

CHANGES IN BALINESE IDENTITY AND CULTURE AS A RESULT OF TOURISM

Perubahan identitas dan budaya Suku Bali sebagai akibat dari Pariwisata

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Abstract

The intricate tapestry of Balinese identity is deeply intertwined with Hinduism, shaping a hierarchical societal structure organized around religious affiliations, castes, and traditional roles. While historically rigid, contemporary Balinese society exhibits a more flexible approach to identity, although Hindu influence remains pervasive. Historical shifts, including Dutch Colonization, Indonesia's independence and subsequent governance policies of the New Order, have further impacted Balinese identity, leading to major changes in Balinese social and political structures, furthermore economic factors, particularly tourism, have played a significant role, both amplifying cultural expression and triggering challenges such as over-tourism and urbanization, with implications for traditional livelihoods and environmental sustainability. The dichotomy of Sekala (perceivable) and Niskala (sacred) encapsulates the dual nature of Balinese culture, with interactions tailored differently for internal and external audiences. This study explores the impact of tourism and government policy on Balinese culture and identity, considering the historical background and economic significance of the island. Tourism being the primary industry, has caused Bali to experienced significant cultural and demographic shifts over the year, the influx of tourism has shaped Balinese society, economy, and cultural practices. Drawing on historical perspectives, writing, as well as contemporary observations the researcher seeks to use literature reviews, participant observations as well as interviews, by integrating firsthand perspectives with existing scholarship, the author aims to view, analyse and understand the impacts of Tourism and a post-colonial government has had and continues enrich and challenge Balinese culture and identity as well for this study to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of this complex phenomenon and inform future research and policymaking in the field.

Background of the problem

Bali is an island located in the lesser Sunda Islands, Indonesia, -8.409518, 115.188919, according to the Badan Pusat Statistika (BPS) Bali, in 2020 there was 4,32 million people living on the island. The population are predominantly belonging to the Austronesians ethnic group that identify as Hindu with ancestral connections to the islands of Bali and Java(Prasiasa et al., 2023). The dominant cultural group on the island are descendants of people from the Majapahit empire of East Java who migrated to the island due to the rising Islamic Sultanates of Central Java.

Geographically, Bali is characterized by its diverse landscape, including lush tropical rainforests, terraced rice paddies, volcanic mountains, and pristine beaches (Anggarini, 2021). The island is situated between Java to the west and Lombok to the east, and its climate is tropical, with distinct wet and dry seasons.

Tourism is the main industry of Bali, with the Balinese people having adapted to and economically benefitting from the influx of visitors by offering a wide range of services, from hotels and restaurants to tour guides and artisanal crafts (Edy Sutrisno, 2021).

According to the Bali Government Tourism Office In the 21st Century the majority of Tourist comes from Australia (1,225,425), followed by China (1,185,764) and India (371,850), since 2008 the number of tourists to the island has grown every year, from 1.97 million in 2008 to 6.28 million in 2019, before covid. In 2023 Bali has only had 1.03 million tourists arrive but this is slowly growing as travellers build their confidence to travel abroad post-COVID (Anggarini, 2021).

Balinese Culture has always enticed visitors, beginning with the time of first contact with Europeans in 1585, a Portuguese ship was sent to the island to establish a fort and a trading post in Bali, which foundered on the reef of the Bukit peninsula, the five survivors went into the service of the king of Gelgel, and were provided with wives and homes (Permatasari, 2022). The second contact occurred when a VOC ship arrived on the island in 1597. The Dutch captain, Cornelius Houtman was faced with a situation where many of his crew did not want to leave Bali since they were attracted and fascinated by the warmth, prosperity and aesthetics of Balinese culture and people.

In the late 1840s the Dutch conducted a series of military interventions into northern Bali, under the pretext of eradicating opium smuggling, arms running, plunder of shipwrecks, and slavery with the aim to impose their control onto The North Balinese kingdoms, the result of which was the establishment of Dutch Colonial administration in northern Bali. Further military interventions into Southern Bali occurred between 1906-1908 under the pretext of stopping Balinese customary salvage claims over grounded ships off the south coast of Bali, this resulted in the total conquest of the Island of Bali by the Dutch, asserting indirect rule through Balinese (Mulia et al., 2022).

Modern tourism in Bali started in the late 1920's, during Dutch colonization, more than two decades before national independence. Ubud in particular became a haven for wealthy Westerners with bohemian and artistic sensibilities who revelled in the exotic beauty of Balinese landscapes and culture.

Around 1939 tourism came to halt in Bali and only reemerged in the 1970s, after the turbulence of the Second World War and the national struggle against the Dutch had passed. This second wave of tourists on the island consisted largely of surfers looking for sun, waves and beach accommodation in southern Bali (Prasiasa et al., 2023). The island remains famous for its beautiful beaches and surfing spots but there is a range of other attractions including diving opportunities, wellness retreats, culinary attractions and a vast tourism infrastructure including shopping havens, bird parks, white water rafting and waterslide parks.

In recent times the islands reputation as a haven for backpackers has given way to an image of being a wellness destination with luxury resorts (Bala et al., 2022). Growth in the national middle class has fuelled a rise in domestic tourism as wealthier Indonesian citizens join international arrivals for the pleasure of a Bali holiday.

Miguel Covarrubias wrote in the 1930's of the proud character of the Balinese who never received a gift without giving back something of similar value. At first glance, this seems highly dissonant with the situation in the 21st century, where Balinese streets are bustling with hustlers and vendors desperately trying to sell overpriced trinkets to tourists (Pramatana et al., 2022).

This article will provide a framework for recognising that even though appearances, then and now, differ dramatically, Balinese strength of identity has been consistent over time. Drawing on traditional cosmologies of dualism, and responding to political and economic imperatives, Balinese cultures have flexed and changed to preserve and even strengthen Balinese identity under modern tourism pressures. (Utama et al., 2023)

In his research on Central Sulawesi in Suharto's New Order era, anthropologist Greg Acciaioli (1985) argued that local Indonesian cultures were brought into alignment with the national motto of Unity in Diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika) and the economic mandate of Pembangunan. Culture, he

continues, became flattened to aesthetic and performative aspects of ethnic groups of dress and dance and co-opted into social domains supportive of economic development (Dolezal & Novelli, 2022). This context not only led to certain cultural activities and performances being of higher state value than others, it led to more spectacular cultural aspects being selected as tourist drawcards. In Bali, it also helped shape a division between traditional and tourist-oriented culture.

Traditionally culture in Bali was very choreographed and ritualistic with events occurring at specific times, and for the most to gain favour from the Dewa's and to maintain cosmological balance. In contemporary times, Balinese culture has two faces: customs they practice for themselves, and traditions curated for the tourist gaze (Dagong et al., 2023). For example, since the 1930s traditionally sacred dances, such as the Legong or the Barong, have been enjoyed by tourists as restaurant floorshows for a tourist audience, these performances are stripped of the cultural and ritual connotations and highlights how Balinese culture and identity has flexed to adapt to external pressures and opportunities since the start of tourism on the island.

By contrast, Balinese retain certain customs that are practiced for social cohesion and connection to ancestral history. For example, Nyepi is celebrated as the Balinese New Year and devoid of tourist influence or input. Nyepi involves massive faux battles of effigies of Demons and Gods followed by a day of silence at home. While the aesthetic spectacle of Nyepi is of interest to tourists, it remains a personally and collectively sacred part of culture. Nyepi supports tourism in so far as it improves the heritage value of the island, yet locals see tourism at odds with adhering to the need to do Hindu liturgy. The expectation that all Hindu practicing Balinese will follow Nyepi, and that tourists and non-Hindu people will respect this need, drives the suspension of air travel operations at airports for 24 hours (Dwipayana & Sartini, 2023).

Closing the airport, which is symbolic of cutting off the economic lifeblood of Bali, is an especially strong statement about the high regard Balinese have for culture outside commercialism. It speaks to a non-capitulation of Balinese values and an agency in navigating their culture and identity in relation to a long history of external pressures and economic opportunities. Perennial Balinese concerns of tourist encroaching on their sacred places and events also highlights a culture for us and a culture for them, and today manifests in pushback from influencers not respecting boundaries to take selfies for Instagram (Permatasari, 2022).

The contrasting examples of restaurant dances and Nyepi highlight that cultural expression has two faces in Bali: one face looking out and one face looking in. Balinese are adept at performing culture for visitors to the island, while preserving beliefs and rituals behind closed doors. Economic benefits from tourism have, what is more, led to larger and more extravagant cultural events, with more extravagant ceremonies and impressive architecture becoming more common in Balinese households. These faces are conceptual only: Balinese people tend to not experience them as discrepant or dissonant rather, are part of their adaption to tourism.

This raises the question of what factors can be attributed to shaping a Janus-faced cultural configuration in Bali? The answers to this are complex, yet suggestive of three key forces:

1. the strength of Hindu identity,
2. a traditional Balinese cosmological dualism.
3. the ideological legacy of Suharto's New Order era.

METODE

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif, yang berfungsi memahami realitas sosial dengan memberikan gambaran sistematis, akurat, dan faktual berupa kata-kata tertulis atau lisan dari orang-orang dan perilaku yang diamati (Setyo & Mursidi, 2020). Dengan pendekatan studi literatur. If the research was furthered the research methods the Author would use and why in such research are as follows.

a. Interview

Interviews will play a crucial role in understanding and documenting the impact of tourism on the identity and culture of the Balinese people. Through the use of unstructured and semi-structured

interviews, the researcher can engage directly with members of the Balinese community in tourist affected areas and rural areas, allowing them to share their personal experiences, perspectives, and insights. This firsthand information is invaluable in exploring the nuanced ways in which tourism has influenced their identity and culture (Sholeh & Mursidi, 2023). Interviews provide a platform for the Balinese people to voice their concerns, express their pride, and describe the changes they have witnessed due to tourism. By actively involving the community, interviews help foster a sense of ownership and participation in the research process. This, in turn, enhances the quality and depth of data collected, ultimately resulting in a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of how tourism has impacted the identity and culture of the Balinese people.

b. Participant Observation

Through participant observation, the researcher is able to immerse themselves within the Balinese community both in the rural and urban area as active participants, allowing to contrast as well as experience firsthand the daily lives, rituals, and practices of the people. By being a part of the community, researchers can gain deep insights into the subtle and often unspoken changes in identity and culture, such as shifts in values, customs, and behaviours that might not be readily apparent through other methods (Noviandari & Mursidi, 2019). This approach enables researchers to understand the complexities and nuances of the situation, capturing the sentiments, concerns, and adaptations of the Balinese people directly. Additionally, participant observation fosters trust and rapport, making it easier to access authentic, unfiltered information. Overall, participant observation offers an in-depth, holistic perspective on how tourism impacts the identity and culture of the Balinese people, making it an invaluable method for this study.

c. Literature review

A literature review has been a crucial and the only component in this makalah studying the transformation of Bali's identity and culture as a consequence of tourism. It has involved an exhaustive examination of existing academic and non-academic sources on the topic, including research papers, books, articles, and reports written both by Anthropologist and Non-Anthropological Sources. The primary benefit of a literature review in this research is that it provides a comprehensive understanding of the historical context, key theories, and previous research findings related to the impact of tourism on Bali's identity and culture. This background information helps researchers refine their research questions, identify gaps in the existing knowledge, and develop a solid theoretical framework (Kusumajaya et al., 2023). The author used "The Island of Bali" (1946) by Miguel Covarrubias as a starting point, as it was written by a tourist at the start of Balinese tourism, 1930's, this was useful as it became a frame of reference as it showed the early diversions of Balinese culture to cater to tourists, Miguel Covarrubias also delves deep into the art of Bali. Clifford Geertz's 1967 ethnography "Tihingan: A Balinese Village" allowed for the insight into a tourist free period of Bali where the Balinese were subsistent on Agriculture and local craft, as well as a general insight into Balinese Communities and roles within the Subak. Fred B Eiseman's book "Bali Sekala & Niskala, Essays on Religion, Ritual, and Art" was written around the start of the Balinese Tourist Revival, 1970's – 1980's, this book is extensive in Balinese Spiritualism and became useful in understanding Balinese Identity. The most influence piece on the Authors writing and thinking was Anthropologist Greg Acciaioli paper "Culture as Art: From Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia", 1985, which gave the idea and thoughts around the role of Culture as a commodity as well as the effects of tourism, government and globalizations. These were the main pieces that influenced and guided the Author in his writings of this makalah.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Identity Bali

Balinese identity is linked to Hinduism, and Balinese culture hierarchically organised around religiously structured groups, organizations, castes and gods. Traditionally, if you were a Brahmana you were expected to be academic and theological; to be a Ksatria you must be political wise, honourable, and brave; to be part of a dance Subak you must be proficient in the various dances of Bali (Agusta et al., 2018). Traditionally, this stratification was rigid and fixed: Balinese who converted

to other religions fully lost their Balinese identity to the extent that they were rejected by community and family. In contemporary times, not being Hindu does not condemn a Balinese person to social exile, yet Hinduism still influences key understanding of self and one's place in the world. This is especially in respect to:

Organizations: Bali has traditionally had many organizations built around specific groups, these organizations called Subak are found in every village, there are Subak's for Dancers, for Irrigation, for Farmers, and for almost every other activity found in the village, they work together for common goals, most every Balinese will have a connection to at least one Subak (Dwipayana & Sartini, 2023).
Balance: Balinese Identity and health are based on the balance of positive and negative forces in the world. A Balinese person is expected to maintain these forces within themselves by carefully managing their thoughts, feelings and actions. One example is, if one gives a high offering for a Dewa, they must also give a low offering for a Buto to maintain balance and to ensure good health and fortune.

Birth order: Birth order is another important organizing principle in Balinese society. Children are usually given three names, which indicate their gender, birth order and their personal name. Birth order names are used in Balinese culture to address Balinese People and are not distinguished based on gender. The first-born child will be named either Wayan, Putu, or Gede, the second born child will be named Made, Kadek, or Nengah, the Third Child is named either Nyoman or Komang, the Fourth Child is always named Ketut. These names go through 4 children before adding "Balik", meaning to "kembali, lagi, ulangi". For instance if the fifth child is a male, he will be named I Wayan Balik and if the sixth child if a female. she will be named Ni Made Balik.

Caste (catur warna): Balinese society follows a hierarchical structure with a strong sense of community and family ties. The caste system, known as the catur warna or "caste of four," traditionally organized Balinese society into four main castes:

1. **Brahmana (priests):** The Brahmana Caste is a group of clergy, the Brahmana caste in Bali consists of priests, teachers, and religious scholars. as well as their families, Brahmana play a significant role in the religious and spiritual life of the Balinese people. Traditionally Brahmana lived in a residential complex called a griya, inherited based on their ancestral lineage. Descendants of the Brahmana caste usually begin with the title Ida or Ida Bagus for men, and Ida Ayu for women.
2. **Ksatria (warriors and kings):** Traditionally the Ksatria caste were people with professions in government, whether as kings, ministers, military officials, regents, or palace servants, they are responsible for maintaining law and order and protecting the community. the Ksatria lived in or around the Puri belonging to their family, with the exception of some knights living outside the Puri. Male names for Ksatria include, anak Agung (gung), Cokorda (Cok), dan 'Gusti', female names include 'Ayu', 'Desak', dan 'Sagung'. Dewa is also added to Ksatria names.
3. **Wesia (merchants and farmers):** The Wesia caste comprises merchants, traders, and farmers, working in commerce and industry, being responsible for economic activities and the welfare of their communities, however Wesia no longer dominate the fields of commerce and industry, as was the profession of their ancestors in the past, now working in various fields. Descendants of the Wesia caste traditionally used the titles Ngakan, Kompyang, Sang, or Si, however due to the assimilation of this group with the Sudras. In the modern era many Wesia no longer uses these titles.
4. **Anak jaba or Sudra (laborers):** Historically, the Sudra caste primarily encompassed laborers and farmers. The descendants of the Sudra caste are recognized by names that do not carry noble titles, these names directly indicate their birth order in accordance with Balinese tradition as described above. the Sudra castes add the suffix "I" (male) and "Ni" (female).

Today Balinese people can work in any profession despite their caste, and inter-caste marriages is common. The ongoing significance of caste is apparent in prefacing the name of a woman who marries someone from a higher caste, by adding Jero which means "come in", to signify they are coming into the caste. The caste system is less rigid yet it, as for a Hindu identity more generally, remains a powerful influence on social interactions and role expectations in the community.

2. Balinese Dualism

Sekala is a Balinese philosophical concept referring to the perceivable and material while the imperceivable and sacred is referred to as Niskala. Sekala and Niskala is a meaningful cosmological dualism which is arguably reflected in the two-faced expression of Balinese culture and identity. Sekala is closely aligned to culture for tourism, a culture of practice and performance untethered from the private spaces of family and village. Niskala is a sacred space that exists outside the gaze, an authentic dimension of culture tied to complex histories and rituals, the sacred Balinese Niskala, and those that which are performed with only the basic characteristics and outline of this history and ritual, a material tourist Sekala (Dwipayana & Sartini, 2023).

This traditional dualism can be seen as mapped onto the switching of culture and identity for different audiences, in different contexts. For Balinese people living in tourist areas, interactions with outsiders will be scripted based on assumptions of the other not knowing. Interactions between Balinese, on the other hand, tend to be more relaxed and intimate, based on shared understandings. Observers of Balinese culture in the interwar period, including Mead, Bateson, Belo, McPhee, Holt, Mershon, Zoete and Spies, missed this insight, mistaking the Balinese flair for engaging with Westerners as evidence of being creative and spiritual, and at ease with the world describing the place as "an enchanted land of aesthetes at peace with themselves and nature". Even post-WW2 anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz essentialized and exoticized the Balinese people and culture.

3. Government Factors

Two weeks prior to Japan's Pacific surrender in September 1945, Indonesia declared Independence on the 18th of Agustus, 1945 leading to conflict with the returning Dutch. During Indonesia's War of Independence many of the Balinese kings sided with their Dutch patrons, fearing that the new Republic would strip their power and positions. This led to Bali being constituted as one of the 13 administrative districts of the newly proclaimed State of East Indonesia in 1947.

The Netherlands recognised Indonesian independence on 29 December 1949, the Indonesia constitution (UUD) of 1945 under article 18B, 2, recognized the existence and traditional rights of Adat Law in compliance with the new Indonesian Government. "Negara mengakui dan menghormati kesatuan-kesatuan masyarakat hukum adat serta hak-hak tradisionalnya sepanjang masih hidup dan sesuai dengan perkembangan masyarakat dan prinsip Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, yang diatur dalam undang-undang.", this resulted in Customary Kings and Sultans in Indonesia (except for the Sultan of Yogya) were stripped of power and became titular.

The New Order era of Indonesia (1965-1998) represented a time when a nation was created though imposing ideological standards across Indonesia's huge diversity of ethnic groups and cultures. For example, Suharto's adoption and promotion of Pancasila (the five principles of the nation) mandated 5 (now 6) religions, and while this theoretically upheld ethnic and religious diversity, in practice it excluded and suppressed non-monotheistic (indigenous) religions or belief systems.

New laws that upheld a national morality also supported the values of dominant cultures while casting many practices by marginal cultures as offensive and requiring change. Undang-undang No. 5 Tahun 1979 tentang Pemerintahan Desa for example broke up many of the customary social and governance structures replacing them with a uniform administrative structure and new patterns of patronage, resulting in further marginalization of both customary leaders and community organizations, such as the Balinese subaks.

Culture was not only something needing to be controlled for national order, but the New Order also viewed culture as a resource for economic growth. In his 1980s research on Sulawesi, anthropologist Greg Acciaoli (1985) describes Indonesian cultures as brought into alignment with the national motto of Unity in Diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika) and the economic mandate of Pembangunan. Culture as a commodity opened opportunities for customary communities, notably the Torajans and Balinese, to market and "improve" their culture to be more accessible and interesting to tourists.

Acciaoli's argument, that the New Order flattened and contained culture to render it the aesthetic and performative aspect of an ethnic groups (*suku suku bangsa*) to support national morality and economic development highlights that the conditions for culture as having an authentic (looking in) and a performative (looking out) face is common for all Indonesians. The long history of tourism in Bali has

allowed for the preconditions for Balinese people to be highly skilled at navigating these pressures, but all Indonesians have been exposed to political and economic forces that encourage culture to be split into culture for the external gaze, and culture for collective identity and cohesion.

4. Cultural dynamism and identity in Bali

Culture is the way people inherit knowledge and experience from generation to generation, plays a role in shaping individual and group identities, and influences actions and decision making. Culture refers to a set of values, norms, beliefs, practices, symbols, language, and traditions shared by a group of people in a particular society or social group. Culture includes the way people behave, interact, communicate, and view the world around them. Culture can be material (such as art, architecture, and technology) and immaterial (such as moral values, ethics, and beliefs). Culture, according to Geertz, is “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.”

Identity is a description of who a person or group feels they are and how they are recognized by other people. Individual identity includes aspects such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, social status, and others. Group identity can include ethnic identity, national identity, religious identity, or cultural identity, which refers to how individuals identify themselves as part of a group. Identity is influenced by the views others hold of you or your group, and it is shaped by culture, experiences, personal values, and other factors. In social studies and social sciences, an understanding of culture and identity is key to understanding the complexity of humans, society, and interactions between individuals and groups.

While the function of culture is to impose meaning on the world and make it understandable, Balinese interactions with tourism highlight that culture can be interpreted, acted upon, and used. The Torajans, as for Balinese, have modified parts of their culture to participate in the tourist economy. Torajan burials for example become more extravagant and shorter in duration as tourism grew in the area to make it more palatable to tourists.

This act of local agency over culture contrasts with the manipulation of culture from outside, such as is the case in New Order banning of toplessness. In Bali, this feminine tradition has been deselected to align with New Order standards of modesty and the need to maintain a mainstream moral standard for tourism. This highlights how certain cultural activities and performances are of higher value to the nation-state than others, with more spectacular cultural aspects being selected as tourist drawcards. In Bali, it also helped shape a division between traditional and tourist-oriented culture.

5. Economic Factors

There are other aspects of the dynamism of culture and identity in Bali. For one, cultural identity has been sharpened and rendered more salient by virtue of encounters with others. Revenue from tourism has enabled Balinese people to express their love for their culture in rituals and events of a massive size and grandeur. Departing from previous cultural expressions, there are ever more ornate crafts, ritual items and spiritual ceremonies which are ever more affordable to villages, families and individuals. The Balinese themselves will often joke about the commodification of Balinese culture, such as referring to artisans producing goods for foreigners as “Made to order”

A positive feedback loop is found in the more tourists that come to Bali, the more money is invested in Balinese the culture, which created culture as spectacle which attracts more tourists. Economic benefits from tourism have also led households to have more extravagant ceremonies and build with impressive traditional architecture (Setyo & Mursidi, 2020). Until the 1970's most Balinese villages would have 3 temples (Pura Desa, Pura Puseh, and Pura Dalam), while Balinese households would have shrines to honour the Dewa. Today, most families will have their own personal temple often as elaborate as the village temples.

Bali also suffers from a phenomenon described as over tourism caused by a significant increase in tourism over the years. This excessive and unsustainable influx of tourists cause undesirable effects upon the destination and or the people living there, leading to negative social, cultural, environmental, and economic impacts, such as overcrowding, traffic congestion, rising costs, environmental degradation as well as loss of agricultural land (Mursidi & Soetopo, 2019). This Overtourism has

also resulted in many tourists perceiving Bali as having lost most of its “authentic” culture and unique village allure as it becomes just another tourist destination as well as the Balinese people suffering from the consequences.

The Economic influx of tourism has also led to changes in professions, Many Balinese individuals have left their traditional jobs, typically in agriculture and other rural occupations, to seek employment in the tourism industry which makes up Bali’s main source of Income. This is driven by factors such as economic opportunities, the seasonal nature of agriculture and globalization. This has the effects of Rural-Urban Migration as people leave their traditional homes and farming communities to seek jobs in tourist destinations, leading to urbanization. This in turn can cause cultural changes as traditional customs and practices may be sidelined in favour of catering to tourists, which can affect the preservation of Balinese culture and heritage. Urbanization also creates environmental impacts as agricultural land and nature is converted into infrastructure required to meet the ever growing demands of urbanization and tourism leading to further decline in the agricultural sector. Due to the decline of agriculture, many rural Balinese will now plant the rice crop and then sell of the unharvested crop to Javanese migrant workers, as they no longer have the necessary labour pool in the village for harvesting.

CLOSING

This paper has discussed the concepts of culture and identity, emphasizing their interconnectedness. Culture is described as a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms that help people communicate and understand life. Culture includes values, norms, beliefs, practices, symbols, language, and traditions. In Bali, Hinduism has played a vital role in shaping individual and group identities, including understandings of social hierarchies, which are linked to various organizations and castes, and deities and demons. The nexus of Hinduism, culture and identity is foregrounded by local understandings that onversion to other religions leading to being less authentically Balinese. Government ideologies established in the New Order era have had lasting impact on beliefs and experiences of Indonesian culture. In Bali, of state-sanctioned religion, legislative and legal frameworks on cultural values, and commodifying culture for developing a tourism sector, have influenced significantly changed cultural practices and traditions. Communities, including the Balinese, have not been passive recipients of change, they have also been active in selecting aspects of material and performative culture, and making them accessible to tourists. In addition to highlighting how local people are active agents in responses to social transformations from government policies and market demands, the robustness of Balinese identities illustrates the flexibility and fluidity of culture. Over the decades, Balinese culture is expressed in two faces: sekala, one for the tourist gaze, and niskala, one for their collective self.

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