese in situ—as validated in this study stipulates the emotional relationship between the Balinese people and the places where the Balinese values are being practised within locales in Bali as highlighted in this research, such as desa adat or village, banjar, house, beach, street, market and many other places with significant meaning for Balinese people. Practicing Balinese values within particular localities constructs the Balinese sense of place individually and communally. Interestingly, the Balinese place attachment and place identity do not only develop in traditional Balinese institutions, such as temples, banjars or Balinese family houses. The Balinese identity can also be found in modern institutions such as schools (where the teachers and students practise the Balinese Hindu values) and shops (owned by Balinese Hindus), for instance, since those places also allow the Balinese to practise their culture.

A sense of Balinese place can be found in those places where the Balinese consistently apply Balinese values and cultural customs associated with place. Desa adat, the customary village to which Balinese are inherently attached, is the most appropriate institution to demonstrate a Balinese sense of place. In such villages, there is a complete integration of the Balinese people with their traditions and customary law and this amalgamation is utterly place specific. As Balinese culture is progressive, so is the sense of place. The Balinese sense of place evolves along with
the economic, social, cultural, environmental and technological changes that influence many places in Bali. For example, demographic changes to the cultural composition of the population lead to changes in the Balinese cultural landscape. However, a Balinese place attachment and place identity can still be found in Balinese ‘places’ as long as there are krama adat; that is, that there are Balinese communities continuously conducting Balinese cultural practices in desa adat. In this regard, a Balinese sense of place exists because of the presence of Balinese Hindu values that activate attachment and the construction of a place identity.

It is important to highlight that places in Bali are treated as material culture; however, the Balinese always include the presence of ‘spirit’ in their idea of place. To transform an ‘ordinary’ space or place into a Balinese place, a ritual called pemlaspas is conducted. It indicates that places have a significant meaning to the Balinese as ritual ceremonies to imbue it with ‘spirit’, and/or ‘taksu’. are conducted to inaugurate a place before its utilisation. In this regard, Balinese culture and belief allows ‘place transformation’, as exemplified in the research findings that some places have changed their purposes.

The possession of a place by the Balinese entails a spiritual obligation such as piodalan318 and maturan.319 Balinese people who occupy the place will carry out daily offerings dedicated to the spirit who guards the place. Rituals of maturan in Tugu Penunggun Karang320 or Pelangkiran.321 can be witnessed in local markets, beaches, houses, schools, offices, bars, restaurants, hotels and many other kinds of places322 (in Bali) where Balinese live or work. The idea of possession, however, also implies that

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318 Temple festival or ceremony once every seven months or per year in the Balinese calendar.
319 Everyday Balinese practice of ritual offerings in places or temples.
320 Tugu or Penunggun Karang is a small shrine outside a building as a ‘place’ for the guardian spirits that have been imbued after the ritual of pemlaspas.
321 Pelangkiran is a small offering tray hanging on the wall or in the corner within a room in a house or building dedicated to the Gods and the guardian spirit.
322 Such practices can also be done by Balinese Hindus outside the island of Bali.

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if land is not theirs, it is not under their authority. With this condition, it is possible that a nightclub or a shopping mall will be located adjacent to a community hall, a Balinese house or even a temple,\textsuperscript{323} as long as the status of the land is not belong to desa adat.

\textbf{10.2 Local Residents’ Values of Place after Exposure to Tourism}

This study confirms that tourism changes the traditional into tourist places, altering and shaping cultural landscapes (Crang & Coleman, 2002; Gunn & Var, 2002; Inskeep, 1991; Urry, 2005; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Tourism has modified some villages in Bali, turning them into ‘destination communities’. Residents’ involvement with tourism is also evident. As seen in Jimbaran, tourism infiltrates the cultural landscape of desa adat, and people found tourism does not necessarily bring change for the worse; to some extent it contributes to their quality of life and cultural preservation. In Kuta, tourism has been embraced in the everyday life that choreographs the activities in this area. It is apparent that some places in Bali are noted by locals as having tourism qualities. For example, tourism has changed the function of dwellings to commercial places and tourist accommodation where locals share their home with tourists.

This thesis also considered the opportunities and challenges of becoming a destination community, as has occurred in the case studies of Jimbaran and Kuta. The local communities have adopted tourism and believe that it supports their everyday lives, bringing economic advantages to their village and the villagers. Tourism is so compelling that in a relatively short period people become highly

\textsuperscript{323} According to bhisama or the high Hindu priests’ consensus in Bali, a minimum of 5 km from any of the six major temples of Sad Kahyangan Temples in Bali must be applied when developing public facilities.
dependent on it, despite the changes to the place and life of local people. This study revealed that the desa adat community’s attitude towards tourism is supportive. From a local perspective, the aim of tourism development is to generate wealth by using past and present resource endowments owned by the local community. As shown in this study, once tourism is found to be effective, it is embraced in everyday life, with people adjusting their strategy and tactics to live with the change (de Carteau, 1984).

The results of this study ratify that tourism brings modernity and involves cultural commodification in destination communities (Cohen, 1988; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Place naming related to tourism also occurs: some local place names are superseded by the names of tourism businesses. The use of hotel or restaurant names as a geographic indicator (such as lanes and streets) in villages is one illustration of this phenomenon in Bali, and suggests that changes instigated by tourism affect the identity of places. Some places in Bali are the product of collaborations between the local community and tourism. Local community’s responses to tourism are exhibited through the development of tourist amenities and services based on local initiatives. The seafood cafés in the fishing village of Jimbaran exemplify an indigenous idea with initial support from tourists that has been integrated into the local ambience in the construction of an organic tourist site. This co-production signifies the residents’ decision to accept tourism as part of the landscape.

From the perspective of local sense of place, however, there is a clear distinction between local and tourism purposes in cultural production, as they are ontologically divergent (the sacred and the profane). All should be conducted according to place, time and occasion. As today, some types of cultural practices are performed as tourist
spectacles; those are modified for tourist occasions. Ceremonies, rituals, and traditional community events and other cultural representation can be performed for local and tourist consumption. Those practices are now concurrently somatic, representational and performative in the formation of place, landscape and identity in Bali. However, there are dances, festivals, and ceremonies that are performed only for the ‘insiders’ and strictly conducted according to the Balinese calendar. According to local values, not all cultural practices can be replicated as tourist performances, what Picard (1996, 2003) described as touristic culture.

This study also suggests an increase in the community’s awareness of the economic potential they possess, such as adat land transformed for tourism purposes to generate community income. In the early stages of tourism development local residents sold or entered long-term leases of land quite cheaply. They now recognise that tourism has greatly increased land value. Not surprisingly, local initiatives to develop community-based tourism are now evident in Jimbaran and Kuta and some desa adat land has been converted to tourism places (such as the Jimbaran seafood cafés and the Kuta Art Market). Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that the consistent application of indigenous values in the face of burgeoning tourism is a serious challenge for Balinese communities nowadays. Such challenges will increase for desa adat if the commercialisation of desa adat land is amplified and which will undeniably have implications for cultural sustainability in Bali.

It is apparent that although the growth of tourism improves the economic values of a region such as Kuta, local satisfaction with the place declines. As found in this study, an ‘acceptable’ setting for a community is when tourism has not intruded too much into the local landscape, as with building densities in Kuta in the early 1970s or in Jimbaran at the inception of seafood cafés in the 1990s, the situation when
residents’ participation in the local economy was dominant. Those two periods of time represent the local community’s degree of tolerance to tourism development in Kuta and Jimbaran, when they were able to maintain their sense of living in a Balinese village, along with tourism. Therefore, locals are nostalgic about such periods of the ‘desirable tourism’.

This study has also demonstrated the relationship between place, culture and resident communities in a contemporary setting. Even though tourism has transformed traditional occupations into those related to a far more commercial society, the Balinese communities in the study areas remain proud about carrying on their traditions that they regard as important. An interesting finding in the study is residents’ preferences for tradition over modernity and this was apparent in both study areas. For example, the local preference for Balinese food remains unchanged by participants in both Jimbaran and Kuta despite the increasing presence of international fast food chains in their villages. This is further exemplified by individual decisions in Jimbaran to take a long walk along a ritual route during the barong ceremony, and avoid riding motorbikes or cars during the parade. In Kuta, although people are connected by internet and online social media, and modern security systems are available, they still voluntarily participate in patrols around their village as part of community initiatives to ensure that Kuta village is under surveillance, and in the traditional manner.

A marked difference between Jimbaran and Kuta is the degree of local authority in their territory after tourism. As shown in this thesis, the Jimbaran community still has a strong sense of control over their village. Their opinions are considered and respected in new developments and local participation in tourism is evident. In Kuta, on the other hand, tourism is so dominant in the landscape that it overshadows the
existence of a local community. The residents struggle to (re)gain control of their neighbourhoods from the expansive growth of tourism. It is evident that changes to the cultural landscape through tourism disrupt emotional attachments to place and local identity. In many cases, the extensive nature of tourism enterprises in the area creates a feeling of insecurity and anxiety because people fear a loss of influence over their own lives and community. In this regard, local residents do not simply have to deal with physical built environmental or socio-economic, changes but also face psychological issues that cause distress.

It is clear that the role of desa adat as a traditional institution is vital to maintain the people–place relationship in Bali, not only by reinforcing this relationship as place commitment, but also by fostering community participation. As a rooted community, desa adat has the capacity to nurture and maintain community and cultural identity. This arrangement is thus important when the community deals with changes and tensions like the impact of tourism development in their proximity. This research also validates that the villagers and the village reciprocally associate, that rooted communities have a strong emotional attachment with the place. Local responses to the series of transformations that affect the site and its people, as demonstrated in this study, depend on the degree of place attachment and rootedness (Altman & Low, 1992; Tuan, 1974, 1980).

10.3 (Re) construction of Place Identity

It is apparent in both case studies that in the current urban environment in Bali, modernity and tourism have affected many Balinese places, with the adoption of new technologies and modern architectural styles. This is exacerbated when the place has become multicultural and Westernised, with the loss of Balinese values and identity.
(Baliness). Such circumstances *compromise* the Balinese place identity, in that local values are not regarded as central to development. The absence of both Balinese values and Balinese identity in a place will lead to what Relph (1976) calls ‘placelessness’.

This thesis illustrates through evidence from various sources and methods that place attachment is crucial to the (re)construction of places that have been transfigured by tourism development. In addition, it reveals the dynamic interactions between people and place as community that (re)shaping the place identities after tourism. The local communities in Jimbaran and Kuta demonstrated their significant role in promoting cultural identity and place-based uniqueness, and reshaping place identity after tourism. Indigenous-rooted villagers of both desa adat Jimbaran and Kuta attempt to identify idiosyncrasies that differentiate their village from other places in Bali. Of interest also is how local identity is not necessarily related only to Bali, as was observable in both study areas, indicating that Bali should be approached in a local context.

It is important to understand that Jimbaranese and Kutanese do not always denote ‘Balinese’ as their primary identity affiliation, because Jimbaran and Kuta embrace multiple values and have evolved through history, traditions and tourism. Each place has its own character generated from intimate people–place relationships. Like in Jimbaran, the local community of Kuta has demonstrated that they have created their village in a way that makes Kuta, Kuta. This condition has implications for geographical and cultural perceptions of places in Bali. Bali, as a series of place-based communities, constitutes the Jimbaranese, the Kutanese and local communities in other desa adat, which together contribute to the dynamics of the landscape.
10.4 A Local Sense of Place Approach to Tourism Planning

Much research has criticised poor environmental and tourism management in Bali (e.g. Picard, 1992; Pringle, 2004; Raka Dalem, 2000; Shaw, 2000; Vickers, 1989; Wall, 1995). As concluded by the current study, the public remains pessimistic about the future of Bali in the face of overwhelming and expansive development of tourism across the island, which has ‘trapped the Balinese people’ (ss suggested by Murray in her comment in the Sydney Morning Herald, on 17 April 2014). Therefore, the question remains; how will the Balinese live in the ‘chaotic’ post-tourism situation and how might Balinese culture be sustained? This thesis has contributed to understanding and has partially answered these questions by examining socio-cultural issues in Bali in a local context rather than from a whole island perspective, analysing residents’ perceptions and responses to tourism development in their locality. Among other factors, the future of Balinese culture depends on its community and whether residents support or resist tourism in their locality.

As argued throughout this thesis, tourism has both inter- and intra-generational effects on a local sense of place. Tourism in Bali supports the revival of local culture through the increase of religious and cultural activities. However, it is also clear that changes generated by intense tourism have eroded a local sense of place, as is evident in the changes of local perception of place following a shift of the cultural landscape from traditional to commercial. The Balinese residents in Jimbaran and Kuta acknowledged in this study that their environment has been transformed considerably through tourism development and its repercussions. Significantly, this study has also shown that tourism development can alter local meanings. In this regard, tourism contributes to religious and cultural preservation: some participants admitted that their worship and rituals included the desire and prayer for successful
tourism development (instead of agriculture) because it brings greater wealth to the community. In addition, although tourism has in some ways instigated the revival of local culture, transfigured Balinese villages require reinterpretations for new meaning, as people now have different purposes in life and have different lifestyles.

It was found that each place has its own challenges, and local people have strategies for how to deal with changes, protect their village, preserve local culture and maintain the natural environment that is place specific. Balinese residents in this study demonstrated a strong place attachment that is consistent with other studies suggesting an indigenous account of place (Malpas, 2008). More than 80% of the current population in Bali (Census, 2010) are Balinese Hindus, but from a cultural perspective, this fact alone is not enough. More important is the strength of the local community’s place attachment. Therefore, within tourism planning and development, policy is needed to support the attachment of indigenous communities to their desa adat under the influence of tourism, both to preserve indigenous values and to foster a sense of place for the wellbeing of locals.

10.5 Research Contribution and Recommendation

As a Balinese, I believe Tri Hita Karana (three sources of happiness) to be the principles for achieving wellbeing. What makes my study distinct—particularly from those of other (Balinese) scholars conducting research into community and tourism in Bali—is that I have drawn extensively from the principle of Desa Kala Patra (place–time context) in examining two different desa adat villages in Bali as models of tourist destination communities. I found that though Tri Hita Karana aims to maintain the spirituality of Balinese Hinduism according to local values, the concept of Desa Kala Patra is more relevant to maintain the character of a Balinese place.
Desa kala patra suggests that each place has its own unique composition and identity that develops through the local community’s place attachments.

The results of this study contribute useful knowledge to enable more sensible tourism planning and development via understanding of the interrelation between place and local community through a sense of place approach by considering the two constructs of place attachments and place identity. Places should not be seen simply as economic assets; planners should take into account the socio-cultural dimension of places, as they have multiple values from local community’s perspectives.

Applying local values will enhance a local sense of place. This research clarifies how the key concepts of Tri Hita Karana and Desa Kala Patra are very significant in achieving wellbeing and quality of life for local communities in Bali, and should be taken into consideration in local planning. My study therefore suggests utilising a local sense of place approach in developing tourism in Bali, not merely perceiving Bali as a single entity (or single destination). Accordingly, the strategy of ‘one island management’ for Bali should be revisited. Further, the local community’s emotional relationship with their place should be considered a core element of cultural heritage and identity that planners should refer in maintaining the unique character of the place.

This thesis has examined the nexus between place, people and culture after tourism in Bali, aligned with Massey’s (1991) assertion that sense of place is progressive, as are the cultures of place. I suggest that strong attachment by local communities with their place is important to the wellbeing and resilience of people living in an increasingly transfigured landscape. The cultural tourism policy of Bali should embrace a local sense of place approach as a necessary part of the cultural mapping that should be carefully undertaken before developing tourism in a
particular area. Therefore, there is an imperative to plan Bali through a more discursive process, supporting the indigenous place attachment and strengthening place identity. This study recommends embracing this people–place emotional relationship as a foundation for tourism planning and development policy that strives to maintain and improve local community’s wellbeing by ensuring minimal disruption to a local sense of place.

From a tourism research perspective, this investigation suggests a more appropriate methodology for the understanding of destination communities with their cultural background. This study not only focused on the interpretation of the different meanings of social phenomena and cultural behaviours of local community, but also moved into a deeper understanding of these multiple socio-cultural relationships and processes between people and place in a particular setting. The use of photography by local participants as a method greatly enhanced the ability to capture the meanings of places from the perspective of the local community. The innovation demonstrated in this study—embracing data collection through a digital ethnography from a spatially bounded community’s Facebook group—contributes to tourism research methods in studying local communities and destinations.

My research found that studying a traditional community using digital ethnography yielded similar results as traditional ethnographic fieldwork and observations. It was most instructive to concurrently study two places using the traditional and the contemporary approach. In this age of online social media, Balinese values including codes of conduct migrate naturally when members of the public interact online. Moreover, it was apparent that most participants who contributed their opinions were males rather than females, which indicates that the Balinese maintain their patriarchal traditions in this global era, thus influencing how
place identity in Bali is constructed. In the face-to-face setting, the online or virtual community showed respect to their local leaders in online conversations. I found utilising digital technology enabled a more comprehensive analysis, since traditional and contemporary aspects of a community were portrayed in chorus. As social media research is almost now mandatory in the field, tourism research should not ignore the existence of the ‘online communities’ since they are nowadays part of the everyday of locals.

10.6 A Closing Thought: In the Face of Voracity

The story continues beyond my fieldwork (undertaken until 2013) with the ongoing issue of the Benoa Bay reclamation. In the face of the saturation of tourism development, the struggle continues for the economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability of Bali, which is threatened by the ruthlessness of investment. Located in a prominent conservation zone in South Bali is Teluk Benoa or Benoa Bay, where a proposed reclamation project has attracted public attention and wide resistance (Fitria, 19 January 2014; ForBALI, 2014; Nurhayati, 2 August 2013; O'Shea, 29 July 2014). The proposal seeks to develop a ‘remarkable new resort’ at Benoa Bay, but it was deemed controversial after it obtained a government permit to develop and reclaim coastal areas and small islands totalling about 838 ha in Benoa Bay (see Figure 10.1).

The Benoa Bay reclamation will potentially cause serious ecological damage and disrupt the Bay’s reservoir function (Nurhayati, 2 August 2013). Nonetheless,

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324 A proposal by project developer Tirta Wahana Bali International: see Erviani, 31 July 2014.
325 As elaborated by researchers from Conservation International Indonesia, the reclamation would disrupt seawater flow and cause backwash. They estimate a 1.6 m rise in seawater level, resulting in 7.9 million m$^3$ of water inundating low-lying areas. Other damaging risks of this project include the destruction of coral reefs, mangroves and seagrass beds, and ultimately the entire marine ecosystem in Benoa Bay. All of these will unquestionably affect marine tourism as a main source of local livelihood.
the plan has recently gained strong support from the national Indonesian government in Jakarta, in accordance with the national development master plan. The Governor of Bali enthusiastically stated that this project would contribute to the economy of Bali through employment opportunities for locals (O'Shea, 29 July 2014). However, he suggested that approval will be subject to several conditions such as ecosystem, accessibility and sustainability of the life and livelihood of communities around the bay (Erviani, 31 July 2014).

Figure 10.1: An artist’s impression of the Benoa Bay Reclamation Project (left) (Fitria, 9 January 2014) (photo: courtesy of ForBALI) and Benoa Bay and Tanjung Benoa (right)

Despite dependency on tourism, the local community of desa adat Tanjung Benoa have decided to resist this project after being warned by the wider society (Nurhayati, 2 August 2013). A research team from Udayana University agrees that this project is not sustainable.

The Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development (MP3EI) is a long-term national development programme to enhance Indonesian economic development. Bali and Nusa Tenggara Provinces are listed in Corridor 5, with a focus on the advancement of tourism, husbandry and fishery. The programmes involve both the public and private sectors. More details are contained in the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs Republic of Indonesia. (2011). Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Economic Development 2011-2025.

Like Jimbaran and Kuta, Tanjung Benoa (Benoa Peninsula) is a Balinese village inhabited by the local community of desa adat Tanjung Benoa. Following the opening of luxury resorts in Nusa Dua...
about the detrimental effect on their ecological security of the reclamation. As reported (Kabar Nusa, 12 May 2014), three of four banjar communities in desa adat Tanjung Benoa have declared their opposition to Benoa Bay reclamation in their village territory.\textsuperscript{328} The local residents demonstrated their unity in fighting the reclamation by raising a large flag (Figure 10.2) in the village’s grand crossroad next to the village temple in the main street. Hundreds of similar flags will be raised on every house roof within the desa adat to protest collectively and overtly against this tourism project for its likely destructive environmental impacts on their village. From a sense of place perspective, this grassroots movement in resisting development at a local level indicates a strong place attachment. Based on advanced knowledge about tourism development, the locals understand that economic objectives of tourism should not overshadow social, cultural, and environmental sustainability. The people resistance to this project also is expanded into online social media to gain national and international supports\textsuperscript{329}.

\textsuperscript{328} Previously, some villagers were alleged to have given their approval to the project after being approached by the developer, dividing the community into supporters and opponents of this project. According to the leader, after formal letters to the government, the community made a declaration from the boats in the middle of the Benoa Bay, followed by a Balinese Hindu ritual of pakelem (drowning the ritual offering into the sea), and set up a big announcement board to resist reclamation in their village area. For its relentless demonstrations by environmental activists (commanded by \textit{Forum Rakyat Bali Tolak Reklamasi} (ForBALI), or Balinese supporters to resist reclamation) and having gained the support of broader society, the local movement of desa adat Tanjung Benoa against the reclamation project is noteworthy (Kabar Nusa, 12 May 2014). Warga Kibarkan Bendera Tolak Reklamasi Teluk Benoa, http://www.kabarnusa.com/2014/05/warga-kibarkan-bendera-tolak-reklamasi.html. Retrieved 30 July 2014.

\textsuperscript{329} A Facebook page titled ‘\textit{Bali Tolak Reklamasi},’ which means ‘Bali rejects Benoa Bay Reclamation’ has been ‘liked’ by 50,000+ Facebook accounts since its establishment on 25 August 2013. The site can be viewed at https://www.facebook.com/forbali13

\textsuperscript{328} Since the early 1990s, this village has become the extension of the tourism district. Nowadays, although the fishing village still exists, the majority of locals depend on tourism for their living and there are hotels, villas, restaurants, bars, spas and water sport facilities along the headland.
Figure 10.2: The local community of Tanjung Benoa’s resistance to reclamation in Benoa Bay (Kabar Nusa, 12 May 2014)

My study emphasises the changes wrought by tourism on a local community’s place attachment and place identity. The proposed resort will unquestionably exacerbate the current situation, especially in the saturated (and problematic) tourism areas in South Bali (as discussed in this thesis) through the possible increase in the numbers of migrants and in competition that irritates local communities and undermines the viability of tourism. If the predicted environmental impacts occur this would also undermine the sustainability of fishing, which is not only the village’s traditional source of income and livelihood but also the basis of much of the locally owned tourism (as similarly described in the Jimbaran case study). This project will also threaten the cultural landscape of Bali as a whole, by bestowing a very different geographical character upon Bali and weakening Balinese place identity. It is also important to note that the Benoa Bay reclamation will have tourism impacts not only expressed as disruptions to local socio-cultural wellbeing, but it will also threaten the ecology of the area and human safety. These issues have not been specifically addressed in this thesis, but the link is clear. Further research is therefore urgently needed in relation to this specific proposal and to these wider issues.
Local communities’ spirit of defending their livelihood is the manifestation of a local sense of place, as discussed and demonstrated in Jimbaran, Kuta and other desa adat communities in Bali. Finally and importantly, I believe that local community, bound by cultural values, are the last defence that Bali has today. As the true ‘owners’ of the place, local communities should have the right and capacity to defend their traditional homeland against the insatiability of tourism investors. I end my thesis with a statement from a Balinese environmental activist, Wayan Dedik Rachman (O'Shea, 29 July 2014):

We, Balinese, should take the move to save Bali. If not us, who else? If not now, when? Before it's too late, Bali is so small and we don’t have time to be playing around.


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Appendices

Appendix 1

Photo elicitation: Revealing the Meanings of Place,
Place Attachment and Place Identity

Part A: Photo taking

All participants (after signing the consent forms) take photos of their local landscape.

- Each participant is given a disposable camera; alternatively, the participants may use personal digital camera or mobile phone camera.
- Task: voluntarily take any pictures of local landscape, or places, or areas having special meanings or important to participant.

Note:

- For disposable camera: the negative films should be developed and ready before the interview
- For personal digital camera or mobile phone camera: photographs should be shared with the researcher or sent electronically before the interview

Part B: Follow-up Interview

All participants explain about places in the photographs taken by answering the following questions:

1. What place is it? Where is it located?
2. Why the place in this picture is special or important to you?
3. Any special stories/ history/ features about this place? If so, would you tell me more about that?
4. What do you think if this place is no longer available?
Appendix 2

Focus Groups

Questions to those participate in focus group discussions

(a) *Desa Adat’s* neighbourhood leaders and local community representatives:

1. Discussion about the most photographed places in this study: What places are they?
2. Why these places are special or important to local community?
3. Any special stories/ history/ features about those places? If so, could you tell me more about that?
4. What do you think if this place is no longer available in your place or community?
5. How is your place (*desa adat*) different from other places in Bali?
6. Are you happy with tourism in your village?
7. How does tourism bring the advantage to your place and *desa adat* community?
8. How does tourism negatively influence your place and *desa adat* community?
9. How do you preserve the Balinese culture and tradition for future generation?
10. What are the challenges for present and future generation in your place?
11. Do you like the current situation in your village? Why?
12. What factors are important to local community’s wellbeing? What makes you feel happy and healthy in your everyday living in the village?

(b) Tourism employees

1. How do you like working in tourism and hospitality industry?
2. What are the reasons of choosing your current job?

3. Do you think tourism is your future? Why?

4. Do you still want to do the traditional works such as farming and fishing? Why?

5. What are the contributions of tourism to your community?

6. What are the negative impacts of tourism in your opinion?

7. How do you like tourism in your village?

(c) Young villagers

1. What are your childhood places? What did you do in those places?

2. Are there places for young people in your village? Where do the young people in your community usually go?

3. Are there any special stories/ history/ features about places you usually visit? If so, could you tell me more about that?

4. As young generations, what do you think if this place is no longer available in your place or community?

5. Do you have a plan to move to other places (for work, study, or marriage)? If so, are you going to miss your village? Why?

6. What are the youth community programs in your village that you have participated?

7. Where do you want to work in your future career? Why?
(d) Traditional fishers community

1. Discussion about traditional places: What are the routes of the anglers community?
2. Why these places are special or important to fishermen community?
3. Any special stories/ history/ features about those places? If so, could you tell me more about that?
4. What do you think if this place is no longer available for your community?
5. What is the role of the fishermen to the village?
6. How do you like tourism in your fishing village?
7. What do you think about the future of fishers community in your village?
Glossary

Adat
Customary, according to traditional cultural values, as opposed to following civil law

Ajeg Bali
Local propaganda among Balinese people to restore the Balinese Hindu culture, religion and traditional values in Bali Island, instigated after the Bali Bombing in 2002

Arca
A statue usually made from stone, wood or bronze: see also patung

Awig-awig
The operational procedures of the Balinese traditional village or customary law, applied only to desa adat members

Babad
Balinese historical literature or story telling

Banjar
Neighbourhood association within a desa adat

Bangsal
Fishermens’ open hall

Bale banjar
or balai banjar: the neighbourhood community hall or pavilion. Each banjar has a bale banjar for its own neighbourhood gathering

Banten
General term for offerings

Bendesa
Appointed head in desa adat: also called kelian desa

Bhatara
or Betara, divines, Gods

Barong
Sacred animal personages, represented by one or two people in costume and mask. Most prominent is Barong Kékèt, resembling the Chinese lion. Barong landung are eight-foot tall human personages, also sacred

Be Pasih
A seafood or fish meal: Be means fish, pasih means sea

Bebuten
The group of men as trancers who stab themselves with keris and are calmed by a pemangku during a barong performance. The word comes from buta or blind, the idea being that they will shortly become blinded to all external stimuli, concentrating upon Rangda, and then upon themselves. They may shiver, shake or moan under the influence of Rangda

Bekul
or punyan bekul, the local tree that produces bekul fruit used by Balinese as a vegetable in homemade meals

Bhuta Kala
General term for the disruptive, negative forces of the earth; demons who torment man; evil spirits

Brahmana
A member of the highest, priestly, caste

Bhuana Agung
or buana agung macrocosms, from buana, ‘world’ and agung, ‘great’ or ‘large’

Bhuana Alit
The microcosm; the universe as a whole and man as human is related to that universe

Bukit
Hill, mountainous area

Candi Bentar
Split gate without a top, often at the entrance to the
Canang
A common, small, everyday offering in the shape of a shallow square tray containing a porosan, fruit, flowers, and a sampian

Desa
Village

Desa adat
Exclusive Balinese traditional village with Balinese indigenous community as the residents, where the awig-awig or adat law is applied

Desa dinas
or kelurahan, administrative or formal village organisation, part of local government, subordinate to the kecamatan (district) kabupaten or kota (regency or municipality) and provinsi (province)

Desa Kala Patra
Place, time and occasion principle

Dewa
Gods, divines

Dewasa
Auspicious or inauspicious days for various activities

Dimel
or mel, the old term for the outer part of the village in bukit, an arid or forested area located far from the central village residential area

Druen desa
Things belonging to desa adat

Don tuwi
Tuwi leaves from locally grown trees as an ingredient for Balinese homemade salads

Galungan
Balinese auspicious day for celebrating the victory of dharma (the good) over adharma (the evil), once every seven months on Buda Kliwon wuku Dungulan (Wednesday on Dungulan Week) on the Balinese calendar

Gamelan
Traditional Balinese musical instruments or orchestra: see Gong

Dungulan
The week or wuku of Galungan Day

Goa
A natural cave formation regarded as a sacred place; for example, Goa Gong temple in Jimbaran, Goa Lawah temple in Klungkung Regency

Gong
A circular percussion instrument usually made of bronze, with a knob that is hit with a mallet; any musical group or orchestra in Bali

Jaba
Outermost, secular courtyard

Jero
Inner, most sacred courtyard

Jukut
Vegetables, salads

Jukung
Traditional fishing boat

Kahyangan–Tiga
The village’s three temples: pura desa, pura puseh and pura dalam kahyangan, located within each desa adat: see pura kahyangan desa, tri kahyangan

Kaja
A cardinal direction on Bali: north, or towards the mountain

Kali
Creek, river

Kaling/ Kepala Lingkungan
Formal leader for lingkungan (neighbourhood division)

Kampung Nelayan
Fishing village

Kangin
A cardinal direction in Bali: east

Karang
Sea reef: also refer to space
**Karma Phala**
The doctrine that one’s deeds during life, karma, produce results, *pala* (literally ‘fruit’) that are rewarded or punished according to how closely these deeds followed the *dharma* of the individual.

**Kauh**
A cardinal direction in Bali: west

**Kecak**
A chorus of men who utter the syllable ‘chak-chak-chak’ with many variations and without instrumental accompaniment. Originally this dance accompanied *sanghyang* dances (temple sacred ritual dances dedicated to the divines) in the villages but later was adapted by Europeans to a new form called a ‘Kecak dance’, whose dancers represent the monkey troops, hence it is now popular among tourists as the ‘monkey dance’. It is now performed as cultural entertainment with a play taken from the Ramayana epic with Hanuman, Rama and Sinta characters.

**Kelian**
*Kelihan/klian*, from the word ‘kelih’ means old. The elected leader of a neighbourhood community (*klian banjar*) or *desa adat* (*klian desa or bendesa*) association in the *desa adat* leadership system.

**Kelurahan**
see desa sinas

**Kepariwisataan Budaya Bali**
see also *Pariwisata Budaya*. The Balinese cultural tourism policy according to local regulations on this subject (*Perda No. 2, 2012*, and previously *Perda No. 3, 1991*) that tourism should be develop with respect to Balinese culture.

**Kelod**
A cardinal direction in Bali: south or seaward

**Kori**
Gate or main gate

**Kelor**
*Jukut kelor*, type of locally grown vegetable for soup or salad

**Kelurahan**
see desa dinas

**Keris**
or *kris*, a traditional Balinese short sword or dagger only used in dance performance or on days of great ceremonial importance.

**Krama**
Members of *desa adat*

**Kuningan**
An important religious day, *Saniscara* (Saturday) of week 12; it marks the end of the 10-day *Galungan* period: related to *kuning*, which means yellow, and is derived from the fact that rice used in offerings on this day is dyed yellow with *kunyit*, turmeric.

**Lontar**
A book of inscriptions, often written in *Kawi* or old Javanese; the text is scratched upon the leaves of the *lontar* palm and the book is bound with boards on either side by strings that pass through holes in the leaves; the books and their contents are considered sacred.

**LPM**
*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, community empowerment body in a *desa dinas* or *kelurahan*

**Medangsia**
A week or *wuku* after *Kuningan Day*

**Meru**
A tall pagoda-like shrine with an odd number of roofs.
that diminish in size towards the top.

**Mesolah**
Characterisation or ‘to perform’; movement of a shadow puppet; kinesthetic and spiritual desa kala patra of a character

**Mesineb**
Held in reserve in the temple

**Mrajan**
Family temple

**Melis**
see Melasti

**Melasti**
A procession to the sea or to a holy spring in which the village Gods in their pratimas are carried to the source of water and ceremonially sprinkled with holy water; the ceremony is a general purification of the village and its deities; Melasti always occurs just before Nyepi (New Year’s Day), but it can be held at other times for unrelated ceremonies

**Meru**
A tall pagoda-like shrine with an odd number of tumpang (roof levels) that stack up and become smaller in size towards the top

**Munjur**
Coming ashore after fishing

**Nasi**
Steamed rice, the main food of the Balinese and other Asians

**Nelayan**
Fisherman

**Ngayah**
Voluntary works as dedication to community

**Ngiring**
Following

**Niskala**
The unseen or intangible realm, which is sacred and has spiritual meanings

**Nyepi**
The first day of the 10th month, Kedasa, generally in March; a day of meditation when one is not supposed to be outside of the home; it is the first day of the Balinese Saka year, following ceremonies the preceding day that were designed to appease evil spirits and restore the balance of good and evil

**Odalan**
see piodalan

**Ogoh-ogoh**
An artistic statue representation of a demon or Bhuta Kala, usually crafted by local villagers for the Ngrupuk parade, one day before Nyepi or seclusion day, as part of the Balinese Caka New Year celebration. For natural purification purposes, this statue is finally burnt after being conveyed by people around the village or town

**Palemahan**
Human environmental relationship with the place

**Pampatan Agung**
Grand crossroad in a desa adat

**Pasar**
Traditional market

**Parahyangan**
Human’s spiritual relationship with Gods or the creator

**Pariwisata Budaya**
see Kepariwisataan Budaya Bali

**Patung**
Statue

**Pawarigan**
see wariga

**Pawiwahan**
Balinese wedding

**Pawongan**
Human social relations

**Pawukon**
Weekly system in Balinese pawarigan calendar, one
wuku equals seven days, starting on Sundays

**Pecalang**
*Desa adat* security guardian organisation

**Pelinggih**
The divine seat

**Pemangku**
Lay priest and custodian of a temple; usually of the *Sudra* caste.

**Penjor**
An offering consisting of a bamboo pole with decorations; the arched top represents *Gunung Agung*, the body is a river that flows from the mountains to the sea, and along its route are the products of the harvest, tied to the pole; at the foot of the pole is a temporary shrine; *penjors* are found everywhere around the time of *Galungan*, but are also commonly erected for many other important religious festivals

**Pekarangan**
A space within a village, a temple or a house compound

**Pedanda/ Ida Pedanda**
A high priest of the *Brahmana* caste; may be male or female, for higher level of ritual ceremonies in temples or families

**Pemangku**
or Mangku, lay priest as a custodian of particular temple or ceremonies, usually from the *Sudra* caste, may be male or female

**Penunggun Karang**
or tugu, or *tugun karang*, a low, roofless shrine found in the *kaja kauh* corner of the Balinese house, where offerings devoted to *Bhatara Kala*, a demon/deity are placed. The spirit of the tugu watches the property

**Perda**
Short for *Peraturan Daerah*, local regulation related to development in a particular province in Indonesia

**Piodalan**
Or *odalan*, the anniversary festival of a temple; it may fall once every 210 days if set by the *Pawukon* calendar, or it may occur once every lunar year, if it is set by the *Saka* calendar.

**PKK**
*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, a national government education and welfare programme for family at the village level. PKK activities are organised by local government in *Balai Banjar* and the local community health service

**Pura dalam kahyangan**
Temple of the death, located nearby a cemetery

**Pura desa**
Village temple

**Pura puseh**
Navel or central temple of the village

**Pura kahyangan desa**
The village’s three temples: *pura desa, pura puseh* and *pura dalam kahyangan*, located within each desa *adat*: see kahyangan–tiga, pura tri kahyangan

**Pura kahyangan jagad**
The temples with higher status worshipped by Balinese Hindus, not bounded by a particular area or *desa adat*

**Pura swagina**
Temples worshipped at by particular professions such as farmer, traders or fishermen

**Pura segara**
A temple dedicated to Bhatara Baruna, the ruler of the sea, worshipped by fishermen and their families

**Pura sad kahyangan**
The six most important temples in all of Bali; lists
vary, but the department of religion recognises pura lempuyang, pura batukaru, pura penataran agung at besakih, pura gua lawah, pura luhur uluwatu, pura pusering jagat.

Rangda
One of the two central figures in the barong play, representing the negative side of man; Rangda is also related to Durga, wife of Siwa, who represents his destructive side

Roroban
Balinese salad or mixed steamed vegetables including bean sprout, shredded coconut and jukut don tuwi

Rujak
Tropical mixed fruit salad with spicy brown sugar sauce

Rwa Bhineda
The Hindu principle of opposing positive and negative forces, which must exist in harmony and equilibrium

Sambal matah
Balinese-style chopped chilli mixed with raw coconut oil, sliced onion, shrimp paste and lime. This sambal is the common accompaniment for grilled fish. No place in Bali has been identified as the origin of sambal matah, but people of Jimbaran have been making and consuming this kind of sambal for generations

Sanggah kemulan
A roofed shrine with three compartments side by side in a family temple to worship the Hindu triad: Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa

Saput poleng
The black and white checked clothes, as a symbol of rwa bhineda. This philosophical cloth is widely employed in the Balinese environment. It covers the penunggun karang/tugu shrines in the house temple, the trunk of old banyan trees or other sacred trees, and can be seen as clothes in statues. Saput poleng is also the uniform cloth worn by all pecalang on duty in Bali.

Sekaa
or sekeha, a club, society or group; for example, sekaa gong (gamelan orchestra), sekaa teruna teruni (youths); similarly there is also sekaa with ‘n’ added at the end, for example sekan barong

Sekaa teruna teruni (STT)
A desa adat youth group

Sekaa gong
Balinese gamelan instrument group

Sekaa barong
Barong dance performers

Sekala
The physical (seen) environment and material culture

Sesuhunan
The Utmost Respected Niskala Ruler

Setra
Cemetery

Segara
Ocean, sea

Sudra
Lowest caste

Swagina
see pura swagina

Taksu
There are a number of meanings to taksu, such as power, inspiration and divine charisma in material culture and human beings. The word taksu originates from Sanskrit ‘caksu’ which means eye.

Tangkil
Someone’s presence for reverence to temples or
Teba
Horticultural and other plantations occurring widely in Bali in the past; can also be interpreted as a garden with dual functions—to conserve the balance of the natural ecosystem, and to be able to breathe fresh air free from pollution. Balinese people no longer have teba areas; instead, teba refers to any family garden that is well nurtured

Tenget
or angker in local terms, is the quality of a place or an object (mask, tree and so on) related to veneration, fear and respect, and the possession of mysterious power

Tipat
Balinese boiled rice covered in coconut leaves

Tirtha
Three words for ‘water’ in high, medium, and low Balinese; tirtha and toya are sometimes used as being synonymous with holy water; tirtha kamandalu is the holy water obtained by the Gods and demons when the Sea of Milk was churned at Mount Giri

Tri Hita Karana
Three philosophical principles of sources of happiness in life: pawongan, palemahan and parahyangan

Tri Kahyangan
or pura tri kahyangan, the village’s three temples: pura desa, pura puseh and pura dalem kahyangan, located within one desa adat in Bali. Also known as kahyangan desa and pura kahyangan–tiga

Tugu
see penunggun karang

Tukad
River, creek

Tumpek Landep
The Balinese Hindu ceremony of steel and iron, in the form of utility, held once every 7 months, on Saturday of wuku Landep

Wantilan
Village community meeting hall

Wariga/pawarigan
Balinese Hindu calendar cycle, consists of 30 wukus (weeks) or 210 days: see pawarigan

Wayang
Shadow puppet

Wana
Forest

Wuku
see pawukon

Yadnya
Holy sacrifices. Panca Yadnya or five holy sacrifices are the Balinese Hindu ritual practices dedicated to God (Dewa Yadnya), spiritual teachers and Brahmins (Rsi Yadnya), ancestors (Pitra Yadnya), human beings and their descendants (Manusa Yadnya), and evil spirits (Bhuta Yadnya). The complete schedule of Panca Yadnya in a year can be found in the Balinese pawarigan calendar showing auspicious days, and where and when the yadnya are to be undertaken