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The Civic Realm in Bali
A Case Study of Ritual Traditions
in the Littoral Regions

Anom Rajendra I Gusti Ngurah

**A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

February 2017

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the civic life of a Balinese community in the context of ritual activities and traditions taking place in a coastal village, tracing relationships between ritual itinerary and topography, and highlighting the tensions and conflicts that have emerged between these ritual practices and recent developments in tourism. In the context of the littoral regions of Bali, the concept of the civic realm serves as a broad framework of the research which focuses on the village of Kuta. The choice of Kuta Village for this investigation was based on the following criteria: 1. the historical importance of the village, 2. its significance as a known tourist destination, and 3. its urban/coastal complexity. In order to address the relationships between these three criteria, the research adopted a mixed method approach, incorporating a range of quantitative and qualitative material. Participants in the research project are all, in various ways, stakeholders in the future of Kuta Village who are involved in the usage, monitoring and management of the beaches, including environmentalists.

From the perspective of an outsider visiting Kuta Village, there seems to be little evidence of conflict between the local community's ritual traditions and tourist activities in both the village and on the beaches. However, underlying this apparent tranquillity a rather different situation emerges, which concerns the sometimes conflicting interests of three parties; hotel companies, the community of environmental supporters, and the government. This conflict, which is manifested in disputes over claims of territorial ownership and control, is in danger of leading to long term negative impacts on the social life and beach environment. Furthermore, initial investigations of the key issues, arising from this conflict, suggests that a significant part of the problem is due to a combination of unplanned tourist development, weak management, ineffective law enforcement and the effect of beach erosion. Due to these negative impacts, and their implications on the civic life of the community, this thesis aims to initiate discussions for a revised planning and design strategy for Kuta Village in order to achieve a more balanced relationship among ecological needs, custody of the civic realm and a sustained development in tourism. Such a strategy aims, ultimately, to improve understanding of the key challenges facing the town for benefit of practitioners, planners, government bodies and academia.

Keywords: civic realm, ritual traditions, and littoral regions

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Glossary

<i>Adat</i>	A customary which is based on traditional values and are commonly opposed to civil law.
<i>Awig-awig.</i>	Balinese village's customary law.
<i>Arya</i>	The troop leader who derives from the king's family.
<i>Bade</i>	A cremation tower.
<i>Bale</i>	A Balinese building which usually refers to an open structure.
<i>Bale Agung</i>	A major altar located at Desa Temple's middle zone (before inner zone).
<i>Bali Aga</i>	Ancient Balinese pre-dating the Majapahits, who have a different culture to the Majapahits.
<i>Banjar/Banjar</i>	
<i>Adat</i>	A traditional social organisation based on mutual needs (<i>sukha-dukkha</i> or 'pleasant-unpleasant') within the <i>desa</i> or village.
<i>Banyu Pinaruh</i>	A human purification ritual taking place on a Sunday, the first day of the seven day of <i>sinta</i> based on the Balinese <i>pawukon</i> calendar.
<i>Bedugul</i>	A temple to facilitate irrigation society (farmer) from a single source of water.
<i>Bendesa</i>	A chief of the traditional village.
<i>Besakih</i>	The mother temple as the biggest complex temple at the slope of Mount Agung.
<i>Brahmana</i>	The highest priest, also defined as the first rank from the four groups in the society.
<i>Catur Wangsa</i>	The four clan groups based on ancestral lineage: <i>Brahmana</i> , <i>Ksatrya</i> , <i>Wesya</i> and <i>Sudra</i> .

<i>Catuspatha</i>	A cross pattern concept consisting of four main directions (a street intersection) which define the centre of a territory.
<i>Dadya</i>	A family temple which is worshipped by more than one ancestral family.
<i>Dalem</i>	The king titles of Bali kingdom as representative from the Majapahit Kingdom.
<i>Desa</i>	Village, hamlet.
<i>Desa Adat</i>	A Balinese traditional village community that defines their territory as a scared space and is governed by certain taboos, ritual protocols and laws in integrity with the three village temples.
<i>Desa Dinas</i>	A civic village organisation.
<i>Desa Pakraman</i>	A similar meaning to <i>desa adat</i> to which ' <i>pakraman</i> ' derives from ' <i>krama</i> ' means village members.
<i>Hasta Kosala,</i>	
<i>Kosali and Bhumi</i>	Principles of Balinese architecture that use the human body for harmonising building measurements and placements.
<i>Kaja-Kelod</i>	Principles of physical orientation that constitute the implementation of <i>nyegara-gunung</i> philosophy which usually governs zones of the temples and other buildings.
<i>Krama Banjar</i>	Member of the <i>banjar</i> .
<i>Krama Desa</i>	Member of the <i>desa</i> /village.
<i>Ksatrya</i>	Of the king's family, a second ranking soldier of the four groups.
<i>Majapahit</i>	The greatest kingdom (1294-1520) located at East Java.
<i>Melasti</i>	A ritual procession to the sea or to the holy spring, whereby the places of village gods as <i>pratimas</i> are carried to the source of water and are then sprinkled with holy water. This is part of a purification ritual by the village and its deities. <i>Melasti</i> always takes place before <i>Nyepi</i> day, but it can be held in relation to temple ceremonies.

<i>Menhir</i>	A stone statue which symbolises ‘ <i>lingam-yonī</i> ’ or ‘ <i>purusha-prakriti</i> ’ which are symbols of the soul and material nature creating a life.
<i>Merajan Ageng/</i>	
<i>Dadya Ageng</i>	The biggest family temple worshipped by all family clan.
<i>Ngelanus</i>	A part of cremation ritual in terms of thankfulness to the gods and goddesses by offering ceremonies at the sea and mountain.
<i>Nyegara-Gunung</i>	A Balinese philosophy defining a cycle of life where the sea (<i>nyegara</i>) and mountains (<i>gunung</i>) are symbols of death and birth, whilst the midland is a symbol of life.
<i>Nyekah</i>	A big ceremony relates to the spirit of the deceased to heaven for reward and punishment who are expected to reach the honoured place in the family temple, if he/she may ultimately be reborn on the earth, he/she is expected to have high dignity.
<i>Nyepi</i>	The first day of the 10 th month (<i>Kedasa</i>) commonly occurs in March; a day of silence, of stillness, of meditation, when everyone is not supposed to go out of the home.
<i>Pancawara,</i>	
<i>Saptawara</i>	The two most important weeks from the ten weeks of the <i>pawukon</i> cycle. These two weeks and eight other weeks ranging in length from one to ten days, all run concurrently.
<i>Pande</i>	A group associated with a special profession/skill, such as a blacksmith clan.
<i>Panti</i>	A family temple worshipped by more than one family in an ancestral line.
<i>Pasek</i>	The people having high status in Bali pre-dating the Majapahits.
<i>Pawukon</i>	The Balinese calendar consists of 210 days in one cycle which governs most activities including anniversaries, religious events, and auspicious days, besides using the lunar calendar system.

<i>Pecalang</i>	Security guards for ritual purposes who are part of the organisation structure of the village.
<i>Pakelem</i>	An environmental purification ritual using an animal sacrifice according to the level and purpose of the ritual, however, when practiced by Kuta community every year, they regularly use a black duck.
<i>Pelebon</i>	A corpse cremation ritual carried out by the deceased's family. <i>Pelebon</i> derives from a word of <i>pelebuan lebu</i> meaning to cremate; another word for <i>pelebon</i> is <i>ngaben</i> , meaning preparing a great effort to the deceased.
<i>Pemaksan</i>	A group of temple congregations.
<i>Prajuru</i>	A member of the <i>banjar</i> or <i>desa</i> organisation.
<i>Perarem</i>	A set of the banjar's regulation referring to village customary law.
<i>Pura Dalem</i>	A village temple close to the cemetery to utilise a death ceremony; it is also used for human purifications.
<i>Pura Desa</i>	A village temple located at the centre of the village symbolised as a living temple.
<i>Pura Pedharman</i>	The biggest clan temple.
<i>Pura Puseh</i>	A village temple which is usually located at the or eastern side of village territory dedicated to founding ancestors and symbolised as the birth temple.
<i>Pura Segara</i>	A coastal temple worshipped by people who live near the coast and by fishermen.
<i>Rahinan Dina</i>	An important religious day.
<i>Saka Calendar</i>	The Hindu-Balinese lunar calendar normally consisting of 12 months, each of which ends on a dark moon (Tilem); a 13 th intercalary month is added every 3 or 4 years; the numbering of the saka calendar is around 78 years behind Gregorian year numbering.
<i>Sanggah</i>	The smallest family temple which is an important part of a house unit.

<i>Sangkep</i>	A meeting attended by the <i>banjar</i> members.
<i>Segara</i>	Sea, ocean.
<i>Sekehe</i>	An organised social group possibly deriving from one or two villages with a specific function and distinct professional roles/responsibilities.
<i>Sekehe Jukung</i>	An organised social group of fisherman.
<i>Soroh</i>	A family clan.
<i>Subak</i>	Balinese traditional irrigation system, which is also defined as irrigation society from a single source of water.
<i>Sudra</i>	Commoner, the lowest of the Balinese titles.
<i>Tri Hita Karana</i>	The root Balinese philosophy which derives from three substances of life; soul (<i>atma</i>), physical material (<i>angga</i>) and power (<i>khaya</i>).
<i>Tri Khayangan</i>	Three village temples consisting of Pura Puseh, Desa and Dalem, one of the reflections of <i>tri hita karana</i> in a Balinese village.
<i>Triwangsa</i>	The three groups acting as a gentry or an aristocratic group against the commoners.
<i>Ulun Swi</i>	A farmer temple covering the irrigation society from several sources of water located at the upper edge of rice fields.
<i>Wesya</i>	The third ranking of the four titles in the society.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Bali is famous for its beautiful beaches and coastal villages that have attracted millions of tourists over the years. An often overlooked aspect of these coastal settlements is the daily lives of the inhabitants, and the crucial importance of ceremonies and festivals in maintaining cohesion and continuity of these close-knit communities. Extending across the built topography of the coastal settlements, these ceremonial events often culminate in important rituals on the beach fronts, which draw a multitude of participants and spectators, from local residents to tourists. It is not easy to manage these beaches to accommodate the different (and often conflicting) interests of the community, both permanent and transient. It is in the light of this challenge, and its implications in the life of the coastal villages in general, that this study takes as its underlying principle that the beach front forms an integral (indeed vital) part of the civic realm of Balinese coastal towns, where a sense of belonging and purpose among its citizens is most tangibly expressed and felt. Such importance attached to these littoral settlements in Bali requires a clearer and more demonstrable recognition from political leaders and developers. Moreover, this greater visibility in the civic life of the village must inevitably involve the interests of different stakeholders, as this research will demonstrate in terms of formulating more effective and sustainable policies and design strategies.

A particular objective in this investigation is to determine the status and meaning of the civic realm in Bali today and its associated religious practices, specifically in the coastal settlement of Kuta which is the focus of this research. In this introductory chapter I will provide some background to this topic, through an investigation of some definitions, and key problems/challenges. The chapter will also identify the aims and significance of the research, outline the research methodology, the scope

and limitations of the research and conclude with a summary of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the Study

Balinese is an ethnic group living on the small island of Bali which forms part of Indonesia. The richness of the Balinese culture and traditions should not be separated from the long and ancient history of Indonesia in general. Puspongoro and Notosusanto (1984), suggest that the exchange in trade through sea transportation with India and China can be traced to the second century which signalled the beginning of a rich cultural exchange with parts of Indonesia. This trading activity coincided with the era of Indonesian emperors (Vickers, Prasetyo, & Trisila, 2009, p. 13). From historical manuscripts, the dynasties of Sriwijaya and Majapahit ruled from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries which is generally agreed to be the 'Golden Era' in the development of Indonesian culture and ritual traditions before the introduction of Islam (Ardika, Parimatha, & Wirawan, 2013, pp. 261-262). Both dynasties succeeded in uniting almost all the areas of Indonesia, shaping its diverse culture with Hindu philosophy. After a long period, a significant change of the Balinese culture took place during Dutch colonisation. A further shift in culture happened after Indonesian Independence which impacted not only on the way of life of the Balinese, but also the structure and organisation of their communities.

The Balinese manage to maintain their lives and surroundings by adhering to traditional laws, even during times of significant change. The existence of these traditions has been supported by the Indonesian constitution (R. Indonesia, 1945) which was established in 1945; Article 18, for example, stipulates that the state recognises and respects the life of traditional ethnic groups with their laws and rights on the basis of community development and the unitary state of the Indonesia Republic; whilst Article 28 states that cultural identity and traditional ethnic group rights must be respected. Moreover, a declaration from the United Nations, on the rights of Indigenous People, is further evidence of support, which embraces four

themes; the right to self-determination, the right to be recognised as distinct peoples, the right to freedom, prior and informed consent, and the right to be free of discrimination (Assembly, 2007, pp. 1-18).

As the main subject of the research, Balinese society represents one of these ethnic communities in Indonesia which is unique in being the only Hindu enclave in the Islamic majority of Indonesia. Historically, the development of Balinese culture as the first golden age is strongly related to the development of the Hindu religion in Bali which first developed from the 9th to 13th centuries A.D. (Semadi, 1997). The adoption of the Hindu religion created a distinctive cultural identity which is different from other Hindu societies in Asia. One aspect of this distinctiveness is the tradition of building three temples in every village, to provide a strong religious identity of the Balinese communities. More will be said later about the importance of this particular Hindu tradition in the ceremonial life of Bali.

The second golden age of Balinese culture took place when Bali came under the rule of the Majapahit Dynasty based in East Java, from the 14th to 18th centuries A.D. (Ardika et al., 2013, p. 264). During this time, architecture and ritual ceremonies thrived on the island. Some examples can be seen in the development of coastal temples and the use of a cross pattern/street intersection arrangement in regulating village and town territories, while noble cremation rituals played an important role during this period. Palaces and priests' houses became centres for cultural development. After this era, the Dutch colonised Bali in the earliest twentieth century, giving rise to very different styles of architecture influenced from Europe and typified by lodge buildings. Even with this external influence, however, the roots of Balinese culture were still pervasive and dominant, evidenced in the remarkable continuity of religious practice (Mantra, 1996).

These ceremonies provide an occasion when the actions and reflections of Balinese people are demonstrably in harmony with the environment. The littoral regions of the island of Bali are particularly important as ritual

territories for these offering ceremonies. These ritual activities centre on coastal temples and entail human purification, cremation ceremonies and rituals to achieve/maintain cosmological balance. The most crowded ceremony taking place in the littoral regions is the *Melasti* which is held before the Balinese New Year of *Nyepi*. In contrast, the littoral regions become very quiet on New Year's Day (the day of cosmic rest), since nobody is permitted to go out except in an emergency and for security purposes. Meanwhile, the cremation ceremony is the most regular ritual event on the beach. Although the littoral regions are generally considered an impure zone, according to their hierarchy of spaces (of which more will be said later), there are several temples located along the beach with different functions and hierarchies. In some places, fishermen have special shrines to worship the gods and goddesses before going out to sea. Given these ritual activities, it is clear that the littoral regions serve a vital function as sacred zones, although they are actually categorised as public spaces according to the Indonesian National Policy No.26/2007 (R. Indonesia, 2007b). The policy states that littoral regions are protected areas which can be used only for public use.

Since the regions accommodate an abundance of ritual activities which are hosted by the Balinese communities, the areas play a key role in the civic/religious life of the community. A more detailed examination of the notion of the civic realm, and its relevance to Balinese coastal towns (specifically Kuta Village), will be provided later in this chapter. At one level this idea of civil territory means that the beaches come under the jurisdiction of the village community, called *desa pakraman* or *desa adat* (Surpha, 2012). In this sense, the everyday needs of the public which do not directly relate to rituals and ceremonies, such as for example public transportation, sight-seeing, sun bathing or other activities, may be considered secondary priorities. Hence on certain occasions (which follow the Balinese religious calendar), such public locations as beaches and streets are periodically transformed into civic spaces, specifically addressing the needs of ritual enactments. What transpires from this

temporal transformation is that certain civic rights, as they pertain to public participation in traditional ceremonies, take precedence over other activities. This priority extends to other parts of Kuta Village as I will explain later.

Nowadays, the implementation of rituals and ceremonial events on the coastal regions has faced several challenges, particularly the impact of tourism on the built environment. In the case of the coastal regions of Bali (the focus of this research), the extent of these developments, in an area of exceptional natural beauty and noted for its rich cultural history, demonstrates most clearly the urgency of the problem. To review the impact of coastal tourism resorts on the ceremonial life of Kuta Village, it is necessary to examine among other things the policies of central government, first conceived in 1963, which proclaims Bali as a tourism island and a major international tourist destination (Pitana, 2000, p. 11). This declaration ignores the fact that Bali is just a tiny island with an area of 5,632.86 km² or 0.29% of the total area of Indonesia, and with a length of coastline of approximately 436.80 km Bali (Statistik, 2012b, p. 3).

The intensity of largely unplanned development in coastal areas has brought several negative impacts on the environment of the littoral regions. Unfortunately, the Presidential Decree and Regional Regulations No.32/1990 (P. R. Indonesia, 1990) regulate the setback of building structures from the coastline (a minimum of 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL), could not be properly implemented in most resort areas. In spite of this, regulating these setbacks is very useful, as John R. Clark states:

“Shoreline setbacks (or exclusive zones) are very useful in coastal management. The purpose is to exclude certain uses from areas close to the shoreline. The objective of such setback zones includes avoidance of damage from flooding and erosion, protection of ecological functions, and protection of the view shed and public access to the shore.” (Clark, 1995, p. 44)

One of the reasons a shoreline setback may not be implemented is because there is little coordination between local government and the National Land Agency who release private land certificates, coupled with weak law enforcement and monitoring from the local government. Hence conversion of land ownership on beach fronts, from state to private use, occurs with very few restriction. The impact of these developments is self-evident to visitors to Bali and is creating major problems among some local people.

Another concern is that the combination of natural disasters and human activities have contributed to the erosion of coastal areas, resulting in a change in beach morphology and the decreasing width of habitable beach fronts. According to the Inception Report published by the Bali Beach Conservation Project (BBCP), beach erosion was up to 51.5 km in the year of 1978, 70.33 km in 2000, extending to 91 km in 2006 (SDA, 2006). The report also identified that the hard erosion taking place is due to a combination of climate change, coral mining, waste disposal, fishing activities, the construction of buildings along the coast, and other human activities. Nowadays, the eroded beaches in Bali are likely to extend as far as 100 km, since there is no protection in most coastal areas. Besides being a major threat to the ecology of the region, this condition has also resulted in an ever decreasing territory for ritual activities that have traditionally formed a central part of the life of these communities. A key premise of this investigation is that the ecological sustainability of the littoral regions of Bali are integrally related to the sustainability of ritual practices; without one, the other is jeopardised.

Even though, according to the National Policy (R. Indonesia, 2004), there are three government institutions (central, provincial and regent) who have responsibility for managing the beaches for the coastal areas and enforcing local and national law, coordination among them has not been properly established. Consequently, territorial infringements continue unchecked. Recognising areas of overlap in beach management, the

regency government has granted a mandate to manage the beach to traditional village communities, called *desa pakraman* or *desa adat*. This initiative has empowered these communities by building participatory initiatives and returning traditional rights of coastal territories to local people. A key objective of this initiative is to maintain rituals and ceremonies for Balinese Hindu communities.

Badung Regency for instance, released a decree (Regency, 2000) to grant a mandate to the *desa pakraman* for managing beach areas in their territory. As mentioned earlier, this policy does not contradict with national policies, as the national law acknowledges the existence of customary authority, called *adat* law. Kuta Village is one example of a village that is organised around *desa pakraman/desa adat*, and has received the regency's authority to manage Kuta beach. This village has been selected as a case study for this investigation, since it is one of the most crowded tourist resorts in Bali and is also renowned for its rich tradition of ceremonies. Besides accommodating many foreign tourists, it is also the most favourite place for Indonesian tourists to visit. This means that the beaches and the coastal village are crowded almost every day. In spite of this crowding and the continued illegal infringements of commercial development on public land, religious/civic festivals continue on the beaches.

These events occur every year and follow the 210 days of Balinese Calendar (Sundarigama, 2007). There are also temporary ritual ceremonies held by individuals, families, sub-village/neighbour communities (*banjars*) and village communities (D. A. Kuta, 2013). The involvement of the *desa adat* of Kuta, in managing the processions of the rituals on the beach, is an integral part of their duty and obligation in society. But they are only involved at the level of specific ritual events such as the *Melasti*, *Nyepi*, the anniversary of *tri khayangan* (village temples), whilst other rituals, such as cremation, marriage and related human ceremonies, are handled by *banjars* (social organisations or

neighbourhood community groups). Through these events, the beach and other coastal areas become mainly civic spaces involving *Desa Pakraman* in offering rituals, whilst other days are filled by the more familiar activities of tourism. The shift from one situation to the next can sometimes lead to tensions between members of the community, hotel owners and other groups.

The resulting clashes in beach activities reflect different, sometimes conflicting interests. The guests (whether foreign, domestic or local) require the beach to be a free, but regulated territory for sun bathing, swimming, flying kites, fishing activities, sight-seeing, watching the sunrise/sunset or just walking. At the same time, the owners of tourist facilities tend to take full advantage of the area as a vital asset for their guest services, by providing beach umbrellas and open bars. As a result of the different interest groups and stakeholders, conflicts inevitably occur between the concerns of civic religious, privatised/commercial and broadly public activities. As Budiharsono (2005) states a significant cause of this conflict is due to the weakness of laws and regulations, as well as unplanned development.

More generally, the beach, as a 'civic realm', for public participation is constantly threatened by natural hazards, manmade disasters, building offences, encroaching private areas and conflicts, making the initial function of the beach as a place for ceremonies all the more precarious. This has resulted in local citizens becoming more marginalised. The imbalance counters the cosmological harmony defined by *tri hita karana* (a Balinese Hinduism principle that regulates a village according to the arrangement and balance of its temples, dwellings and open spaces). Of course, it is not easy to address these problems, but a comprehensive solution needs to be found if the whole social fabric of Bali's indigenous communities is not to be jeopardised. Some form of clearly defined demarcation between public and private space needs to be properly enforced to ensure the survival of ritual activities within a still legible and

recognisable civic space of the beach. This is emphasised by Ali Madanipour who states that:

“By establishing the boundary between the two realms (public and private realms) so that a civilized relationship can be promoted, the threat of encroachment by private interests into the public realm and the threat of public intrusion into the private sphere are both minimized and carefully managed. Rather than being caught in a battle between communitarian and libertarian approaches, which can be stifling, a porous and highly elaborate boundary which acknowledges and protects individual and collective interests and rights is what distinguishes a sophisticated urban environment from a harsh one.”(Madanipour, 2003, p. 11)

This means that both public and private spaces should have a legal framework and boundaries regulated by state law. Although it is not easy to manage sensitive areas (the beach at Kuta Village is after all not just a recreation ground), such laws could prevent long lasting conflict and deep resentment. Management of such conflict must form an essential tool to address the co-existence of different stakeholders for these heavily used beachfronts. Principles disseminating from the Sustainable Coastal Tourism (SCT) and Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM/ICM) are a possible solution in dealing with the pressure of Kuta coastal village (Bijlsma et al., 1996; Cicin-Sain, Knecht, Jang, & Fisk, 1998; J. C. Post & Lundin, 1996). These principles provide the framework for achieving both cultural and environmental sustainability for Kuta Beach. Both define priority areas for tourist developments which are applied from planning to operation stage. At the same time the more traditional principle of ‘local wisdom’ (of *tri hita karana*) can be incorporated to help determine the availability and appropriateness of space for accommodating ritual activities on the beach. It seems that this combination of modern law (when effectively applied) and an ancient understanding of the hierarchy of place (with respect to zones of sanctity) can potentially provide the community with the most effective means of maintaining some semblance of continuity and harmony, given that Bali is in the grip of the globalised effects of tourism.

1.2 The Civic Realm: Definitions and Meanings

a. Definitions and Meanings

A broadly western concept, the association of the term 'Civic Realm' with festive and civic occasions in Balinese culture requires some clarification and justification. By seeking to address the challenge facing contemporary Balinese society, in the face of mass tourism and the rapid impact of globalisation, the principles underlying the civic realm (as will be outlined below) seemed to offer an appropriate framework in which to embark on such an enquiry. This is especially mindful of the deep traditions of public life and ritual practices on the island that have existed for centuries with remarkable continuity. Applying the term, however, in this context requires consideration of the particular notions of participatory space and ritual topography found in the traditional Hindu society of Bali, and how western (abstract) definitions of space are inadequate to convey this embodied understanding.

We begin with an examination of the etymological background of the word 'civic' and an account of its deep-rooted social, political and theological associations. This will then be followed by examination of the particular understanding of the civic realm in the ritual practices of Bali, in the way it is manifested through a hierarchical symbolism of landscape. The last step is to recontextise the meanings of the term between western and Balinese notions.

'Civic' typically refers to a city or town, especially its administrative systems. It derives from the Latin "*civicus*", from *civis* meaning citizen. The word however has a much older etymology as we see in Cicero, from the late Republic, when *civitas* (plural '*civitates*') denoted a social body of citizens united by a common set of laws. In the ancient (Western) world these laws were bound by a common understanding of civic virtue (*concilium*) that ensured stability and continuity of civic society (*res publica*). Hence, in broad terms, *civitas* refers to a community of citizens

who have a shared set of values bound by law. It is this specifically Greco-Roman concept of 'civicness' that provided the foundation for St Augustine's famous work *De Civitate Dei* (City of God), in which the saint proclaims the promise of a society life of eternal blessedness, the community of those who yearn towards Christ and cleave to Him...." (Chroust, 1944, p. 201).

Augustine makes a distinction here between the model of a godly city and its antithesis, '*Civitas Terrera*' (earth city), which is not the same as the political community of the secular state but rather denotes a community of citizens that intentionally reject God. The godly city, on the other hand, conveys the principle of a community blessed by piety and compassion. In many ways, the classical/early Christian definition of *civitas* provided the basis for shaping both the image and political systems of European cities, as we see, for example, in the late Medieval and early Renaissance development of Florence and Siena (Frugoni & McCuaig, 1991). A sense of 'civicness', as it pertains to a community of citizens, and their allegiance to political/judicial authority (commune, *podesta*, etc.), was given clearer spatial definition through the creation of major public spaces. This gave visible and corporeal expression to religious and civic ceremonies.

The *civitas* is synonymous with the principle of "public entity", which is not just the collective body of all the citizens but also the contract binding them together (*civis*). According to Spragens (1999), "the adjective 'civic' is used to denote the politically relevant forms of friendship to distinguish between the public (political) and private (individual) realms", a point that has a particular bearing on the example of Kuta Village and its beachfront. Meanwhile, the meaning of *Realm* can be found in several dictionaries that provide similar meanings to sphere, domain or cosmos (Simpson & Weiner, 1989).

The German philosopher Jurgen Habermas (1991, p. 19) states that civil society is depicted as an organisational structure within a public sphere; the groups of people with public interests, and "as corollary of

depersonalised state authority". Cooper (1977, pp. 619-648; 1999), on the other hand, states that the establishment of civic society is due to the common advantage of the members that derive from it. Meanwhile, Donnelly (1993, p. 8) adds that the civic realm relates closely to descriptions of urban form and social organisation encompassing three concepts: the space of public claim, organic solidarity and legibility. In this sense, the definition of the civic realm can be summarised as a sphere of civic society in relation to its interaction and activity, most likely taking place in public or private spaces, hence these spaces can be defined as civic spaces.

This long-established European tradition may seem, at first, somewhat remote from the particular situation of contemporary Bali, with its unique cultural and religious traditions (even when compared to other parts of Indonesia). Applying therefore terms 'civicness' and civic realm to the social and built fabric of Kuta town requires some redefinition and adjustment. This needs to be undertaken, however, mindful of the almost universal (global) application of such terms as 'civic society', 'civic culture' and 'civic space' in recent scholarly publications (Boulding, 1990). Such generalised applications in many ways only propagate confusion about its more specific cultural meanings. In order to clarify the descriptions of civic realm or civic space in the particular situation of contemporary Bali and Kuta town (the focus of this research), the descriptions of spaces based on the particular beliefs, culture and traditions of this region need to be explored.

b. The Civic Realm in the Context of Bali

It is appropriate at this point to explain in more detail the significance of the notion of 'Civicness' and the 'Civic Realm' in Bali and Kuta Village specifically. As the Introduction has already alluded to, the current systems of law and governance on the island of Bali, regarding the protection of the cultural and environmental ecology of the coastal regions (in the face of unchecked and predatory commercial exploitation), appear dysfunctional.

One of the key principles of civiness and the civic realm is that the adherence to law and respect for communal participation must be upheld in order to sustain the ceremonial life of the community, and thereby give order to civic society.

This is where differences emerge between western and Hindu notions of the civic, as they pertain to Balinese religious practices. According to religious thought of Hinduism, the term must assume in some degree a sphere of existence (realm/*loka*) that encompasses not only humans and gods, but also all animated life: animals, plants, water, fire, wind, language, meters, feelings, and thoughts (Michaels, 2004, p. 284). According to Herman Schmitz (Michaels, (2004, p. 284), a religious concept of space (*loka*) does not perceive it in any specific volumetric or quantitative sense, but rather identifies spatial divisions in terms of thresholds and liminal zones. The philosophy and concept of space will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

In Bali the terms *loka* and *bhuwana* (cosmos) define the sphere of existence as a specifically religious concept of place (Sutjaja, 2009, Sularto, 1987). Moreover, the idea of a 'common' world for everything and everyone was not accepted in ancient Indian and Balinese Hindu belief. Instead it; is more acceptable to conceive different cosmological models of various worlds that exist side by side (Gombrich, 1975, pp. 110-115). At the same time, the general concept of a public sphere is particularly not conducive to understanding the situational and multifarious nature of Hindu religious beliefs. It is in this context that the notion of a 'civic realm', with its associations with collective participation, identity and individual responsibility, emerges as a more appropriate idiom for this enquiry. Furthermore, the idea of a religious (sacred) terrain has a particular bearing on this investigation, given that the beach (as sacred territory) is enclosed not by tangible walls or edges, typical of sacred precincts in religious/civic spaces in the west, but rather bounded visually (and ontologically) by the horizon, the cosmological equivalent of an 'edge' of a

sacred *temenos*. Hence, the settings of beaches are in many ways the quintessential manifestation of a 'cosmic room', without physical limitations.

Meanwhile, according to the philosophy of *tri hita karana* (three causes of serenity or happiness), every territory is originally subdivided into three zones; temple spaces (*parhyangan*), dwellings (*pawongan*) and open spaces (*palemahan*) including coastal (sea) and mountain areas. These are places that define changing relationships between gods, nature and humans as expressed through ritual practices, procession and festivals. In many ways, these settings reflect a hierarchical understanding of space, with their accompanying lawful ritual practices, that more favourably compare to the western notion of the civic realm as understood in specifically in Augustinian terms.

c. A Summary of the Western and Balinese Notions' the Civic Realm

Drawing comparison, however, between the typically western models and principles of the civic realm (outlined above) and the use of beaches as ceremonial precincts in Bali, reveals a further dimension of significance that deserves investigation. In the western tradition, 'civicness' is broadly synonymous with urban life, in which notions of the civic realm relate to the participatory dimension of largely bounded public spaces, whether in the form of streets or squares. It is clear, however, that such relationships are waning in the West as a result largely of the impact of globalisation and the loss of forms of civic participation (Sennett, 2012). In this context, Nezar Alsayyad's study of tradition describes it more specifically a 'clash' between a still pervasive, place-specific, notion of tradition (the basis of cyclic rituals and ceremonies) and the transitory and unstable trajectories of global tourism, with its over-riding emphasis on profit and capital (Alsayyad, 2014). The urban context of 'civicness' in the western tradition could be said to be recapitulated in the Balinese context as a largely 'open' frontier of beaches and their unifying collective horizon that serves as an integral part of a more open 'cosmo-geographical' understanding of

participatory space. Recognising therefore these differences between broadly western and Balinese perspectives, the term 'civic realm' is applied in this study with some caution.

1.3 Problem Statements and Research Questions

The main problem identified within civic realm is that there is conflict between ecological needs, the custody of the civic space and the impact of tourism in the coastal regions of Bali. This leads to the more critical issue of the changing social, spiritual, cultural, economic and politic life of the Balinese, in the midst of environmental degradation. The entanglement of social, commercial, political and religious issues evident in this conflict serves as the background to the present investigation. Factors causing the problem can be identified and described more fully as follows:

a. A combination of unplanned tourist and beach erosion

Since the majority of beach tourism development in Bali has been built without adequate planning, the space for public interests has been neglected. The increasing growth of tourist developments has resulted in a high density area. The regulations stipulate the setback of building structures from the coastline as 100 metres. However, authorities have evidently failed to enforce this, leaving most accommodation too close to the coastline. The crowded areas on the beach have resulted in discomfort and inconvenience among the users. At the same time, coastal erosion, that is taking place in some tourist areas, is largely a result of a combination of natural disasters and human activities; such as climate change, coral and sand mining, fishing methods, discharging waste water disposal and the development of hard structures. These factors have resulted in a significant decrease in the width of beaches.

b. Weak management and ineffective law enforcement

The white sandy beaches that provide the setting for beautiful scenic views, are one of the vital assets of Bali, another being Balinese culture. Unfortunately, commercial companies seem very ambitious to exploit

these features as much as they can without beach environmental protection and conservation. This indifference is evidenced in government policy where the government strongly encourages investment in tourism sectors in order to maximise income tax. On the other hand, the political will from local government, to manage and protect tourist beaches, has yet to be properly demonstrated.

c. Conflict of interests

There are several parties who have been assigned responsibility to manage the beaches on the island of Bali, and the overlapping of some of their policies has led to conflicts of interests among the parties. In addition, the change of the beach territory's ownership, from local traditional communities to the state, has also brought several challenges for them in maintaining physical surroundings of their territory and implementing ritual traditions. Hence, these arrangements have only fuelled conflict rather than supported proper and effective beach management.

In response to these problems, the following key research questions will be addressed:

- What changes have taken place in the understanding and use of public space in the littoral regions?
- Has there been deterioration in the 'civic realm' and its supporting traditions and practices, as a result of tourist development?
- Can the conflicting demands and perception of the stakeholders in coastal villages of Bali be measured and identified?
- Can the sources of development problems be ascertained through interviews with stakeholders?
- Is it possible to suggest planning and design guidelines based on a balance of ecological needs, custody of civic realm and sustainable development of coastal tourism?

1.4 Aims and Objectives

The main aims and objectives of this study can be summarised as follows:

- To identify changes in the understanding, and use, of the civic realm, and how they have led to increasing pressures in maintaining ritual practices and traditions.
- To evidence the challenges facing civic and cultural identity in Kuta Village, largely as a result of tourist development, and their impact on the prevailing traditions.
- To identify the conflicting demands of different stakeholders and their various impacts on the public life of Kuta Village.
- To ascertain the sources/causes of these problems through interviews with stakeholders.
- To propose a planning and design strategy that attempts to maintain a balance between ecological needs, custody of the civic realm and sustainable development of coastal tourism.

1.5 Significance of Research

The significance of the research is to contribute new knowledge to the relationship between ritual practice and urban development in coastal tourism. The significance of this research is highlighted in the following key points:

- An understanding of principles of civic identity and civic space, in the context of Balinese coastal regions, has not been considered before.
- The negative impacts of over-development and ecological degradation in the coastal regions of Bali provide a useful case-study for examining similar situations in other parts of the world where traditional ritual/ceremonial practices still support and sustain indigenous communities.
- The outstanding outcomes of the research aim to provide the basis of planning and design guidelines in relation to a balance on ecological needs, custody of civic realm and development of coastal tourism.

- The guidelines will serve as a unique framework for formulating future development strategies by practitioners, planners, government, and academia.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The scope of this research reflects both the specific issues pertaining to the ritual life of the Balinese in the littoral regions, and the challenges created by global tourism. A more general question is also addressed as to whether such an investigation would be useful for similar situations in other parts of Asia and further afield. By focusing on Kuta Village, my aim is to demonstrate how a particular Balinese community has the capacity to adjust and respond sympathetically to rapidly changing situations and the need to develop a clear strategy to ensure such a community can continue to practice its ritual traditions in harmony with both existing and future tourist developments.

Other factors relating to these changes, such as cultural, economic and political issues, as well as management and government policies, are also considered in this research. There are a number of other locations of tourism and littoral regions which could have been used as a case study. However Kuta coastal village was selected as the case study of ritual traditions in the littoral regions by using criteria which is particularly based on representation factors from the most locations.

Since the availability of references and sources, for supporting three distinctive studies (the civic realm, ritual traditions and littoral regions of Bali) is very limited, it resulted in some difficulties in formulating framework for the research. Other challenges and limitations in this research related to the involvement of participants and the uncertainty of the methods of obtaining useful information (surveys, questionnaires, etc.). Various parties/groups as stakeholders were involved in this research, while the availability of time spent on aspects of the research, was limited. As a consequence the size of survey samples in each group was smaller than

expected. In addition, the areas of the field surveys were confined to crowded areas, with different locations resulting in the time spent on the surveys to be shorter than anticipated.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

There are three distinct aspects of the research that underpin this study: civic realm, ritual traditions and littoral regions. Contemporary challenges on the physical environment, culture, traditions and customs become pivotal points of analysis and form the basis of contributions to new knowledge in the field. The following chart provides the basic framework of the research topic; as it relates to the three key lines of investigation, the civic realm, ritual traditions/practices and the topography of the littoral regions (Figure 1).

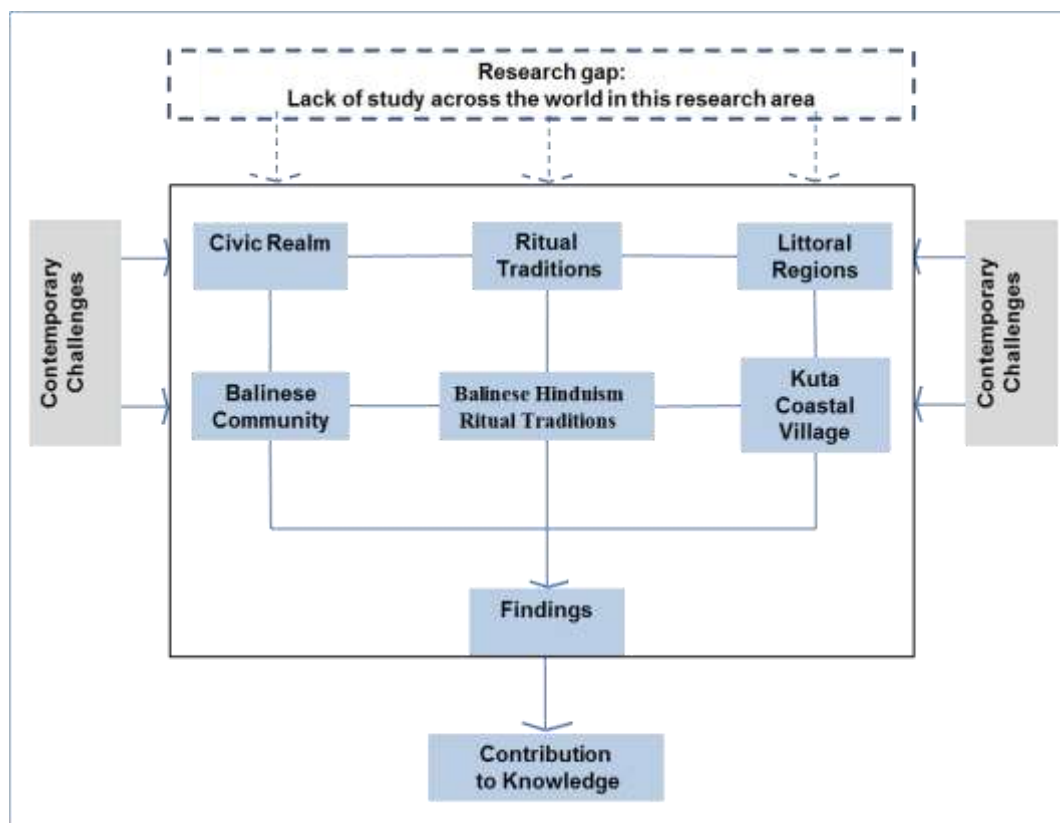


Figure 1: The research model encompassing three distinct aspects of the research: civic realm, ritual traditions and littoral regions

From this threefold framework, I divided the study into six chapters which comprise the following:

Chapter 2 outlines the research design and methodology used in the research and introduces a case study approach as the main part of the research strategy. It then explains the rationale behind the use of Kuta Village as the case study and why it can apply to other coastal places. This chapter also explains data collection techniques, the purpose of each data collection and the sources of evidence. There are two particular approaches in the data collection; 1) in-depth interviews and 2) polling surveys. The last section in this chapter also outlines the analysis methods later used in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3 provides an outline of the island of Bali and the Balinese people incorporating topography, geography, climate, demography and economy factors of the island, whilst the description of the Balinese relates to their religion, beliefs, family, kinship, society and organisation. Other sections in this chapter trace the continuity and the change of their beliefs and culture in order to understand the historical background of the island and its people.

Chapter 4 explores religious and civic spaces in Bali as the focus of the research which encompasses principles of space in the Balinese belief system relating to village patterns territorial principles of spaces, and regional implications of ritual practices today. From these sections, the background of the Balinese culture, traditions, and customs can be identified. The chapter then investigates contemporary challenges of the civic realm in Bali, in order to verify key problems faced by the Balinese people today and in the future.

Chapter 5 forms the case study of the ritual traditions of Kuta coastal village. As outlines earlier, the study aims to illustrate the broader geographical dimension of the civic realm in the littoral regions of Bali. The chapter consists of three main sections covering; 1) physical and social

environments of the Kuta Village, 2) ritual traditions and festivals, and 3) contemporary of challenges faced by the village. Through these challenges, it aims to evidence the impacts and implications of the village with respect to tourism, globalisation, and changing lifestyle.

Chapter 6 formulates results and analysis derived from the surveys in Kuta Village as the focus of the case study. Data collection and analysis techniques clarified in Chapter 2 are mainly used to highlight the status and meaning of civic life in Balinese society. The contextual and historical information collected from questionnaires, selected and depth interviews, observation and archival research are processed in this analysis. The chapter reveals key challenges relating to the problem statements outlined in the first chapter. The three main sections, relating to the physical changes of the village, societal changes in Kuta society form the main sources of the thesis's conclusion, including informing the conducted surveys.

Chapter 7, the concluding chapter of the thesis, formulates several results based on the research questions, aims and objectives, before providing recommendations and contributions to knowledge.

1.8 Literature Review

This section reviews recent literature dealing with the key themes/topics of this investigation. These key themes are: a) Theoretical and historical investigations of public space and the civic realm; b) The study of religious practices of Hinduism specifically relating to Veda and Upanishad as the important transcript texts of Hindu Religion; c) Literature that examines the principles of ritual spaces in the particular context of Balinese belief systems; d) The ethics of space and rituals become another focus for review at this stage. It is my aim to identify through this review areas of cross fertilisation between broadly western oriented descriptions of the civic realm and the particular context of both historical and contemporary Bali.

a. Theoretical and Historical Investigations of Public Space and Civic Realm

The subject of public space and civic realm is not only an interest in architectural studies or urban studies but also in geography and cultural studies. Hannah Arendt (2013), a social theorist, in her book *The Human Condition* expresses the concept of “the public” as publicity, which serve as a space of encounter for anyone who is able to be seen and heard by everybody. She emphasised that public spaces derive from the need of the individual (from individual to public). On the other hand, Richard Sennett (1992), in his book *The Fall of Public Man* emphasises his thought on definitions of public and private realm, whereby these are a basis to understand public and private space and civic realm (from public to individual). The expression of both spaces and realm is meant as a matter of checks and balances in their mutual relationship, rather than absolute hostility or conflict. As a result, these spaces always relate in some way to the society’s cultural identity.

In a similar way to Ricard Sennett, Ali Madanipour (2003) proposes the concept of “public and private spaces of the city”, in which he explains how both spaces describe the various spatial scales of the city as personal, interpersonal and impersonal zones. Public spaces of cities are places outside boundaries of private places which are used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes. But according to Stephen Carr (1992, p. 3) public spaces are open, publicly accessible places, where everyone can go for individual and group activities. Although there is a boundary between the private and public realms, the first characteristic of public spaces and realm is open space accessibility which is transformed into many forms such as parks, plazas and playgrounds.

Meanwhile from an architectural point of view, Peter G. Rowe (1999) further explains a concept of civic space ‘making’ that must belong to everyone and yet to nobody in particular, and that such civic spaces must reveal a ‘civic’ character. These spaces are about urban architecture per

se, which is used to simultaneously represent, constitute and enhance the daily lives of citizens. Rowe claims that civic realism as civic spaces are both inherent to the public realm in general, as well as specific to particular times, places and arrangements between a state and civic society. Three civic values of justice, freedom and honour are of paramount importance in civic space making and the presence of the civic realm. In this sense, the public realm can be altered to a civic realm after an agreement takes place between the state and society.

A further definition of civic realm is explored by Patrick Donnelly (1993) in his research on “Building the Civic Realm”, which defines the civic realm as embracing three concepts relevant to descriptions of urban form and social organisation such as: the space of ‘public claim’, organic solidity and legibility. The space of public claim is intended by Anderson (1986) as part of the publicly accessible spaces that are in any way directly or sequentially accessible from the public realm, including virtually accessible spaces. Organic solidity according to Hillier (1989, p. 18) is “based on instrumental differences that arise from division of labour into specialist trades, and the interdependence that brings in its train.” Meanwhile, the concept of legibility is an image of the civic realm and is analysed into three components which are identity, structure and meaning (Lynch, 1960, pp. 5-8). These descriptions can be used to strengthen the definition of the civic realm in the context of Bali as the main focus of the research.

Overall, it can be summarised that public space is a space of encounter provided by a state or city to facilitate the need of their citizens for gathering; although public space must belong to everyone with a specific character compared to private spaces. It must have organic, qualities, as well as solidity and legibility similar to the civic realm. Hence, the use of a public space as a civic realm must be regulated by law. As strengthened by Mike Douglass et.al (2002, p. 345), the provision of civic spaces is open to everyone and is completed by laws to avoid state abuse. These studies

of public space will be used to investigate the presence of civic realm in the context of Balinese culture and tradition.

b. The Study of Religious Practices of Hinduism Specifically relating to Veda and Upanishad as the Important Transcript Texts of Hindu Religion.

Some of the literatures relating to the study of religious practices, particularly in relation to Hindu religion, include the following:

Thomas J. Hopkins (1971), in his research on Hindu religious traditions, refers to several important sources from the *Rig Veda* and Upanishads. He highlights that the central element in sacrificial rituals of Hindu is Agni as one of the divine powers (*devas*), which can be seen in the early hymns of the *Rig Veda* (II.1.3, 4, 6 and V. 3.11). The Agni has multiple forms with a triple character relating to his existence in heaven, on earth and aerial waters which are symbolised by the sacrificial plot for the *Śrauta* ritual. This indicates that besides fire as the central element, water is also another essential element in the three basic sacrifices: *Gārhapatya* (sacrifice for preparing food), *Āhavanīya* (sacrifice for offering rituals) and *Daksina* (a dual function of warding off hostile spirits and giving special offerings to ancestors). While *Bhagavad Gita*, one *Puranās* which could be considered an Upanishad, enlightens the duties and obligations of man to nourish the gods into the sacrifice (religious practices) in terms of releasing the cycle of rebirth. This can be seen in the *Bhagavad Gita*, chapter III No. 10-12 (Gita, 1994, pp. 15-16).

In similar sources, Prem P. Bhalla (2007) attempts to clarify “Hindu rites, rituals, customs and traditions” referring to Vedas, Upanishads, Epics and *Puranās*, as well as *Dharmasastras* and *Dharmasutras* (textbook on sacred law). Besides the influences of Vedas, the Upanishads, the Sanskrit religious scriptures, have also profoundly influenced the Hindu way of life. The theory of action (karma) and the Hindu way of living through rituals, customs and beliefs are Hindu identities which are passed on by word of mouth from one generation to another as traditions. A

system of rituals, customs and beliefs is a direction to individuals to act in particular ways when facing everyday life, and conducting certain rites and ceremonies for religious services on public occasion.

Bhalla also highlights the importance of reverence to nature with all creatures by Hindus. For example, the worship and offering to the nine planets (the *Navgrah*), mountains, rivers, lakes, sea and other elements are part of religious traditions for Hindus. For instance, the nine planets and their positions are of great influence relating to the destinies of individuals, communities and nations and are believed as the god powers. The sun and moon, the god of Surya and Chandra, are the most important planets; besides their great influences to mankind, their positions are a key factor to determine auspicious days of other ritual ceremony.

With scientific approaches, Axel Michaels (2004) explores the theoretical and historical foundations of Hindu Religion based on several epochs and religious Vedic literatures in his book "Hinduism Past and Present". This investigation mostly addresses the background of Indian society in the past and present, from stages of life and rites of passage, the social system, religiosity, religious ideas of space and time, to immortality in life. Even though the geographical background of the society is different in Balinese Hinduism, they have a similar notion and philosophy of life. In religious ideas of space and time, for example, both Indian and Balinese societies believe that every species has a different cosmos and every cosmos has a sacred power so that the idea of a common world for everything is not accepted.

Following the *Dharmaśāstra* texts, initiations in relation to human rituals and religious practices take place from prenatal rites of birth to death rites. The death rituals from burning the corpse and burning the widow to the ancestor ritual are specific rituals in which their processions take place in the river/sea. The dead person is placed into a sacrificial fire and acts as a sacrifice to the god Agni who carries him to heaven and the world of forefather (*pitrloka*). But the path of the dead after cremation really

depends on the help and nourishment of the survivors. According to the Hindu belief, the dead remain in the status of ancestors for only three generations before moving up to the rather vague groups of heavenly creatures. The ritual procession of the death rites taking place at the river/sea is an important text to the research.

However, Michaels (2004, p. 73) argues that “the ritual birth is much more than a rigid celebration of membership into a religious community. It is also a constant enactment of the method of substitution and identification with which Hindu religious thoughts and feeling operates.” The most intense and frequent expression of Hindu religiosity are words and looks which are embedded in various forms of worship and ritual acts, such as *Brahmanic-Sanskritic* domestic rituals, sacrifices, celebrations, pilgrimages, religious services, oaths, meditations, heroic acts, and many others. Human purification by holy bathing in the river or sea is one of the *Brahmanic-Sanskritic* rituals. In this ritual act, there is also a linguistic distinction between ritual (*mārjana*) and “profane” (*snāna*, *śauca*) washing. This text adds important information to the research on ritual practices particularly the human purification ritual taking place in the coast/rivers.

Mircea Eliade, portrays a different perspective in his books: *Patterns in Comparative Religions* (1958), *The Sacred and the Profane* (1959), *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1971) in which these books seem to have interrelationships in providing the deep description of “sacred” and “profane”. He explains that the structure and morphology of the sacred are based on the myth and complexity of religion which are called the ‘primitive’ religion, although there are two distinctive values (sacred and profane) that exist in the world. The sacredness of the cosmos started from the sky and sky gods, the sun-moon in worship and mystique to the earth, woman and fertility, to the sacredness of water, vegetation, and stones, as well as places and time. Even though they are not as specific as the Hindu religion, almost all of the descriptions in these books are very

relevant in describing the Hindu religious beliefs in the context of this research.

With reference to the places, he, in his studies, cited the important arguments from Leenhardt and Radcliffe-Brown et.al; each of them states that: “the whole landscape is alive and its smallest details all mean something; nature is rich with human history” (Leenhardt, 1930, pp. 23-24), whilst the whole is part of complex of things arising all the emotions and the cardinal point of this complex is “the local totem centre” (Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, p. 183). In terms of the symbolism of the centre, there are three connected and complementary aspects from his point of view; these are the “sacred mountain” where heaven and earth meet and stand at the centre of the world, every temple and palace or the temple and sacred city, since both places are assimilated to a sacred mountain, so that they become a “centre”. Moreover, temples, cities and other sacred places have the same significance the summit of the cosmic mountain which always a meeting place for the three cosmic regions between heaven and earth.

From some of the texts mentioned above, it is clear that the scripture of *Vedas* is the main source of sacrifice, besides deriving from *Upanishads*, *Puranās* and other scriptures. The triple character of the central element's sacrifice in heaven, on earth and aerial waters as referred to in the *Rig Veda*, becomes the source of worships to the three worlds (upper, middle and underworlds) or the worships to gods, humans and environment. Hence, Hinduism has a system of rituals, customs and beliefs which is practised from rites of passage, a social system, religiosity, religious ideas of space and time, to immortality of life. In this sense, there is no space without rituals; every space according to Hindu belief is religious or sacred. These notions are very relevant to this research, since the Balinese Hindu philosophy has similar sources to include spatial principles of territory which constitute important parts of the thesis.

c. Literature that Examines the Principles of Ritual Spaces in Particular Context of Balinese Belief System.

The texts examining the more specific ritual/religious traditions of Bali are as follows:

David J. Stuart-Fox ((2002). His book: *Pura Besakih: Temple, Religion and Society*, investigates the spatial principles of a traditional village (*desa adat*) which is identified as a religious community comprising three temples (*tri khayangan*); Puseh, Desa/Bale Agung and Dalem Temples. These temples relate to the triad of God as Brahma (creator), Vishnu (preserver) and Shiva (destroyer/returner), but the power of these temples only resides in the village territory. The Puseh Temple is located at the north (*kaja*), Desa Temple at the middle and Dalem Temple at the south (*kelod*). This analysis of the anthropomorphic, geographical and topographical meanings of villages' temples provides a key reference in investigations of the ritual life in the littoral regions of Bali.

From his analysis, there are three types of settlement in relation to the development of the village (*desa adat*); (1) the origin of the *desa adat*, (2) a new *desa adat*, where inhabitants are from the origin village, and (3) a new village due to migration from other villages. But the interactions among these villages (*desa adats*) are reflected in a hierarchy of social interactions which is bound through rituals. A temple is the main object of the interaction, especially a Puseh Temple at the origin of the village due to the Puseh Temple being the ancestral (birth) temple.

The theme of spatial hierarchy in Balinese society is also investigated by Fred B. Eiseman, in his book: *Bali: Sekala & Niskala: Essays on Religious, Ritual, and Art* (1990). A particular part of this study refers to Eiseman's concept of '*kaja-kelod*' (north-south/mountain-seawards) as a spatial and spiritual orientation. This is a polarity concept derived from a philosophical principle known as *rwa bhineda*. In the West, it is fair to conceive 'sacred-profane' as defining oppositional relationships of spaces established in

Judeo-Christian, as mutually exclusive choices of 'good-bad/evil'. However, the *kaja-kelod* (mountain-seawards) concept principally consists of three zones: the mountain or the north (*kaja*) which is the pure/sacred zone, the sea (*kelod*) as antipodal to *kaja* which is less sacred than *kaja* (called impure zone), whilst the middle/centre is a neutral zone. Another direction is generated by the sun path (east-west); "east" (*kangin*) is the most sacred direction of the sun which is manifested by God (God of Surya), whereas "west" (*kauh*) which is correspondingly less sacred or impure is the *kangin*'s opposite.

A different aspect of Balinese notions of religious/cosmic space is examined by I Gusti Made Putra in his journal paper: '*Catuṣpatha: Concept, Transformation and Change*' (2005). He analyses *catuṣpatha* as one of the most popular spatial conceptions in Bali. The term *catuspatha* derives from the Sanskrit word; *catuṣ* which means four times and *patha* is road or path, so that the *catuṣpatha* means crossroad or cross section (street intersection). The manuscript texts of *eka pratamaning brahmana sakti bujangga* and *batur kewalasan* which were published in the Majapahit era, explain the *catuṣpatha*. According to these manuscripts, a state is a symbol of micro-cosmos reflecting the universe or macro-cosmos. Because of the central state, a royal palace becomes a key factor in determining its zone and other zones in a civic complex. There are four main facilities which are set out in the four quadrants of the street intersection, such as the royal palace, temple and meeting hall, open spaces, and markets.

From the texts above, the three temples in the village play an important role in the development of Balinese settlement. When using the geographical setting of the temples in relation to the spatial and spiritual orientations (the concepts of 'north-south' or '*kaja-kelod*' and a cross section pattern or *catuspatha*) along with housing and open green fields, this becomes an identity of the Balinese village forming a religious community. This spatial background is very relevant to my research which

investigates religious spaces in relation to ritual practices. With reference to the contemporary challenges of the Balinese village in the era of globalisation and tourism industry, there are two unpublished texts which are relevant to my research:

The first is *Spatial Changes of Ubud Village, Gianyar Bali in Globalisation Era: A cultural Study* by Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati (2008), an unpublished PhD thesis which investigates spatial changes of temples, dwellings and open spaces of the Ubud village, a tourist village located at the midland of Bali, and also the impact and meanings of tourism. It focuses on spatial changes for the three spaces of the village. The study has parallels to Sukawati's investigations (referred to earlier), although the focus of the research has a different setting and geographical location. Sukawati's theoretical approach to this subject has been useful in my research for these reasons.

The second is *The Commodification of the Sacred Territory of Uluwatu Temple at South Kuta District, Badung Regency* (the collection of Faculty of Literacy, Udayana University) by I Made Adhika (2011). A different line of investigation has been undertaken by Adhika in his thesis, whereby he investigates changes taking place in the Balinese community relating specifically to the temple area and the understanding sacred spaces. The conflicting interest between community interests and the regional regulations is the main research focus, in addition to the impact of increased land values on the local community. The conflicting interest in land utilisation in this area has striking parallels to the transformations taking place, as my research will demonstrate.

d. Ethics of Space in the Context of Balinese Belief

The literature on the topic of ethics of space has grown in recent years and my choice of relevant texts is based on a careful reading of issues that directly pertain to my research subject. The literature proposed in the context of this topic includes:

The urban design of a Balinese town: place-making issues in the Balinese urban setting (2001) and *Man, culture and environments: an anthropological approach to determining the Balinese urban design unit* (2004) by T. Nirarta Samadhi. Both these journals claim that the Balinese concept of space constitutes an elaboration from the play of embodied (*sekala*) and disembodied (*niskala*) entities (known as the state of *rwa bhineda*). The worlds of the gods and goddesses are manifestations of these forces which have been adapted in their thought to give life and personality to these forces and their manifestations. The interaction of these worlds gives every object life and the world of humans between these worlds leads the Balinese to believe that every part of the built environment is a personification of a life.

This is strengthened by L.S. Sentosa in her investigation on Balinese dwellings entitled: *Genius loci within dwelling environments: the unlikely scenarios of urban development in Bali* (2001). She highlighted that the principles of order underlying Balinese dwellings are based on Balinese cosmological beliefs. The concept of a three-level universe: the upper, middle and nether worlds are traditionally ordered into the sacred, middle and profane domains. These domains are reserved for village temples, dwellings and cemeteries respectively. In the dwelling unit, the three domains are for the family temple, the pavilions, and kitchen and pig-pens. Even the concept of mountain and sea or north and south, as the spiritual axis, is used in Balinese sleeping positions, where their heads point towards the 'sacred' direction (the north or the east) and their feet are oriented in the 'profane' direction (the south or west). As it is prohibited to take rests or sleep in the opposite way, the Balinese will endeavour to avoid it (Belo, 1970, p. 93; Ramseyer, 1977).

Robi Sularto in his deep investigation on Balinese traditional architecture and its problem or *Arsitektur tradisional Bali dan permasalahannya* (1987) emphasises a spatial orientation and hierarchy as basic principles of Balinese architecture. All things in the life world have a distinct orientation

such as time, letters, colours, numbers, objects, and others. In a broad sense, the orientation (space, time and situation) maintains a harmony between micro and macro cosmos. Human and nature are similar, consisting of three divine parts to follow its own natures, values and characters. Hence, the space structure in this island is symbolically divided into three parts; the mountain, hinterland and sea, and represent the head, body and feet or pure, neutral and impure areas. This structure depicts temples as the head, dwelling areas/human spaces as the body and the feet as the cemetery. In micro scale, methods of measurement for giving proportion and the use of building materials are also based on the hierarchy of the space and serve an educational, ethical and social process.

From these ethical principles, there are three important points that can be summarised in relation to my research; 1) every space is a personification of a life consisting of three spaces or zones, meaning that every space has a spirit as a sacred realm (the use of the term 'profane' space as mentioned above might not be appropriate), 2) every space, based on the Balinese belief, can be divided into three smaller spaces or zones which symbolise three worlds (upper/head, middle/body and under/feet), 3) every ritual and sacrifice are dedicated specifically to upper and underworlds in terms of cosmological balance and respect to the origin.

e. Ritual: Space, Time and Situation (*désa kāla pātra*)

The chronology of creating a space as a cosmos or realm/*loka* for the Balinese is a process of understanding the philosophy, ethics and sacrifice through rituals. During my research I drew upon the following authors and their books that relate to rituals in accordance with the state of space, time and situation (*désa kāla pātra*):

Eko Budiharjo, an urban planner, in his book: *Architectural conservation in Bali* (1995), states that the three frameworks of Balinese Hindu consisting of philosophy (*tattwa*), ethics (*susila*) and rituals (*upakara*) have been a

mode of life in most aspects of Balinese life. They are tied by their customary law (norm/*adat*) but their law provides flexibility in its implementation and ritual practices according to 'space, time and situation' (*désa kāla pātra*). This term is also used to describe the Balinese belief in reincarnation as a cycle of life. These investigations are paramount parallel to my research with investigating ritual traditions in a *specific village/settlement in Bali*.

Furthermore, Tjok Rai Sudharta and Ida Bagus Oka Punia Atmaja, in their book *Upadeśa* (2001) add that the terms 'space, time and situation' are also applied in other rituals for human life. It can be seen in the span of human life and is divided ideally into four stages (called *catur ashrama*); a period of education (*brahmacari*), a period of forming a family (*grhastha*), a period of becoming a hermit/ascetic (*vanaprastha*), and a period of consecration to human life and nature (*bhiksukha*). Each human period has distinctive rituals providing a different place, time and situation.

According to Ida Bagus Bangli in his book "*Mutiara dalam Budaya Hindu Bali*" (2005) or *Jewels in Bali Hinduism Culture* further explains that the five categories in offering rituals called *pañca yajña* is influenced by the term 'space, time and situation whereby these rituals are for gods and goddesses (*dewa yadnya*), ancestors (*pitra yadnya*), guru/priests (*rsi yadnya*), the life cycle of humans (*manusa yadnya*), and for environments (*bhuta yadnya*).

The above references define that ritual traditions do not only take place in the context of Balinese society but also in every village or small entities of the Balinese community, since every village community sometimes has specific traditions. Hence, these texts have been essential in supporting my investigations of one coastal village as the case study.

Chapter 2: Research Design and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the use of relevant methodological approaches to address the key objectives of this research. These are framed around four stages in the research which are set out below to identify and validate the relevant data and its analysis. These stages comprise of: 1) selection of a case study which is suitable for the research; 2) research theory: identifying and applying the relevant theoretical principles to the research topic; 3) research methods: identifying appropriate qualitative and quantitative research methods, and formulating appropriate data analysis techniques; and 4) limitations: highlighting any potential limitations or difficulties during the field survey. These steps will be discussed in more detail below.

2.2 Selection of a Case Study

Potential social, economic and cultural issues have recently arisen in Bali resulting from the rapid developments of tourism on the island, which can be seen both within the littoral regions and also in the hinterland. Large scale tourism really began in earnest with the construction of the International Airport Ngurah Rai along the south coast of Bali (Tuban/Kuta territory) in 1967 (Pitana, 2000, pp. 11-13). Since then tourist development has been concentrated along the island's coastline. As a consequence, increasing pressures on land and infrastructure have led to other social and economic challenges. It is for this reason that the research has been directed upon the littoral regions of the south coast of Bali where these changes are most apparent, against a background of a still strong tradition of ritual practices in the ethnic/indigenous communities. Narrowing this region to a selected case study (a village) for a more detailed investigation has required the consideration of key criteria. The criteria comprises of: 1) historical significance of the area, 2) clear evidence of the impact of tourism on the settlement in question, and 3) evidence of a particular

urban complexity of the area and a tenacity of the local community to maintain their traditions in the face of rapid change.

A number of villages along the southern coast of Bali were considered along with these criteria, and Kuta Village was identified as the most suitable. Although Sanur and Nusa Dua coastal areas also have a long history as tourist destinations, their ritual traditions have experienced less significant challenges compared to Kuta Village. At the same time, as an exclusive tourist resort destination Nusa Dua is not really representative of the wider socio-economic and cultural issues found elsewhere in Bali. While the neighbouring villages of Kuta (Tuban, Legian, and Seminyak) suffer similar impacts of tourism, they are less appropriate for detailed consideration as they have fewer historical sites compared to Kuta Village. It was on the basis of these judgements that Kuta coastal village was selected as both a representative example of contemporary life in Bali, within a rapidly changing civic realm, and as a model for other locations in the region (and beyond) facing similar challenges of globalisation on community traditions. A more detailed rationale for this choice is detailed in the sections below:

Some key indicators:

Kuta Village is an important historic settlement with a rich past, exemplified by the following; the Majapahit kingdom invaded the region from East Java in the 14th century along this coast. The landing site was soon marked and commemorated by constructing a shrine called the Pesanggaran Temple. After the invasion, Kuta (which means fortress) became an important place for travel and trade between Java and Bali. The southern and northern sides of Kuta are the locations of Tuban and Canggu villages named after two famous Majapahit ports in Java.

After the grand opening of the International Airport of Ngurah Rai in 1967, tourism in Kuta quickly developed. At the beginning, it was a

more local, socially driven form of tourism developed by opening bed and breakfast accommodation, rentable cottages and non-starred hotels, all of which were managed by local people. This accommodation was relatively cheap and suitable for tourists looking for a cheap holiday. It quickly made Kuta famous as a destination for 'lower spending tourists'. However, between the 1980s and 1990s the increasing number of tourists staying at Kuta led to an increasing demand for more palatial hotel accommodation, including the development of starred hotels owned by companies from outside Kuta (and indeed Bali).

Hence, what was originally a socio-economically driven form of tourism, initiated by local people, soon shifted to mass tourism, where a comparison between the numbers of starred and non-starred hotels was nearly the same; in early 2000, the proportion of starred hotel was 49% and 51% for non-starred hotels. The growing popularity of the island for foreign visitors was revealed by the results of a survey conducted by the Regional Tourism Board in 2004, which reported that up to 76.22% of domestic guests had chosen Kuta as their most favourite tourist site and the first place to visit from a list of preferences. According to data from a survey conducted in late 2010 by the Statistics Board of Bali Province, the total number of buildings dedicated for tourist accommodation in Bali was 2,190 buildings with a total of 45,408 rooms. Significantly, 62.47% of this accommodation was located in the Badung Regency, with Kuta having the largest number of hotels and rooms in the regency. This clearly indicates that Kuta Village has significantly expanded as a tourist destination with an increasing variety of accommodation.

Kuta district in Badung Regency comprises three villages; namely Kuta, Legian and Seminyak Villages. These villages have developed rapidly in recent years largely due to tourism and this rate of growth has been faster than any other cluster of villages in Bali, or elsewhere

in Indonesia. Nowadays, buildings and land in Kuta Village are increasingly owned not only by local people but also by businesses and individuals based outside the region. Tourists, immigrants and other guests visiting and staying in the Kuta make up a significant proportion of the population. Even though Balinese Hindus still dominant, religiously observant inhabitants from other faiths have left a significant mark on the fabric of the town. Hence, Kuta Village has developed from a traditional Hindu village to a multi ethnic town.

2.3 Research Theory

Social, spatial and anthropological studies constitute integral parts of this research, which takes as its starting point the research theories of Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias (2002). These theories state that “through a systematic connection between the world of ideas, theories and models, and first-hand observation and experience, a researcher is able to enhance the goals of the social sciences”. This relationship can help the researcher to analyse, explain, predict, and understand key theoretical concepts and empirical phenomena which are of major importance in researching a particular community, such as in Kuta Village, which is experiencing major social, economic and cultural change. (Babbie, 1998; Blalock, 1982; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2002).

Therefore, this part of the study involves empirical studies and data collection to verify the current state of civic life in Bali, illustrating some of the challenges in the context of the existing social-spatial environment. The research also includes detailed case studies, deploying deductive methods of investigation in relation to quantitative data. Yin (2003) states that a critical case study is always needed in order to test a formulated theory which has been developed. It means that the case study must be analysed in accordance with appropriate theoretical principles and empirical findings. The combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches is commonly called ‘mixed methods’ (Creswell, 2013), in which both are treated as equally valid (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). A

mixed-method approach is most effective when using a number of different research strategies relating to a complex range of research aims. (Brannen, 2005). Indeed, according to Axinn & Pearce (2006) the mixed method approach constitutes an extremely valuable tool for social research, including anthropological investigations, whereby each method delivers useful and informative data that addresses different research objectives (Davies & Hughes, 2014).

2.4 Research Methods

The use of the mixed method approach in this research will involve an initial stage of fieldwork, to incorporate the following:

- Looking at documentary evidence to reveal the extent of historical change (social and physical aspects or intangible and tangible features).
- Carrying out a social survey of different representative groups of the community to ascertain public opinion about the impact of these changes on society.

Whilst adopting this approach, it should be emphasised that this investigation is generated mainly from qualitative analysis; data collection derives from text-based research, interviews and observation. Besides focusing on the changes taking place in the civic life of the littoral regions (and Kuta Village in particular), the research also aims to address key questions concerning the implication of environmental changes on social, economic and political aspects of the town. The focus of the research is mainly on the changing relationships between communities and their spatial settings which are multi-faceted. In this sense, descriptions of the civic realm in Bali require close examination, in relation to western models, and how these accounts (mainly ceremonial or ritual in nature) reveal wider environmental, social, economic and political issues. The research takes both a historical perspective of the ritual traditions of the Balinese people and a contemporary focus on the impact of territorial incursions by commercial developers and hoteliers (on the beaches in Kuta Village) on

those ritual spaces. The investigation is based on the assumption that an understanding of the former (historical context) provides better insight of the challenges presented in the latter (contemporary life in Kuta Village and other towns/villages in Bali).

Hence, my choice of research methods seeks to address both aspects of the topic, historical enquiry and current issues pertaining to the community life of contemporary Kuta Village. In taking a 'dual-track' approach, the research aims to contextualise the views and opinions of the different stakeholders, concerning the relative value of those coastal settings as "civic spaces" that can be shared and enjoyed by all, in the face of rapid commercial development and privatisation. Ascertaining the stakeholders' attitudes towards coastal tourist management and its effectiveness in preserving (or hindering) traditional civic and religious practices is of particular interest. An issue of concern is to retain the position of a public domain as the basis for mitigating future conflicts. Institutional surveys and site visits have been undertaken to obtain important data about the history and current development of the relevant sites. The purpose of these investigations is to deepen our understanding of the physical changes affecting the surroundings.

The selection of participants is the most important stage of the initial research before commencing fieldwork surveys. Two important factors required particular attention: firstly, the types of information needed to undertake such surveys and choice of participants who can supply the most useful data, and secondly, the sample size should be as large as is practical. As this research embraces various aspects involving a range of stakeholders, the breadth of information needed became a priority allowing for inevitable constraints of the availability of time. According to Spradley (1980: 59-60), the degree of participation in the survey varies according to whether it is 'moderate', meaning that there are participants who can either play a significant or a marginal role in highlighting potential issues/problems. Furthermore, the degree of participant involvement in the

exercise is partly determined on the basis of how much information is actually needed for the research. The main research focus on civic spaces and religious rituals constitutes a kind of 'social situation', involving network actors, cluster activities and various moments or occasions for ritual participation and deliberation (Spradley, 1980, pp.59-60). In this context, participant observation seeks to consider impacts across a range of stakeholders, both within and outside the indigenous communities of Kuta Village.

Participants who were involved in this survey were selected according to their relevance to and impact on the research topic. As Freeman (2010, p. 46) observes, "stakeholders" define "any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by, the achievement of the organisation's objectives." These interest groups, according to (Clarkson, 1995), mainly consist of primary and secondary groups; those with the most influence constitute the primary groups whilst the secondary groups are less essential but have some influence on, or are influenced by, the primary groups. , Hardy and Beeton (2001) relate this to the focus of this research which can be summarised under four main groups: locals, operators, tourists and regulators. A preliminary study of stakeholders in the chosen case study area was carried out over a period of a month in order to bring into focus the current situation in Kuta Village, before then identifying the particular issues for the first fieldwork survey. Local knowledge was applied by the researcher to understand the characteristics of the Kuta people and their territorial relationships in respect of both civic space and emerging private ownership of land.

A survey of stakeholders on the field has become a priority in order to ascertain contemporary and contextual information. The stakeholders who are selected in this survey involve to social, cultural, economic and political changes of Kuta community's life and physical surroundings of the village. They come from community members and local leaders, local and regional governments, companies, guests/tourists or environmentalists who care

with Balinese culture and traditions. A series of information collected from them are expected to be primary data of the research.

2.4.1 Data Collection Technique

The research covers various fields of enquiry which concern, not only the physical features of Kuta Village, but also its social, religious, economic and politic aspects. The fieldwork survey was conducted during two separate visits. Firstly, a site reconnaissance survey was carried out through observation and analysis of a case study identified in the first week of July to the end of August 2013. Secondly, the main field research focused on ritual traditions, including ascertaining reactions of foreign spectators, and was conducted from the end of March to the end of May 2014. During this second phase, archival research was also carried out at various locations in Bali (Faculty of Literacy - Udayana University, Bali Museum, local newspaper offices, the Civic Centre of Bali Province, and the Civic Centre of Badung Regency, which are located in Denpasar City, South Kuta and Mengwi Districts).

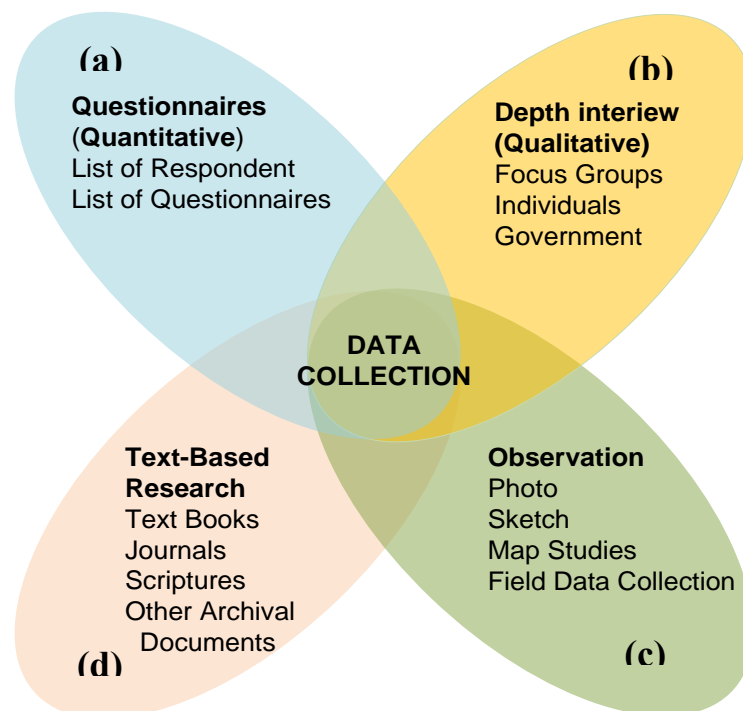


Figure 2: A four strand model in data collection technique

In relation to data collection, this research adopts a 'four strand model', embracing questionnaires, in-depth interviews, observations, and text-based research. These can be further expanded into the following activities: (a) Fieldwork survey: questionnaire design and sampling procedure, (b) Interviews: focus groups, individuals, and local and regional government, (c) Observations: field data collection, photos, drawings/sketches, and maps, and (d) Text-based research; books, journal articles, scriptures and other archival documents. From this range of references/ sources, it is expected that a comprehensive set of data and information would be collected (Figure 2).

a. Fieldwork survey

It is helpful to briefly explain at this stage how the questionnaires were compiled and carried out. There were three preliminary preparation stages before collecting data and information; namely 1) participant observation, 2) design of questionnaires, and 3) sampling procedures.

1) Participant observation

Before embarking on the field work, I undertook participatory observation based on selected groups who are involved in various capacities in the area of the case study. In these observations, I was often a passive participant witnessing Kuta Village at different times of the day. From this stage, it was observed that individuals, or groups of people who 'use' the different spaces of Kuta Village and influence the town's communal life, can be categorised into several focus groups such as beach users, spectators, local communities, local government members, private companies and environmentalists.

Since characteristics of each group differ especially in the large number of population, data collection methods employed for these groups are slightly different. Beach users and spectators, for example, have large population whilst other groups are small population. Due to the large number of population for beach users and spectators, an opinion pool survey is used as a simple measurement tool or data

collection method to know opinions of both groups. On the other hand, in-depth interviews in data collection method are used for other groups with selected samples (Table 1).

Table 1: The identity of the groups involved in participant observation.

Participant	Description	Method
Group 1: Beach users	Those who are using the beach for their activities such as recreation, business, rituals, livelihood, and those who well understand the beach.	- Participant observation - Interview (list of questions)
Group 2: Spectators	Those who are have travelled as foreign tourists and having an opportunity to see the ritual festivals.	- Participant observation - Interview
Group 3: Local community leaders	Those who lead the community (<i>desa</i> and <i>banjars</i>) and involve directly in ritual activities.	- Participant observation - Interview
Group 4: Government members	Those who are officials in charge in coastal planning and management, from local to regional officials.	- Participant observation Interview
Group 5: Private companies	Those who employ Balinese in their companies, located at Kuta coastal village	- Participant observation - interview
Group 6: Environment alists	Those who have consciousness on Balinese culture and coastal preferences, coming from local and foreign experts	- Participant observation - Interview

- Beach users (group 1): those people who use coastal areas for their activities. These include guests (local and foreign guests), local people and hoteliers (beach front hotel representatives). A questionnaire survey was used to acquire baseline data from this group with regard to the different views of Kuta beach, its various

activities and recognition of the value of Balinese rituals taking place on the beachfront.

- Spectators (group 2): those who observe the festivals and ceremonial events directly in the village. There is no overlap with group 1 (especially foreign tourists/guests), although the location of the spectators in these events is also on the beaches since they do not utilise the beach as the main activity. Their opinions are important to evaluate the value and sustainability of these events. A questionnaire survey was used to gain further baseline data that explored issues of time, place and the differing conditions presented in these public events.
- Local community leaders (group 3): those who live in and use the village for ritual purposes. They are almost always members of the traditional Kuta community. Ethnographic methods (including historical investigations of the village - its community and its topography) were sometimes used to inform this group. In addition, in-depth interviews were carried out with some of the key leaders. Data collected from these studies informed the ritual traditions and historical developments of Kuta Village.
- Government members (group 4): the fifth group consists of government representatives from provincial/regency authorities to village 'officials'. Provincial and regency officials were selected according to their involvement in beach management. The survey comprised in-depth interviews of key informants who were selected to gain insight into policy and official regulations.
- Private companies (group 5): these are typically businesses who employ local Balinese residents. They were identified as an important category specifically in order to ascertain their understanding of the cultural and religious backgrounds of their Balinese employees relating to their involvement in the ceremonial events in the investigations. In particular the surveys sought to

determine if the employees found it difficult to have time off work to attend the public events and participate in religious ceremonies.

- Environmentalists (group 6); this final group comprises mainly of foreign environmentalists, local experts and NGOs who care about the environmental issues in Bali and their impact on culture, economics and society. This group was interviewed to gain other perspectives and to identify future environmental challenges that will impact on the society at large.

2) Design of questionnaires

When designing the questionnaires, it was decided that the data used to support the research did not require prior agreement of an ethics committee, in accordance with the University of Huddersfield ethical guidelines. This meant that the field-survey research will not take place in sensitive or high risk areas. Nevertheless, the researcher was required, in advance of the survey, to clarify the method of data collection and the content of the questionnaires. Furthermore, the questionnaires, which were written and refined following feedback from academic staff, were tested on a 'trial' group before distributing to the actual respondents.

Individuals in each group, who were selected as participants/respondents in this research, were identified by setting special selection criteria in addition to allocating the six groups mentioned above. The criteria used in selecting the individuals included past involvement of participants in the use of coastal spaces, key informants, the degree of representation, and a demonstration of understanding the key challenges. In a special case, an individual who had two different roles, and who was initially included as a respondent in two groups, was selected for one group that was deemed more useful for data collection.

Since the survey was conducted using a range of groups and settings, and adapting different questionnaires, particular techniques were deployed in the surveys, especially between the opinion poll survey and the in-depth interviews conducted. This technique was carried out in order to avoid duplication of responses and the effects on the quality of the data obtained. Hence, the list of questionnaires and number of questions was dependent upon particular priority areas for information from respondents which were classified into several groups. Table 2 above shows that the number of sections and questions for each group was based on the objective of gaining useful information from the respondents. The description of the questionnaires in each group was transformed into a number of questions, as follows: (see Appendix 1 & 2).

Table 2: The number of sections and questions in each group of respondents.

Participant	Number of section and question		Objective
	section	Question	
Group 1: Beach users	5	20+15	The 20 questions are for all respondents and 15 additional questions to local people only to gain information in ritual practices on the beach.
Group 2: Spectators	1	6	To gain information on their comment directly from the implementation of ritual festivals.
Group 3: Local community leaders	5	35	To gain information concerning the history of their territory, kinds of rituals, routes of procession, and the impacts of the territory change.
Group 4: Government members	2	20	To gain information in the implementation of policy and respect to Balinese society.
Group 5: Private companies	1	6	To gain information on the availability of Balinese employees' leave in relation to ritual activities.
Group 6: Environmentalists	1	6	To gain their opinions on concept, planning and regulation in order to answer the recent condition of Bali's coastal area.

3) Sampling procedure

This section will determine the use of sampling techniques and sample sizes in the research with consideration to the theoretical approaches and the structure of the questionnaires.

Considerations:

Theoretically, there are four main sampling techniques which can be used in each kind of social and behaviour research; probability, purposive (non-probability), convenience and mixed sampling techniques (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 97). Probability sampling techniques are mainly used in quantitative methods and quantitatively oriented studies in which they are very relevant when assessing responses from relatively large numbers of people (Tashakkori, 2003). Whereas, non-probability/purposive sampling techniques are primarily used in qualitatively oriented studies, by selecting units/groups with specific purposes and associated with answering from questionnaires (Maxwell, 1997). Convenience sampling is relevant when used for captive and volunteer samples; and mixed sampling techniques are applied when using both probability and non-probability approaches (Teddlie, 2005, pp. 211-217).

The research's sampling technique:

Based on the description of sampling techniques mentioned above, the sampling procedure used in this research was purposive (non-probability based sampling). The reasons for adapting these techniques are as follows:

- This research used mainly qualitative data, although it adopted a broadly mixed method approach as outlined earlier.
- There was no available sample frame in which to carry out the random sampling.

- The selection of participants was carried out based on several criteria; the participants were subdivided into six groups according to the main purpose of expected data collection, by delivering different questionnaires in each.

Sample size:

A number of participants were selected for sample sizes. Every group was determined according to an aim and objective of data collection, a degree of sample representation, and availability of time. The sample size for the beach users is further divided into smaller groups (hotel companies, local and foreign guests, and local Balinese residents). Each sub-group comprised of 15 respondents, hence the total was 60 respondents using different time variables. The sample size of spectators was set out at 30 (half of the total sample of beach users), since the festival extends over a period of about 4 hours. I realised that both groups (beach users and spectators) have large populations which can be selected as samples in the course of the survey. However, the sample sizes that were set above are due to the different places and times, the characteristics of participants and other variables. The sample size of the Kuta community, in relation to their role in the civic life of the town, consisted of 15 respondents which is similar to the sample size conducted on government members (Badung and Bali government members). The sample size of the companies who employ the Balinese was set out at 10 respondents, consisting of private and state run companies. And 10 environmentalists were selected as the sample size which consisted of 5 foreign and 5 local environmentalists (Table 3).

Table 3: Total number of participants as a sample size.

Participants	Number of participants	Remarks
Groups 1: Beach Users	60	This group consists of four sub-groups; local people, hotel operators, foreign and local guests where each of them involved are 15 respondents.
Groups 2: Spectators	30	The focus of survey is to interview foreign tourists who sought the ritual festival on the road and beach
Group 3: Local community leaders	15	It consists of the leaders of the village and <i>banjars</i>
Group 5: Government members	15	The members derive from the government of Badung Regency and Bali province
Group 4: Private Companies	10	Their offices are located in Kuta Village
Group 6: Environmentalists	10	They derive from foreign and local environmentalists
Total	140	

b. Interview

Since the aim of data collection for each group of respondents varied, and the characteristics of each other were quite different, (for example between the government members and the spectators or beach users), this resulted in several different approaches and techniques whilst conducting the interviews. The first step was to inform the government of the survey and to request a letter of permission to be circulated to respondents. The request was not only to the government of Bali province but also to Badung Regency. Both official letters were presented to interviewees when approaching each group, although on some occasions these were not required, particularly for those spectators and guests who use the beach unofficially. Due to the different categories of respondents, I adopted different interview

techniques as appropriate; in-depth interviews are structured or semi-structured and constitute formal interviews as reflected in the stance of the interviewer. Purposive interviews, on the other hand, entail a more informal and unstructured arrangement.

I also applied in-depth interviews for six groups using data collection techniques, while purposive interviews were only applied in terms of additional information required from informants who were considered experts in the ritual practices of the community.

1) In-depth interview to beach users

As a polling survey by collecting participants' opinions, interviews were conducted for beach users using different approaches in regard to each cluster in the group, since respondents from hotel operators (as one cluster of the beach users) have different priorities and interests compared to guests and local people. An 'indirect' interview was carried out with hotel operators particularly along the beachfront.

Interviews with foreign and local guests were carried out without difficulties as all respondents were on the beach. Meanwhile, interviews with the local people (the community leaders), another smaller group, was carried out using in-depth interview methods, since they were required to answer five questions more than the other clusters which focused on the challenges of ritual practices on the beach. Most of the problems in conducting this survey, occurred with the hotel operators, this may be due to their reticence in responding to key questions and reluctance to participate in the survey. The location of the interviews for each of the subgroups took place in three different places (hotel offices, beaches and local peoples' residences).

2) In-depth interview for spectators

An opinion poll survey, conducted with spectators, was set out in the second fieldwork study when the *melasti* festival took place on 28th March 2014 from 3:30pm to 6:30pm (three days before the Balinese

New Year). Interviews in the street and on the beaches focused on foreign tourists as spectators since this festival was in most cases a new experience for overseas visitors, which was usually not the case for local tourists. The festival was seen by thousands of foreign visitors which made it easier to select them as respondents. In the course of the survey I was assisted by a number of architecture students from Udayana University who served as interviewers. This gave me time to take photos and do video recordings of the spectators as a documentary record.

3) In-depth interview for local community leaders

In-depth interviews were applied for this group. Importantly, those members of the Balinese communities who have substantial knowledge of the study were involved in the research. Both parties had an important role in managing beaches based on official regulation. The chief of the village (*desa adat*) and a number of social organisations dedicated to supporting mutual needs within the village (*banjars*) were selected as priority respondents for the local community group.

Generally, there were a few problems in conducting in-depth interviews with this group. Although they were generally very cooperative during the session, the researcher required to meet them in different places. For example, the interview with the head/chief of Kuta Village took place in his office, while I interviewed the *banjar* chiefs at their different locations.

4) In-depth interview for government members

The interviews with government members were conducted at the level of province, regency, district and village, based on who had responsibility for managing villages, beaches and tourist resorts. Conducting these interviews was straightforward and the interviews were officially sanctioned by the official government letter.

5) In-depth interview for private companies

In-depth interviews were also carried out with private companies that employed Balinese people. Again, these interviews went smoothly and were useful for the investigation. Among the questions posed during the interviews were some that sought to ascertain recognition of Balinese employers of the importance of ritual participation by members of the community. Unfortunately, only one employer was very cooperative in responding to these questions.

6) In-depth interview for environmentalists

Environmentalists were the last planned groups for interview. This group consisted of both foreign and local experts who demonstrated understanding of not just environmental issues of Bali but also their culture, traditions, customs and planning issues. Unfortunately, in the end the planned interviews with foreign environmentalists did not take place due to difficulties in scheduling the meetings. Instead, the list of questions was sent via e-mail for response. Hence discussions, in the form of semi-structured interviews, only took place with the local environmentalists in their offices and homes.

Finally, purposive (informal) interviews were conducted with Brahmana Hindu priests who are experts in ritual practices and religious ceremonies. The interviews were categorised as 'purposive' in order to address my prior knowledge of what kinds of ritual ceremonies take place in the coastal regions. The researcher limited the topic of discussion to ritual practices in the littoral regions in accordance with Balinese traditions. Two priests from Gya Pasekan and Tunjuk-Tabanan District respectively were selected for these interviews, which took place on 28th July 2013. The interviews were very informative and productive.

c. Observation

Structured observations, as a form of fieldwork survey, were also carried out twice in different periods of the year, in order to record information of the physical characteristics of the chosen case study (Kuta Village) and its outlying areas. The first fieldwork study took place from 1st July to 26th August 2013 and the second observation from 28th March to 24th May 2014. These observations comprised of three main data sources: 1) field photographic documentation, 2) mapping survey, and 3) layout drawings.

1) Field photographic documentation

Several key features were recorded through photographic documentation: beach topography, the ritual events, temples, and other important places relating to the festivals. In addition, the researcher also found photographic documentation through government agencies of Badung and Bali province. One of the main purposes in the second fieldwork survey was to witness the *melasti* festival procession, which is one of the biggest ritual ceremonies in the coastal area. This festival provided an important opportunity for me to observe first-hand the various processions and rituals and record its itinerary. I also had a chance to record this *melasti* event on video film with numerous supporting photographs.

Besides observing and recording the *melasti* event, I also undertook a detailed photographic record of the cremation procession in Kuta Village last year during the first field survey. The cremation festival has a fixed route of procession to the cemetery through the shoreline, since the village cemetery is located at the beach. Both the *melasti* and cremation ceremonies demonstrate the crucial importance of the beach front in Kuta Village as the principal setting and focus for these processions.

Since every Balinese ceremony relates to a temple and its supporting rituals, several important temples on the beach have also been subject to field data collection. The temples are under the management of

clans, professions, *banjar*, and village authorities. There are five important temples which are managed by the village community, but the focus of the research in relation to investigating ritual practices are three village temples (called *tri khayangan*; Puseh, Desa and Bale Agung, and Dalem Temples) as one of Balinese village identities. These temples are located in the east, middle and west of the village territory. In addition, other temples located along the beach and owned by the clans, professions, and *banjars*, have also been recorded in order to better understand land use zoning of the beach front.

2) Mapping survey

To know the layout and topography of the chosen case-study, a key part of the investigation was to undertake a series of mapping studies. In order to collect maps for data collection, institutional surveys were carried out by visiting some government agencies that hold or curate important cartographical data. Some of these include the *Balai* of Water Resources of Bali-Penida, under the Directorate of General of Water Resources, the Public Works Agency of Bali Province, the Development Planning Board of Badung Regency, and the Kuta administrative village. Such maps were expected to describe not only the existing Kuta Village, but also the future development plan of Kuta. This information was particularly important in highlighting how current pressure on land resources will escalate in the future with further demands for development.

3) Layout drawings

The final stage in this field data collection was to produce some layout drawings. These drawings have proven very useful in supporting an analysis of the architectural aspects of the study. The drawings include plans and layouts of temples relating to the rituals, which serve as a focus of the Kuta Village community. However, some difficulties arose during observation, particularly in preparing raw data of the temples' layouts since data required for the existing temples had sparse

information while the number of temples has different characteristics with various shrine buildings. Other difficulties involved the location as some of the temples are in crowded areas. As a consequence, these works needed longer time than expected.

d. Text-based and archival research

A key part of the study entailed research of official publications, reports, manuscripts/scriptures, photographs and newspaper articles to ascertain the current discourse concerning the definition and understanding of the civic realm in Balinese society. Archival material from Bali Culture Agency, Bali Museum, Udayana University (Faculty of Literacy) and local newspapers were consulted to gather information on the historical contexts of Balinese culture, traditions and customs. The archival materials derived from the text-based research provided useful contextual information for the research.

Research at the Bali Museum, revealed some useful sources relating to the history of Balinese people, artefacts, burial sites and sarcophagi, and other pre-historical objects placed in several dioramas. The ethnographic/anthropologic information available helped me to further underline the importance of rituals in Balinese society. In order to collect the information from these objects, a photographic record was undertaken. At the Bali Documentation Centre and Udayana University, I found several manuscripts, scriptures, and other text books containing useful topics on Hindu religion, the history of Bali, culture and traditions, as well as guidelines of the Balinese calendar.

2.4.2 Data Analysis Technique

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the sample size in each group was relatively small. However, the data gathered is useful to obtain a strong indication of issues arising from respondents' responses. A crucial approach in the research is that there is no availability on the percentage of an accurate sample size. The large sample may lead to a waste of time

and other resources, whereas it may not be possible to gain reliable insight if the size is too small. In relation to the sample size, there are two measures which are commonly used to affect the accurateness of the data analysis; margin of error (or confidence intervals) and confidence level. The margin of error is the positive and negative deviation allowing the survey result for the sample, whilst the confidence level is the percentage of population that is used in the survey deriving possibly from some experiences.

The first step in determining the percentage of the sample size in the research was the large populations that were allowed to be samples. In fact, there was no recorded data on the total number of the beach users and spectators who visited the beach every day. Therefore, this matter was approached by using recorded data from Tanah Lot beach which has almost a similar number of visitors. According to the report of the Bali tourism Board 2014, the number of tourists who visited Tanah Lot was 222,082 per month, on average 7,402 per day. If the total number of the guest coming to Kuta beach every day was an average of 7,402, it means that the target of 30 respondents each the guests as beach users and spectators is the same as 0.41% from the total population. Even though the sample size of these groups was less than 1%, it will be analysed into the use of standard deviation. Besides finding deviation, this analysis is to find the response rate which is the ratio of respondents that completed the questionnaire. Then the response rate is compared to the total number of surveys that were distributed. As a result, every question as variable can be categorised as significant or not significant to affect the result, in other words the respondents' opinions can be summarised.

Qualitative data from the four other groups, however, were analysed into descriptive statistics which means that all questions (variables) were calculated into qualitative descriptions, and the result of this analysis will be presented in the form of percentage (Sugiyono, 2010:148). Therefore, the results of interview data collections will be presented in chapter 6.

2.5 Limitation, Difficulty and Reflection on Fieldwork

The research as described is wide ranging and complex. The various parties/groups involved in the research area required different lists of questions and the various sources of collected data from observation lead to a long process. As a result, the duration of fieldwork was not sufficient enough; the limit of the student leave according to the University regulation is only two months. As a consequence, I had to plan the first and second fieldworks, each of which took place in a different year. Due to this, one of the main difficulties related to achieving milestones of the research, obtaining documents and archival records especially the documents and archival records which were reviewed.

To conduct in-depth interviews with various individuals in the different groups, who all had different characteristics and backgrounds, required that I provided a strategy and broad knowledge to succeed in this task. Although a letter of permission was granted by both the local and regional governments (a formal procedure in this country), before distributing the list of questions to the individuals targeted for the interview, problems were still encountered. Rejection, delay or postponement and other reasons were difficulties that I faced during the interviews. In addition, the different places of each respondent located in the highest crowded area also significantly influenced the length of the research schedule and the researcher's endurance. Even the research locations with local and regional governments are very far from one another; however it was of great benefit that the researcher was familiar with this area.

Fortunately, being Balinese, I am thus considered an 'insider' in terms of understanding society culture and traditions under investigation. As an insider, the benefits probably outweigh the disadvantages. I do not have a serious difficulty in understanding the language and relating to the Balinese culture and traditions, which I have addressed within the fieldwork. On the other hand, it is sometimes difficult to maintain the necessary 'distance' to make detached judgements. Some participants,

particularly from the local community and the government, are individuals that I know well and that can make the procedure and course of interviews sometimes challenging. However, all of these challenges motivated me to take a scholarly stance in my research and be sensitive to the principles of conducting successful un-biased fieldwork.

2.6 Conclusion

The research approach adopted in this study has not only generating new primary data by survey collection and analysis, but also has involved analysing secondary data derived from textual sources. The main purpose of this twin-track approach is to critically evaluate public (festive) life in one of the urban settlement (Kuta) located in the littoral regions of the island. Even though the history of Kuta Village was a traditional Balinese coastal village as a part of Badung Kingdom in the nineteenth century, today it has become one of the busiest urban areas in Bali. In addition, it is also a major world tourist destination in this region. With its complexity and other tourist/coast related features, this case study is expected to serve as an exemplar to highlight issues arising in similar situations in other countries.

Although the research uses a mixed method (qualitative and quantitative), the main method was qualitative. This is because the research mostly focused on spatial, social and anthropological studies by investigating the phenomenon of spatial and social change. The sources of information and data collection derive from the main four sources; observations, interviews, questionnaires, and text-based research which was classified into three types; polling, n-depth interview data collections, and sources of reference. The different types of data will be analysed with a different method, polling data will be analysed statistically and descriptive analysis will be carried out for interview data. The data obtained will be discussed in relation to the research questions set out in the Introduction, whilst outcomes of data analysis will be further reported in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3: The Island of Bali and the Background of Balinese People

3.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as an overview of the geography, people and customs of Bali, highlighting how historical relationships between geomorphology, topography, climate, land use, demography, economic development, culture and religious traditions have shaped Balinese society. As an outline, the chapter will provide a general context to the main focus of the thesis, with the ritual practices and civic traditions of the littoral regions of the island being explored later in Chapter 4.

3.2 The Island Of Bali

A key consideration in any study of Bali must concern its relationship to the Republic of Indonesia, to which it forms part. The island is just a small area of approximately 5,632.66 square kilometres, or 0.29% of the total landmass of the country. It is one of thousands of islands that comprise the archipelago of Indonesia, a characteristic however that belies the uniqueness of Bali. In a country known for having the largest Muslim population in the world, the island of Bali has an ancient Hindu tradition that still dominates the society.

Even though it has a small population, a percentage of around 1.2% of Indonesia's total as recorded in the census of 2005 (Statistik, 2010b), Bali has become a lot more popular than the rest of the country for tourism since the beginning of the twentieth century. As Copeland & Murni (2010, p. 1) assert, Bali has a big reputation as being probably the most famous tropical island in the world for foreign visitors. This began with the development of the Dutch harbour in Bali in the nineteenth century, followed by trading activities and visits by Dutch travellers, one of them being Heer H. Van Kol, a Dutch parliamentarian. After he returned to the Netherlands, he published a book in 1902 in Leiden, entitled *Uit Onze*

Kolonien which examined mostly Bali (Hanna, 1976, p. 83; Pitana, 2000). Regular Dutch visitors to Bali became commonplace after the period of colonisation by the Dutch.

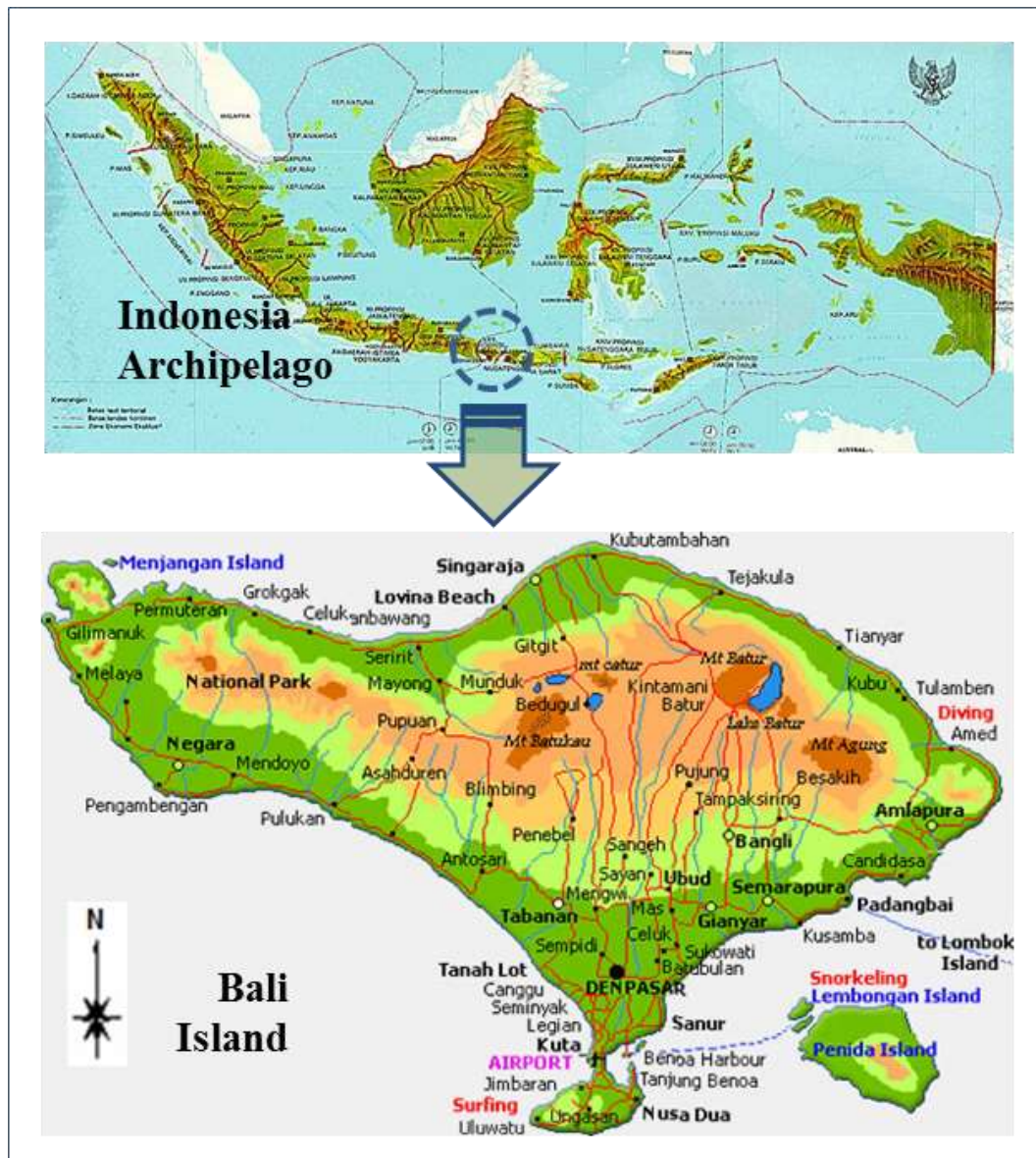


Figure 3: Map of Indonesia and Bali Island (source: <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/> & <https://www.google.co.uk>: cited 7/10/12).

A uniqueness of Bali is not only the spectacular natural beauty of its coastline but also the cultural traditions and customs of the people. This combination of scenic beauty and a rich culture has contributed to the popular image of Bali that attracts foreign visitors from around the world. These visitors have, in turn, promoted Bali in their own countries, through

an array of exotic images and familiar descriptions such as: 'the land of art and religion', 'the island of the last paradise', 'the blessed isle', 'the island of gods', and also the 'island of bare-breasted woman' (Lansing, 1995, p. 115). The Balinese's daily activities in art and religion remain dominant, in which the inhabitants are portrayed as artists (Vickers, 1989, pp. 81-98).

As a tropically humid zone, the geographical position of Bali in relation to the equator has a significant bearing on its climate and demography. Temperature levels throughout the year provide a sustained outdoor thermal comfort, which also leads to human comfort. The impact of the climate on the island's demography is reflected in the working day, comfort, and methods of agriculture. In this section, I will focus on aspects of the geography, climate and demography of the Island, highlighting how these features have historically influenced the economy of Bali and its principal areas of produce.

Bali Island is located to the east of Java Island, or between Java and Lombok Island (Figure 3); between latitude 8°03'40" and 8°50'48" South and longitude 114° 25'53" and 115°42'40" East. With an area of 5,632.66 km² (or 0.29% of the total landmass of Indonesia), Bali's coastline length is approximately 430 km long (SDA, 2006). The shape of the island could be likened to a turtle or swan (with its smaller islands associated with swan's or turtle's eggs), with distances about 153 km (95 miles) from east to west and around 112 km (70 miles) from north to south. Bali's five smaller islands are mostly located on the south-east side of the main island; Nusa Penida, Nusa Lembongan, Nusa Ceningan, Serangan, and Menjangan Island, with only Menjangan Island located on the western side.

3.2.1 Topography, Geography and Climate

Volcanic mountains occupy the island's hinterland which slopes steeply to the sea in the north, whilst more gradual level changes can be found to the south. In these mountains there are three active volcanoes; Mount Agung

is the highest (3,142 m), Mount Batukaru (2,276 m) and Mount Batur (1,717 m). Batur, located within a large caldera, was believed to be the highest volcano (over 4,000 m above sea level), before a cataclysmic prehistoric eruption. Throughout the 20th century, Batur has had major eruptions (in 1917, 1926, and 1963), that followed similar periods of eruption with Mount Agung (Statistik, 2012b). These seismic events are a product of ongoing volcanic activity which is part of the volcanic chain that forms the backbone of Indonesian archipelago (Pringle, 2004, p. 3). Four lakes are also located in the hinterland: Beratan, Tamblingan, Batur and Buyan. The volcanic chain in the middle, from east to west, creates slightly different climatic conditions between the northern and southern areas of Bali. In addition, Bukit Peninsula, at the southern area, is the southernmost extremity of Bali Island, which is characterized by a small mountain chain extending from east to west.

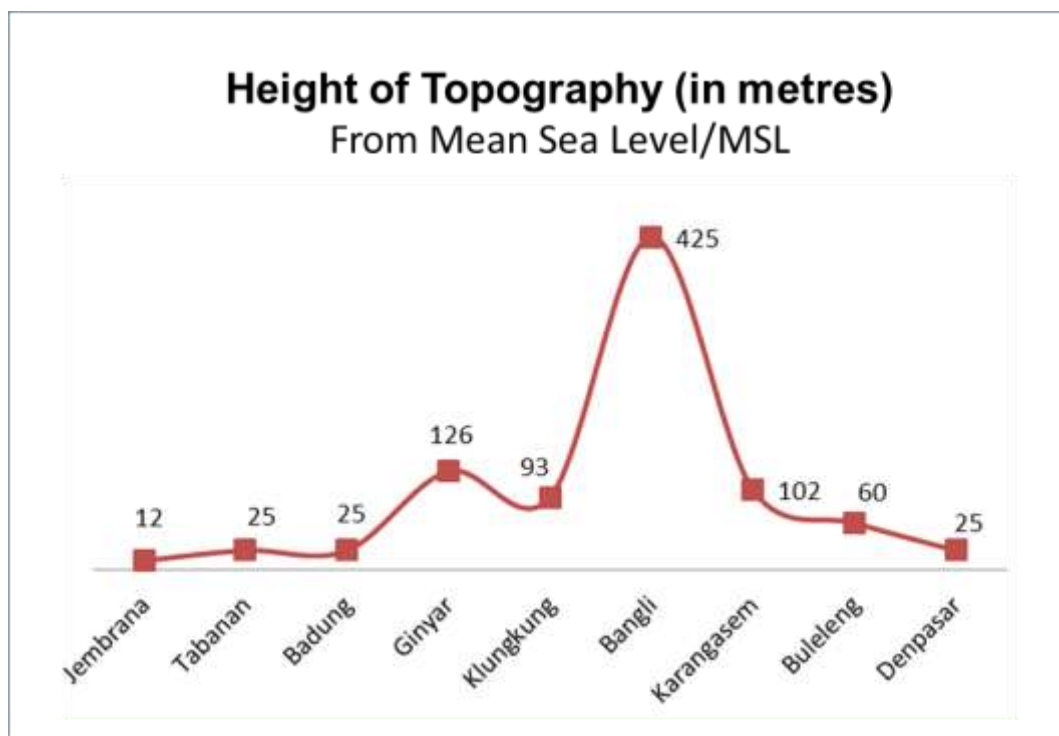


Figure 4: The height of topography by regency/municipality (Statistik, 2012b)

Topographically, the mainland of Bali can be classified under different gradients of terrain; 0-2° slope covering areas of 122.652 hectares, 2-15° slope (118.339 hectares), 15-40° slope (190.486 hectares) and over 40° (132.189 hectares). Figure 4 shows that only three regencies (Bangli, Gianyar and Karangasem) have 100 metres above Mean Sea Level/MSL (Statistik, 2012b), while others are less than 100 metres. Whilst the soil structure is mostly formed by layers of regosol and latosol, only a small part comprises alluvial and andosol deposits. These deposits are very sensitive to erosion, which are mostly located at the north and north-east of Bali, whilst the alluvial layer is found in the east and south of the island, consisting of limestone, sand, and gravel. Most parts of uplifted coral reefs are located at Bukit Peninsula, which is up to 200 metres above sea level. Because of different sources of sand, the littoral regions of Bali (most pertinent to this study) consist of three types; gravel, black sand and white beach sand. The white sandy beaches are located in Badung Regency (Kuta, Nusa Dua, Jimbaran Pecatu, Tanjung Benoa), Denpasar (Sanur and Serangan area), Klungkung (Nusa Penida and Nusa Ceningan) and Karangasem Regency (Padangbai and Candi Dasa), all of which are located in the south.

Generally, the Bali region has a tropical climate with only two seasons; rainy and dry seasons. The first usually occurs from October to March, and the dry season from April to September. These seasons are influenced by the monsoons which commonly blow from Southwest or West and from Southeast or East. The average temperature is 29°C with 82.50% relative humidity. The highest intensity of solar radiation is up to 502W/m² and the temperature is up to 33°C. The average rainfall is approximately 197 mm/year and the highest is 453 mm and, according to the Meteorology and Geophysics Board (Geofisika, 2011), the average wind speed does not exceed 12 knots. Since Bali is located near the Equator its daylight hours are consistently 12 hours. Hence, the variation in daylight hours throughout the year is very slight. The shortest day occurs in late June and

the longest day is in late December, but the difference of both is only an hour.

Bali is one of 33 provinces of Indonesia consisting of 8 regencies and 1 municipality: Badung, Tabanan, Jembrana, Buleleng, Karangasem, Klungkung, Gianyar, and Bangli, with Denpasar municipality as the capital. Figure 5 shows that among these regencies and Denpasar municipality, the territory of Buleleng Regency is the largest with an area of 1.365,88 km sq. (24.23%), followed by Jembrana (841.80 km sq. or 14.93%), Karangasem (89.54 km sq. or 14.89%) and Tabanan Regency (839.33 km sq. or 14.89%). Badung and Denpasar are the most crowded areas with only 418.52 km sq. and 127.78 km sq. respectively. Each regency and municipality has a coastal area, with the exception of the Bangli Regency (Statistik, 2012b).

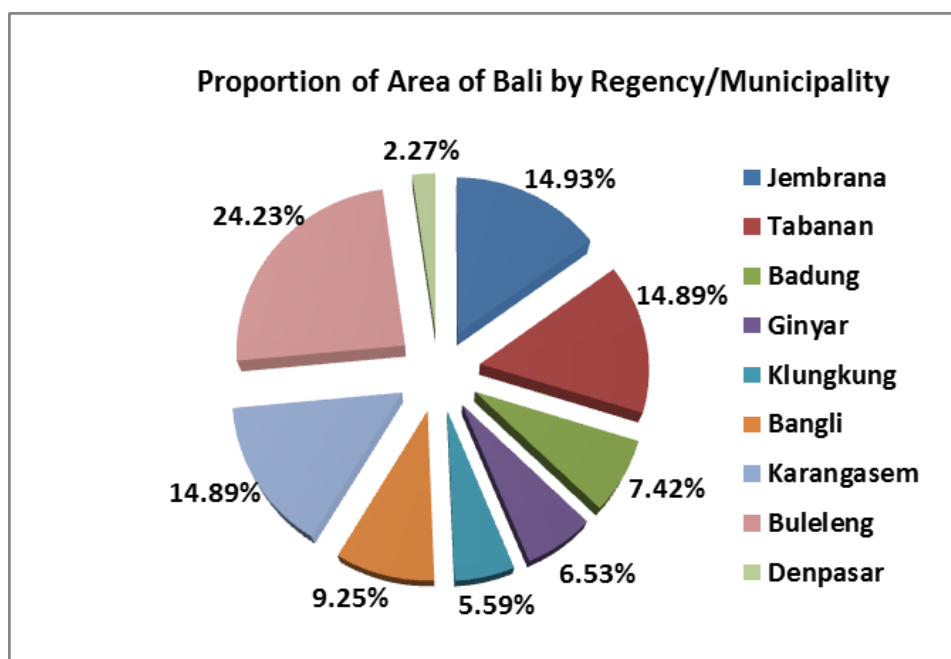


Figure 5: Percentage of the area of Bali by regency/municipality (Statistik, 2012b).

Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS (2011) records that the land use of Bali Island comprises of rice fields (14.53%), plantation (20.97%), moorlands (23.62%), forest (25.29%), buildings (8.12%), ponds (0.19%), and other

areas (7.28%). There are clear signs however that the composition of land-use is changing rapidly, indicated in the report from the Regional Agricultural Business Organisation in 2012. This indicates that the conversion of agricultural land to tourist facilities, other building facilities and infra-structural development has increased by as much as 1,000 hectares per year. This finding is further strengthened by Wayan Windia (2009, September 12), who identifies that the conversion of rice fields into building developments in Bali is taking place at an approximate rate of 750 hectares per year. Denpasar (the capital of Bali), Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan have an acronym called '*sarbagita*' signifying the high conversion of agricultural land in Bali. Figure 13 indicates the proportion of the area of Bali by regency/municipality in 2011 (Statistik, 2012b).

3.2.2 Demography and Economy Factors

According to the 2011 population census (Table 4), the total population in Bali was 3,643,472, consisting of 1,829,689 men (50.22%) and 1,813,774 women (49.78%). There has been a significant increase of 3.43% to the total population compared with the year of 2010 when Bali had a population of 3,522,375. On the other hand, the number of foreign residents has decreased significantly from 898 in 2010 to 666 in 2011, representing a drop of 25.84%. This decrease may be due to economic factors (inflation, expensive goods, lack of opportunities etc.); in addition, other possible factors relating to increased difficulties in settling on certain parts of the island could be due to over-crowding, etc. The largest population on the island can be found in Buleleng regency, with a population of 675,513, which is also the largest territory, whilst Denpasar municipality and Gianyar regency (the second and the third largest) have a population of 531,924 and 473,535 respectively. Denpasar has the highest density with 4,163 people/ km. sq., followed by Gianyar and Badung regencies with 1,315 and 955 people/km. sq. It has been predicted that within the next ten years Denpasar, followed by the Badung Regency, will have the largest population in Bali. This is due to the fact that the annual

growth of both localities is over 4% whilst other regencies are only between 0.94 and 1.0%. One of the driving factors for this growth is the migration from other places/islands competing to find jobs in these areas.

Table 4: Population and Density by Regency/Municipality at end of 2011.

Regency/ Municipality	Number of Population		Total Number	Total Area (km sq.)	Density/ km sq.
	Man	Woman			
Jembrana	136,685	137,233	273,918	841.80	325
Tabanan	217,779	219,900	437,679	839.33	521
Badung	200,845	199,016	399,861	418.52	955
Gianyar	239,738	233,797	473,535	368.00	1,315
Klungkung	91,623	91,865	186,488	315.00	531
Bangli	107,758	108,259	216,017	520.81	414
Karangasem	225,386	223,151	448,537	839.54	534
Buleleng	337,061	338,452	675,513	1,365.88	495
Denpasar	272,823	259,101	531,924	127.78	4,163
Total	1,829,689	1,813,774	3,643,472	5,636.66	646 (Bali)

Source: BPS of Bali Province (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011)

The growth in population due to migration to Denpasar, and the Badung Regency, seems inevitable. As Pringle (2004) states a new prosperous Bali will result in migrants from other parts of Indonesia and beyond to take advantage of the employment opportunities, such as Javanese and Lombok migrants who harvest rice in south Bali, while most Indonesians tend to work in the tourism sector. This phenomenon is supported by Todaro (1996, p. 422) who states that the growth rate of modern sector

industries does not automatically result in sufficient numbers of newly created employment opportunities bringing about a more productive and efficient allocation of human resources in the economy as a whole. Since migrants to Bali have mostly low skills and low-levels of education they have difficulty in being absorbed into modern industrial sectors, such as in trade and tourism. Most of them can only enter in home industries and street vendoring, which brings about high levels of competition in this sector.

Table 5: General description of employment in Bali by 2011.

Description	Identification of Labour		Total Number
	Man	Woman	
Working Age Population (person)	1,474, 864	1, 477,681	2,952,545
Labour Force (person)	1, 241, 895	1, 015, 363	2, 257, 258
Employees (person)	1, 217, 183	987, 691	2, 204 874
Number of Unemployment (person)	24, 712	27, 672	52, 384
Labour Force Participation Rate (%)	84.20	68.71	76.45
Unemployment Rate (%)	1.99	2.73	2.32

Source: BPS of Bali Province (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011)

Human resources are an essential factor in accelerating development in Bali's economy. However, they can also potentially have a negative impact on the economy if they are not productive and competitive in terms of goods and services. Even though the island has an abundance of natural resources, there are no guarantees that society as a whole will be able to advance without new technologies and renewable forms of energy. Although Bali has limited natural resources backed up by the tourist sector, human skills and initiatives are a positive factor to accelerate the growth of economic development. If the economic growth has a positive trend with less unemployment, it indicates that the development of the

economy as a whole is sustainable in the long term. In this case, the great growth of population and labour may be a positive factor in pushing growth further as this will also create employment opportunities in the new industrial and commercial sectors which will enhance a wider domestic market. However, a key obstacle in this development today is that unemployment remains persistently high.

Table 6: The number of labour workers in different industrial sectors by sex in 2011.

Industrial sector	Number of workers		Total Number
	Man	Woman	
Agriculture, Estate Crops, Forestry, and fishery	291,570	265,045	556,615
Mining and Quarrying	7,304	5,331	12,635
Manufacture	141,797	148,335	290,132
Electricity and Water Supply	6,089	770	6,859
Construction	158,543	27,162	185,705
Trade and Tourism	274,912	321,615	596,527
Transportation, Storage, and Communication	71,292	10,452	81,744
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	58,563	24,718	83,281
Public Service	207,113	184,263	391,376
Total	1,217,183	987,691	2,204,874

Source: (Statistik, 2012b)

Although there was a significant growth of population by the year 2011, the economic development of Bali did have a negative impact on

unemployment. This can be seen in the table above (Table 5) which shows that the number of the working age population reached 2,952,545 (with 2,257,258 of labour force), whilst the total number of employees was 2,204,874. These figures indicate that the number of unemployed stands at only 52,584 (or about 2.32%), which is a sufficiently positive signal in the economic development of Bali. However, it seems difficult to sustain lasting economic growth since the increasing growth of the population cannot be minimized. The National Statistics Agency (Statistik, 2010b), recorded in the last thirty years, shows that migration to Bali increased sharply; 63,365 (1980), 122,899 (1990), and 221,722 (2000), thereby reflecting an average increase of nearly 100%.

The labour markets in Bali, however, are limited in terms of the range of employment opportunities, relying on trade & tourism, agriculture and home industries. It can be seen (Table 6) that, among the employment sectors in Bali, trade and tourism (followed by agriculture) is the largest to absorb labour forces. Meanwhile, the limitation of manufacturing industries and the large numbers in the labour force with low skills, has led to a great number of jobs in private sectors such as the self-employed, unpaid employment, non- agricultural employees, and others. Based on the results of *Sakernas* 2011, the total number of jobs in this sector in 2010 was 1,398,829, or 64.24% of the total (P. Indonesia, 2011). This seems very significant, although the numbers decreased slightly last year to 1,402,229, or 68.16%. The result also shows that a comparison between men and women workers is almost equal (50.19% and 49.81% respectively).

3.3 The Balinese People

The Balinese are one of hundreds of ethnic groups in Indonesia which still survive and practise their culture, tradition and customs (Statistik, 2010a). The first step to understanding these people is to recognise their historical background, family ties and kinship, society and living culture, before

continuing to observe their religious activities, ritual practices and traditions.

Comprising the majority of Indonesians on the island, the Balinese are a mixture of races derived from descendants of the Malayo-Polynesians, ancient denizens of the archipelago. Lansing (1995, p. 67) states that the Malayo-Polynesian people who settled on the island developed a common ancestry with the Balinese. Budiharjo (1995, p. 20), on the other hand, suggests that their race may derive from central and eastern Javanese ancestors mixed with Indian and Mongoloid ethnic, a blend of ethnic groups that has resulted in a rich and diverse culture among the Balinese people. Budiharjo (1995, p. 20) adds that no other race lives in such a harmonious relationship to nature that ensures continuity between the people and their surroundings. Respect and reverence for nature is a central part of their belief structure, whilst agriculture underpins their daily lives and culture.

To acquire a deeper insight into the Balinese people, it is important to understand their religious beliefs and practices. Allowing for changes arising from acculturation and adjustments to places, there is remarkable continuity in the traditions of Balinese society stemming from forms of livelihood, family cohesion and kinship. These continue to shape a strong identity of the indigenous people.

3.3.1 Religion and Beliefs

Hindu is the chief religion of the Balinese, whose origins are believed to come from India through the scripture of Veda as a basic living philosophy (Ardhana, 2002, pp. 59-61; Wikarman, 1997, pp. 14-17). However, the contents of Veda have been transmitted by the Balinese into many versions; world and human philosophy, theology, astronomy, statecraft, epic, biography, and other references. Those became the basis of beliefs and civilisation of Hindu giving rise to various mythologies. Though David Smith (2009, p. 38) states that the replacement of Hinduism by Buddhism

and Islam largely took place in Southeast Asia in the first millennium, except in Bali. Some scholars believe that the Balinese religion is a combination of Shiva-Buddhist, in that the Balinese have developed specific philosophies in several ways that have been transformed into ritual observance and practices. It is not unusual, therefore, that Balinese Hindu has specific rituals which are different from Indian Hinduism or other places in the world dominated by the Hindu Religion (Lansing, 1995).

In Bali, there are three main frameworks in the implementation of Hinduism that are based on *tattwa* (principles of truth/philosophy), *susila* (ethics/morality) and *upakara* (ritual/ceremony) and these three words derive from Sanskrit words: *tattva*, *nitizAstra* and *kalpa* (Budihardjo, 1995, p. 25 ; Monier-Williams & Cappeller, 1899; Sudharta & Atmaja, 2001, p. 5; Sutjaja, 2009). These words can be synonymised into 'thinking', 'behaviour' and 'action'. The philosophy/*tattwa* is a fundamental aspect for implementing ethical principles and rituals, thus ethics becomes the defining principle for ritual processes. Besides that, the Balinese have five belief systems in their religion, called *panca çradha* (Gunadha, 2013, p. 19; Soebandi, 1983) , namely:

- 1) Belief in Brahman which is the God the Supreme Being or the Creator.
- 2) Belief in *atman* as the soul of human being and biodiversity. This belief relates to the philosophy of *Tat Tvam Asi*, a Sanskrit word meaning "that art thou," "that thou art," "thou art that," "you are that," or "that you are."(Holroyde, Iqbal, & Vohra, 1973, p. 23; Mascaró, 1965).
- 3) Belief in *karma phala* as human beings': this derives from their thinking, behaviour and action which are brought from their new born, transmitted throughout their live, and even after death.
- 4) Belief in *samsara/punarbhawa* as reincarnation; return to the world as a new life after death (or a cycle of life).

- 5) Belief in *moksa* (perfection/liberation) as the soul returns to the Creator or the soul goes to heaven with or without reincarnation.

Another related belief is the principle of *rwa bhinneda* which means two opposing things; values, or elements in the world life (*rwa*=two, *bhinneda*=difference). This principle derives from the basic philosophy of *lingam-yoni* or *purusha-prakriti* meaning that the reconciliation of non-material and material manifestations creating a life in balance and harmony. The two manifestations are also defined as dualities: 'father-mother', 'upper-underworld', 'vertical-horizontal line', 'mountain-sea', 'north-south', and others. The basic philosophy of *lingam-yoni* and the principle of *rwa bhinneda*, are implemented further into spatial and spiritual orientations, i.e. a concept of '*kaja-kelod*' or North-South, similar to '*nyegara-gunung*' or sea-mountain wards (Eiseman, 1990).

An important objective of Balinese life is to achieve physical and spiritual happiness in the world or *Mokshartam Jagadithaya Ça Ithi Dharma*. There are four stages in this process, called *catur purushartha* (Klostermaier, 2007, p. 291; Suhardana, 2010, p. 65; Wiana, 2007, p. 57):

- 1) *Dharma* or truth/spiritual life is the first fundamental step to be done in one's foundation for the next stage.
- 2) *Artha* (economic life) must be based on *dharma* (or the truth).
- 3) *Khama* (social life) creates a good relationship with other people and respect nature.
- 4) *Moksa* is happiness or perfection in the world resulting from harmonious relationships to the gods, humanity and the environment.

The Gods are an important part of Balinese belief through a polytheistic religious system. To understand the existence of the Gods requires understanding of the divine power. So it is inevitable that the Balinese adore many gods and goddesses reflecting faith in the Gods' powers in order to achieve *moksa* (perfection). The Balinese believe that it is impossible to achieve happiness without achieving a harmonious

relationship to these divine powers. To clarify, Hinduism is not polytheistic as Hindu scriptures stipulate (Soebandi, 1983, p. 3);

- 1) *“Ekam Sat Wiprah Bahuda Wadanti, Agnim Yama Matariswanam,”* translated as “the God is one; only Saints call the God with many names as Agnim, Yama, Matariswanam” (recorded in *the Rig Veda* Mandala I Sukta 164 Mantra 46).
- 2) *“Eke Edam Adwityam Brahman,”* translated as “the God is only one, nothing else”).
- 3) *Brahman, God himself which is underlying spirit. The Hindu must feel that God is Brahman (Upanishad IV. 2.1)* translated by Mascaro (1965, p. 11).

3.3.2 Family and Kinship

Balinese kinship constitutes a key part of the structure and continuity of the family unit, providing the framework for observing traditions and upholding and commemorating ancestral links. Against the background however, of the growing impact of globalization on the social and economic aspects of Bali, forms of kinship are increasingly subject to challenges both from within and outside the society. Marriage provides a decisive factor to build and secure a family and the family is a key factor to sustain the kinship.

Traditionally, the ‘lifeworld’ (the experiences of individual and corporate life) of Balinese Hindu can be divided into four stages, known as ‘*Catur Ashrama*’ as one of the concepts in the ideology of *dharma* (Flood, 1996, p. 97; Jackson & Killingley, 1988, p. 97):

- 1) *Brahmacarya Ashrama*, the study or learning period as a preparation before marriage.
- 2) *Grehastha Ashrama*, the marital life period, responsibility and obligation on social life and rights.
- 3) *Wanaprastha Ashrama*, the post-social life or hermit/ascetic period.

- 4) *Biksukha/Samnyasa Ashrama*, the period to dedicate his/her life for serving people and society or the pilgrimage life period before achieving *moksha* as the main goal of life.

In relation to the stage of marriage, a preferential patriparallel-cousin (a form of endogamous marriage within one's own circle of close kin), which is similar to 'Patrilateral Parallel' marriages, is an unusual custom in Balinese society when compared to other comparative customs (Lansing, 1995, pp. 37-38). On the other hand, Copeland & Murni (2010) argue that marriage within families is not uncommon in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. The preferential patriparallel-cousin in the Balinese marriage custom is rare between first cousins and more commonly takes place between second cousins (one's grandfather's brother's grandson and granddaughter). Even a marriage between an uncle and his niece is an ideal partner, called '*ratu ngemban putra*', like a king fostering his daughter (Anandakusuma, 1998). This marriage is likely to take place after three generations, whilst marriage between first cousins is unusual, there may be several reasons why this custom is applied, such as an existing family wishing to expand its numbers by establishing a single family lineage, called *dadya*. Another reason is the wish to extend/expand family kinship through 'descendant' linkages or similar status, and for more practical reasons such as maintaining their properties after marriage.

The *dadya* is a family group with many members in one complex; this complex is a wide and large cluster of related households. The preferred marriage arrangement within the *dadya* is to embrace all purposes mentioned above, since the couple (he and she) ensures that they have similar descendants and status, with their resources and properties remain within the *dadya*. At the same time, their children will continue to maintain the *dadya*, with the benefit of the ancestral family becoming larger. In contrast, if a Balinese woman marries someone who is not from her *dadya*, even non-Balinese, she will cut her ties with her family group, including her property and rights. This separation is formalised by an

offering ceremony to her ancestors in the *dadya* temple, in which she leaves permanently her *dadya* to join her husband's family customs. Indeed, according to Balinese belief, after she marries outside her *dadya*, she will be reborn into her husband's family group (Copeland & Murni, 2010; C. Geertz, 1980; Lansing, 1995).

Another crucial marriage arrangement is that of the 'dissimilar status' which is commonly associated with a different caste, although the basic Balinese Hindu traditions do not recognise the caste system. Even the Sanskrit tradition based on the Rig Veda, speaks only of four *varnas* as a fourfold division of society which means 'colour' (Jackson & Killingley, 1988, p. 78). Moreover, Covarrubias (1937) claims that there is no firmly established Hindu caste system in Bali today, although some elements of the caste system do exist, influenced mostly by the conquest of Majapahit from the Hindu-Javanese (Ardika et al., 2013).

Marriage regulations in the Majapahit era were strictly regulated according to the manuscript of Negara Kertagama. A young man in a lower class was prohibited to marry into an upper class. If the young man from the *ksatria* family, for instance, married a young woman from the *brahmana* family, the couple must be outcast from their family and then they became *Sudra*. Even if a young man from the *Sudra* married a young woman from the *brahmana* or *ksatria* family, the couple must be killed by throwing them into the sea. This marriage is named '*asumundung alangkahi karanghulu*' (Surpha, 2012, p. 41). In this era, a marriage was expected and only permitted if the couple were of a similar caste or if the young man had a higher caste than the woman in marriage status.

A more flexible arrangement for this 'latent' caste system in marriage was instigated during the Dutch era, in which there was no killing of the bride, though several punishments were still enforced for the spouse who contravened the regulations. In that time, the Balinese were more favourable to using ancestral lines, called *catur wangsa*, to determine a partner. Some parents now advise their son or daughter to find partners in

the same family/*wangsa*. If marrying in a different *wangsa*, only different rituals will take place in the marriage processions without any punishment. This is based on the implementation of a national policy No.1/1971 (R. Indonesia, 1971), stipulating that there is no prohibition to marry in different social status anymore. Recently, there have been many Balinese men and women who have married non-Balinese from other islands in Indonesia, or other countries, without any dispute or complications.

a. Kinship

In anthropological theory, kinship is familiarly defined as a 'generational' system or an 'autonomous' system which relates to sentiments, norms, or cultural categories (Fortes, 2013, pp. 101-121), whereas Greetzes (1975, pp. 153-158) insists that kinship comprises of a variety of "cultural idioms" which is an integral part of a more inclusive 'idiom' or 'culture pattern'. However according to Scheffler (1977, pp. 867-870), Balinese kinship denotes symbolically relationship through genealogical connection. From marriage to traditional systems of social hierarchy evident in Balinese society, kinship still pervades many aspects of contemporary life on the island. Besides that, every family as a group of people will be united physically within the household and commemorated by a family temple. This kinship has existed as a dominant feature of Balinese society since the ninth century, when the king of Udayana ruled Bali accompanied by the Hindu Priest Mpu Kuturan (Shri Rajakertha). The hierarchy of Balinese kinship can be divided into the following three inter-related categories, indicating levels of scale and therefore importance:

1) Small kinship (private kinship)

This group derives from one lineage of family comprising siblings, half siblings and cousins. In relation to this lineage, most Balinese wish to have four generations as an ideal since it is a complete cycle of generations according to Balinese tradition (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 159). The four generations consist of a great-grandparent, grandparent, son and great-grandchild. The great-grandparent and the

great-grandchild are regarded as the same level, called *kumpi/kompyang*. Because of this comparable status, when the great-grandparent passes away, the great-grandchildren are not allowed to pray to the deceased. Only the two generations below the deceased pray in all deceased ritual processions. Besides the ritual identity of the deceased, other identities of this generation/people group reveal themselves in their family temple which is called *Sangga Kemulan* or *Paibon* (Soebandi, 1983).

2) Medium kinship

The medium kinship encompasses the increasing number of family members in Bali, from the small kinship which takes place commonly after four generations. According to Geertz (1980, p. 27) this kinship is preferentially endogamous (marriage within a particular ethnic group) rather than exogamous (the custom of marrying outside the family or tribe). They become larger through preferential marriage of patriparallel cousins as mentioned above, thus this process tends to be differentiated rather than segmented. In this descent group, one family is able to build a household completed by a family temple (*Sangga Kemulan*) in another place, but they have to build a family temple together which is larger than *Sangga Kemulan*, called *Dadya*. This *Dadya* signifies that it is worshipped by more than one family, while *Dadya Ageng/Panti/Merajan Ageng* is larger than *Dadya* and is worshipped by a larger family.¹ This temple becomes a gathering place for the descent group when the temple's anniversary takes place.

3) Large kinship (public kinship)

Large kinships are not formed through the ancestral family but is more firmly based on similar social status (or *wangsa*) and professional background (called '*soroh*' or clan). The *soroh* is the largest group

¹ For further reading on the classification of family temple, it can be seen in the inscription of Siwagama, translated by Tim Penterjemah (1998), Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali.

since they consist of various ancestral groups in one *wangsa*/social status and profession. There are several *soroh* in Bali namely; *soroh brahmana*, *ksatrya dalem*, *ksatrya arya*, *pasek*, and *soroh pande*. *Soroh pasek* deriveing from various descent families in which they claim their identity as the genuine people of Bali, or in other words they were not from Java as part of Majapahit Emperor. *Soroh pande* is a group associated with a special profession/skill, namely the blacksmith clan. In antiquity this family was responsible for preparing troop equipment. *Soroh brahmana*, *ksatrya dalem* and *arya* tend to be formed from similar *wangsa*. Each clan has a temple called '*Pura Pedharman*', which is located at the Besakih Temple, the centre of the clan temples and the mother of the Balinese temple. Besides that, they are also united through assembly in public temples according to the hierarchical system of religious spaces: *Tri Khayangan* (village level), *Dang Khayangan* (sub-region) and *Sad Khayangan/ Khayangan Jagat* (region of Bali and universe) (T. R. B. Post, 2006, pp. 1-2; Soebandi, 1983, pp. viii-ix).

3.3.3 Society and Organisation

Although there are several distinctive *soroh* as the groups of people which seem to differ among them, the Balinese live in an orderly society (Budihardjo, 1995, p. 23). Mutual symbiosis and respect for one another, a sense of thankfulness to God the Almighty and a respect of nature are essential obligations in every aspect of Balinese life. Every aspect of their life derives from Hindu belief, although their particular culture and traditions influence these beliefs. One of their notions of a virtuous life is the principle of "Thou Art That" (*Tat Tvam Asi*) which means 'you are that'. This principle clarifies that God is within each one of us (immanence) in the very fact that we exist (Holroyde et al., 1973, p. 23). This term also implies that our life begins from looking not only within ourselves but also at the whole of nature as a creation of God (Prime, 1992, p. 20). Meanwhile, *tri hita karana* teaches humanity how to achieve serenity and

happiness, resulting in a harmonious relationship between individuals and gods, as well as between humans and their surroundings.

To investigate the social life of the Balinese and its influence on ritual observance, there is a need to examine how communities are structured in accordance with the systems of traditional tribes. Several organisations or social bodies are based on traditional/customary laws and creeds. In addition to these laws and creeds, the basic concept of *Sukha-Dukkha* (from the Sanskrit meaning 'pleasant-unpleasant') underpins much of Balinese social life (Monier-Williams & Cappeller, 1899). These social and religious creeds and belief systems are in many ways organised around the following fivefold social structures of the society: *desa pakraman* (traditional village), *banjar* (social community organisation within a village), *sekehe* (social and spiritual professional group), *subak* (farmer association) and *pemaksan* (temple congregation group) whose members are called '*krama/warga*' (Surpha, 2012, pp. 37-39).

The *desa pakraman*

Desa pakraman constitutes a village which is defined as a sacred space governed by several taboos, ritual protocols and laws. The *desa pakraman* is also called *desa adat*. '*Pakraman*' places more emphasis on village members (*karma* meaning village member) whilst '*adat*' is more specific to the enactment of customary laws, hence both have similar principles (WP Windia, Wananjaya, Jayantiari, Laksana, & Dewi, 2013). Historically, the development of the *desa pakraman* and its organisation were closely associated with the existence of a royal palace in ancient times. The king and his compatriot developed their kingdom in order to form a royal household. They then organised a particular socio-political structure within their territory with the palace of the king as the symbolic and territorial centre of social, political and cultural life. Social order or disorder depended largely, of course, on the power of a king to control and maintain control of his kingdom. According to historical/archaeological

sources, there is no evidence that Bali ever witnessed a rebellion by its people against their ruler (Ardika et al., 2013).

The existence of village temples (called *tri khayangan* or three village temples; *pura*/temple of Puseh, Desa and Dalem) served as tangible reminders of the strong alliance with the king. In several cases, there are only two temples in each village, since Puseh and Desa Temples are sometime brought together as a single temple called Puseh-Bale Agung Temple. The two or three temples are religious facilities designed to unite social and spiritual life and to serve as an essential part of the implementation of harmonious relationships between individuals and gods. The king had ultimate responsibility to maintain these temples; however after independence of Indonesia in 1945, the responsibility came under the *krama*/village community themselves. This change has become a challenge for the community to provide a budget for officiating the rituals and maintaining their assets and because of this, the quality and levels of maintenance of the temples differs in many locations, depending on the economic situation of the village community.

Since their social and spiritual lives constitute in many ways an 'actualisation' of control is generally kept to a minimum, the community has a degree of autonomy in managing their activities, especially in social and spiritual aspects. As part of public/civil society however, they have a responsibility to coordinate with local government and to participate in the development and maintenance of their surroundings. At the same time, central government also recognises the unique position of Bali as an integral society that requires political and administrative support. To maintain and strengthen the *desa pakraman*, the regional government of Bali issued a regional regulation (No. 3/2001) (P. D. P. Bali, 2001) assigned the *desa pakraman* as the genuine traditional organisation. Moreover, regional and local governments not only enforce laws and regulations, both also provide much needed capital for this purpose.

At national level, the central government has formally acknowledged the existence of traditional organisations in Indonesian culture which is contained in the constitution of the Indonesian Republic, article 18, 28 and 29 (R. Indonesia, 1945). This stipulates:

- Article 18: the state recognises and respects the life of traditional ethnic groups with their law and rights on the basis of community development and the unitary state of the Indonesian Republic.
- Article 28, the state respects cultural identity and traditional ethnic group rights, associated with the development of times and civilisations.
- Article 29, the state guarantees freedom of religious people to offer worships according to their belief.

Besides the above, the Home Affair Minister's policy, No. 11/1984 (Minister, 1984), relating to the management and development of traditions and customs at the level of the village, indicates the concerns of central government to maintain the traditional organisations of the village.

However, the government does not interfere directly to resolve conflicts or internal customary issues, unless there is a specific request from the presiding organisation. Decision-making processes are therefore devolved down to special panels appointed to oversee the activities of the *desa pakraman*. This arrangement is in accordance with the hierarchical system of governance; the district, regent and provincial levels that empower local bodies to deal more directly with any conflicts. If, however, they are unable to resolve the conflict in question, then the case is transferred to a higher body until a solution can be found.

Several conflicts have taken place in the last twenty years relating to boundary disputes of village territories, expansion of villages, *adat*/customary sanctions and utilisation of cemeteries. Warren (Warren, 2000, p. 1) notes that *adat* cases in the 1990s began to reveal an extraordinary exposure in the Balinese press which were backed by *adat* sanctions, the growing interests in the status of *adat* and impacts of

modernity and globalisation. However, most cases were finally resolved through partnership between the customary consideration boards and government, without proceeding to the state court. On the other hand, conflicts of interest with other parties (investors) and the government, particularly in coastal areas, could not be avoided in some cases due to different interests, land conversion, coastal reclamation, and other issues. Some examples of recent disputes are as follows:

- The case of sand dragging at Kutuh Beach between *desa pakraman* Kutuh, Benoa and the government in 2007.
- The case of Perasi Beach (southeast of Bali) between *desa pakraman* Perasi and an investor in relation to the development of tourist facilities in 2010.
- The case of Benoa coastal reclamation between Balinese society and the governor of Bali supported by members of *desa pakraman* Benoa in the year 2012.

In order to govern its internal organisation, every village/*desa pakraman* is regulated by its own customary law (called *awig-awig*) which operates at three levels; 1) the management of cultural and spiritual activities, 2) the maintenance of the physical surroundings (temples, cemetery, village land ownership and public open spaces), and 3) the resolution of conflicts and enforcement of fines. Besides incorporating Hindu belief into the *awig-awig*, local norms also play a role which give rise to slightly different laws ultimately being implemented in every village. Kaler (1974, p. 2) clarifies that the resources of local norms and laws in the *awig-awig* derive from four resources, widely known as *catur dresta*, namely:

- 1) *sastra dresta*, norms from manuscript/Hindu scriptures;
- 2) *purwa dresta*, resources from traditions,
- 3) *loka dresta*, norm resources from regional ways of life, and
- 4) *desa dresta*, or local/village ways of life.

Even though the duties of *desa pakraman* seem to focus mostly on the development of the Balinese society, they also have other duties in order

to participate in the government's development programmes in the form of community participation. To maintain the security of their territories for instance, they have appointed security guards, called *pecalang*, through internal recruitment. In addition to securing their territory, they have also joined with the local police to control traffic on the streets when ritual activities take place. The number of guards depends on the number of village people and social organisations beneath the village/*desa pakraman*, familiarly known as *banjar*

The *Banjar* and other Organisations

In its definition, *banjar* denotes a traditional organisation based on mutual needs within the village/*desa pakraman* in which the chiefs of the *banjar* serve on the village council (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 391; Covarrubias, 1937, p. 60; Sutjaja, 2009, p. 37). Commonly, there are more than one *banjar* in each *desa pakraman* (and in some cases twenty at the very least) for instance, *desa pakraman* of Denpasar and Tabanan.

As outlined earlier, one of the guiding principles of the *banjar* community is '*sukha-dukkha*' from Sanskrit meaning 'pleasant-unpleasant' (Monier-Williams & Cappeller, 1899, pp. 481, 1220-1221). Rituals of the deceased are a specific duty of the *banjar* member and usually involve duties ranging from the purification ritual of the deceased to the burial or cremation ceremony. To begin with, the deceased family informs the *banjar* organisation (*prajuru*); the *prajuru* will arrange a special meeting at their meeting hall to plan the schedule of the funerary ceremony and finally the *pajuru* informs all *banjar* members of the arrangements to ensure they participate in the funeral. In the procession, each member is typically required to attend on three occasions or over three separate days depending on the length of the procession. All members are obliged to participate otherwise they will incur fines according to *banjar* law (called '*perarem banjar*'). In exceptional cases, the *banjar* organisation can decide at a final meeting (or *sangkep banjar*) to evict one of their members who

has never attended or rarely attended these rituals or other *banjar* activities.

Besides involvement in funerary ceremonies, other activities of the *banjar* entail cleaning and maintaining their physical surroundings (in particular *banjar* and *desa* temples, cemetery and public open spaces), conferring marriages and divorce, handling conflicts or disputes, securing sacred precincts, and other social activities. *Banjar* members can retire from this role after substituting their son or a descendant who is also married. If, however, they do not have a son or relative to take on this responsibility, they are permitted to terminate their links with the *banjar* after reaching sixty years old based on customary laws and precedent.

Besides the *desa pakraman* and *banjar*, other local organisations include groups of traditional farmers (*subak*), professionals (*sekehe*), and temple congregations (*pemaksan*). The *subak* organisations that are charged with maintaining the paddy fields were established over a thousand years ago and predate the kingdom and *desa pakraman*. They have autonomy to manage their own affairs and their members come from different *banjar* and *desa pakraman*. This is because bounded territory does not depend on the authority of the *banjar* or *desa pakraman*. Indeed, anyone who owns land in a certain *subak* area automatically becomes a member. Any conflicts or disputes that take place among them will be resolved within their own organisational body without the need for outside arbitration or intervention. As key members of Balinese society, they are also united by their temples (called *Bedugul* and *Ulun Suwi*) and ceremonial practices.

The *sekehe* is a professional group which is smaller than the *subak* organisation. An initial establishment of *sekehe* is due to similar professional and social responsibilities, although in the end these groups obtain fees or awards for their services which have specific economic purpose. They are not bounded by customary law as the other organisations; therefore members can resign from *sekehe* without fines. There are various *sekehe* roles depending on members' activities. Those

members who are involved in social and spiritual activities are often also responsible for performing divine chants and playing in the traditional music groups (*gong, gender, angklung, gambang, semar pagulingan, kekawin, tembang geguritan*, etc). Those *sekehes* who are responsible for overseeing economic and commercial activities comprise of fishermen (*jukung/mendege*), businesses (*dagang*), and rice harvesting workers (*manyi*). Only two groups of *sekehe* have specific dedicatory temples, called Segara and Melanting temple, and these temples are usually located in the centre of their activities.

Another group is the *pemaksan*, or temple congregation, who have responsibility for certain temples. This group, however, does not handle the village temples but the *pemaksan* usually handles a certain temple which is historically a part of the member's life. Members of this group are likely to descend from a particular family or group of family, a large kinship/*soroh*, *banjar* or *desa pakraman*, depending on the historical relationship between the *pemaksan* and the temple. The main duties of the *pemaksan* are to organise, manage and perform ceremonies/processions, especially during the temple's anniversary and to cover the necessary financial costs for maintaining the temple. The *pemaksan*, however, do not have responsibility for controlling the religious life of the society.

3.3.4 Living Culture

As already outlined, ceremonial activities and prayer to the gods constitute essential aspects of Balinese life, ensuring continual harmony with nature and the divinities. Closely allied to this practice of propitiating the gods and divine nature, is participation in various social groups and performing music and dances. As Covarrubias (1937, p. 160) asserts, every Balinese seems to be an artist, since most Balinese play in traditional orchestras, whilst some can also become painters, carvers or sculptors. Besides performing dance in relation to ritual ceremonies, the main artistic activity of Balinese women is to prepare beautiful offerings for the gods.

Covarrubias (1937, p. 160) adds that the artistic activities, and the highly developed culture result from a combination of leisurely pursuits and well-organised agricultural cooperatives. Budiharjo (1995, p. 27) also argues that the creativity of individual artists who worked for pleasure and with a sense of love is what makes Balinese culture, art and architecture unique. As William Morris reminds us (Pevsner, 1975, p. 18): "art is the expression by man of his pleasure in labour; it should become happiness for the maker and user." For the Balinese, however, performance through arts, dance and music extends beyond merely giving pleasure and enjoyment to society; it constitutes a central ethical and cultural imperative to demonstrate their faith and devotion to nature and the gods.

The popular notion of Bali as a very dynamic and unique culture, resulting from the unity of belief systems, traditions and customs, is supported by what Boon (1977, p. 7) calls "... a romance of ideas and actions..."; that the actions of public life are forever intertwined with an ideal vision of a perfect and harmonious society. Meanwhile, Fedrick Barth (1993) says that this impression reinforces the image of Bali as a benign tropical island occupied by a multitude of similarly sized villages with identical patterns of governance and a rich but essentially homogenous culture. These features of order and harmony of the island seem remarkably consistent with the breathtakingly beautiful scenery of its landscape and coastline that has made Bali such an attractive destination for tourists.

An abiding belief of the Balinese is that the past is constantly alive, whilst the present is a mere continuation of the past, rather than its nemesis of counterpoint, and by implication preparation for future events (Budihardjo, 1995, p. 27). The thought concept behind this temporal understanding is embodied in '*tri pramana: athita, nagatha, warthamana*'; the three periods of time that look back to the past and then anticipate the future for the sake of the present. In many ways this is similar to St. Augustine's threefold model of time, memory, attention and anticipation (Hausheer, 1937, pp. 503-512), although we can discern in the Balinese

understanding of time an overriding belief in the preservation of the past in the present, as evidenced in the extraordinary continuity of its religious traditions in the face of the rapid trajectory of globalisation.

In this concept, the ‘presentness’ of the past serves it seems as a ‘hinge’ around which time operates cyclically from without. Lansing (1995, p. 32) reinforces this point by asserting that for the Balinese death and the life it leaves behind is always the beginning of a new life re-affirming their long held belief in reincarnation. Traditional Balinese architecture and festive space is in many respects a direct expression of this understanding of threefold temporality. The ideas, principles and concepts become the spirit of art and architecture and although the physical shapes and forms may change they will continue to exist in perpetuity.

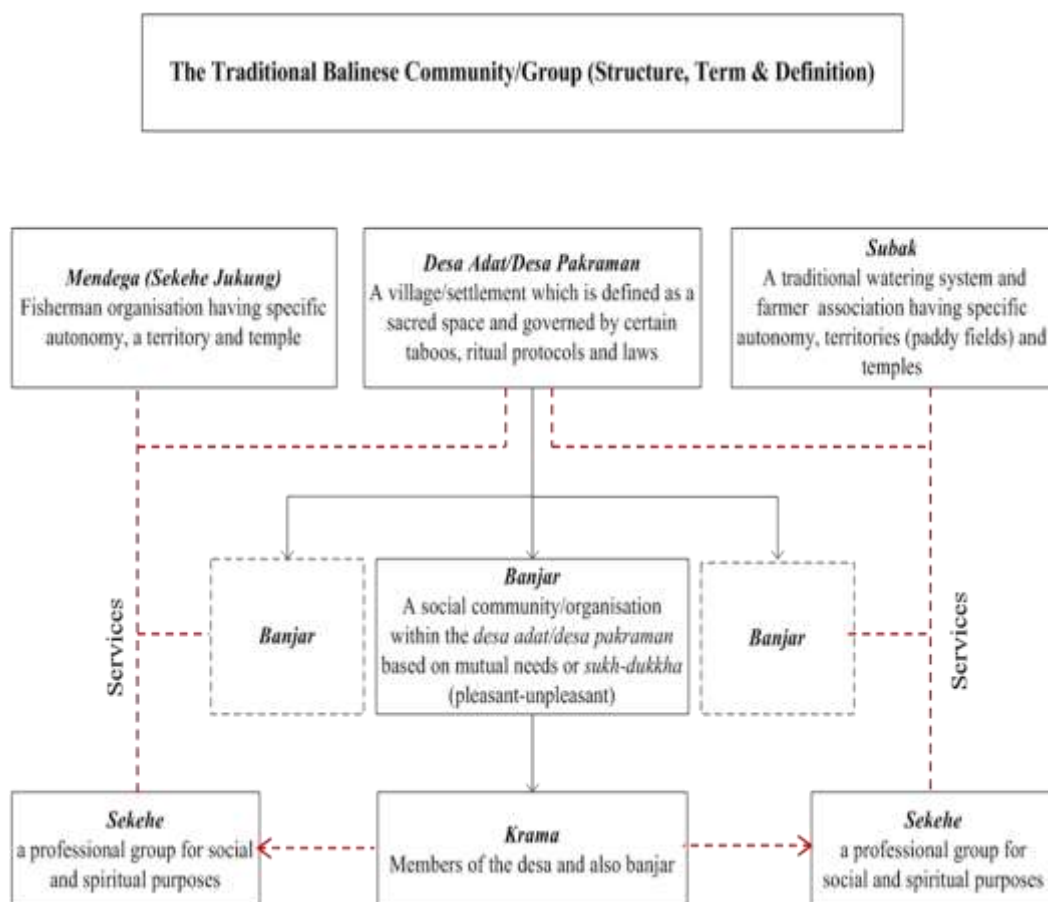


Figure 6: The traditional Balinese community/group (structure, term and definition)

By far, the most important aspects of Balinese society, that register this temporal continuity, can be found in the rituals and ceremonies that underpin the civic and religious lives of the people. Before performing their dances during religious festivals, the local citizens have to make offerings to the gods and thereby retrieve the spirit called '*metaksu*'. Because of this, the everyday experience of the artists should never be regarded as simply a conscious production/reflection of themselves as individuals. Instead, it is a collective experience endowed with obligations and duties. In this sense, ritual can be defined as a means of creating a certain 'timeless' beauty in the service of society and religion. Against this deep-rooted tradition, the great challenges created by outside (global) influence impacts on the uniqueness of Balinese culture with its pervasive and fecund spirit. The external influence, of course, never stops and increasingly depends (in respect of its ultimate or long term impact) on the very actions and attitudes of the Balinese themselves, most notably the young.

Figure 6 above illustrates the organisational structure of the Balinese village, including useful terms and definitions, and the presence of other organisations beyond the immediate village community.

3.4 The History of Bali: A Brief Outline

Providing a brief overview of the history of Bali will help establish the degree of continuity and change of its society and will trace many of the religious practices and civic traditions that still dominate Balinese society. As Joseph Rykwert (1976, p. 30) argues, the foundation rites and ancestral traditions of ancient societies (both western and eastern) played a key role in their histories. This is equally the case with Bali whose history can be divided into several distinct periods which are supported by varying degrees of documentary evidence. The key periods are 1) the old 'Bali' period, 2) the Majapahit era, 3) the periods of colonialism and 4) post-colonialism. Each period had a profound and lasting influence on Balinese

life in socio-political, cultural, economic, and religious aspects, not to mention the environment.

In several sources, the old Balinese period can be divided into two phases; ancient Bali and old dynastic Bali. However, for the benefit of this research both phases are combined in the study. Through anthropological and ethnographical investigations, it will be possible to establish the historic background and cultural characteristics of Bali, and to indicate how these inform the civic, religious and festive life of Kuta Village, the focus of the study.

3.4.1 Old Bali Period ((prehistoric-1343)

Bali has been settled by people from around one million BC according to archaeological excavations and artefacts, such as stone axe and chisels found in Sembiran village in 1961 (Soekmono, 1973, p. 32). These discoveries represent the first known in Bali (Ardika et al., 2013, p. 7; Wikarman, 1997, pp. 7-8). In the megalithic period, a group of people was regarded as the third generation in Bali deriving from the Austronesia race who had enough proficiency in agriculture and language skills, as well as evidence of ancestral beliefs. Stone was the main material for these shrines/burial sites. *Menhir* as symbolism of '*lingam-yoni*' (upper world and underworld or sky and earth), a small statue, and an altar were made of stone (Figure 7). Besides these, the only known evidence of a funerary ritual and burial site comprised of a group of 16 *jro* called '*sahing*' or council members along with the chieftain called *jro gede*. The appointment of a governing council during this archaic period was through what seemed a rotation system or '*hulu-apad*' dependent upon the age of the members. It is thought that this group and system provided the basis of the later traditional village structure or '*desa adat*' (Wikarman, 1997, p. 9).

The visit to Bali of Danghyang (Rsi) Markandya in the 8th century (AD), a Brahmin Hindu saint from India accompanied by hundreds of his followers, signalled a decisive period. He failed to stay in Bali during this first visit

and came back to East Java. During the second visit to Bali, he gave ritual offerings after a meditation. According to common belief, this first ritual offering took place on the slopes of Mount Agung which entailed burying pieces of five main elements; bronze, copper, iron, silver and gold, including precious stones called '*panca datu*' (Wikarman, 1997, pp. 14-16). Because of this act, he is credited as the first Hindu saint to introduce ritual enactment in Bali. Rsi laid the foundations for new temples which served as foundations for the development of social institutions, from irrigation societies (*subak*) to the village (*desa*) and civic organisations (*banjar*) (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 28). The followers who settled in the villages were named the Bali Aga, which is regarded as the first example of Hindu beliefs in Bali.



Figure 7: The two connecting stones as a symbol of the creator of the universe (Source: Bali Museum, 2014).

Although Hinduism developed during the period of Rsi Markandya, some archaeological objects found in various places (Tatiapi, Kalibubuk, Pejeng, and Blahbatuh) indicate that Buddhism had also spread throughout Bali through the influence of spells to which some of these objects use spells of Buddha into '*pranagari*' words with the same spells and words of Buddha religion in India (Astawa, 1993, p. 18). Based on the similarity of the spells between Bali and India, Kempers (1991, p. 43) claims that there was contact between Bali and India in the eighth century. Stuart-Fox (2002, p. 72) claims that the relationship between Bali and India was very close at this time, which is especially evidenced in the own indigenous and

common use of classification systems for philosophy and ritual, although some of these derive from their own traditions.

Social groups during the old Bali period might have been dominated by farmers working on the rice fields after the establishment of Rsi Markandya, the ruler the eighth century. This is backed up by an inscription found in the year of 994 Saka, or 1072 AD, which mentions the term '*kasuwakan/kasubakan*', thought to derive from '*suwak*' or '*subak*', after including the prefix '*ke*' and suffix '*an*'; It denotes a traditional agricultural organisation in the managing of paddy watering systems (Ardika et al., 2013, p. 155). During this period, the kingdom of Bali was from Warmadewa dynasty with his palace at Pejeng (Gianyar regency). The inscription (lingam) founded in Sanur area was dated 914 AD using Sanskrit language. It indicates that there was a clear link with India (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 29). The close relationships between the dynasty of Warmadewa and the nobles from East Java took place when Dharmodayana or Udayana married an East Javanese princess, named Gunapriya Dharmapatni or Mahendradatta.

The Bali kingdom was independent under their territory, although they had close relationships with other islands. The structure of the state consisted of the king/raja backed up respectively by a head of defence/*senapati*, a senate member/*samgat*, priests of Shiva and Buddha/*pendeta*, judge/*dhikara*, and other important positions such as; treasurer, temple custodian, architect and head of the village (Copeland & Murni, 2010, pp. 140-150). From these appointments emerged a governing structure. As Soekanto (1982, pp. 227-232) states, power, riches, honour and expertise are the main causes of different structures of society. Due to the creation of a distinctive political kingdom, a different social status in the society developed which consisted of *brahmana*, *ksatrya*, *wesya*, *sudra* and *hulun* or priest family, royal family, trader, servant and slave group (Atmojo, 1972, p. 19; Sumadio, 1975, pp. 176-177).

The rulers divided their territory into two hierarchies; centre and village, where the central territory was called *kedatuan/kedaton*, and the area of the royal territory and the village were called '*banua*', as known as '*desa*' (Ardika et al., 2013, pp. 132-133). In addition to these terms, there is another term, '*karaman*', which is defined as the same as *desa* meaning the unity of the law (Atmojo, 1972, pp. 273-274). However, Astra (1982, pp. 264-265) claims that *karaman* means community leaders or community/society. Applying the term *desa pakraman* today, it designates a village society in the unity of their law. The life of village society using their own law denotes that they had autonomy to manage their territory during a specified time. This statement is strengthened by V.E. Korn's recent research in Tenganan Village as the old Bali village (Ardika et al., 2013, pp. 313-314).

In the era of Udayana and his princess, both religions (Shiva and Buddha) developed widely and can be seen from several buildings such as Gunung Kawi, Goa Gajah and Pegulingan Temple in Gianyar Regency. Even the decorative cave of Goa Gajah (the elephant cave) was influenced mostly by the Tantric Sect (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 29). Besides influenced by both religions, the group of people that are from the sect of Waisnawa also shaped Balinese culture, as testified in the inscription of Goblek (Goris, 1954, p. 72). However, most of them appeared to have had a similar belief in that the life is born from the spiritual unification of subterranean and upper worlds as symbolised by the 'Lingam-Yoni' as shown in the images above (Figure 7)

Several sects and cults thrived during this century and the visit of the second saint from East Java to Bali, Mpu Kuturan or Rajakertha was recognised with his great effort to unite several different cults into one belief system. One of his decisions saw him give instructions to build village temples called *tri khayangan* as representations of God as creator, maintaining and returning to nature. In the inscription of Raja Purana it is mentioned that:

“The presence of gods in a temple was built by Empu Kuturan, planned from Silayukti temple with doing several great works relating to temple development and ritual processions, then he regulated religious rites, four etiquette of language, four ethics in ritual practices, in a similar way to develop a family temple (*sangguh kemulan*) and three village temples (*khayangan tiga desa*).”(Purana, 2000)²

This representation of god was applied to family temples, whereby the symbol of the trinity of the God is worshipped in a single shrine place called *rong tiga*. The *rong tiga*, in the smallest family temple, is also worshipped as the first man (*bhatara kawitan*) and the adviser/teacher (*bhatara guru*), whilst the biggest family temple or public temples had different forms and structures to worship these gods. The forms of *Meru*, which incorporated staggered roofs, are one example of the shrine places created in this era. Gunung Kawi Temple is an example of the staggered form of Meru in the solid rock located on either side of the river Pakerisan.

From the old Bali kingdom history, the royal palaces in fact, are mainly located around the mountain slopes and close to Mount Batur (between Bangli and Gianyar regencies). This means that there are three important areas which must be protected, notably: mountain/hill with its jungle for hunting, plantation/paddy fields along the slopes, and Lake Batur at lowland as the source of fresh water and purification. The development of shrines during this period in this history might have used a concept of water (water temple concept) following the scripture of Manasara Silpasastra as the source of architectural literature in India, whereby the scripture stipulates that the location of the temple must be close to the source of water, since water has the power to cleanse, purify and fertilise (Acharya, 1933, pp. 13-15). Tirta Empul Temple, located at Gianyar, is one example that uses the water temple concept. Another belief system relates to the use of ‘adaptation to nature’ whereby shrine places adapt nature as maximally as possible and this can be seen at Gunung Kawi and Goa Gajah Temple (Figure 8 & 9).

² The inscription of Raja Purana translated into Indonesian language by I Gusti Gde Ardana (2000) and into English by me.



Figure 8: Tirta Empul and Gunung Kawi Temples in the Bali old kingdom
 (Source: <https://www.google.co.uk/>- cited: 1/8/2014).



Figure 9: The principle of adaptation to the nature (Source: <https://www.google.co.uk/>- cited: 1/8/2014).

Meanwhile, Mpu Kuturan incorporates three temples in the village which convey a particular consciousness of cosmology as a key concept, whereby human and nature consist of three elements in balance with one another. The three temples constitute the personification of the gods' power which controls the three worlds; under, middle and upper worlds, called *bhur*, *bwah* and *swah loka* respectively. To transform the implementation of the three temples, the principles of '*kaja-kelod*' or north-south or mountain-sea are applied to specify the location of each temple.

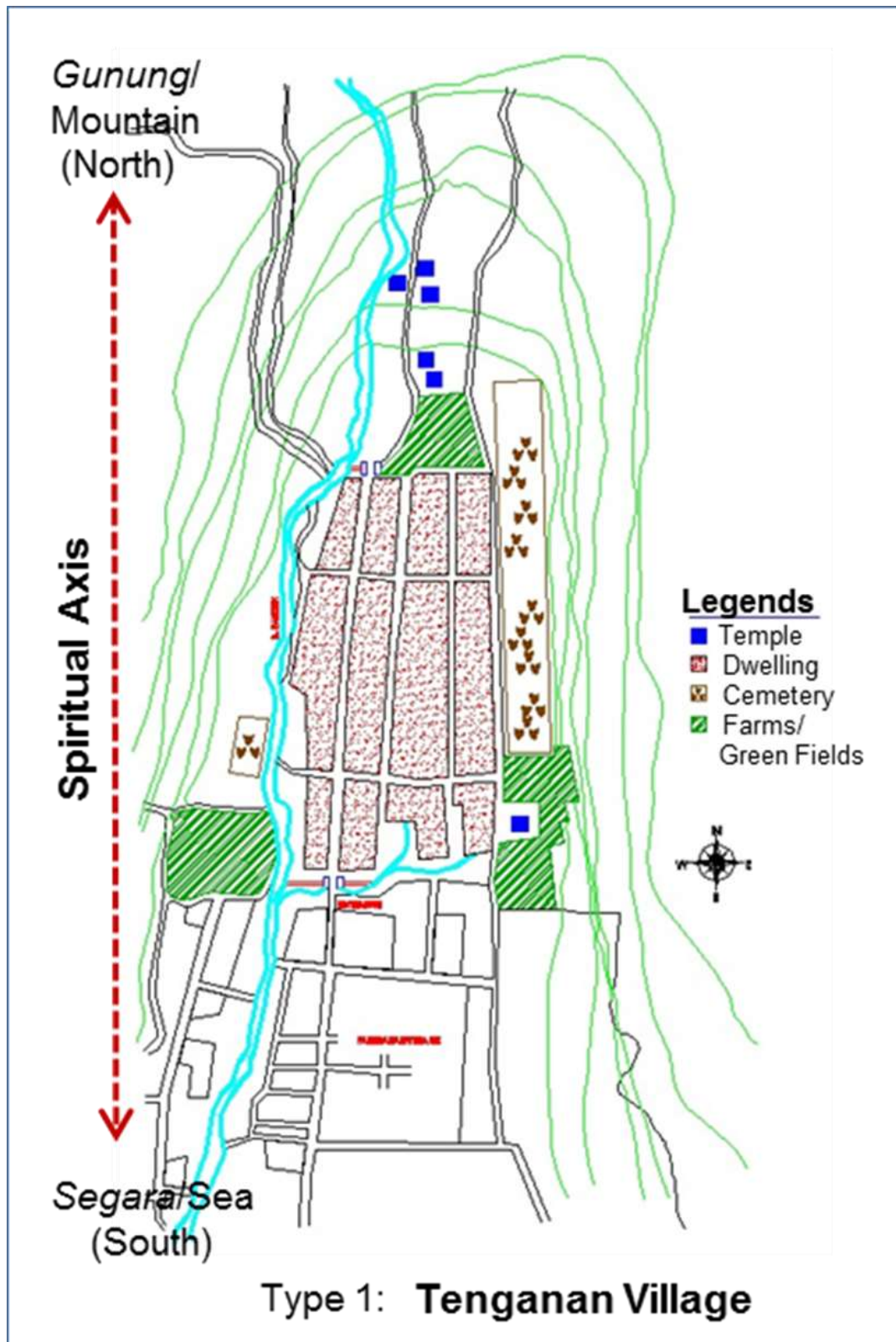


Figure 10: Tenganan Traditional Village uses a linear pattern in its territory located in the Karangasem Regency (*Reproduced from Budiharjo, 1995*).

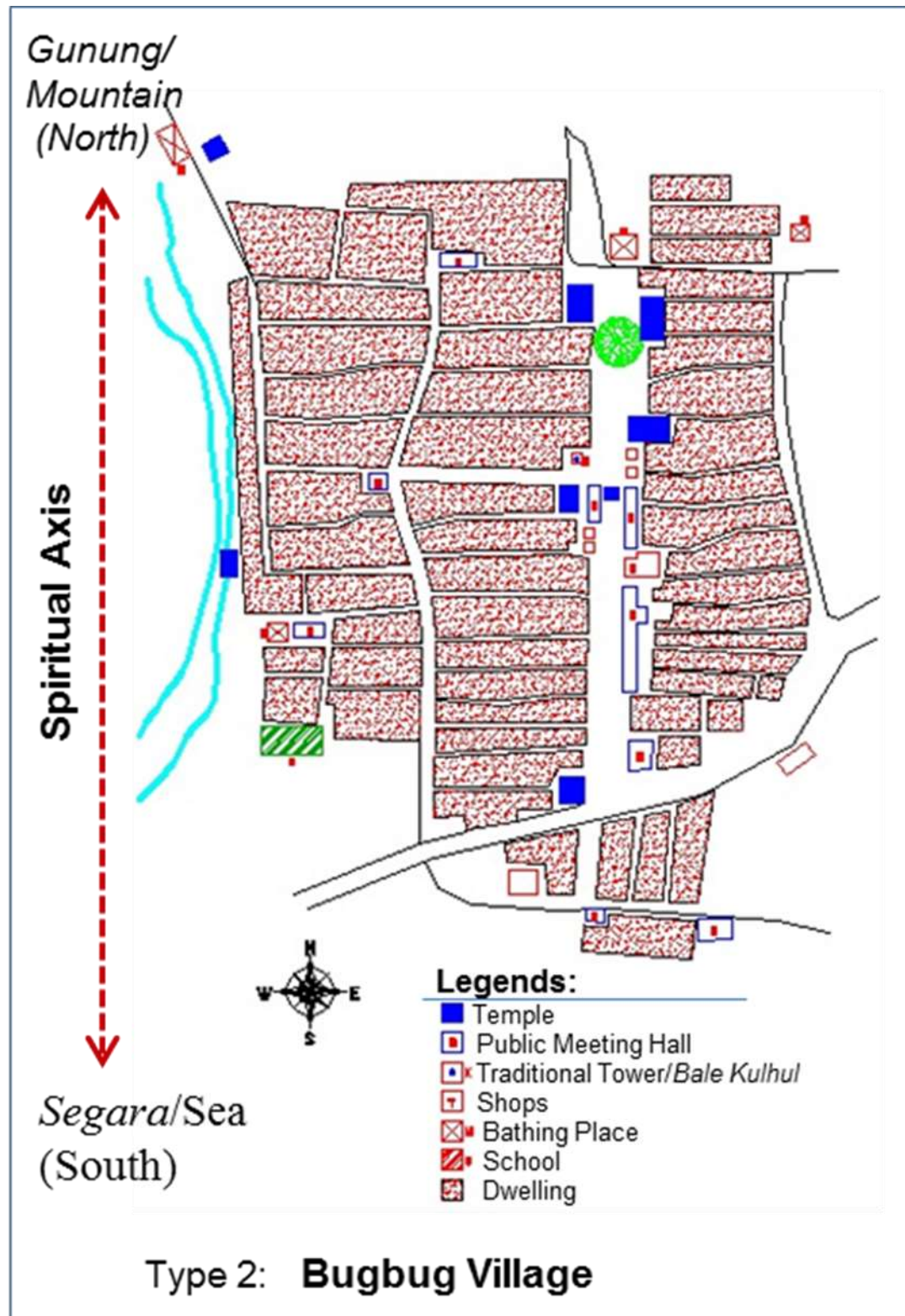


Figure 11: Bugbug Traditional Village uses a linear pattern in its territory located in the Karangasem Regency (Reproduced from Budiharjo)

But this principle was applied in many cultures and traditions in which both mountain and sea are natural sacred places which are reflected in man-made structures (Shackley, 2001, p. 13). Most villages, located close to the mountains, were able to apply this concept, ideally by placing three village temples in accordance with the functions of each, such as Puseh, Desa and Dalem Temples in the north, middle and south as symbols of 'birth, life and death' respectively. Such an arrangement suggested that the physical layout of the village used essentially a linear pattern as the basic pattern of its topography. Some old villages using this linear pattern from the old kingdom can be seen in the plans above (Figure 10 & 11).

3.4.2 The Majapahit Era (1343-1906)

After the end of the dynasty of Warmadewa as the king of Bali, the new dynasty emerged as the king of Bali in the fourteenth century, with his royal palace were located in Bedahulu. This royal palace consequently had a different ancestry/historical lineage to that of the Warmadewa dynasty. However, the era of this new dynasty was very short, since the king was defeated by the emperor of Majapahit in 1343 (Ginarsa, 1961, pp. 12-14). About seven years later (1350), after the conquest of Bali, an era under the Majapahit emperor began to influence Balinese life until 1905 before the Dutch invasion of Bali.

The new kingdom under the Majapahit emperor began when Sri Kresna Kepakisan from East Java was appointed as the first king; known as the representative of the Majapahit kingdom in Bali. He is also called Dalem Krisna Kepakisan. Whilst most Majapahit troop leaders defeated Bali, they remained in Bali and served important roles of the kingdom structure (Ardika et al., 2013, p. 269). The Majapahit not only influenced socio-political developments but also other aspects such as economic, religious and physical/environmental concerns, which did not run well as expected at first since there was resistance from the original Balinese. Dalem Waru Renggong of the third generation was appointed as the second king at the

Bali Kingdom which ruled from 1460 to 1550. In the era of this king, Bali was recognised as the second golden era since the first sovereign. Although Islam, the new belief system in East Java, grew significantly during this period, the Bali royal household under the king of Dalem Watu Renggong, was still able to secure Hinduism as the main religion of the whole territory of Bali (Sidemen, 2010, pp. 126-130).

The establishment of former troops and other people from the Majapahit emperor, led to the expansion of settlements in parallel with the opening of paddy fields (*huma/sawah*) and plantations. The expansion of agricultural land not only took place in the mountain areas, but also in the midlands and along coastal areas, which were dominated by cultivated land for growing coconut groves. Due to the intensive activities in this region, coastal villages located in the eastern, northern and southern coasts of Bali developed significantly during this time. As Vickers (2009, p. 13) states, the life of coastal regions developed in the Malay Peninsula including the coast of Bali and took place before the fourteenth century according to the development of trade carried out by several kingdoms in these regions. Vickers also claims that the role of outsiders in the increased economic prosperity did not become a major factor in social and cultural changes, particularly in regard to the fisherman. They had a specific culture and strong belief system that did not inhibit the challenges of their precious seafaring way of life. According to Nordholt (1980, p. 27), during 1650-1830 the kings in Bali had had regional trade connections with other people from other ethnicities; Chinese, European, Bugis etc. Even Vickers (2009, p. 30) recorded that Moslem people from Java and Makasar Islands settled and developed in some villages in coastal areas after Islam dominated most islands in Indonesia; for instance some villages in Klungkung and Karangasem as eastern part of Bali.

The ancestral worship established during the megalithic period continued and maintained well in this era. Besides the ancestor worship, they believed that the world's material natural geography and features, such as

mountains, sea, trees/forest, stone, water, soil, and others, possesses a soul that reflect a form of animist belief. The mountain is believed to be the place of their ancestors and also the place of origin or 'birth', on the other hand the sea was regarded as a place of rest or 'death'. The interface between both sea and mountains ('midland') served as the region of the 'living'. Since reincarnation is one of their beliefs, from this point it can be understood deeply that the places of birth and death are a decisive factor to their life in the material world. Ritual ceremonies in three important zones (mountain, midland and sea) constitute important aspects of the Balinese belief structure that seeks to achieve a cosmological balance in this world. It is in the context of this 'triadic' geographic picture of Bali that this investigation of ritual practices of the littoral regions of the island should be situated.

Meanwhile, the development of temples took place progressively in the era of Dalem Watu Renggong, around 16th and 17th centuries, the second golden era of Bali. This is also because of the arrival of the Hindu priest from east Java, Danghyang Nirartha. He brought about great change in the development of religious aspects that included the development of temples. He made great effort to protect the island by developing several important temples along the coast and his outlook seems to emphasise the actualization of the threefold conception of mountain, sea and midland. His pilgrimages in relation to these developments were not only to build temples in the south coast but also in the north coast. According to Ardhana (2002, p. 79), several temples constructed in coastal areas from his spiritual journey are Pulaki, Segara Rupek, Rambut Siwi, Pakendungan, Tanah Lot, Batu Bolong, Peti Tenget, and Uluwatu Temple (Figure 12). After Danghyang Nirartha passed away, his successors formed the basis of a priestly clan that played an important role in the practices of ritual ceremonies.

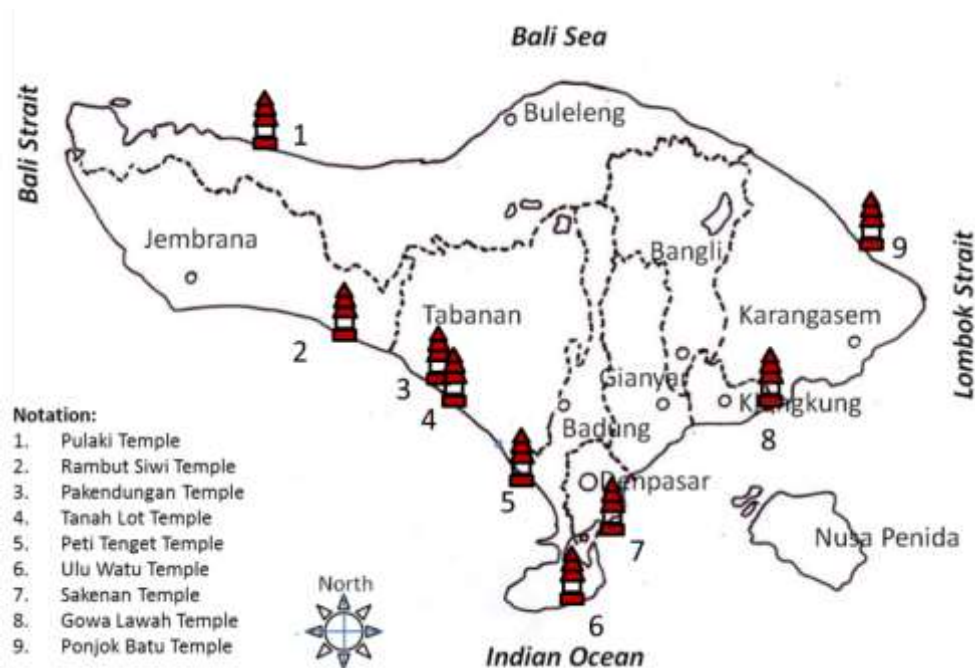


Figure 12: The location of temples in relation to the pilgrim of Danghyang Nirartha.

In parallel with the construction and conservation of these temples, the emergence of social organisations, such as *subak* and *sekehe jukung* (fisherman groups), also increasingly developed during this era. They acquired an authority and autonomy to manage their own territories and had responsibilities for maintaining and celebrating their temples without the intervention of the kingdom. The existence of lakes served as the main water supply for supporting their irrigation systems (*subak* system), and then exploiting water from the flows of the stream. Thus, the lake temples, such as Ulun Danu Batur Temple (Lake Batur), Pucak Mengening Temple (Lake Buyan) and Ulun Danu Temple (Lake Beratan), are of the most importance although the *subak* organisation must have a specific temple in certain areas in *subak* territory, called Bedugul and Ulun Swi Temple. Meanwhile, the coastal temples (known as Segara Temple) are the most important for the fisherman groups, where their temple location spreads along the coast of Bali which can be found easily in Kuta, Jimbaran, Tanjung, Sanur, and other places.

Another fundamental change in the era of Majapahit is the tradition of cremation rituals, whereby burning processions were introduced as an alternative to the buried system. The cremation ritual, called '*ngaben/pelebon/pelebuan*', a burning procession, is practiced commonly by the Balinese who have an ancestral line with the Majapahit Kingdom, whilst the old Bali society in the mountain villages such as Wongaya, Pecatu, Kintamani, and others still continues to carry out the buried system (Wikarman, 1997, p. 15). Both systems in this ritual have been an identity and tradition of the mountain villages without contradiction in its implementation. Since the cremation system derives from the greatest Majapahit Kingdom tradition, the ritual procession and festival is usually implemented with a great effort from the family of the deceased; hence a distinctive ritual for Balinese culture also becomes a great event. In the ruling family, if the king dies and his corpse is burnt in a ceremonial pyre, tradition requires his wife to engage in an act of self-immolation by jumping on her husband's funeral pyre in order to unify with her husband toward heaven. This suicide act is called '*mesatya*', demonstrating true love and self-devotion.

Nevertheless, the accumulation resulted in the progressive spiritual development from the old era to this era with several different beliefs form a new belief system, tradition and custom. Some scholars regard that religion in Bali is a combination of Hindu-Buddhist elements. However, the worship patterns and forms of shrines are quite different from other Hindu-Buddhist examples elsewhere. Lansing (1995, pp. 66-67) claims that they are quite unlike the patterns of worship of Hindu-Buddhist rituals practiced in other parts of Asia, such as India, Nepal, or Sri Lanka. Typically, the temples in India are enclosed buildings in which the gods are symbolised by their statues as the main objects of the worship; the adorers are able to visit these shrines for worship and bring offerings at any time as the temples are open every day. Balinese temples, however, adopted 'open air' practices, in which courtyard patterns incorporated rectangular buildings as the shrines which are not open every day, except auspicious

days or a temple anniversary. From evidence, Lansing believes that the roots of the Balinese belief system today drew influence from Malayo Polynesian people who settled in the Pacific Islands several thousand years ago. The philosophy of 'open air' in Balinese architecture seems to have a similar philosophy to Chinese architecture, as Lao Tzu says; that everything arises from a negative space of emptiness-'not having is superior to having' (Hall & Ames, 1998).

The influence of the Majapahit kingdom is not only related to beliefs, traditions and customs of the Balinese but also entailed a new concept in the layout of villages as the layout was a 'cross pattern', called *catuspatha*. This layout gave rise to four distinct zones utilised in the arrangement of palace, temple, market and open space, with the centre point, or intersection, serving as the essential point in relation to rituals (Figure 13 & 14). According to this geographic principle, the zone of the palace was intended to manifest the power of the king which might be recognised as of an equal status to the gods. Heine-Geldern (1942, pp. 15-30) underlines this point by stating that in the golden era of the kingdom in Southeast Asia, the king carefully positioned himself at the same level as the gods of nature, the highest position and the centre of the world. His palace, as the centre of the world, embodied this divine cosmic status, whilst the shrine place located at the palace became the state temple. This conception was also applied by the Majapahit Kingdom in Bali. As Geertz (1980, p. 109) further states, the palace is also the temples of Bali, since the king was appointed to be a king formally through state ceremony which is a depiction of power propitiated by the gods; his people swarmed and prayed in this ritual, so a setting of the king was transformed into a temple. A concept of street intersection called *catuspatha* became the well-known spatial and spiritual orientation during this era. The description of this concept will be further explored in the next chapter (chapter 4).

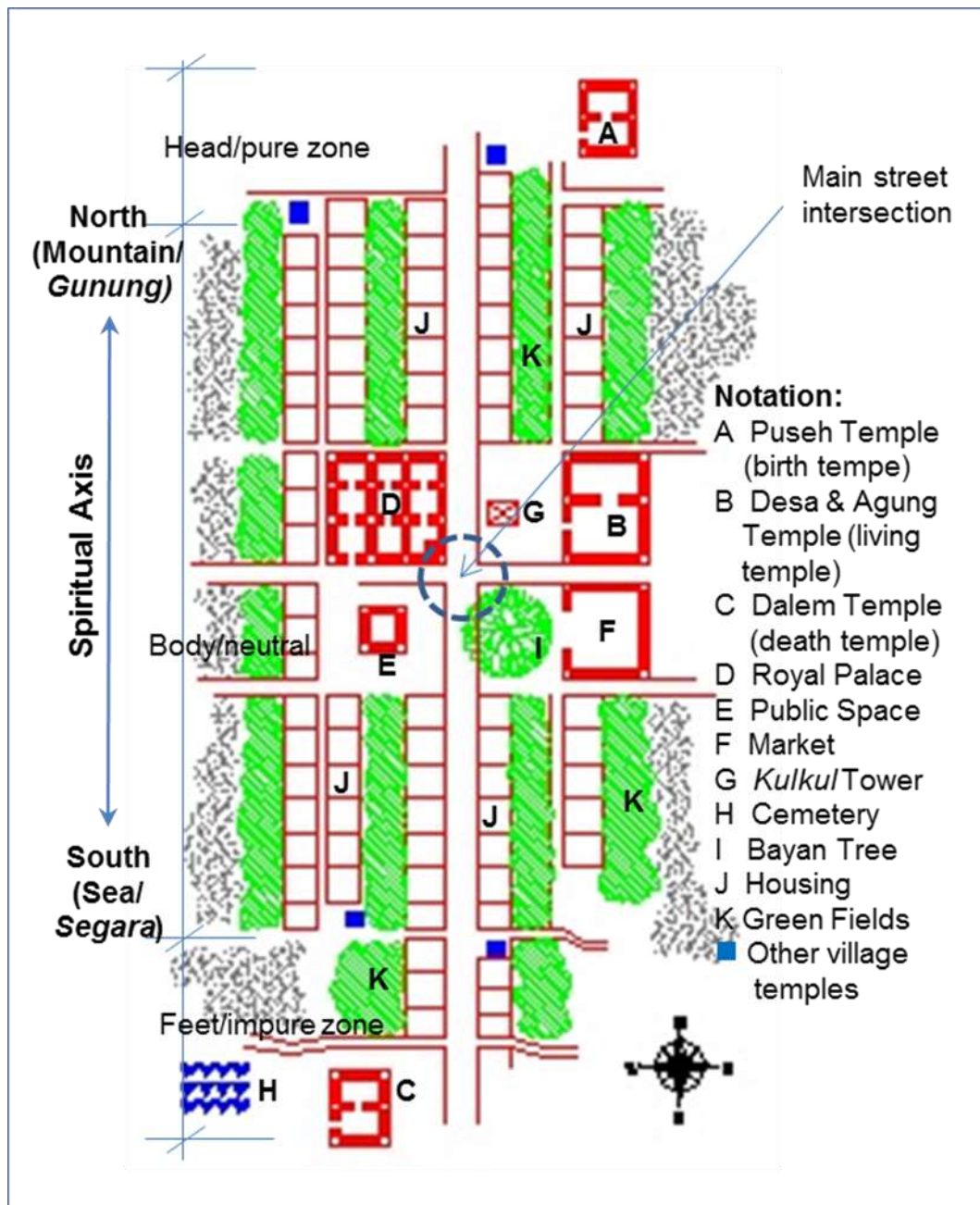


Figure 13: The *catuspatha* pattern using north-south axis (spiritual axis) in the spatial formation of a village (Reproduced from Budiharjo, 1995).

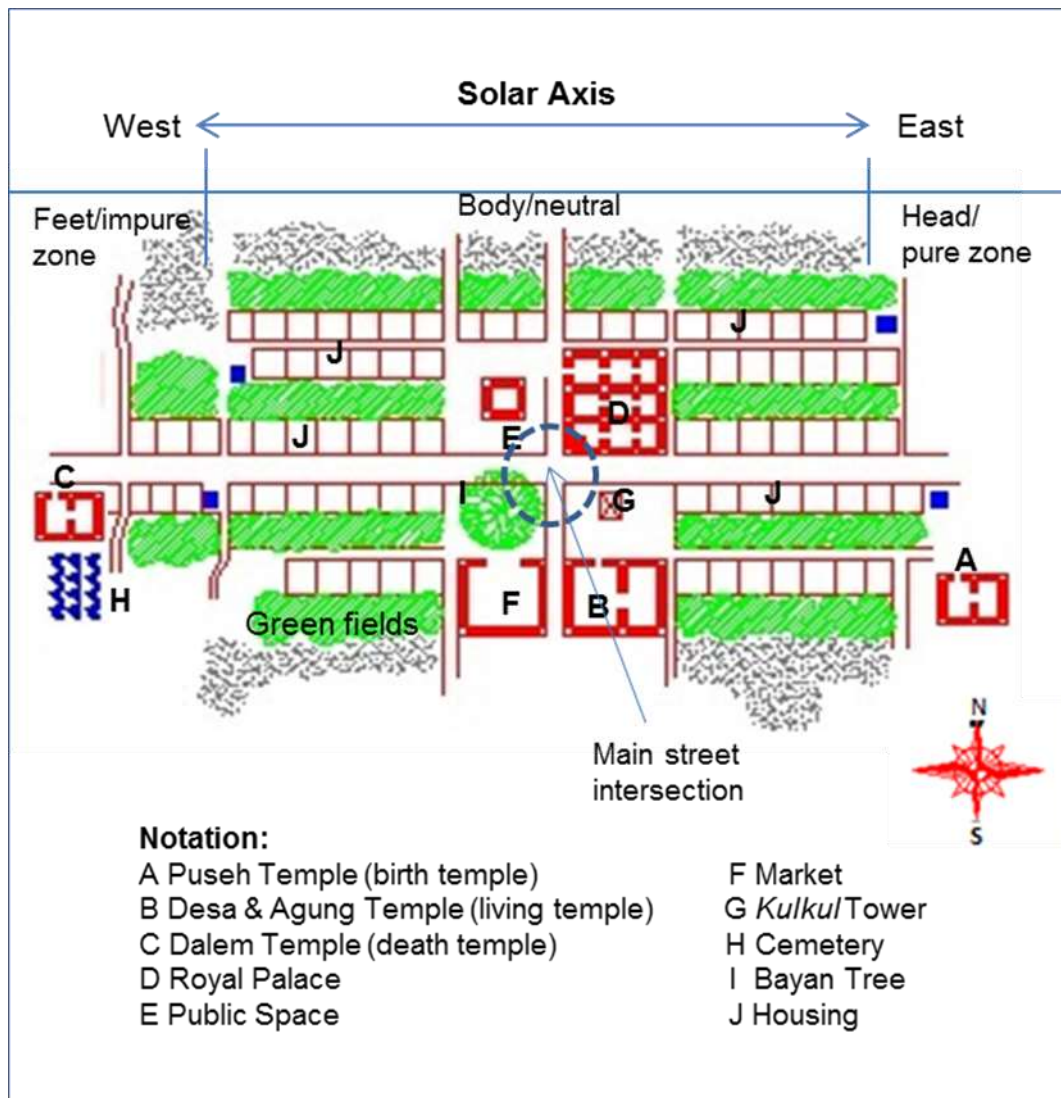


Figure 14: The catuspatha pattern using east-west axis (solar axis) in the spatial formation of a village (Reproduced from Budiharjo, 1995).

3.4.3 The Colonialism (1906-1945)

The presence of the Dutch company of VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) in the Bali Kingdom can be first dated to 1633. Since this island is one of the VOC's principal shipping destinations, they persuaded the king of Bali to wage war with the king of Mataram in Java following a conflict. Even though the king of Bali had had previous disputes with the Mataram king, he did not accept the VOC's request (Nordholt, 1980, p. 49). The split of the Bali kingdom might have been a factor, or reason, for the Dutch to accelerate their colonisation of Bali as a part of their colonial strategy. They defeated the north Balinese kingdoms, such as Buleleng and Karangasem in 1849, and fifty six years later conquered Badung and Tabanan kingdoms through a great war called '*puputan*' (the last struggle), whilst the last kingdom of Klungkung was finally conquered in 1908. The Dutch colonised the whole island until the invasion of Japanese troops to Bali in 1942.

Although the Dutch seemed respectful to the kings after defeating them, the king's right to use the commoner services was abolished by the Dutch and they were only allowed mutual cooperation in relation to ritual ceremonies. The kings' services came from the tenants based on the agreement of both together (Copeland & Murni, 2010, pp. 54-55). The separation between the gentry and the commoners (villagers) emerged into two groups in Balinese society, each playing a complementary role under the Dutch. It seems the colonial role could be achieved in two ways, first they wanted to demolish the feudalistic system justifying the Western rule and secondly weaken the power of the king by severing links between the king and the villagers.

The loss of the king's power, by separating the villagers as the basis of their existence, had a significant impact on the social life of the society. The gentry's members were appointed by the Dutch as an administrative service in the state structure of the Dutch which was very hierarchical. The

head of each village, called newly '*perbekel*', administrated the village which had been responsible to *punggawa*, whilst there were two regency officials positioned above the *punggawa*; the *regen* and the *residen* (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 53). While the presence of *bendesa*, head of each village selected by village members, still existed to handle their cultural and spiritual activities as a part of their tradition, the Dutch promoted a *perbekel* as the chief of the village to handle administrative tasks. Although both chiefs of the village had different tasks, it was inevitable that there were two chiefs of each village in several locations. Nonetheless, the temple/village ritual practices became an important event for all members of the society, including the gentry, and provided an opportunity to show their relationship. Moreover in this ritual, the *bendesa* was usually appointed the leader.

The Dutch regarded the Balinese society in some ways as 'sadistic' due to their culture and traditions, for instance self-immolation (*mesatya*), cock fighting, trance in Barong dances, slaughtering some animals in ritual ceremonies, mixing raw pig blood in their food, and others. From these traditions, the Dutch then banned '*mesatya*', the widow act of self-immolation by burning on her husband's funeral pyre, even though it was a symbol of the highest act of marital fidelity and piety. Moreover, the king's rights over the death of the head of a family, without male heir, which entailed confiscating possessions of his widows and female children, was also abolished by the Dutch as this right was deemed to be so far from human rights (Copeland & Murni, 2010, p. 53). This Dutch policy led to a change in the caste system, although the Dutch did not ban the system altogether. A marriage with a dissimilar caste/status, for instance, between a commoner man (*sudra*) and a girl from the highest caste (*brahmana*), the spouse must not be killed, the girl's family just did not acknowledge her as their daughter anymore.

The Dutch seemed to improve the feudal rights from a humanitarian point of view. The statement from Paul Hacker in Smith (2009, p. 53) may be

true where it is states that Western philosophy and Christianity developed the ethical values of Neo-Hinduism to be a tolerant and spiritual unity, although they are expressed in Hindu terms. However, according to Gensheimer (2001, p. 21), the cultural change is the result of shifting forms of political status at times. This is also strengthened by Linda Woodhead (2009) who states:

“Colonialism has been an extremely important dynamic of the modern world. Colonialism is a modern variant of imperialism. Empires have always existed, and imperialism refers to the general process whereby states their power and domination by force (usually military, but also political and economic).” (Woodhead, 2009, pp. 4-5)

To support the rapid growth of colonial economic development, the Dutch completed the task with the installation several facilities such as the availability of banks, savings and loans, pawnshops, and others, whilst in several central *residen* territories they also built public markets. At this time the colonisers also introduced the use of paper currency which was a first rejected by the Balinese, as they were accustomed to using traditional coins. Eventually however, it was accepted. The Balinese could gain positive impacts from the market life, through exchanging their agricultural products with other goods. Then they formed cooperative groups on savings and loans among their members in order to enhance their material life. Meanwhile, the colonial finance agencies developed fast without destroying the growth of local business. They might have had an interest in maintaining and enhancing local businesses since they could obtain positive trends for their economy.

Furthermore, tourism also began to be developed by 1920, by opening the brand office of NHM (*Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij*) in Benoa, south Bali. To anticipate foreign visitors, the Dutch opened international flight services handled by KLM (*Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij*) in 1935. This opportunity was followed by the construction of the first hotel in Kuta, called Kuta Beach Hotel (Sidemen, 1983, p. 11). Due to the development in various sectors, the change of other aspects, such as

social, cultural and spiritual aspects, of the society could not be avoided. For instance, the commoners or villagers were able to buy land from the gentry which would have been impossible previously. Through colonialism, the indigenous religions, cultures and traditions may have changed and may not have been avoided:

“Religions carried by colonialism have affected the people and places to which they spread. Colonialism had a profound effect on indigenous religions within colonised territories. Amongst elites, it often generated reforming and revisionist activity as they sought to modernise their religious traditions to conform more closely to Western models.”
(Woodhead, 2009, p. 5)

The concept of *catuspatha*, as the central zoning of the kingdom territory and an integral part of ritual procession, changed. This is because the Dutch tended to use the central zone to accommodate their own administrative activities. They took the king's land ownership in the area of the palace and even part of the palace itself was taken to incorporate their services, such as the *regen* or *residen* office, lodges, armoury, and public facilities. The political strategy of the Dutch weakened the power of the king, limiting the freedom of the monarchy by monitoring his activities and movements. This situation took place in some kingdoms which fought against the Dutch, such as Badung, Tabanan, Klungkung, and Buleleng. As a consequence, the initial order of the royal territory was systematically dismantled and the palace, the central territory (with its splendour), was lost for good (Figure 15).

Although physical changes of the palaces took place, their locations (including the village temples) remained, so the ritual procession in the village was maintained. This tenacity of ritual practices in Bali, against a background of colonial dominance, partly explains the remarkable continuity of Balinese religious traditions evident today. The Balinese may have gained positive impacts on these developments by the increasing economic growth of them. As a result, their social economy might be more prevalent and stronger to support their ritual ceremonies. On 5th February 1942, the Japanese army entered the Island of Bali to colonise but they

were only able to colonise Bali for around three years, after which they were defeated at the end of World War II (Wirawan, 1985, p. 57), so their presence did not significantly change the way of life of the Balinese.

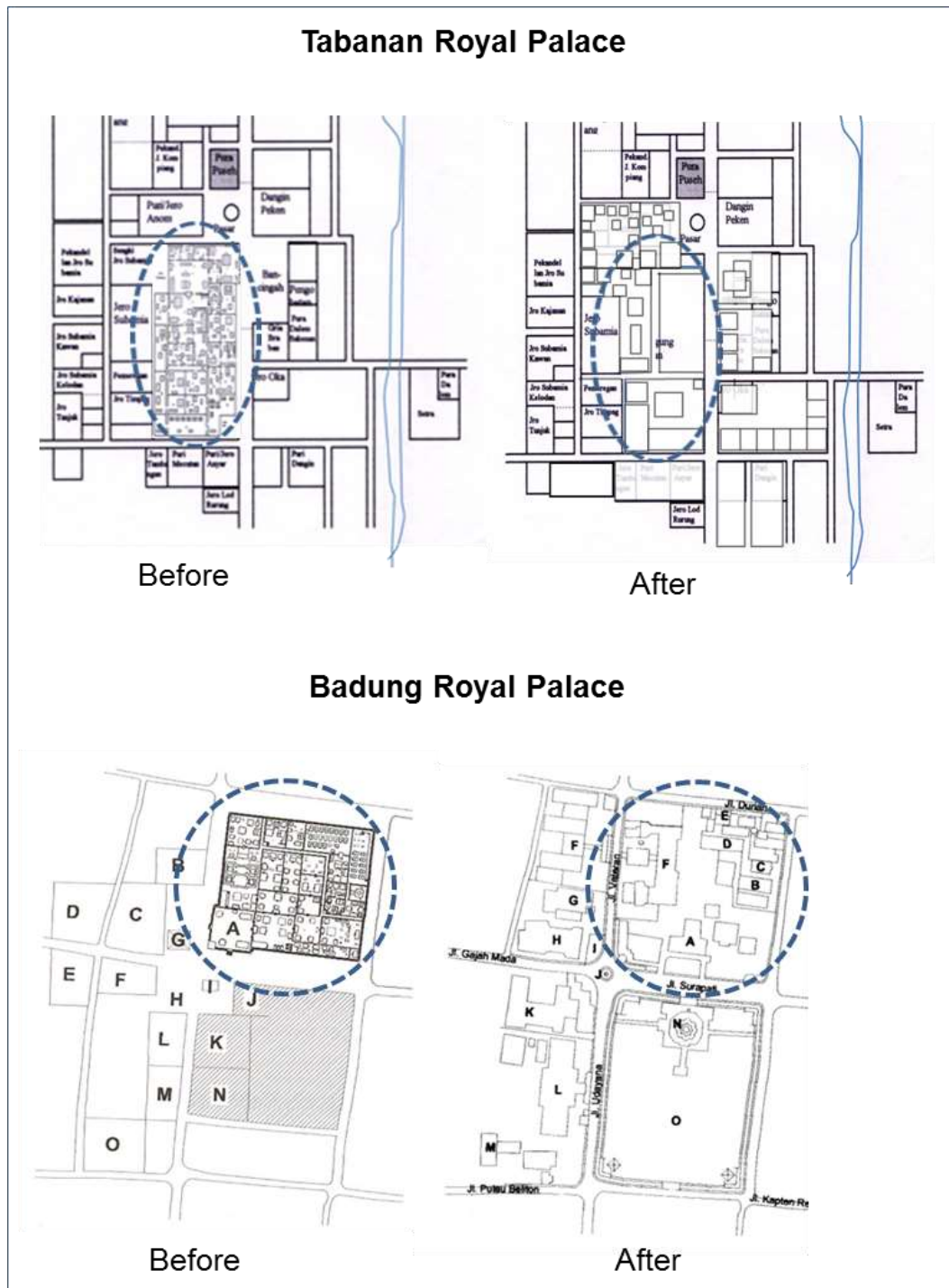


Figure 15: The presence of royal palaces: before and after the Dutch colonialism. Source of figures (Putra, 2009).

3.4.4 Independence (1945- Present)

Independence Day of Indonesia took place on 17th August 1945 in Jakarta, the state capital, when Bali had become part of the Indonesian state. Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta were appointed the first president and vice president of Indonesia respectively. It was proclaimed on that day that Indonesia was still under the threat of the Dutch as they wanted to conquer Indonesia again. Indonesia must have battled against the Dutch until the end of 1949. After that, the unstable situation still emerged as a result of political issues and disappointment from groups of people and ethnic groups. In 1967, there was a presidential succession from Soekarno to Soeharto who stood as president for approximately 31 years and he was finally deposed by people power on 21st May 1998.³

At the beginning of this period, the central government did not recognise the Balinese Hindu religion as one of the religions in Indonesia, so the Balinese society struggled to obtain recognition of their religion from central government. A different perspective between the society and the central government took place in that time, whereby the government regarded the Balinese Hindu as lacking a prophet (Robinson, 2006, p. 280). In 1954, the central government finally recognised Balinese Hindu as one of the official religions by establishing the *Djawatan Agama Otonom Daerah Bali*, or Department of the Autonomous Balinese Religion (Agama, 1954, pp. 2-3). Besides that, the simplicity of ritual ceremony became another priority to be reformed by the society, particularly the cremation ritual as this ceremony required a huge budget which was dominated by the gentry/noble clans without diminishing the meaning of the ritual. The other aim of this reform focused more on its philosophy rather than the ceremonies (Ardika et al., 2013, p. 670).

After state recognition, the life of religious activities became livelier, supported by the economic improvement of Balinese society. Temple

³ <http://news.liputan6.com/rad/2052549/21-mei-1998-> cited: 2/2/2014.

renovations occurred through participation of all members in raising funds. The anniversary celebrations of temples were also carried out through a mutual spirit. The great rituals for a cosmic balance with nature take place every century within the biggest temple of Besakih dating from 1979 (Stuart-Fox, 2002, p. 391). In addition, the Balinese New Year had been celebrated into a great spirit of the young community including in the use of '*ogoh-ogoh*': statues of demons symbolising the power of the underworld. In contrast, the religious life of *subak* members in relation to their temples, as well as the fishermen and their temples, experienced a serious crisis, whereby the number of members in both decreased significantly because of changes to the professions and the conversion of agricultural lands which lead to difficulties in maintaining their temples.

Since Bali became part of Indonesia, the structure of the colonial state model, using *regen*, *residen*, *punggawa* and *perbekel*, disappeared. The structure of the state, as applied in Bali, has been led by a governor who is also the representative of central government, whilst a regent served as leader of the local government who presides over a local parliament as part of the presidential system. On the other hand, a similar case in the colonial era will inevitably take place, whereby two leaders operate at village level and are unlikely to be merged into one functioning head. As the lowest state structure, the village chief, called *kepala desa* or *lurah*, focuses on several tasks, such as the making of national identity cards, birth and marriage licences, and other administrative duties, whilst the head of the traditional village, called '*bendesa*', is more focussed on ritual and cultural traditions. These tasks have been set out and regulated by national and regional policies.

However, the central government realised there was difficulty in providing a budget for each village as a national program in 2014, due to the two village leaders, although the leaders have different tasks in the society. Since the financial aid for each village is regarded as an essential factor to accelerate its development and welfare of village residents, the

government released a new national policy (No.6/2014) about the village (R. Indonesia, 2014). According to this policy (article 6: point 1 & 2), the Indonesian government only recognises one village for each leader, whilst pronouncing a village can be named as *desa* or *desa adat/pakraman*, depending on the agreement of the village members. This policy led some Balinese leaders to be anxious of the presence of *desa adat* as the traditional village, particularly in securing village autonomy under customary law. The majority of *desa adat* leaders expected the government to preserve their 'presence' as national assets since no dispute has arisen between the *desas* established by the government and the *desa adat* (Suarjaya, 2014, May 4). If the *desa adat* must merge with *desa dinas* (as administrative village) then *desa adat* becomes the preferred title according to this new policy. It will need time to ascertain the impact of its implementation especially, in accommodating ritual practices, traditions and customs.

In a national development strategy, the central government of Indonesia has sought to develop Bali as the centre of tourism in the country, which constitutes in many ways a continuation of the initiatives of the colonial state. The plan of central government, under the first president of Soekarno, was to start the developments in 1963 by establishing two mega projects; the construction of an international hotel and an international airport. The budget for these developments came from the reparations of the Japan war and both projects were inaugurated officially in 1968. This was after delays due to political and economic instability. The existence of these facilities, followed by the number of foreign guest arrivals, became the official starting point of tourist development and the economic growth of Bali. Erawan (1993) claimed that although the tourist sector experienced several periods of uncertainty, it has become the main economic activity in Bali (Pitana, 2000, p. 12).

The 'multiplier' effect of tourism has generated other sectors in the process, such as home industry, trade, manufacture and transportation. The home

industries, such as handy crafts, garments and textile products succeeded in exporting to other countries, such as Australia, European countries and the USA. Because of the rapid growth of these sectors, the increase in GRDP (Gross Regional Domestic Product) is consistently above the national level of GNP (Gross National Product). The high growth of GRDP is also above the rate of population growth, which resulted in the increasing income per capita of Balinese during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Rp.74, 402 in 1976, Rp.112,494 in 1980 and Rp. 1,412,463 or approximately £117.70 in 1992 according to Statistics of Bali (1994)). Meanwhile, the Balinese government has encouraged rice farmers to change their original rice seed with new seed, enabling a shorter cycle that produces a higher yield. This change is because of a national programme, although it has caused a loss of some parts of the Balinese traditions, particularly in paddy harvest traditions; the high rice production in Bali was reached successfully and rice was even exported to other regions (Picard, 1992, p. 19).

Since the rapid growth of tourism, the migration of people from other regions to Bali took place without effective regulation, even though the Balinese themselves succeeded in reducing their population, the total population increased sharply. The migrants tended to stay in tourist and urban areas, contributing to an increasing population density, taking place mostly in the southern part of the island. With the total area of 5,632.66 km² and total number of population around 3 million in the last twentieth century, the population density reached 532.60 per km². A national programme of transmigration to fill the empty islands in Indonesia in order to equalise the population density was set out by the central government. Several families in some villages signed up to this programme to live in other islands such as Sumatera, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan (Picard, 1992, p. 19).

To maintain their life in the new places, the government offered these families plots of land based on the national policy and agrarian reform (R.

Indonesia, 1960). Through the national land policy, the life of *subak* members also experienced a slight change since they were granted legal certainty to manage their land or an employment contract with the land owners, whilst the land ownership for private right was limited legally by this policy. However, a significant change also took place in their culture and traditions, especially in cultivation processes of the paddy fields due to the use of new paddy seed referred to earlier. The traditional regulation of time followed by ritual offering in every step of the cultivation process had almost vanished.

3.5 Conclusion

From the periodisation of the historical background of Bali, and the Balinese people, it is clear that the development of the Balinese culture, traditions and customs has resulted in their specific identity compared to other ethnic communities in Indonesia. However, based on the continuity and change of the Balinese culture, it can be summarised that several conflicts among the Balinese had taken place throughout history. As recorded, conflicts began in the early eleventh century since several sects developed in Balinese society. Because of a strong Kingdom, the different sects were able to be unified into one belief system which was integrated with the physical fabric of their temples, in order for conflicts to be resolved during this century. On the other hand, the conflicts could not be stopped after this century, as it began from the era of Majapahit (the fourteenth century), revealing two different communities; the old Balinese community and the new Majapahit community. Even in the colonial era, the Dutch changed the organisational structure of the village, from the traditional to administrative village system as part of the colonial government, whilst the Balinese still maintained their village organisation. The two different village structures, as the source of conflict, have continued long after independence, a point which the Indonesia government has recognised.

The Balinese have a strong resilience in maintaining their culture, traditions and customs, since most of them relate to their belief system

deriving from the Hindu religion. However, changes in the Balinese way of life cannot be avoided and this has also led to territorial changes. Besides the historical background of the Balinese life causing the physical changes to the island, the promotion of Bali as a tourist destination that began during the colonial era was a starting point for these changes in territory. Bali then became the centre of Indonesia tourism during the 1960s. As a consequence, a rapid development of tourist facilities on this island has taken place since that time, leading to the significant change in the Bali's landscape a built environment. Another change is that a new culture deriving from tourist life has grown to influence and change the Balinese life into positive and negative impacts on their social and economic aspects. The positive aspect of this sector is its contribution to accelerate other sectors in enhancing the gross domestic and national product, besides improving art and architectural aspects. Meanwhile, the negative impacts of this development will be discussed further in the context of the contemporary challenges of this island in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Religious and Civic Space in Bali

4.1 Introduction

This chapter expands on the topic of 'civicness' and the civic realm in Balinese culture and society, outlined earlier in the Introduction to the thesis. It considers this broadly western concept of public space and identity in the particular (and local) situations of the littoral regions of Bali, highlighting how traditional mythological and cosmological views of geography expressed in Balinese Hindu religious practices provide a useful theoretical framework for rethinking the nature and meaning of participatory (civic space in contemporary Bali). This relates to issues in articulating (or redefining) the notion of the civic realm in different parts of the world. The roots of Balinese philosophy become an important factor in establishing the distinctive qualities (religious, cultural, ethic and social) of the littoral regions of the island. Hence, in this chapter explores the symbolic and spatial relationships between topography and geography and how these relationships inform ritual and ceremonial practices. Underlying this study is the premise that such relationships demonstrate the central importance of public participation and cohesion in the traditional communities of Bali, and how this continues to influence contemporary life in profound ways.

Ritual practices and ceremonial events (such as festivals and funerals) constitute key occasions in the life of Balinese communities, serving as gestures of respect to the nature order and propitiation to the gods and goddesses. These events, moreover, take place in many different locations on the island, reflecting the abiding belief of the Balinese people that every square metre of land possesses a soul or power, especially mountains, hinterlands and the sea. The focus of the research is to understand the significance of these ritual traditions within the limited spaces of the beaches, and their adjacent urban spaces and buildings that

all in turn reinforce the deeply rooted historical and symbolic interrelationships between sea, coast and hinterland in Bali. Several rituals take place within these limited areas which involve community participation and a number of enactments, depending on the particular importance attached to the (usually larger) ceremonial or festive event. These entail processional routes that extend across a range of different sites and territories (temples, dwellings, streets etc.), which provide an important guide to how such settings/locations contribute to enhancing civic or religious activities in these littoral regions.

The contemporary challenges that many of these public events face and their future consequence for the communities, are the result of a combination of internal developments (economic, social and cultural) and external factors, especially the impact of tourism. Both, of course, are inter-connected through the multiple agents of globalisation.

The challenges of the 21st century for traditional communities like those of Bali are most acute in the combined influences of tourist development, migration and urban sprawl, as well as the enforcement of sometimes inflexible or excessively lax laws and regulations. These factors are significant, since a major aspect of tourist attractions can be found in coastal areas, leading to the rapid increase in commercial developments in these areas. The impact often results in unsustainable building density. Since the weaknesses of some laws and regulations implemented in these areas (as we see in Bali) have led to unmonitored urban sprawl, this can, in some cases, be devastating and irretrievable. The focus of this research is to understand the influences of these indicators on the tradition and continuity of these rituals and ceremonies in the coastal regions of Bali.

4.2 Religious and Civic Space in the Balinese Hinduism Belief

One of the abiding principles of Balinese religious belief is the concept of dharma in Hindu theology, which is the way to achieve liberation or *moksha* as the highest level of consciousness. *Moksha* can be achieved in

the real world through creating a combined harmonious relationship with another being, understanding spiritual thoughts, unifying our self to nature, offering solemn rituals, and respecting the deceased. All of these are ultimately a form of veneration (Radhakrishnan, 1959, p. 142).

However, all material and nonmaterial manifestations in Hindu theology and religious thinking require a sphere of existence (*loka*) which is required by gods, humans, animals, plants, water, fire, wind, language, meters, feelings, and thoughts (Michaels, 2004, p. 284). In addition, this sphere of existence is always specific to those creatures have a shared realm and therefore experience. Hence, there is no space as such in Hindu religious thoughts (Gonda, 1960). However, Michaels (2004, p. 284) urges that space in Hindu religious thought constitutes a field of forces which is a characteristic of all manifestations, including nonmaterial manifestations, in which the “space” can be felt rather than seen or perceived. According to Herman Schmitz in Michaels (2004, p. 284), a religious concept of space does not perceive it in any specific volumetric or quantitative sense, but rather identifies spatial divisions in terms of thresholds and liminal zones. Meanwhile, Eliade (1959, p. 23) clarifies that “revelation of religious (sacred) space make it possible to obtain a fixed point and hence acquire orientation in the chaos of homogeneity, to “found the world” and to live in a real sense”. In this sense, it is clear that religious spaces can be felt, even if it has unclear edges and volumes.

The idea of religious (sacred) space has a particular bearing on this investigation, given that the beach (as sacred territory) is enclosed not by tangible walls or edges, as is more typical of sacred precincts in religious spaces, but partly bounded by the visual horizon, the cosmological equivalent of a ‘corner’ of a sacred terrain. Hence the settings of beaches are in many ways the quintessential manifestation of a ‘cosmic room’, without physical limitations in regard to its beach frontier. For religious communities who live on the earth, space is generally regarded in non-homogenous terms, even if the space presents itself initially as neutrally

unbounded. Eliade (1959, pp. 20-21) further adds that “it must be said at once that the religious experience of non-homogeneity of space is a primordial experience, homologizable to founding of the world and it is not a matter of theoretical speculation, but of primary religious experience that precedes all reflection on the world”.

The idea of a ‘common’ world for everything and everyone was not accepted in ancient Indian Hindu belief; it is more acceptable to conceive different cosmological models of various worlds that exist side by side (Gombrich, 1975, pp. 110-115). Based on the Vedic tradition, there is a seven-part division of the universe that can be seen as seven rings, each doubled like big continents surrounded by seven oceans of various liquids (Taittiriya-Aranyaka, 1985). The first division of seven *Jamvūdvīpa* is the first primordial continent consisting of hierarchical worlds (*loka*) that represent the realms of various creatures. Whilst the first division of the seven is horizontal, the second is vertical. Based on *Chandogya-Upanishad*, section 3.18-19.1 (Mascaró, 1965, pp. 115-116), the shape of the world is oval (*brahmānda*), in which the horizon constitutes the principal ‘experiential’ base-line for collective ritual engagement. By contrast, Meru mountain symbolises, in its vertical orientation, a world axis surrounded by ether and orbited by heavenly bodies (Mahabharata, 1888). In many ways this is similar to the familiar division of “heaven” (*Dyaus Pitā*, masculine: see Zeus, Jupiter) and “earth” (*Prthivī*, feminine) which is very often combined to create a cosmic duality (*Dyāvāparthvī*). Importantly, however, the division is understood more typically at the levels of earth, sky and space, between earth and sky, more familiarly represented in gender terms as 1) under (or matriarchal) world, 2) the intermediate ‘terrestrial’ realm of earth, and finally 3) sky/upper (patriarchal) world. The world axis and its three worlds are the most important principles underlying the Balinese philosophy relating to the conception of space.

4.2.1 The Principles of Space in the Balinese Notion and Belief

The *Isa Upanishad* emphasis on Hindu cosmology also incorporates the Balinese belief that everything from a blade of grass to the whole cosmos is the place of God. God exists in every space and time; hence the whole of God's creation is sacred. In Western civilization, human life might be regarded as a sacred life, but for the Hindus all life is sacred which must be revered and respected (Prime, 1992, p. 72). As sacred spaces, their principles based on the Balinese belief systems can be explored from philosophical, ethical and ritual sand-points. These three aspects constitute a basic framework of Hindu religious practice and derive from Veda scriptures consisting of *Upanishad* (philosophy), *Aryanka* (ethics) and *Brahmana* (rituals) (Phalgunadi, Gusti, Suamba, Bagus, & Indonesia, 2010, p. 32; Sudharta & Atmaja, 2001). This framework has in many ways underpinned the way of life of the Balinese Hindu people including the principles for creating space in religious festivals.

1. Philosophy of space

The basic belief and notion of Balinese Hinduism is that God created the universe into three supreme powers, as creator, preserver and destroyer/returner of the universe. The Hindu trinity of God is familiarly called '*tri purusha*' or '*tri kone*', whereby all nature of materials constitute '*prakrti*' which is created by the *tri purusha* (D. P. P. Bali, 1984, pp. 79-81). The process of creating the material world can be articulated from the epic of Mahabharata (the first *parva*), one of the Hindu texts found on inscriptions which concerns the spinning of mount Mandara (Meru) in the milk of the sea where God's three powers (Brahmā, Visnu and Indra or Shiva) show their power to find holy water or *amertha* (Mahabharata, 1888). Michaels (2004, p. 288) adds that God offers the *purusha* a sacrifice and then the world derives from the *purusha* into a sacrifice, so the *purusha* and the world are identical.

From the epic of the Mahabharata to identical forms of sacrifice found in the *purusha*, the world is embodied in two important forms of

knowledge or insight in the Balinese belief system (essentially a vertical and horizontal relationship) the philosophy of '*lingam-yoni*' (symbolised in the duality of *purusha* and *prakrti*, sky-earth or father-mother world) and the geographical hierarchy of sacredness in the relationship between mountain-sea. *The Bhagavad Gita* (IX.17), a sacred text, stipulates that "I am the father - of this universe. I am the mother of this universe, and the creator - of all. I am the highest to be known, the purifier, the holy *OM*, and the three Vedas." Related to this is the '*lingam-yoni*' which is a symbol of the connecting upper/father world and under/mother world, thereby creating the place for human habitation, for creatures and other material substances. The three worlds have directions which are not only geocentric coordinates but also more specifically (and locally) denote a religious sense of sacred space (Michaels, 2004, p. 286). This is highlighted, for example, in the processional paths and lines of orientation of Balinese religious ceremonies, as this investigation has sought to demonstrate. Related to this sense of space, is the significance of *lingam-yoni* (symbol of sky-earth or father-mother) as a connection of horizontal and vertical lines giving rise to a "centre" from each direction. Importantly, these directions are not only spatial alignments but also forces (B. K. Smith, 1986). The conception of space using these directions is more familiarly known as *catuspatha* in the Balinese tradition, which could be likened to the world axis, the world mandala found in numerous religions or more familiarly the Christian cross (Ref: Joseph Rykwert. *Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*). The *catuspatha* became an essential spatial concept of the Balinese village community during the era of Majapahit as indicated in Chapter 3.

These four directions (north-south-east-west) also accommodate four quadrants in the *catuspatha* spatial arrangement for locations of the royal palace, temple, open public space, and market zones (Putra, 2005, pp. 62-70; Samadhi, 2004, pp. 208-211). In addition to the

temple, the royal palace became the most important building for demarcating other facilities in this spatial arrangement. The reason for this is that the king/ruler was a personification of the divine being king of the world and his palace constituted the centre of the cosmos (Heine-Geldern, 1942, pp. 2-6). The concept of a royal palace as the centre of the world also finds traces in the palm text of '*eka pretamaning brahmana sakti bujangga*'. Two passages of this inscription state that:

"In establishing a state, it is needed a combination of sense, due to unifying micro and macro cosmos (human and nature realms/*lokas*) which is established through minds as an inspiration to achieve prosperity, justice and harmony of nature. To manage a state as an inhabitant of people, the first step is to understand the origin of nature formation in which the nature formation is resulted from mind, deriving from a formation of sense. In nature it is determined by four directions (*catur lokaphala*) and then it is embodied into four poles..."

"...life and death is equated with day and night which is articulated into east and west directions. Meanwhile, a combination of sense comes from the highest and lowest values that are symbolised into north and south directions. If the four directions are connected together they will form one world which is then transferred as a *catuspatha* concept. The centre of *catuspatha* is a centre of the world which is also the centre of state to which a royal palace of the king is placed." (Bujangga, 2005)⁴

Meanwhile, the conception of mountain-seawards or north-south (*kaja-keod*) is also often used in Balinese villages as a symbolic geographical and topographical bearing before the Majapahit era. In the context of the Hindu religion, the north/*kaja* is equivalent to the mountain whereas south/*keod* constitutes the sea; this means that the mountain is always in the north and the sea in the south without considering specifically geographical determinations. This is conceived largely as a polarity concept called *rwa bhineda*, which in the West is more accustomed to delineate between sacred and profane or the

⁴ See- the inscription of '*eka pretamaning brahmana sakti bujangga*' translated in Indonesia prose by Putra. Jurnal Permukiman Natak. Vol.3 No.2 Agustus 2005: 62-101 and translated into English version by me.

Judeo-Christian tradition as mutually exclusive choices (Eiseman, 1990, p. 2). However, in ritual practices, it is hardly possible to detach a place from its substance, or indeed as pure abstraction; this broadly derives from a mixture of equal forces of geocentric and egocentric components. As this conception uses one axis from north to south and vice versa, it is understood that there is only the middle zone which is without a determinable centre. From this concept, we can see how geography was understood symbolically as three zones of sanctity; the mountain/north as the pure zone, the sea/south as the impure zone whilst the neutral (intermediary) zone is in the midlands/hinterlands. A topography and horizon may be very important geographical spaces in the hinterlands, 'wedged' between earth and sky, since the inscriptive topography provides a more significant space in the routes of rituals and festival ceremonies whilst the horizon defines a visible frontier of the world between sky and earth (Temple & Lall, 2007, pp. 94-95).

Another philosophical articulation of space is the '*tri hita karana*' (*tri* being three, *hita* is happiness/serenity/well-being and *karana* being cause) which has a bearing on our understanding of ritual space in Balinese society as this denotes three causes that achieve happiness/serenity and therefore well-being in the world. Sutedja (2012, p. 27) clarifies that the *tri hita karana* denotes three causal aspects of well-being which represents harmonious and balanced human relationships between humanity, God and nature. This philosophy derives from the essence of *The Bhagavad Gita*, chapter III.10 (Gita, 1994), which states that there are three important aspects relating to oneness as the basis of Hindu belief; God, sacrifice and creatures (Wiana, 2007, p. 7). Besides that, the *tri hita karana* is also inspired by the philosophy of Ramayana and Sutasoma (Hindu *Puranas*) whereby the world comprises the soul, humanity and nature (Sutedja, 2012, p. 49). The three harmonious relationships are manifested into physical 'spheres' or layers of existence (realm/*loka*) that comprise 1) temples (*parahyangan*), 2) dwellings (*pawongan*), and

3) open spaces (*palemahan*). These are essential places for the Balinese to create the harmonious relationships needed between humanity and God, between other humans and between humanity and nature.

4.2.2 Spatial Conceptions

Accordingly, the philosophies of *tri hita karana* and mountain-sea (*gunung-segara*) or north-south (*kaja-kelod*) are inter-connected spatial conceptions that help determine the placement of temples, dwellings and open spaces. These philosophies become an important consideration in the physical implementation of these settings, whilst the conception of *catuspatha/pempatan agung* (or the 'cross pattern' concept) becomes an additional feature in the development of the Balinese village. These spatial parameters play a significant role in the place-making of religious/ceremonial facilities which progress in the course of the event from small scale to larger scale settings or topographies (from temple interior and a village setting, to a regional territory).

Hence, it should be emphasised that the existence of the temple is not distinctly separated from the philosophy of *tri hita karana*, where it refers to the three causes of serenity and happiness resulting from harmonious relationships between individuals and the gods, as well as between humans and their surroundings. The root of the *tri hita karana* can be found in the scripture of *The Bhagavad Gita* (III: 10-2). The harmonious relationships among three substances symbolises a balanced cosmology among upper, middle and underworlds. Each world has its own distinctive power and spirit which must be cultivated in order for the three worlds to be balanced and to co-exist (Sularto, 1987). This can also be symbolised as soul, humans and nature or *urip*, *manusa*, and *bhuwana* respectively (Sutedja, 2012, p. 10). The manifestation of the soul, humans and nature as places/spaces, can be seen and demonstrated by the activities in the temples, dwellings, civic spaces, *parahyangan/khayangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan*, whereby the temple is the 'house' of the gods and

goddesses and is therefore an expression of divine power and spirit (and also the soul of nature and human places). The Balinese believe that the temple is a decisive place to achieve harmonious relationships among them and their surroundings. Indeed, humans who inhabit the earth (as well as the middle world) have a responsibility to maintain the cosmos well in order to achieve such happiness (Figure 16).

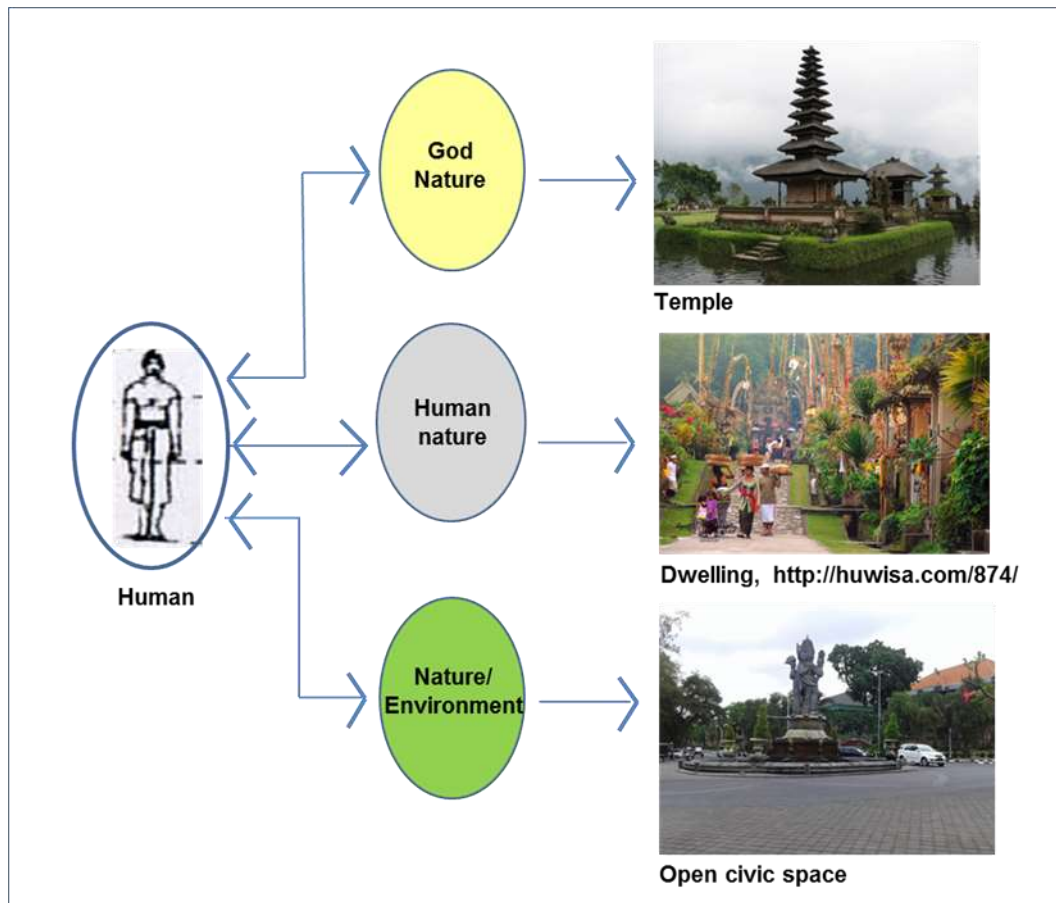


Figure 16: The philosophy of *tri hita karana* (harmonious relationships between humans, God and environment)

The philosophy of *kaja-kelod* or mountain-seawards derives from the tale of *Adiparwa*, the first part of the Hindu Epic of Mahabharata, in which the encounter between upper and lower worlds leads to the stabilisation of the earth as the middle world. In Bali, this philosophy is implemented into spatial/orientational conceptions called '*kaja-kelod*' or north-south. *Kaja* is

symbolised as a mountain and *kelod* as the sea, whilst the hinterland exists between both, hence the earth accommodates distinct but interrelated zones. Since the Balinese believe that the micro cosmic and macro cosmic worlds possess similar substances, they are understood anthropomorphically to be a part of unified physical body: head (mountain), body (hinterland) and foot (sea). Meanwhile, the mountain is recognised as the purest zone, the hinterland as the intermediate zone and the sea is the least pure zone (Figure 17). In order to achieve a balance of cosmology from the three zones, and to counteract any negative influence, the placement of the temple is not only in the mountain areas but also in the midland and sea coasts. Even though temples have different locations, the forms of worship to the gods and goddesses are carried out in a balanced way according to the location and status of the temple.

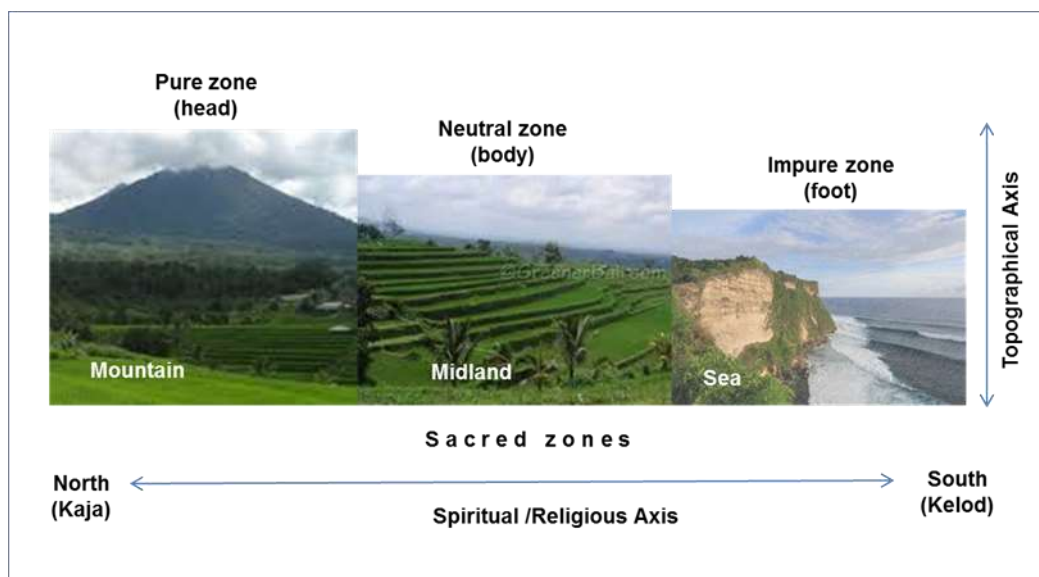


Figure 17: The conception of 'north-south' or 'sea-mountain' reflecting two axes.

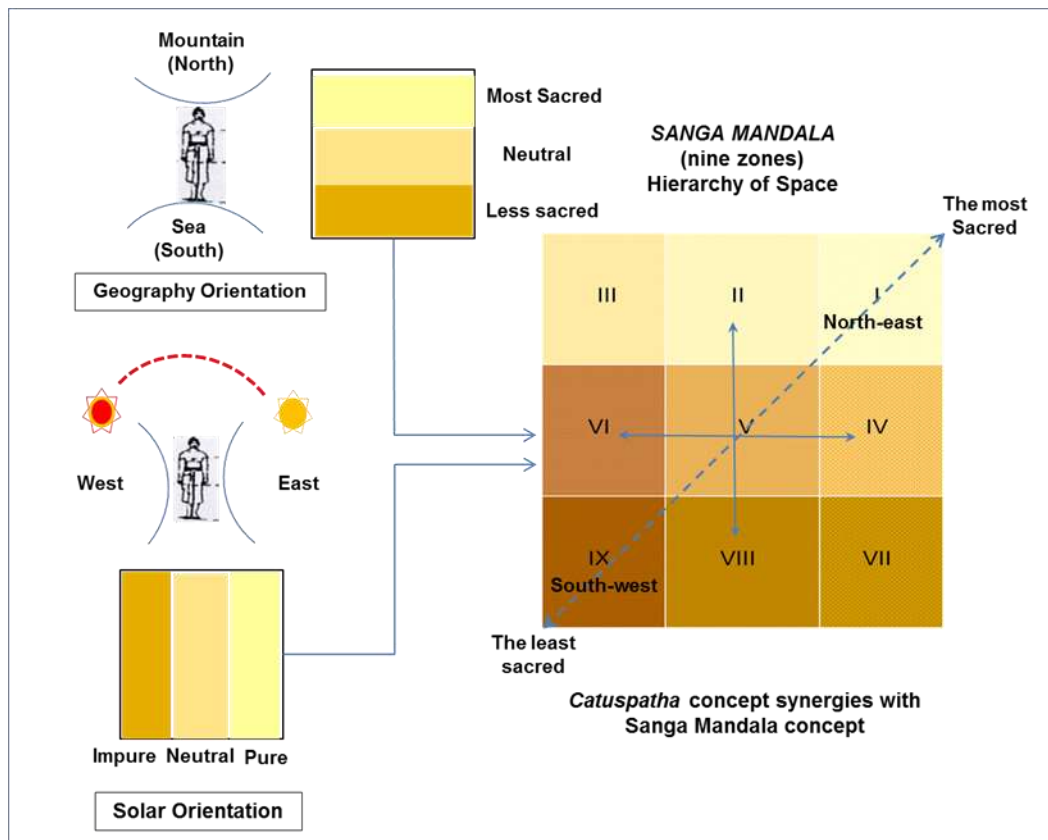


Figure 18 : The geographical orientation resulting in nine zones with each own value

Related to this is the *catuspatha*, a cross pattern concept developed in the era of Majapahit (1343-1906) in order to determine the zone of the royal palace which was applied to all royal palaces during this period. Even though this concept does not directly stipulate the location of the temple, it provides several options for different locations in a village territory by attaching hierarchical value to each zone. Gelebet et.al. (1982) adds that the Balinese in space making applies two orientations (spiritual and solar axes) in which each of them results in three layers/zones with considering its own symbolic values. If both orientations are stacked together, nine zones will be formed in total, which is called '*sanga mandala*' (Figure 18). From this figure it appears that the four zones in the cross pattern

principally form the nine zones, similar in principle to the *sanga mandala*. However, the two orientations in the *sanga mandala* show that the north and east parts are the most sacred/pure zones, whilst the south and west constitute less sacred/impure areas.

4.2.3 Village Pattern and Territory

Three village temples, known as *tri khayangan/khayangan desa*, constitute the essential requirement for the customary practices of a village territory (or *desa*). Indeed, it cannot be called a *desa* without the establishment of these temples. Satria Naradha (2002, p. ix) states that the *desa adat* was established by Mpu Kuturan (known as Rajakertha) in the early eleventh century and was signalled by the existence of the *tri khayangan* (consisting of Puseh, Desa and Dalem Temples). These temples reflect the three-fold idea of God as creator, preserver and destroyer/returner, which are also symbols of birth, life and death. The Puseh Temple is a symbol of the creator or the birth temple which is also often called the ancestral temple located in the mountains. The Desa Temple is a symbol of the preserver which is usually located in the middle territory (between mountain and sea). This Temple commonly accommodates a great altar/sacred meeting hall, called '*Bale Agung*', therefore this temple is often called the Desa and Bale Agung Temple. One of the important functions of the altar is as a gathering place for the spirit powers of the village and the sacred statues (called *pratima*) of each temple in the village, especially during the ritual processions of *melasti*. Meanwhile, the Dalem Temple, or the 'mortuary' temple on account of its use in funerals, is located in the impure zone (the southern part of the village territory/along the coast). This temple is used mainly for services from pre to post cremation ceremonies and purification rituals.

With the *kaja-kelod* (or north-south axis), it is clear that the zones of the three village temples in the *desa* territory (Puseh, Desa/Bale Agung and Dalem Temples) are situated at the northern, middle and southern zones of the village respectively. Meanwhile, the implementation of *catuspatha*

enables the use of the east-west axis as another option to stipulate the location of the village temples, for example, the eastern, middle and western zones provide locations for the Puseh, Desa/Bale Agung and Dalem Temples. Both axes also serve as the main ceremonial access routes into the village, with the dwellings and public (civic) spaces located along this route to the temples via the main village roads. According to *Bhisama PHDI*, part of the Regional Land Use Regulation of Bali Province No16/2009 article 2 (P. D. P. Bali, 2009), open spaces or access areas around temples must be provided at least as high as the temple's fence in order to demarcate a zone between dwellings and the temple.

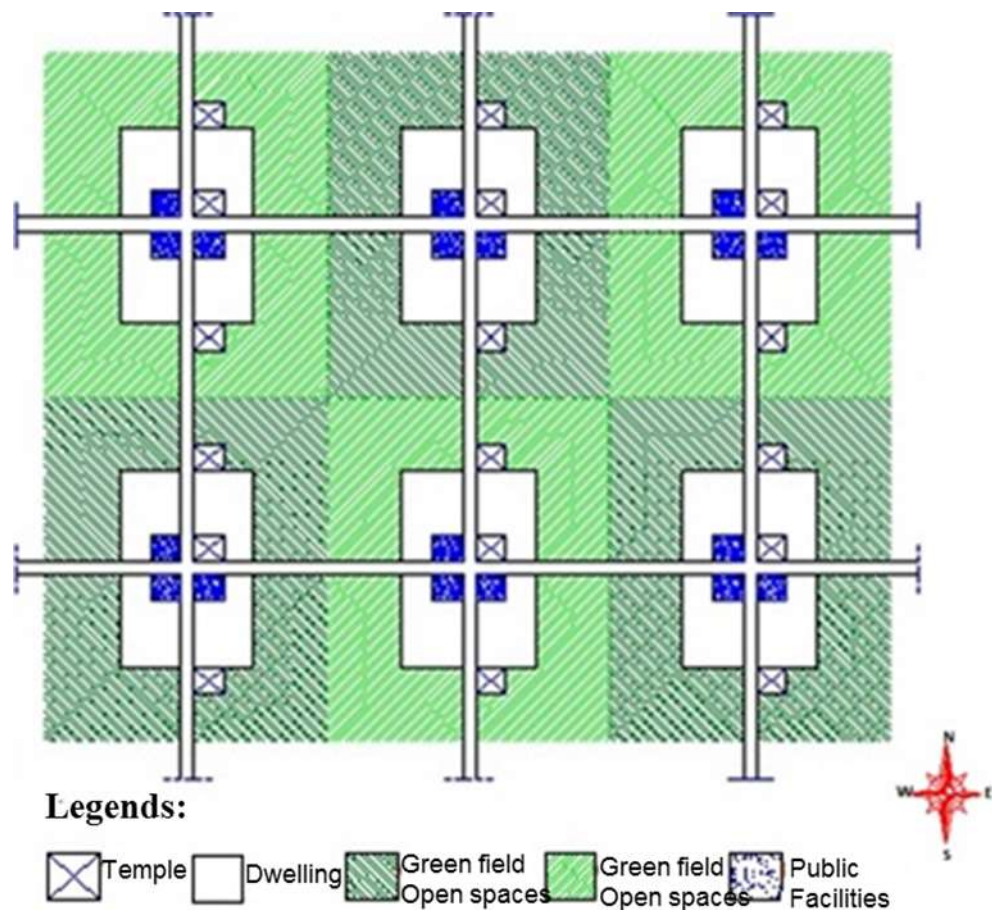


Figure 19: A diagrammatic layout of the Balinese traditional village territories

The northern side of the Puseh Temple and the southern side of the Dalem Temple must be left as unbuilt areas, or open spaces (cemetery,

green fields, rice fields or plantation) also called '*bengang*'. This requirement also applies if the locations of the Puseh and Dalem Temples are sited along the east-west axis. As a result, villages typically form 'a grid pattern' surrounded by green fields and open spaces (Figure 19). Some villages with open spaces as boundaries can be seen in northern areas (hilly land) of Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, Klungkung and Karangasem.

4.2.4 Urban Territory

Since the village/*desa* is surrounded by green fields and open spaces, an urban area is formed by several *desas*; Bali's urban territory forms an intricate pattern of different elements which gives the impression of a gridded plan (Figure 19). During the era of the Balinese kingdom, one of the *desas* covering the area of the palace served as the centre of this geographical layout. To strengthen the royal palace as the focus of the territory, the king built the temple inside his palace complex and the central market around the outside of his palace. Some examples of the king's temple in the urban territory which formed an inner zone are the Dasar Bhuwana temple at Semarapura town, the Tambangan temple (Denpasar city), the Batur temple (Tabanan town), and the Taman Ayun temple (Mengwi district). The urban territory also covers a wider area which is not only used for dwellings, markets and open spaces but also for paddy fields (*subaks*), plantation fields, in regions of streams and within coastal and mountainous areas. All spaces in these territories also reflect the implementation of the *tri hita karana*, consisting of temples, dwellings and open spaces. Traditionally, each urban territory in Bali adopts natural landscape features as its boundaries, such as streams, hill/mountain areas or green fields as open spaces. Almost all urban territories in southern Bali incorporate natural streams or green fields as boundaries to their rural geography and use the mountain areas as their geographical edge between the southern and northern territories of Bali. In this sense,

the palace and its temple has emerged as a driving factor in the extension of village territory into urban areas.

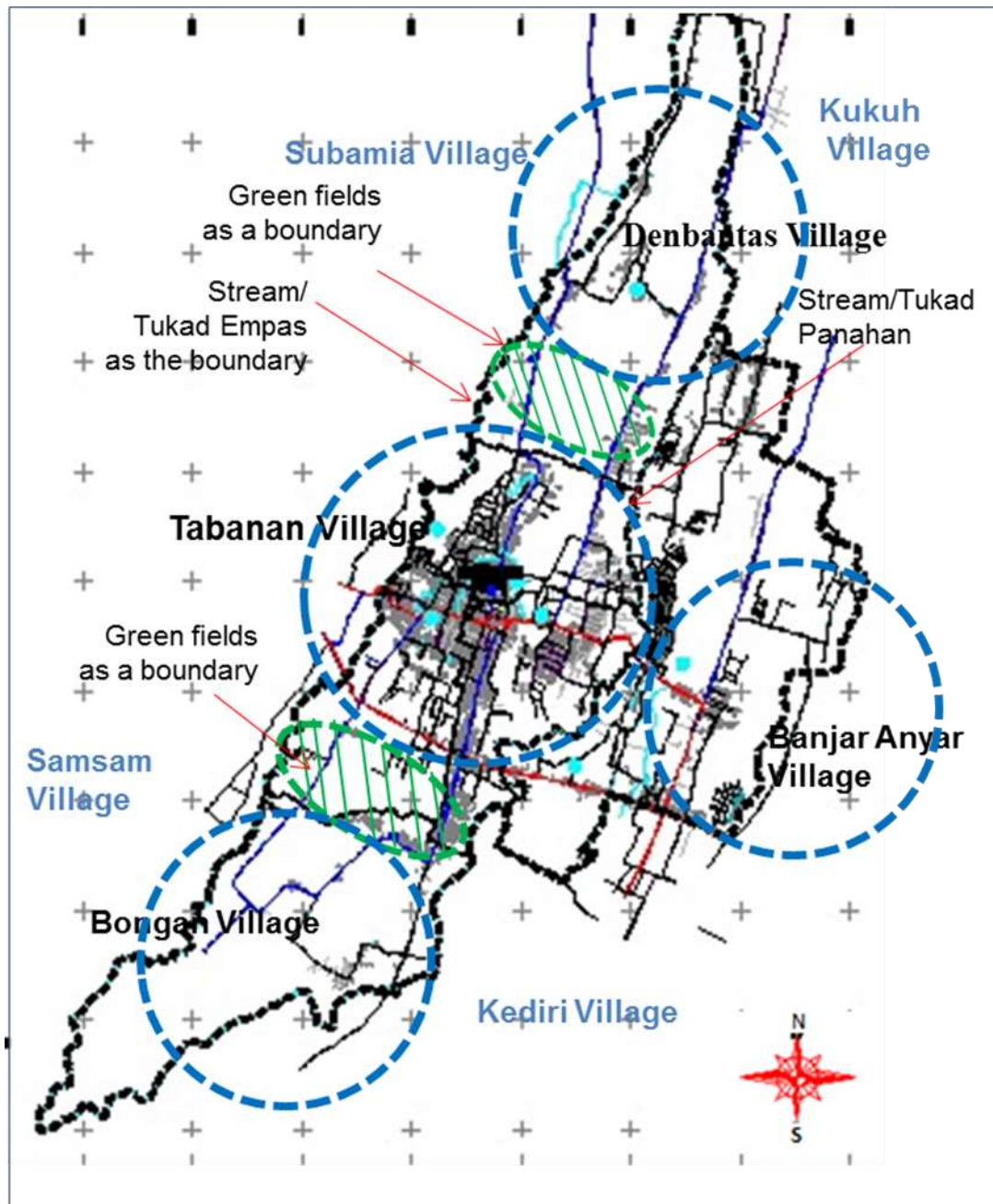


Figure 20: The boundaries of Tabanan village as the central urban territory
(Reproduced from Bappeda Tabanan, 2013)

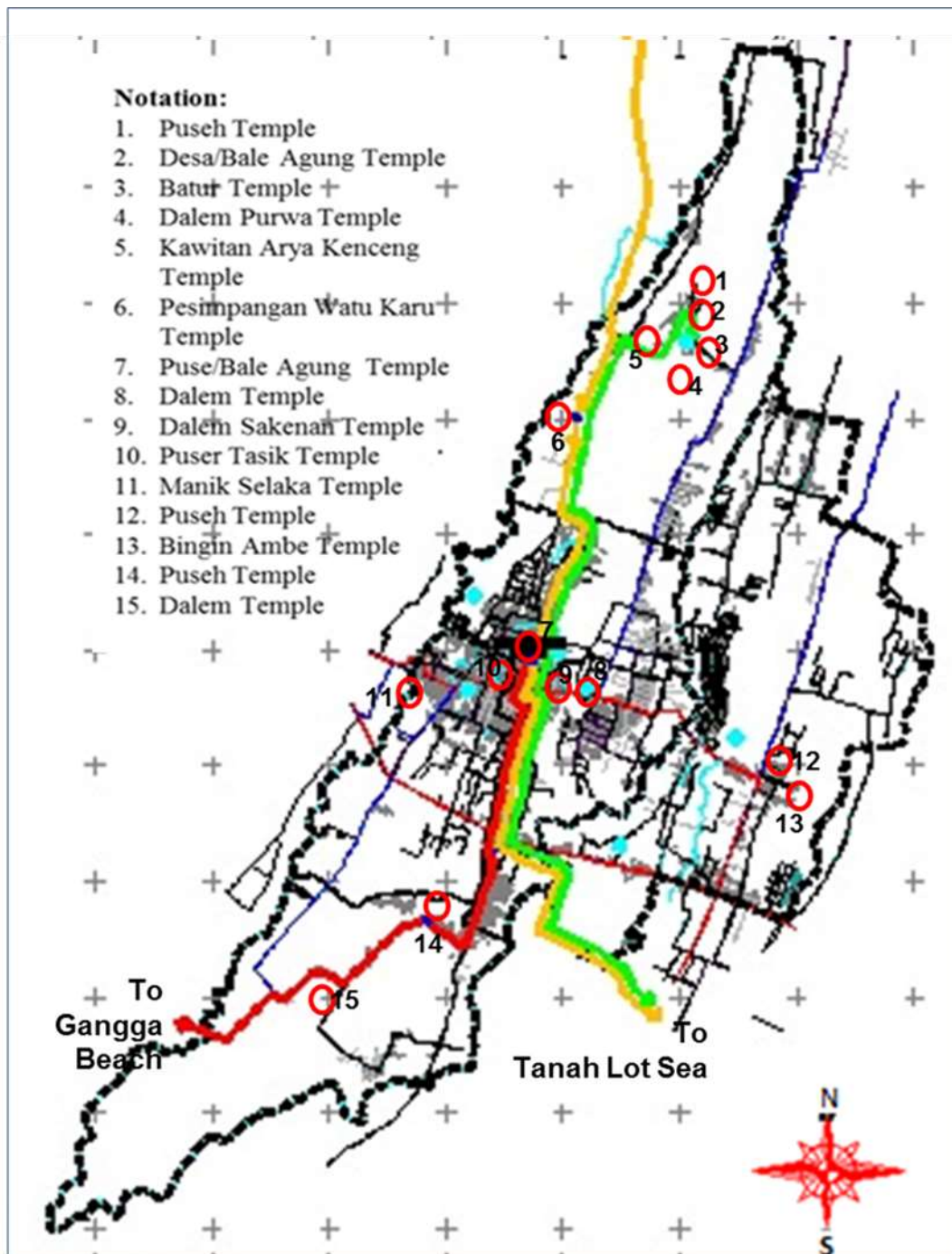


Figure 21: The location of temples in Tabanan Town and the route of ritual procession to the sea (*Reproduced from Bappeda Tabanan, 2013*).

The urban territory of Tabanan, located in southern Bali, can be seen as an example of the early implementation of one *desa* built in the 14th century which covered the area of Tabanan Palace, and then extended more recently to encompass four *desas*: *desa adat* of Tabanan, Denbantas, Bongan and Banjar Anyar. From these four *desas*, Tabanan became the centre of an important urban territory. According to the Planning and Development Board of Tabanan Regency (Bappeda, 2006), the topography of this town has the steepest slopes, (around 8-15%) in the town's total area of 2,949 hectares. The area consists of paddy fields (986 hectares or 33.435% of the territory), plantation and other undeveloped areas (565.176 hectares or 19.165%). The comparison between the undeveloped and developed areas was defined in 2004 as 52.60% and 47.40% respectively with the undeveloped area decreasing by 1.036% within the last five years. The territory of Tabanan village is delineated by two streams, Tukad Empas to the west and Tukad Panahan to the eastern side, whilst the northern and southern side uses green fields (Figure 20).

In the urban territory of these four villages there are 110 temples consisting of 15 public temples and 95 shrine places and clan temples occupying a total area of 31,668.82 m² or 3.167 hectares respectively. As shown in figure 3.13, there are 15 public temples in the Tabanan territory which are mainly located in Denbantas and Tabanan Village (Tabanan, 2006). Although they are all located in one territory, the place of ritual procession (particularly in coastal areas) varies significantly. Tabanan and Bongan villages are located at the end of the ritual procession near the sea at Gangga Beach, whilst Denbantas and Banjar Anyar Village are situated at Tanah Lot Beach. Due to these different destinations, the route of procession to the sea varies (Figure 21).

In rural areas, it can be seen that the history of the Besakih village, the village along the slopes of Mount Agung, is closely connected to the biggest temple of Besakih. After successfully initiating offering rituals and locating building shrines by burying precious metals on the mountain

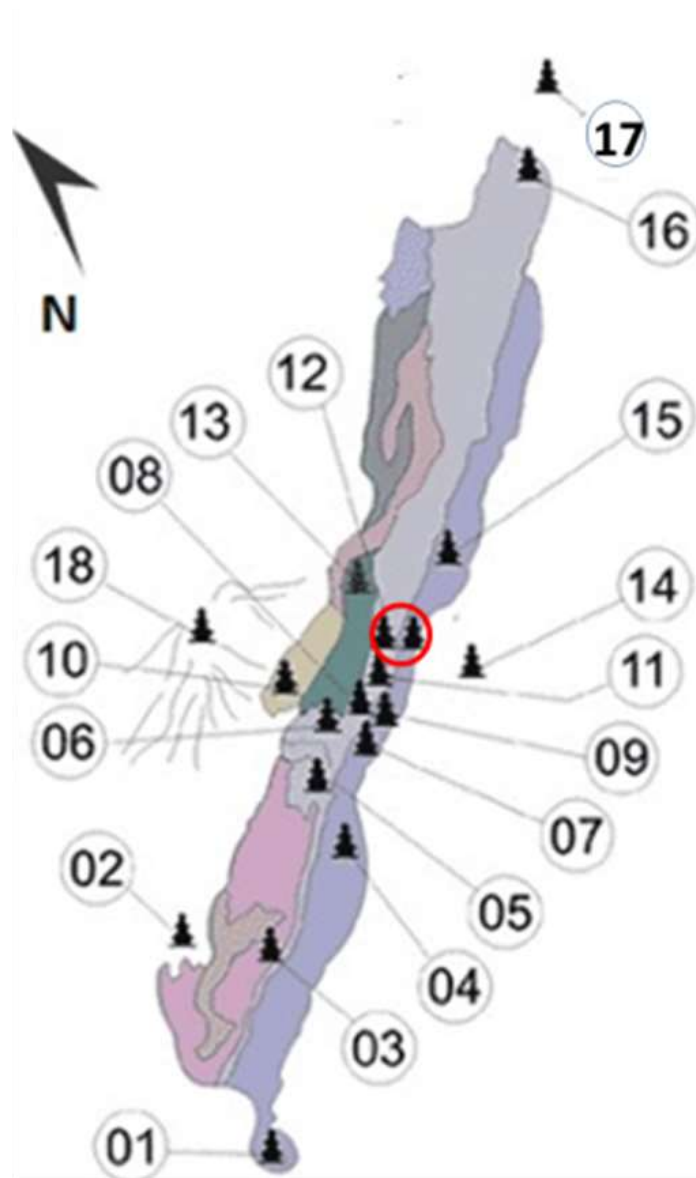
slopes, Rsi Markandya (and his followers) built a dwelling for the first inhabitant at this place during the 8th century. This temple was extended to become the biggest temple in Bali by the king of Dalem Waturenggong during the second golden era of Bali (the 14th-15th century). Hence, the area has become a complex of temples consisting of places of worship for members of the public, clans and individual families. According to Stuart-Fox (2002, pp. 81-85), this complex consists of 18 public temples, 4 community temples, 53 clan temples, and 11 other temples (totalling 86 temples). The location of the 18 public temples can be seen in the images below (Figure 22 & 23). These public temples are located on the south side of Mount Agung. Besakih village was the only village in this era that was located approximately 3-5 km to the south of this temple. Stuart-Fox also states that the Besakih village, and its community was named "*pragunung besakih*" due to its setting in the mountains, they also had a strong historical relationship with other villages in the region, such as Muncan, Selat and Sidemen, as a means of supporting the rituals of the temple during that period.

Today the four traditional villages (Besakih, Muncan, Selat and Sidemen) form parts of three different districts (Rendang, Selat and Sidemen districts). Rendang and Selat districts are located at the south and west sides of the temple, whilst Sidemen district is located at the southern end of Selat. The two districts of Rendang and Selat each consists of 24 *desas*, the customary village arrangement, surrounding the southern and western sides of the Besakih Temple (approximately 500 metres above sea level). Topographically, Rendang village is dominated by steep areas which are between 15° and 40°, whilst Selat village is sited on a slope in excess of 40°. In spite of the areas being dominated by steep slopes (Figure 24), plantation fields, such as paddy fields, are very important for producing rice, coconuts, coffee, cloves, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, beans, yams and other local fruits. Of these green fields, there are paddy fields (1,971 hectares), plantation fields (5,431 hectares), forests (5,707 hectares) and dry land (1,860 hectares), comprising of 78.76% of the total

area (Statistik, 2013, pp. 6-8). Even though the conversion of green fields for built environment use has taken place in the last five years, the average rate of development for each year has been 0.058% or 8.68 hectares. Besides the importance of food production on the island of Bali, these agricultural products are also essential in supporting the liturgical functions of the temple and other ritual ceremonies. Therefore, the presence of the temple has played a key role in village development, supporting the provision of paddy and plantation fields in the rural territory of the island.



Figure 22: Bird views of the Besakih temple complex at the slope of Mount Agung – Source of figure ([google.co.uk](https://www.google.co.uk), 2014b)



Notation:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Pesimpangan Temple | 10. Hyang Haluh Temple |
| 2. Dalem Puri Temple | 11. Besukihan Temple |
| 3. Manik Mas Temple | 12. Penataran Agung Temple
(as the centre) |
| 4. Bangun Sakti Temple | 13. Batu Madeg Temple |
| 5. Ulun Kuklikul Temple | 14. Batu Kiduling Kreteg |
| 6. Merajan Selonding Temple | 15. Gelap Temple |
| 7. Goa Temple | 16. Pengubengan Temple |
| 8. Banue Kawan Temple | 17. Batu Tirta Temple |
| 9. Merajan Kawan Temple | 18. Batu Peninjoan Temple |

Figure 23: Penataran Besakih Temple (no.12) as the centre of the Besakih temple complex - Source of figure (babadbali.com, 2014).

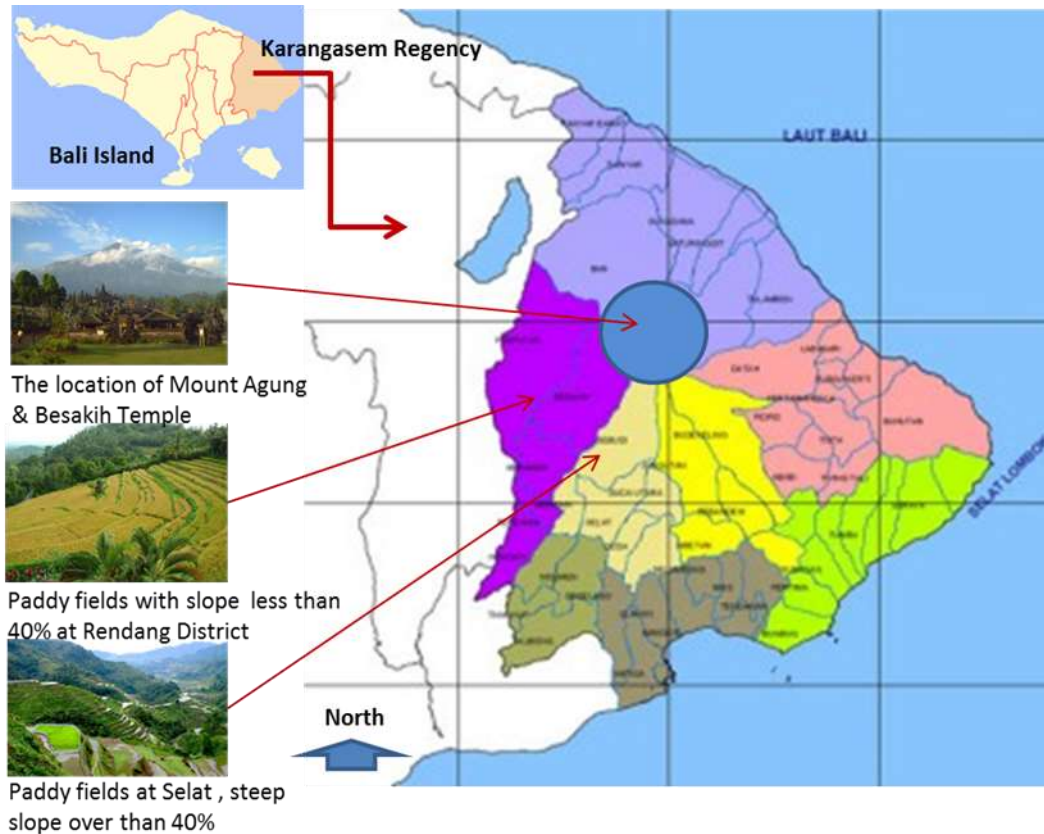


Figure 24: Topographical features of rural territories in the two districts of Karangasem Regency - Source of figures (google.co.uk, 2014).

4.2.5 Regional Territory

In relation to the existence of temples, the natural landscape of mountains, lakes, streams, paddy fields, plantations, forests, wellsprings, coastal areas, the sea and other green fields constitute essential life-giving elements for the Balinese. The Balinese have built a shrine place or temple in every natural landscape in order to mark out the relationship with the spirit of nature which is a key part of their philosophy to respect nature. They not only build temples or shrine places in natural landscapes, but also build them in towns and villages, such as in public spaces (market, street intersections/cross junctions, T junctions, bridges and other public locations). The reason for this is that the Balinese fully believe that every inch of land possesses a spirit and is therefore sacred in some way, giving rise to a sense of urgency to locate shrine places or temples in the geography of the island. Even though Bali is a small island, there are

thousands of temples and shrine places leading to familiar descriptions such as 'the island of thousands of temples' or 'the island of the God'.

At a micro scale, the temple guides the space pattern of the *desa* as a physical marker, whilst several *desas* form an urban and/or rural territory. At a macro scale, on the other hand, the regional territories of Bali can be divided into groups of *desas*. Entering each *desa* one can easily identify the boundary of each *desa*, usually by the place of the Dalem Temple and cemetery, the Puseh Temple, '*bengang*' (green fields) and streams. Besides the existence of the village as important demarcations of the Balinese territory, the symbolic conception of mountain-seaward relationships constitutes an essential way of thinking about the orientation and setting of these temples (and their sacred precincts) as a micro-cosmos of the larger geography of the island. This connection utilises and facilitates the symbolic relationships of mountain temples with the sea in terms of routes of ritual procession, although these routes can be used as public access in everyday life. More specifically, the mountain temples often have close connections, or associations, with coastal temples by offering their ceremonies in coast settings, for instance the temple of Besakih (on the slopes of Mount Agung) has formal links with the Watu Klotok Temple at the Klungkung coastal area, whilst the temple of Watukaru (at the slopes of Mount Watukaru) has links with the Tanah Lot Temple at Tabanan Regency. Hence, the locations of temples in relation to the coast and their ritual access are crucially important in binding the different communities of the island based on their philosophy of *nyegara-gunung* (mountain seaward). Importantly, this intimate relationship between land and sea is in many ways a response to the particular geographical layout of the island, whereby both sea and mountain play such an important role in Balinese cosmology (Figure 25).

Besides the sea, lakes are also important geographical features in terms of navigating the route of the procession. There are four lakes on the island of Bali, namely Batur, Beratan, Buyan and Tamblingan. Lake Batur

has historically been the most important ritual place for the temple of Batur which is located at Mount Batur. Due to its location at the eastern side of the lake, it is well known as the Ulun Danu Batur temple. This lake became an important place for purification rituals within the Ulun Danu temple and other temples at the traditional villages located around it. In fact, the majority of traditional villages are sited around this lake demonstrating how important natural resources of freshwater were for the community at that time. Since the lake is a sacred place, the distance between Lake Batur and the *desa* was carefully regulated. Meanwhile the green spaces, the protected areas around the lake, become the setting for special ritual offerings.

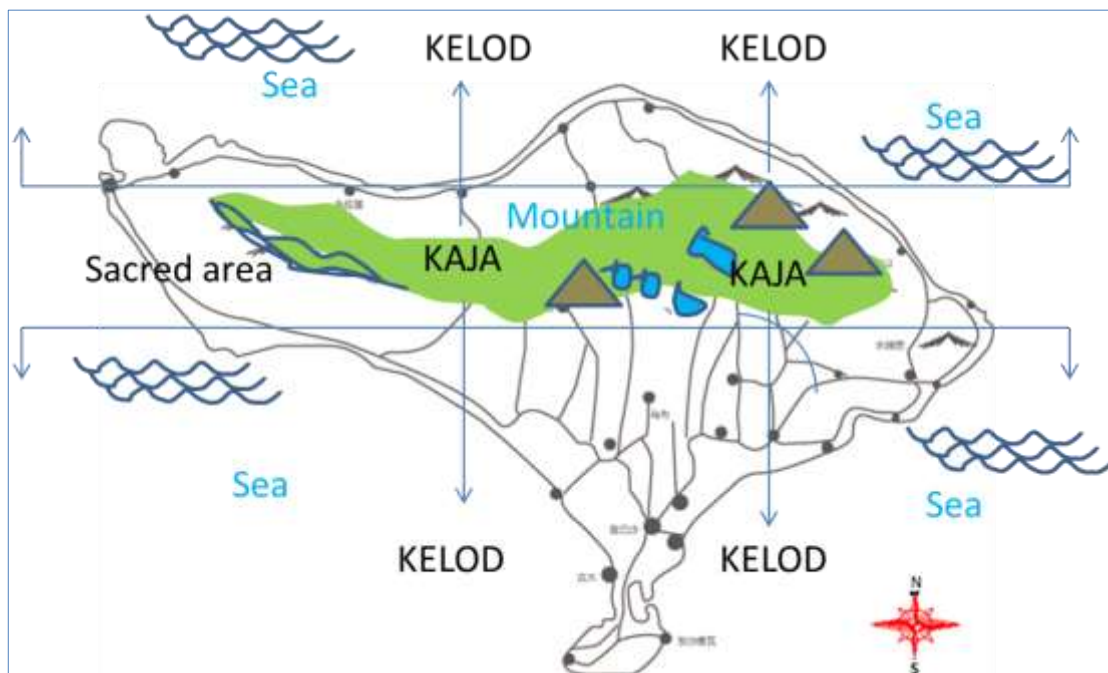


Figure 25: The geographical layout of Bali according to the philosophy of 'mountain-sea and north-south (or 'gunung-segara' and 'kaja-kelod')

As the four lakes in Bali provide essential freshwater for the populace in Bali and service the paddy irrigation system, they are the most important places for offering ritual ceremonies organised by members of *subak* (farmer Social Organisation of Farmers), backed up by the local government. Likewise, the streams which are used to water the paddy fields are also an important location for these offerings. Furthermore, the lake temple serves as the principal water temple, supported by the wellspring temple/Pura Beji and the *subak* temples (also called Pura Ulun Swi or Pura Bedugul). This close relationship is in many ways mirrored by the sea and coastal connections referred to earlier. Like those working in the paddy fields, fishermen also maintain and care their coastal temples, called Segara temples or Dalem Segara temples. These temples provide places to ensure harmonious relationships between the livelihood of the fishermen and the sea gods. Hence, the water temples are very important shrines for members of *subak* and for the fisherman groups.

4.3 Religious/Civic Practices Today: Traditions and Translations

Religious practices have continually taken place in Bali throughout the centuries, where traditions have been largely based on three essential aspects of the Hindu Balinese religion: philosophy, ethics and ritual activity (Phalgunadi et al., 2010, p. 32; Sudharta & Atmaja, 2001). Even though the source of ritual practices may derive from various scriptures, comprising different scales of enactment (big/*utama*, medium/*madia* and small/*nista*), the implementation of these ritual practices in some parts of village territories varies. According to Eliade (1971, p. 21), every ritual has an archetype and a divine model which is well enough known for us to conceive. This is demonstrated, for example, by the distinct ritual relationships between the village territories in the mountains, midlands and coastal areas of Bali.

As already indicated, rituals constitute of an essential part of Balinese religious life, even though there is a tendency today in our fractured and

globalised world to dismiss such undertakings as meaningless and irrelevant. In particular, there is the popular view that rituals are rather pointless since they never achieve anything or have a rational purpose, a claim that misunderstands their function as continual acts (Klostermaier, 2007, p. 135). The Balinese rituals are holy sacrifices to the gods that serve as an expression of thankfulness, a cosmological balance, moral improvement, serenity and happiness of life, as well as faithfulness. *The Bhagavad Gita* outlines the important rituals for Hindu people, which can be found in chapter III (10, 11 and 12):

“(10) When he created creatures in the beginning, along with the sacrifice, Prajapati* said; ‘May you fruitful by this sacrifice, let this be the cow which produces all you desire. (11) ‘You should nourish the gods with this so that the gods may nourish you; nourishing each other, you shall achieve the highest good. (12) ‘For nourished by the sacrifice, the gods will give you the pleasures you desire. The man who enjoys these gifts without repaying them is no more than a thief.” (Gita, 1994, pp. 15-16).

These different kinds of rituals relate to five Balinese beliefs (*panca sraddha*) which comprise a variety of ritual ceremonies. These, however, can be classified into five categories, called *panca yadnya* (Sudharta & Atmaja, 2001, p. 59):

1. *Dewa yadnya*; rituals for the gods,
2. *Pitra yadnya*; rituals for ancestors,
3. *Rsi yadnya*; rituals for priests or saints,
4. *Manusa yadnya*; rituals for human being,
5. *Bhuta yadnya*; rituals for environment.

The five types of rituals classified above can be further simplified into three categories; a) the divine, b) mortals, and c) the environment. Numerous ritual ceremonies take place in everyday Balinese life but not all of these relate to the sea. Only a select number from this classification relate closely to the littoral regions as a medium for preparing ritual enactments.

a. Divine rituals/*dewa yadnya*

Divine rituals that take place on the coast are generally called *melasti/mekiyis/melis*, which are categorised into two types: a *melasti* ritual in relation to a temple's anniversary and the celebration of the Balinese New Year. This ritual can be found in the inscription of *Çundarigama* (Wiana, 2006, p. 27).⁵ The *melasti* is a purification ritual process of the shrine equipment of the gods' and ancestors which are carried in procession by the temple's members (adorers) to the sea. The *melasti* event, however, must not be held exclusively in the sea, given that those communities that are too far from the coast will offer this ritual instead on the banks of lakes or wellsprings near rivers. The main purpose of this purification is to enter into a new phase or new condition in a cyclic life. It takes place usually before the final ritual ceremony in the temple. The Balinese determine the area of the *melasti* according to their beliefs in places that have strong energy/power for purification purposes (such as estuaries connecting rivers to the sea, wellspring near the coast or in front of the sea/*segara* temples).

1). *Melasti* in relation to the New Year celebration

The *melasti* ritual is not only to celebrate the New Year but also the anniversary of the foundation of temples. The New Year celebrations, which is familiarly known as *nyepi* (silence day), is one of the busiest days of the Balinese festive calendar. The *nyepi* day takes place usually between March and April resulting from a calculation of the lunar calendar or the first day of the tenth moon based on the lunar system (Wiana, 2006, p. 28). Every *desa pakraman* will arrange and set a schedule for the *melasti* which usually takes place one or three days before the *nyepi* day. It is not compulsory for each *desa*

⁵ The inscription of *Çundarigama* stipulates (old Balinese language): "...*Melasti ngaranja ngiring prawatek dewata anganyutaken laraning jangat, papa klesa letuhaning bhuwana, ngamet sarining amerta ring telenganing segara.*" (Melasti is a ritual ceremony in which devas with human remove all impurities of nature resulting in difficult and unhealthy life to the sea, then taking holy water in the sea for ritual purification) - translated into Indonesian prose by Wiana (2006) and English by the researcher.

adat/pakraman to hold the *melasti* ritual in the same day; they can select one of the three days before the New Year.

To organise a procession of the *melasti* ceremony before the *nyepi* day, the following initial activities must be held at the level of *desa pakraman*:

- Members of *desa pakraman*, attended by representatives of the *banjars* (social organisations within the *desa pakraman*), prepare a meeting to discuss all processions of the ritual and decide on the date of the *melasti* day. These decisions are then communicated to all families in every *banjar* by the *banjar* organisation.
- Each family is required to build a temporary shrine place located in front of the main gate of the family home, preferably at the main public access. This shrine is used for small ritual offerings held before the adorers go to the sea in order for them to be safe and gain the rewards of the ritual, after which they return to the sea to express a sense of thankfulness to the gods and goddesses.
- In the morning before going to the sea, all sacred shrine equipment of the village and family temples is carried by the adorers and family members to Pura Desa (village temple), located in the centre of the village, and is placed on the altar of Bale Agung (holy great hall). After ritual ceremonies are offered to the altar, all shrine equipment is then carried by the adorers to the sea, followed by a traditional orchestra (the Gong).
- After returning from the sea, the equipment is placed in the same place for ritual offerings of purification to the whole world. It is expected that the gods and goddesses are able to maintain and secure nature and all creatures in the ritual environment through appropriate propitiation of mortals/worshippers. After finishing this ritual at the altar, the next ritual, called *tawur agung/tawur kesanga* (the environment ritual) takes place outside the temple's entrance gate. This ritual is offered particularly to deities who occupy the

underworld in order not to interfere with the life in the middle world.

The combination of these rituals is intended to achieve a harmonious balance of the three worlds.

During the *nyepi* day, there are four principal ‘taboos’ or forbidden actions that the Balinese must respect, these are collectively called *catur brata penyepian*, which are *amati gni* (no fire, electricity, or cooking), *amati karya* (no working), *amati lelungan* (no traveling) and *amati lelanguan* (no entertainment). The groups of *pecalang* (or village guards) will secure the surroundings during the celebration of this day of silence. Cars or other vehicles are not permitted to operate on the roads. People are also not allowed to leave their houses, except for the village guards/*pecalang*. Only for emergency purposes are citizens granted permission to go outside and use public access to hospitals. These taboos also apply to other people, including visitors who are not Balinese Hindu. They are expected to appreciate and respect this ritual tradition. Due to this requirement, coastal resorts become very quiet during this period and only the sounds of waves can be heard. This tranquillity, however, only lasts for the duration of the *nyepi* day, after this all activities resume as normal.

2). *Melasti* in relation to the temple’s anniversary

The *melasti* does not take place automatically in every temple’s anniversary; it depends on the levels of ritual activity which are being followed. The *melasti* usually takes place every five, ten, eighteen and thirty years, with its own distinctive ritual name. Besakih Temple is one of the mother temples of the *melasti*, from where the ceremony takes place every year and involves large numbers of the community. The big family temples (*Dadya/Merajan Ageng*), on the other hand, hold their ceremonies only every thirty years which are called ‘*ngenteg linggih*’. In the family temple’s anniversary, the ritual of *melasti* is only supported by family members, but they are able to request some help from the *banjar* and even the *desa pakraman*’s community for this

purpose. The ritual procession of the *melasti* to the temples is similar to the celebration of the *nyepi* day.

b. Human and cremation rituals

There are three kinds of ritual in this classification: those comprising human purification (*banyu pinaruh*), priest ritual processions (*meajar-ajar*), and post cremation rituals (*nganyud*, *ngerorasin/ngelanus*) which also incorporate the *nyekah*. These rituals have different purposes but all include ritual ceremonies on the coast, the main focus of this investigation.

1). *Banyu pinaruh*/human purification

The aim of *banyu pinaruh* can be approached from the meaning of each word whereby *banyu* means water and *pinaruh* means knowledge of divinity, therefore *banyu pinaruh* conveys the principles of human purification through both the ritual usage of water and the knowledge of divinity as a physical and spiritual medium. The description of this ritual is stipulated in the inscription of Çundarigama (Sundarigama, 2007, p. 30 & 97). *Banyu pinaruh* takes place every 210 days, with the first day falling on a Sunday, or a new day according to 'pawukon' cycle system (the *pawukon* is one of the two calendar systems that is used in the everyday life of the Balinese). The *banyu pinaruh* relates closely to the rituals which take place during the days before and the days after the rite of purification. This derives from a philosophy where a starting point will meet an end point in terms of shaping the cycle or a series of link rings in a chain (called *nemu gelang*).

The ritual procession of the *banyu pinaruh* begins in the early morning whereby the Balinese have to go to the sea, wellsprings, or lakes in order to purify their bodies through bathing. The place of purification for this ritual is similar to those of the *melastis* rituals; Sanur and Kuta beaches, for examples, are the most favourite purification places for the capital Balinese people making these beaches very crowded in

that day. Before bathing in the sea, a small ritual offering is made with myrrh to seek divine permission and grant purification. Returning from the place of purification, the participants then have to take a second bath at home using water mixed with various fragrant flowers (called *kumkuman*). This ensures that the body is aromatic as well as pure. Finally, they offer a ritual ceremony to the goddess of Sarasvati Devi who is responsible for revealing divine knowledge, skill and proficiency.

2). *Mejaya-jaya*/thankfulness rituals

Mejaya-jaya takes place after the due date of the main ritual ceremony in which men or women are ceremonially crowned as priests, kings or other noble gentry. This ritual is called *dwijati*, or second birth in the world, since during this process they are given a new mission to serve the community (Puspa, 2014, p. 50). Firstly, however, they have to worship in the main public temples located along the coast, midland and mountain slopes that follow the geo-symbolic concept of sea-mountain (*nyegara-gunung*), referred to earlier. The sources of literature for this ritual can be found in two important inscriptions: *Kala Tattwa* and *Purwa Bhumi Kemulan* (Arnawati, 2001, p. 9; Wiana, 2006). In this ritual process of supplicants, they are held by limited family members. After undertaking a ritual in their household, the worshipper returns to the same places where they sought permission, but the main aim of the *mejaya-jaya* is to express a sense of thankfulness to the gods and goddesses. In the day of *mejaya-jaya*, the crowned person is accompanied by more people who are not only members of his/her family but also neighbours and friends.

3). Cremation and ancestor rituals

The funeral ceremony is one of the most distinctive rituals in which the body and soul of the deceased are expected to return to initial substances and to the creator. This is achieved by cremating the body which is then followed by several processions. Individually, the ritual is

one of the largest events for a deceased family and since it is not permitted that the ceremony is handled by the deceased family only, help is provided by the *banjar* in the village community. The involvement of the community in this ritual commonly starts from the day of deceased body's holy bathing to the day of the formal cremation ceremony. Members of the community supporting the deceased family carry the funerary casket in the form of a tower (called *bade/wadah*) to the village cemetery for the cremation ceremony (Kaler, 2008, p. 82). This ritual and the form of tower are regulated in accordance with the inscriptions of *Yama Purana Tattwa* and *Yama Tattwa* (Yama Purwata Tattwa, 1997, pp. 57-72, 174-195).

After the cremation ceremony, the remaining ash is then placed inside a small yellow coconut wrapped in white cloth, called a *bukur*. The *bukur* is carried by a family member to the coast and delivered into the sea through a special ritual. The procession to the coast is called *nganyut/nyukat* (Swastika, 2008; Wikarman, 1998, p. 57). Twelve days after the *nganyut* (a ritual delivering the ash to the sea), the family return to the sea to 'call back' from where the cremated ash was dispersed, after which they reside in their own family temple to affirm a new member of their ancestry (Kaler, 2008, p. 145). In order to be more efficient, some families offer the ceremony on the coast on just one day without any follow-on rituals. In contrast, other families organise more elaborate and extended ceremonial events (with greater expense) that form part of an ancestral rite (*maligia/baligia*). The purpose of this ritual is to ensure that the families' ancestors are located at the highest level (Kaler, 2008, p. 41).

c. Rituals for environment

The objective of rituals for the environment is to provide for the underworld to maintain a balance in nature. The Balinese believe that it is not enough to simply observe physical actions through ritual observance but actual acknowledgement of spiritual needs is also an important factor. A

purification ritual for the environment is thus essential, which incorporates the three mainstream elements of Balinese Hindu (philosophy, ethics and ritual, referred to earlier). This manifests itself in the geographical settings of the rituals. According to the manuscript of *Purana Bali*, translated by I Ketut Wiana (2006, pp. 65-78), there are six geographical settings of the rituals (called *sad kertih*): human soul (*atma kertih*), forest (*wana kertih*), lake (*danu kertih*), sea (*samudra kertih*), earth (*jagat kertih*), and surroundings (*jana kertih*). These areas are representative of the three-fold anthropomorphic world (head, body and feet) outlined earlier.

As if echoing these three geographical locations, certain differences also occur at the level of the material nature of the ritual. Some inscriptions that traditionally regulate these environmental rituals can be found in the *Batur Sakti*, *Kala Tattwa*, *Ciwatattwa Purana*, *Prakempaning Pura Ulun Danu*, *Bhamakertih*, *Tutur Aji Kunag Kunang*, and *Sunarigama* (Arnawati, 2001, pp. 8-11). From these inscriptions, the sacrificial ritual in lakes and the sea (the philosophy of sea-mountain) seems to be given the highest priority, since the provision of water resources may relate to soil fertility, healthy environment and human prosperity.⁶ Considered as a whole, this ritual is called *pakelem* or offering animal sacrifice. The coastal sacrificial ritual is very common and uses three kinds of animals. In some coastal villages they use a black duck (*itik bulu sikep*) for holy sacrifice in the sea each year. The use of a black buffalo (*kerbau/kebo*) takes place in exceptional cases, for instance, (to remember) tremendous accidents in the sea. Referring to the inscription of *Ciwatattwa Purana*, even the sacrifice of a buffalo is expected to be carried out every five years in the sea. If these accidents take place, the Balinese regard them as an indication of an

⁶ See the inscription of Batur Sakti (old Balinese language): "... linugrahang angaturaken wali pakeleman ring ranu....Pakeleman wenang juga mareng samudra, apan kinucap sagara sama lawaning ranu, ranu sama lawan sagara, samudra ya" ("... offering pakelem ritual in the lake ... The pakelem ritual is also carried out in the sea since both are similar as water resources.") - This is translated into Indonesian version by Arnawati (2001) and into English by the researcher.

unbalance in the sea/underworld; therefore this spiritual/ritual action is regarded as essential.

4.3.1 Religious Practices in Mountain, Midland and Coastal Villages

Although evidence found in several locations indicated there was a community in Bali before the eighth century, the establishment of the first village was thought to have taken place during the eighth century after the success of Rsi Markandya with the purpose of establishing a shrine place on the slope of Mount Agung (Ardika et al., 2013; Wikarman, 1998). From this historical/archaeological evidence, early village life in Bali began essentially in mountain areas, then the midlands and finally in the coastal areas which were influenced by different cultures, traditions and customs. This is highlighted by Joseph Rykwert (2000, p. 13) who argues that every settlement in the beginning had to be accompanied by rituals and sacrifices to placate the power of the place. Because of this development, the religious practices in the three different areas are slightly different in some parts, depending on their geographical contexts and settings (illustrated commonly in chapter 3, section 3.4).

An investigation of the religious practices in the three different locations is required, since most ritual practices taking place in the sea are followed by a ceremony in the mountains and vice versa, even in the midland some ritual practices must take place in three locations: mountain, midland, and coastal areas. Temples located in the mountain slopes sometimes offer ritual ceremonies on the coast before the ultimate day of the temple's anniversary, while human and cremation rituals have to offer ceremonies on the coast and mountain temples as the post rituals, hence there is a cross geographical territory in the ritual practices. In addition, the implementation of the philosophy of *nyegara-gunung* (sea-mountain) is part of respect to nature as the important natural resources for the Balinese life.

a. Mountain villages

The historical and geographical backgrounds of mountain villages have largely influenced the mountain village community in implementing ritual practices and ceremonies; some of those may have characterised the mountain community's culture and traditions. The original mountain villages were mostly influenced by the regulation of the ancient Bali kingdom which took place before the era of Majapahit kingdom or before the 14th century (Arnawati, 2001, pp. 8-9). Since a mountain is believed by the village community as a living place of their ancestors, living close to the mountain may be a part of the community's beliefs to maintain their relationship. As in many traditions mountains are sacred, sometimes due to the complexity of religious temples which have been built up around the mountain and sometimes the sanctity can cover the whole of a sacred cultural territory (Shackley, 2001, p. 5).

The Balinese village community who are settled at the mountain slopes was pointed out by the Bali Kingdom into the inscriptions of *Raja Purana* and *Batur Sakti* (Ardana, 2000; Arnawati, 2001). Since there are several temples at the mountain slopes, they are practically responsible as vanguards to maintain big temples in their location and are involved in the offering ceremonies of *melasti* ritual to the coast when the temples' anniversaries are taking place. However, the participants who are involved in this ritual are not only from the mountain villages but are also from the midland and even coastal villages. The route of the ritual procession starts from the temple itself and continues to the coast with a specific route and place based on its tradition. For example, the Besakih, Ulun Danu and Batukaru temples have different routes and places to offer the ritual *melasti* on the coast. From this ritual route, it indicates that the three distinctive geographic zones (mountain, midland and coastal areas/the sea) are very important cosmic of view.



Figure 26: The corpses without burial and cremation: an identity of Trunyan - Source of image (google.co.uk, 2015b)

Furthermore, the deceased rituals are without cremation as the dead are only buried. A burial system relates to the position of the corpse, the container used, the accompanying provision including all kinds of the ceremony, but in particular cases containers are not used (Soejono, 1977, p. 92; Wirastri, 1990). Because of this system, a cemetery is an area that forms a structure of activities of a particular social group in a definite settlement (Aziz, 1987; Binfold, 1972; Drawatik, 2008, p. 177). In a specific case, the mountain Balinese community, have practiced the deceased ritual without using the buried system, their corpses are only placed around the sacred tree close to the temple followed by offering rituals. This system is practiced by Trunyan Village near Mount Batur. Besides the temple, the sacred tree at their cemetery becomes an important landscape element. According to Eliade (1958, pp. 10-11), the sacred tree is not adored as tree; the surroundings become something else. Those are because of hierophanies or the *ganz andere* which has a protective power. The

term *hieropahny*, mentioned by Eliade, is the act of the manifestation of the sacred. The surroundings of this place become very sacred which is regarded as a civic space by the community (Figure 26).

The route of the ritual procession in these mountain villages tends to lead to the south; this is because most of these villages apply the *linier* concept within their territory, by placing their cemetery at the south boundary. After the buried ritual procession ends at the cemetery, the family members return to their place and await the next ritual on another day without offering ritual ceremony on the coast, as is the case with the cremation ceremony. This belief and tradition has long been an identity of the mountain community, especially the old Balinese villages such as Julah, Bugbug, Tenganan, Sembiran, Trunyan, and other villages. However, the mountain villages which developed during the Majapahit era have carried out the cremation rituals using the existence of lakes or rivers for the purification ritual processions. Hence, there are two types of villages in this region which have different customs and traditions.

Figure 27 shows that a cremation ritual ceremony took place in 2012 at Kedisan village close to Lake and Mount Batur. This ritual was held and performed jointly among the village members. In this sharing cremation ritual, the family members who have their families' deceased in burial grounds have an opportunity to hold a cremation ritual together supported by the village members. Hence, sharing a cremation ceremony among the family members, as seen at Kedisan village, is a very common occurrence in the present day. Another reason for sharing this ritual is because this ritual needs a huge budget, therefore the sharing might have been more efficient in almost all stages resulting in a stronger kinship.



Figure 27: The images of mountain villages' surroundings and the ritual cremation at Kedisan –Source of images (google.co.uk, 2015a)

b. Midland village

Even though Midland villages are far from sea, in the *melasti* ritual, for example, the sea is the most important place for purification of artefacts and sacred temple tools. The burning of the corpse during a cremation ritual, called *pelebon/ngaben*, has become a tradition for the community of the midland villages. Even though the corpses were apparently buried in some of this region's cemeteries, they are just temporary and the family of the deceased will endeavour to offer the cremation ritual. In this ritual, the philosophy of *nyegara-gunung* (or sea-mountain) is fully implemented by the community in the midland, since they offer a final ritual procession called *ngelanus/mejaya-jaya*,

or thankfulness to nature and the ancestors, by offering ceremonies in the sea and the mountain. The centre of the ancestor temples, outside the area of the Besakih temple located at the slope of Mount Agung, is the final location of the ritual procession before going back home for placing the deceased's soul in the family temple. Hence, the midland becomes an intermediate territory in every ritual practice taking in the coast and mountain, while rivers at this territory also become a medium of connection between mountain and sea territories in the ritual concept of sea-mountain or *nyegara-gunung*.

Moreover, the locations of the palaces and central markets in the midland have become the centre of urban spaces which is supported by complete facilities in ritual material resources. Besides the location of central market, there is also an abundance of raw ritual materials located in this midland, especially in the southern part of the island. With several streams and springs watering their lands, they do not have any significant problems in preparing offerings for ritual practices. Before the 1990s, the community used the streams as a medium to deliver the ash of the deceased to the sea, but now they have to deliver the ash directly to the sea since the government has prohibited using the streams for these purposes.

The concentration of the population with different types of social status (the nobilities) and economic capabilities in the midland leads to different capabilities in preparing ritual ceremonies at this stage. Various levels for every kind of ritual can be seen easily on the roads, including its intensity, especially in ritual auspicious days. Although there are three levels of hierarchy in this ritual, which also relates to its cost, ritual practices in this territory are more various than in the mountain areas, due to the various characteristics and economic ability of the town people. In some occasions, the great performance of the cremation ritual can be seen in some noble families in this region. Even the cremation ceremony is held with a great magnificent and luxurious

performance by the nobility (the royal household's cremations) as part of their custom/habit. As a result they have to spend huge expenses.



Figure 28: The greatest ritual event of royal household's cremation - Source of images (google.co.uk, 2015c)

In the last ten years, the greatest cremation festival events have taken place in the Ubud Village and were held by the royal household of the Ubud Palace. The corpse building/*bade/wadah* was constructed in a sparkling tower with the highest dimension in the building scale. It included the best quality of sarcophagi (the large black/white bull) and other buildings involving several village members (Figure 28). For most families, even the mountain families, it would be impossible to hold an elaborate event such as this as would be too costly to finance it on their own. Since the Hindu priest (Brahmana) usually settle in this region, when the priests die, most of the families from the common

people are pleased to join the priest's cremation ritual with corpses from their own family as a symbol of 'a teacher with his pupils'. The sharing of the cremation rituals and expenses among the *banjar* or village members is more common nowadays and is seen as being more efficient.

c. Coastal villages

There is no evidence of ancient villages located in coastal areas, although some artefacts and sarcophagus were found along the west coast (Gilimanuk) and south coast (Jimbaran and Pecatu). Initially, the establishment of coastal villages constitutes the extension of territory in the midlands. Some villages, for examples, located in the southern parts of the coast such as: Canggu, Kuta, Tuban, Serangan, and Sanur were the extension of Badung/Mengwi Kingdom territory. In religious practices, the coastal village members tend to imitate the customs and traditions of the community in the midland as the centre of the state. Due to adopting the ritual practices in the midland, a cremation ritual is very commonly practiced by the coastal village community.

In the coastal villages, the location of the Dalem Temple with its cemetery tends to place close to the coast as the impure zone according to their rules. Due to its location, the Dalem Temple is sometimes called the Dalem Segara Temple (*segara*=sea), even though, in a specific case, Dalem and Segara Temples stand in different locations according to their function. Commonly, Segara Temple is one of the important temples for the fisherman groups as it ensures that a good relationship exists with the gods and goddesses as well as nature. Therefore, the existence of the Segara Temple and the life of the fisherman was an identity of the coastal community. Moreover, a tradition involving the coastal community is an environmental ritual ceremony in the sea (called *nangluk merana*). This ritual occurs every year at the sixth dark moon, usually taking place between November and December (Wiana, 2006, p. 97). This main

aim is to maintain a balance with nature and to also maintain a harmonious relationship between human and nature.



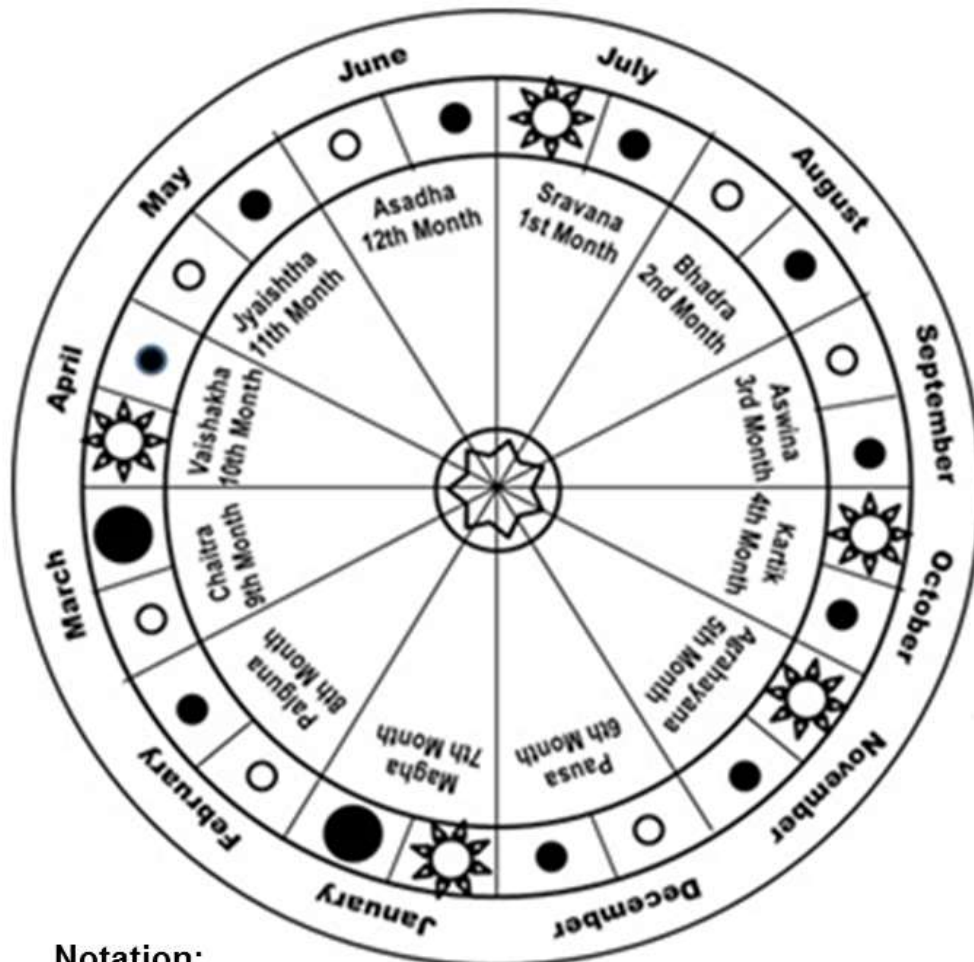
Figure 29: The coastal village's shores with lack of their raw ritual materials.

Although the coastal community have several advantages in some purification rituals relating to the sea due to the proximity of the sea, they also have to offer ritual practices in the mountains, mainly for the post cremation or human purification rituals. Hence, the community has to go across the midland in order to offer ritual ceremonies in the mountain temples. The daily ritual practices in this region might be the simplest offering compared to other regions, since they have limited natural resources, especially raw materials for offerings. This is because their territory is dominated by plantations, scrub and

grasslands, whilst paddy fields are extremely limited, except on the coast of the Tabanan regency. Even with their limited raw materials, they still have water resources including water for purification. The images below show the surroundings of the coastal villages with lack of raw ritual materials (Figure 29). The livelihood of family members, when the coastal village was first established, only relied on fishery and plantation activities to support their everyday life including their religious activities. However, the situation changed drastically after Bali's coastal areas became tourist resorts, as this led to members of the coastal villages becoming wealthy and prosperous, resulting in them being able to offer a similar ritual to the midland people.

4.3.2 The Calendar: ritual and festivals

Based on Hindu philosophy, human lives are part of a cosmic rhythm; there are right and wrong days and times for worshipping particular gods and for preparing various tasks but all of these are seen as part of cosmic rhythm (Jackson & Killingley, 1988, p. 128). Some rituals take place regularly and others are temporary which depend on types of the ritual. Guidelines of the rituals' days derive from Balinese calendar which is calculated into *pawukon* and lunar system. From the calculation of lunar system as called "*Çaka/Içaka*," full and dark moons which take place commonly fifteen days between full and dark month are holy days for offering a regular ritual ceremony in the temples and other sacred places. According to these, there are 12 full and dark moons in one cycle which is a bit similar to one year in solar system or the Gregorian calendar. The full and dark moons are called *rahinan wulan* or holy moons (Sundarigama, 2007). Following this calculation, a new year as the *nyepi* day always occurs in a day after the ninth dark moon which takes place between March and April (Figure 30).



Notation:



Full moon: most important ceremonies



Full moon



Dark moon: most important ceremonies



Dark moon

Figure 30: A diagram of a Hindu calendar and the main ceremonies.

Pawukon system is a local wisdom in a calendar system consisting of 30 weeks (*wuku*) so that in one cycle there is 30 weeks or 210 days. In addition to the total number of days, *pawukon* contains 10 divisions (*wewaran*), as characters in each day. In considering important days for

rituals, the fifth and seventh divisions, called *pancawara* and *saptawara* are the most decisive factor. The fifth consists of five characters: *Umanis*, *Paing*, *Pon*, *Wage* and *Kliwon*, and the seventh has seven characters: *Radite*, *Soma*, *Anggara*, *Buda*, *Wraspati Sukra*, *Saniscara* whereby these seven characters are similar to Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. For instance, in one cycle of 210 days, it will be five times for Wednesday/*Buda* to meet *Kliwon*, which is the same as other days. According to Ananda Kusuma (1998:69) holy days (called *rahinan dina*) are Monday/*Soma Wage*, Tuesday/*Anggara Kliwon*, Wednesday/*Buda Kliwon*, Friday/*Sukra Wage*, and Saturday/*Saniscara Kliwon* which are found in five times in 210 days (Figure 31).

In special cases, there are also holy days that do not depend on *rahinan dina* due to a series of the holy day, an anniversary of the temple, a human birthday and other human ceremonies. Some examples are to celebrate the first life day, prosperity, divine science, human purification day. For temple anniversaries, a big ritual can take place in their anniversary, and every three, five, ten, thirty and one hundred years. In relation to day and event of the rituals taking place on the coasts, the ritual and festivals will consider these calculations in order to find auspicious days. With a lot of regular and temporary ritual ceremonies, the Balinese express their life as the essence of their belief to the gods and goddesses. Even though the coast and sea is an impure zone from the basic philosophy and the spatial concept, the Balinese seemingly offer ritual ceremonies in similar proportion with other two zones as a consequence of achieving a cosmological balance.

	Wuku or Week: 30 named 7-day weeks																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
	Sinta	Landep	Ukir	Kulantir	Tolu	Gumbreg	Wariga	Warigadean	Julungwangi	Sungsang	Dungulan	Kuningan	Langkir	Medangsia	Pujut	Pahang	Klurut	Merakih	Tambir	Medangkungan	Matal	Uye	Menail	Prangbakat	Bala	Ugu	Wayang	Kelawu	Dukut	Watugunung		
7-day weeks																															5-day weeks	code
Sunday (Radite)	b*																														Umanis	a
Monday (Coma)	c*			d				d			e		d					d					d						d		Pahing	b
Tuesday (Anggara)	d*			e				e		d			e					e					e						e		Pon	c
Wednesday (Buda)	e		d*			e		d*			e		d*			e		d*			e		d*			e		d*		c*	Wage	d
Thursday (Wraspati)									d*	a																				d*	Kliwon	e
Friday (Sukra)		d				d			e*		d					d						d					d			e*		
Satuday (Saniscara)		e				e					e					e						e					e			a*		

Note:

The primary days: Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday- Kliwon (code e), each of these days takes place every 35 days, similar to Monday and Friday- Wage (code d)

(*) Other important days for rituals


 An important week as a cycle of Pawukon Calendar

Figure 31: A circulation of main festival calendar according to Balinese traditional system (*pawukon*).

4.4 Contemporary Challenges of the Religious/Civic Space

Since the Hindu religion was acknowledged officially as a Balinese belief by the central government in 1950, the Balinese had an opportunity to widely develop their island while maintaining their culture, traditions and customs. However, great challenges emerged after Bali was set as the centre of Indonesia tourism, initiated with the opening of the Ngurah Rai International Airport and the Bali Beach Hotel located at Kuta and Sanur Beach at the end of the 1960s. Since then, the pressures on the environment of Bali, as the main aspect of the religious space as a civic realm, have continually taken place. Investigating the contemporary challenges of the civic realm in Bali is approached by investigating: 1) the rapid growth of development, 2) migration, 3) law and jurisdiction, and 4) planning and regulations.

4.4.1 The Rapid Growth of Development

Bali tourism boosted the rapid growth of development in other sectors but it also had an impact on social, cultural and environmental aspects. To anticipate this development, especially the tourism development elsewhere, the central government, through the provincial government, was interested to develop a model of tourism resort as a centre of tourist resorts which also linked both coastal tourist resorts of Sanur and Kuta. In 1970, the central government succeeded in reaching an agreement with the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), as the financing agency, and the World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development-IBRD and the International Association-IDA), as the executive agency, for the preparation of a regional tourism plan for Bali Island (Inskeep & Kallenberger, 1992). The main emphasis of this development was to concentrate and localise the development of the tourism resort by providing accommodation of an international standard in a certain area with minor negative impacts.

France's SCETO consultants successfully designed the Nusa Dua enclave as an ideal site for the centre of the tourist resort on the island. Besides succeeding in producing the design, they also succeeded in recommending two institutions for managing the development and control, as well as providing consultation to the government. Those institutions are Bali Tourism Development Board (BTDB) and Bali Tourism Development Corporation/BTDC (SCETO, 1971). Initially, the BTDB consisted of foreign experts who had a pivotal role in controlling and mitigating negative impacts of tourism, unfortunately the foreign experts left this institution in 1979 due to the possibility of local political interests and abuse of power. After this episode, the government failed to control the faster-growing tourism resorts in other places such as Tanjung Benoa, Jimbaran, Pecatu, Candi Dasa, Lovina and Tanah Lot. In addition, the initial function of the excursion road connecting Nusa Dua with Sanur and Kuta also failed, as it was changed to a public access area which is very crowded today as a result.

Although culture and the beaches are two vital tourism assets for Bali, the beaches seem to be the favourite location for the investors since most of the tourist resorts are located on the beaches. However, the increasing conversion of land has not taken place in coastal areas only; it has also taken place in the hinterlands and forests and continues to do so. According to Windia (2009, September 12), the conversion of agricultural land to land used for the built environment stands at approximately 750 hectares per year, whilst Suparta as the head of the Indonesia farmer organisation of Bali claimed that the agricultural land disappeared approximately 8,372 hectares if we compared the availability of agricultural land in 2010 and 2011 according to Bali Statistics 2011 (Supartha, 2014, October 27-November 2). The Indonesia Bank of Bali Province, in their report, also recorded that the growth of agricultural product dramatically dropped from 2.22% in 2011 to 0.02% in 2014 (merdeka.com, 2014, July 21). This is similar to the degradation of the forests, including mangrove forest, whereby the percentage of the forest in 2011 was only 23.20%,

thus meaning that it was lower than the national regulation setting out a minimum of 30% from the total area. The significant decrease of land seems difficult to stop as the government could not prevent changes.

Furthermore, the green fields around the public temples, the landscape of the temples which are also regarded as sacred sites (civic spaces) according to the Balinese belief, have also rapidly decreased. Protests was showed by Balinese communities in the early 1990s against the alliances among wealthy, politically prominent people from the capital and Bali, the Indonesian capitalist closed to the central power, and military and ex-military entrepreneurs, whereby the alliances pushed several projects to be built in Bali which resulted in the profanation of sacred sites (Pringle, 2004, p. 192). Some of the projects mentioned are: 1) The Meridien Nirwana Golf and Spa Resort, located next to the Tanah Lot temple, one of the most sacred sites, 2) Nikko Hotel, built at the edge of the cliff contravening the regulations and sacred area, 3) the reclamation of Serangan small island, which was around three times from the initial total area for a tourist resort resulting in it being part of the Sakenan Temple's territory, 4) the development of a huge statue of Garuda Wisnu Kencana (GWK) using the symbol of the Hindu God Vishnu on the mythical bird Garuda, and 5) the development of another statue using an artefact of God as the holiest symbol located at the bypass of Ngurah Rai's street intersection. The Balinese conveyed by protesting that all these projects had failed.

Entering the millennium era, issues on the profanation of the sacred spaces have not stopped with the projects above, for instance the sacred space of the Uluwatu Temple, one of the biggest temples located at the cliff of Pecatu, is under threat from the development of villas and other tourist facilities, although these developments contravene the regional land use planning regulations. Conflicts of interest between local land owners and the Bali government and between the Bali and Badung governments have taken place continually (Ardika et al., 2013).

Meanwhile, in an unstructured interview, one of the Perasi Village community leaders, stated that the development of villas and tourist facilities at Perasi beach (the eastern coast of Bali), constructed in 2009, had resulted in difficulties in accessing the temple's sacred spaces and holy well spring and also the geography of the sacred site in this area had dramatically changed into a commercial zone (Susanta, 2013).

In 2013, the Balinese were surprised by another big issue relating to the plan of the reclamation of Benoa Bay located at the southern coast. This plan was interestingly announced by the governor of Bali, where he stated the plan would extend the initial area by approximately 900 hectares and would also use the area of mangrove forest as a tourist resort complex. The investor handling this project is a wealthy Jakarta-based conglomerate. Since then, most of the Balinese have protested against this plan since this area is on the marine and coastal conservation zone according to the President decree No.45/2011 (article 55 point 5). Into a strongly possible conglomeration, the Indonesia President before resigning in a couple of months released a new decree No.51/2014 which enables the coastal conservation zone to be built for tourist facilities (Adhi Ardhana, 2014, September 29-5 October). With the new presidential decree, the conservation zone has now changed into an utilisation zone which enables the construction of tourist facilities.

The Balinese are not only worried about the decrease of the coastal landscapes and the damage of environmental habitats as a result of the tourist resort complex, but they are also concerned that thousands of employees from other regions will be absorbed into the area who will need accommodation, fresh water, electricity and other utilities. These provisions will lead to serious negative impacts on the environment. In the same year (2013), another issue emerged whereby the governor of Bali proposed the surroundings of the Besakih Temple's sacred areas for strategic areas of tourism support to the central government without socialisation stages to the Balinese community (BeritaBali.com, 2013,

October 28). The rapid decrease of the land and sacred spaces in Bali indicates that the Balinese culture, traditions and customs have increasingly degraded and their sustainability is under serious threat.

4.4.2 Migration

Migration is a social phenomenon which is certainly recognisable in the modern city/town and one of the reasons is because of tourism (McQuillan, 2010, p. 43). In Indonesia, one of the national programmes to relieve population overcrowding was 'transmigration' which was initiated by the first and the second presidents of Indonesia. Through this programme, a number of Hindu Balinese who did not have enough agricultural land migrated to other islands. Parigi region at Sulawesi island was one of the Balinese destinations in the early 1970s with the total number of 15,000 (Pringle, 2004, p. 199). It is assumed that over 100,000 Hindu Balinese migrated to other islands and developed Balinese villages in their settlement. The decreasing number of the population was expected to bring more of a balance to the environment and civic/religious spaces of Bali.

By contrast, migrants from other islands have continually arrived and settled in Bali due to great opportunities in the tourism sector. The government have not yet found a solution to prevent the migrants from settling in Bali and as a consequence the population growth has rapidly increased. In the last ten years, the percentage of the population growth was 23.63 percent which equates to 2.363 percent on average per year (Statistik, 2012b, p. 73). This annual population growth was a result of 1.10 percent of the birth rate and 1.263 percent of the migrant rate, which was assumed to be approximately 30,000-40,000 migrants per year arriving in Bali during 2000-2010 (B. Post, 2014, May 5). This had resulted in a serious impact on the environmental degradation since hundreds of hectares of agricultural land had to be converted to provide for their housing.

Not only housing was required by the migrants but they obviously needed other facilities such as cemeteries, shrine places, and other social buildings for their interaction in the territory of the Balinese village or *desa adat* since they have different beliefs, religions, culture, traditions and customs. Complicated Issues of the migrants settling in the Balinese village can be identified into two categories. Firstly, a connection of the migrants' settlement in the geographical territory of the village led to disharmony of the village surroundings due to different culture (architectural spaces and religion) and traditions. Secondly, the 'civiness' of the villages' spaces during the implementation of ritual ceremonies especially in a purification ritual of the village as the cosmos/realm has never finished as totally as possible since the migrant settlement has become a strictly different cosmos in the village which is not able to be touched in the Hindu Balinese ritual ceremonies.

4.4.3 Law and Jurisdiction

The national law of local autonomy No. 22/1999, which has been replaced by No.32/2004, has significantly influenced the jurisdiction of the government of Bali province, since this law has offered autonomy to the regencies and cities to manage their own territory without having to refer to the provincial spatial planning. It means that the regencies and cities do not have an obligation to follow the regulation from the province. As a consequence, the spatial land use planning, the master plan of Bali No.16/2009 published by the government of Bali province to manage the territory of Bali seems useless. From local media investigations, Badung, Gianyar, and Karangasem regencies openly disagreed on this regulation, especially in restricting the development of tourism, for instance, in the areas of Uluwatu (Badung), Lebih Beach (Gianyar) and Padang Bay (Karangasem). In the last ten years, the provincial government has struggled to manage centrally the development of Bali (including tourism development) into a masterplan by asking a special autonomy from the central government but it is still rejected by the central. Due to the refusal

from the central and regency/city on the master plan of Bali, an integrated development of Bali towards sustainable towns/cities and communities seems difficult to achieve.

Meanwhile, land and building taxes are a significant negative impact in destroying the Balinese land ownership, as the amount of the land taxes is calculated based on the land price without considering land revenue (R. Indonesia, 1985). The farmers or individuals who have inheritance of agricultural land, plantation or empty land located in strategic areas such as the city/town centres, beaches and others, must pay tax based on the price of the land, so the higher the price of the land the more tax they pay. Most Balinese have not been able to keep their land because of high tax demands which has caused them to sell their land to corporates or investors for commercial facilities. This tax law seems that it is not in synergy with the development of Bali which promotes culture based tourism, when in fact, the brand of commercial based tourism would be more suited.

Another national policy which confuses the Balinese is the national law of village No.6/2014, according this law the Balinese society are not able to keep any more than two organisations in one village territory as an administrative and traditional village. The Balinese are expected to choose either a traditional village or an administrative village but both types are part of the government structure. Due to the government structure, it is inevitable that interventions from the central government to enforce their national programmes will take place. Therefore, the worry of the Balinese society is the central government's intervention in regulating the implementation of religious festivals taking place in village territories or outer zones of the temple. In this socialisation stage, this is a big issue for the Balinese who still raise this issue with the local government in order to find the best solution. Above all, Subawa and Budiana, two scholars from the Department of Law at Udayana University, prefer the traditional village or *desa adat* to the administrative village since it is stronger when it comes

to matters of the law (Subawa & Sirta, 2014, October 27-November 2). Both options, however, seem to have high risk to lose the village autonomy in managing their assets, culture, traditions and customs due to becoming state ownership.

The implementation of all villages under the government structure in the next year may minimise conflict between customary laws and state laws, especially in the management of coastal areas, where in Bali these areas have been managed by the traditional village community by using their customary law. However, the conflict of the law in this area is unlikely to be solved totally due to the involvement of the government at all levels. Dahuri et.al. (2001) said that there are several conflicts in the coastal and marine management among national laws, between national policy and customary law, and emptiness of law. He highlighted the conflicts as follows:

- a. The National Law No. 24/1992 (R. Indonesia, 1992) concerning spatial planning is managed as centralized management (article 9) but, on the other hand, the National Law No. 22/1999 and No.32/2004 regarding local government stipulate that the spatial planning in the coast and on the marine is an authority of local and regional government. The provincial government's authority over the management of this area is 12 miles from shoreline to offshore, whilst the regency/city government is only 4 miles or one third from the provincial government's authority.
- b. Conflict with customary law takes place in the ownership of natural resources at coastal areas. The national policy No. 6/1996 (article 4) states that coastal and marine resources is state property, while traditional society has claimed a marine tenure right (common property) which existed before the establishment of Indonesia Country (R. Indonesia, 1996). However, this conflict may have been solved after the implementation of the national law of the village No. 6/2014.

- c. The final conflict is regarding the emptiness of the law on the land tenure of coastal areas and tiny islands. The National Law No. 5/1960 only regulates the land tenure up to the shoreline without setting the use into detail, for instance, the use of the shoreline for boat/ship/yacht parking. This law on article 27, however, clearly stipulates that private land ownership will be lost automatically if the land disappears due to erosion without claim.

In terms of the regulation on the setback line of building structures in coastal areas, it was originally regulated by the president decree No.22/1999 and it is also strengthened by the national law No. 27/2007 (article 1) which regulates coastal and tiny Island management and stipulates that a beach frontier should be 100 meters from high water level to the land or onshore (R. Indonesia, 2007a). This national regulation must be incorporated into the regional and local spatial planning of Bali. By contrast, most building structures in Bali coastal areas are less than 100 meters; this includes the coastal tourism of Nusa Dua which was constructed through planning and design considerations. This evidence proves that this law has not had the power of law and law enforcement. As a result, private companies or individuals will also find it easy to claim or to encroach on public spaces as civic spaces as their own, especially if aided by a person from the national land agency who abuses their power to update certificates. Therefore, the weakness of this law leads a serious negative impact on the provision of civic spaces on the beaches of Bali.

4.4.4 Planning and Regulations

Since Bali was pointed out as the centre of Indonesian tourism after the independence, characterised by the construction of Bali Beach Hotel with 10 stories and the perpendicular structure of the International Airport of Ngurah Rai's runway to the shoreline in 1968, the Bali government prepared a master plan of Bali tourism (Bali Tourism Study) in 1970. The Bali Tourism Study was prepared by the SCETO consultant of France but the implementation of this plan failed due to some of the reasons

mentioned above. This was followed by a preparation of spatial planning in 1974 and was declared into three policies No. 2, 3, and 4/1974. One of these policies released building codes clarifying that building heights should be up to 15 metre (3-4 stories) from the surface and up to 40 percent for built up areas. The purposes of the building codes are to prevent high buildings (although the 10 story Bali Beach Hotel is an extraordinary case) and to provide sufficient open space as green spaces in every building's outdoor space.

These codes, however, did not run well, as most buildings heights are more than 15 metre (5-6 stories) with less than 40 percent for the built up area. However, pros and cons regarding the building height code have always been debated among parties, based on their particular interests in every evaluation stage of the master plan of Bali. The cons include claims that the limitation of the building height leads to the horizontal building extensions as the main cause of the rapid decrease of land in Bali, whereas other parties argue that the pros are that vertical building extensions are not a solution to minimise the rapid decrease of the land since the development and migrations cannot be prevented and managed well. Although there are pros and cons in this code, the contravention of the percentage of the built area and building height codes continually take place leading to the high building densities in rapid development such as Kuta, Jimbaran, Denpasar and other areas.

Even though the development of Bali has a complete regulation as a master plan (1977-2000) and the spatial land use planning (No. 16/2009) to manage its development, various spatial infringements have taken places in almost all regencies including Denpasar city as the capital of Bali. The head of Planning Development Board of Bali province divided periodically the spatial infringements into three periods (Suarca, 2010), as follows:

- a. Pre 1992: there were relatively less contraventions in this period which mostly took place in some coastal tourist resorts such as Kuta, Sanur,

Candidasa and Lovina beaches, particularly in the implementation of the setback line of the building structures and public space utilisation.

- b. Between 1992-1998: this period saw the destruction of Bali's spatial land use which began with an inconsistency in the implementation of spatial planning and regulations due to abuse of power, weak law enforcement, corruption, conglomeration and nepotism (CCN) between investors and government members, and increasing local revenue by opening wide investment. Some spatial infringements were beach reclamation of Serangan and Benoa, the setback line of river at Ayung river, the setback line of the cliff edge at Jimbaran, Pecatu and Kintamani cliff and the setback line of the beaches at most of the coastal tourist resorts, The encroachment of forest areas at the western part of Bali, green field and sacred space protections in urban towns and coastal tourist resorts also took place during this period.
- c. From 1999 to the present: the spatial infringement has continually taken place during this period in some locations, such as Bali Barat, Bedugul and Pancasari protected forests, causing conflict and an overlap of spatial policies and regulations between the province and regency/city. A key factor of this conflict is the implementation of the national law No 22/1999 which was then replaced with No. 32/2004 concerning about the local autonomy. This policy grants an autonomy to local governments in managing their development without interventions from a provincial government. Unfortunately, most local governments have become arrogant in exploring their natural resources without considering conservation.

4.5 Conclusion

Although the province government of Bali set out several spatial planning and regulations to manage the development of Bali, they failed to accommodate the rapid growth of the development, particularly in the development of tourism as the driving key factor. In addition, the rapid development mostly concentrated in the southern part of Bali lead to an

imbalance in its development between the northern and southern parts. Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan located in the southern part of Bali, familiarly known '*Sarbagita*', have become an urban satellite whereby central economic activities and developments are more concentrated in this area. This concentration may enhance the economic ability of the community, although it does not give a guarantee on their ability to carry out ritual practices easily since the ritual practices also depend on the participation of the community members and families, the cost of offering materials, working time, traffic, and others. Meanwhile, the communities in other places with powerless economic ability certainly have difficulties in preparing ritual ceremonies because this involves high costs. Therefore, this development is not directly proportional in enhancing the ability of the community in offering ritual ceremonies.

Besides the imbalance of the development of Bali, the concentration of tourism development at coastal areas without planning consideration has become one of the most damaged areas which in turn jeopardises the civic life of the community and the fisherman. The damage is not only on the littoral regions, suburban and mountain areas have also been a target for investors to develop villas and other tourist facilities without considering religious spaces due to uncontrolled development, the weakness of law enforcement, reasons of wide investment and others. Hence, the trend of the Bali development has revealed that it controverts with the philosophy of *nyegara-gunung*, or sea-mountain ward, which proposes a balance of cosmology among mountain, sea and hinterland. All indicators show there is a decreasing ability in ritual practices, a significant decrease of sacred/religious spaces, damage to the littoral regions, and a change of the organisational structure of the traditional village or *desa adat* to ensure that it is part of the government structure. If there are no prompt actions, it will only be a matter of time before the consequences of these indications will lead to the destruction of the Balinese culture.

Chapter 5: A Case Study of Ritual Traditions in Kuta Coastal Village

5.1 Introduction

The case study chosen for this study of the ritual practices in Kuta coastal village provides a good example of the rich traditions of public ceremony in Bali and highlights the impact of globalisation on the civic/religious life of the town. In the chapter that follows, I will outline the geographical, topographical, cultural, religious, economic and social contexts of Kuta coastal village, and will explain how these various factors sustain or challenge the ritual practices of the Balinese people. The focus of this investigation will be on *desa adat* and the manner in which this tradition continues to inform the life of the community. The study will demonstrate the current pressures that are brought to bear on the continuity of these ritual traditions in the village and will outline how a possible solution can be found to address this situation. The contents of this chapter will form the basis of the investigations that follow in Chapter 6.

5.2 Topography, Community and Government

Kuta Village has a long history as an important harbour and a fishing village since ancient times. Indeed, Kuta Village could be described as a typical traditional *desa adat* on the coast of Bali. Through political reforms by the state of Indonesia, the existence of *desa adat* is recognised officially in the constitution, but it does not form part of the government structure. The *desa adat* of Kuta entails several duties in handling religious life and traditions including managing the purity of the village. The Indonesian government established an additional administrative function to *desa adat* in Kuta called *desa dinas*, hence there are two distinct management structures in the village with different duties and services to the community. As mentioned previously (Chapter 4, subsection 4.4.3: Law and jurisdiction), the central government released a new policy to overcome the duplication of services to the village community through the

National Act (Undang-Undang Nomor 6/2014), which is still in the developmental stage.

As a traditional village with a rich history, Kuta provides an important focus for rituals/ceremonies for the whole Balinese community. This focus is expressed in the term *desa adat*, which underscores the customs and traditions of the community. As a coastal village, the *desa adat* of Kuta can be understood at a number of levels as it pertains to its environment (including geographical location and topographical arrangement), community structure, religious practices and different forms of governance. In addition, economic factors play an increasingly important role in defining the meaning of the term '*desa adat*' today.

5.2.1 Village Location, Geography and Climate

Located in the southern coast of Bali, Kuta Village forms part of the Badung Regency which is approximately 14 km from Denpasar City, the capital of Bali, with total area of 6,391,993 m² (639 hectares). Kuta Village's territory is divided into 13 smaller territories called banjar territories (Figure 32). The territorial jurisdiction of Kuta Village borders three other villages; the northern side is occupied by Legian Village, with Tuban to the south and Pamogan Village at the east, whilst the sea (the Indian Ocean) defines the western edge. The eastern and southern boundaries of Kuta are very clearly defined due to the existing street layout which provides jurisdictional boundaries. The initial boundary on the north side, however, is less easy to identify since the small river of Lebak Bena (which originally served as the boundary marker), has long been buried under hotel buildings. Since then the jurisdictional boundary on this side has been replaced by Lebak Bena Street which is located to the north side of the small river. The stretch of Kuta beach, from the south to the north, extends along the territories of three villages: Kuta, Legian and Seminyak, where the traditional boundaries have been obscured by tourist facilities along the coast (Figure 33).

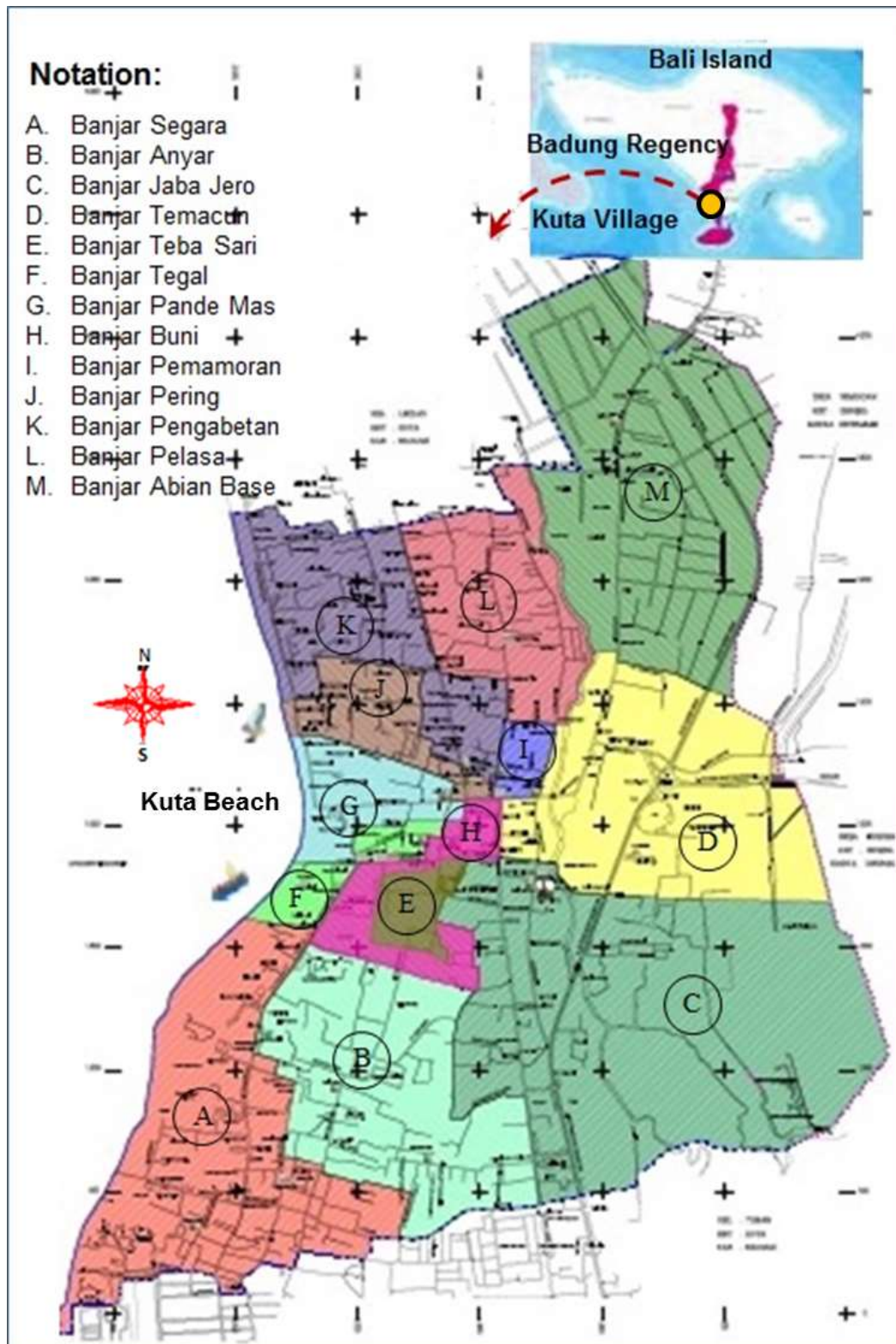


Figure 32: The map of Kuta Village's territory consisting of 13 *banjars*, located at the southern side of Bali. Source of map (Rasna, 2014)

The climate of the region has a particular bearing on the social and ritual life of Kuta Village throughout the year, given that there is not a significant variation in temperature. The average temperature in the Kuta area, according to meteorological data (provided by Ngurah Rai International Airport), is between 23.40°C and 31.50°C, with the lowest temperature occurring in June-July and the highest temperature in December-January. This temperature variation is accompanied by the highest rain fall (420 mm), with the main period of rain fall taking place approximately 157 days each year. In addition, the relatively high humidity (80-81%) takes place from October to March and is caused by the western monsoon where the wind direction comes from the sea with a deliberating amount of rubbish from other islands (Figure 34). On the other hand, the east monsoon that occurs from April to September is less humid (77-78%).

Whatever seasonal changes take place in the region, the ritual and ceremonial events in the village and along the sea front remain largely constant and unchanged and are carefully calibrated according to the dates calculated in the Balinese calendar. Some adjustments to the time ritual events do however take place to respond to particular climatic conditions. For instance, ritual ceremonies that take place in the sea, usually occur in December and in the morning to avoid the large waves which are more frequent in the afternoon and evenings. Then the other rituals that scheduled in March are held later in the afternoon (from 15:00 to 19:00 local time) to avoid hot temperatures. Due to the flat topography of the village, the large waves often bring sand onshore that can lead the beach erosion. This is clearly illustrated in the topographical and bathymetric map of Kuta beach below (Figure 35) which also includes a cross section of the beach at the area of the *melasti's* offering ceremony on the beach. The survey reflects changes in the beach profile which took place from 1997 to 2008.



Figure 33: The boundary of Kuta Village. *Source of map (wikimapia.org).*

The river of Tukad Mati is located on the east side of the village and flows to the southeast emptying into the strait of Bali. Since the small river of Lebak Bena that forms the boundary between Kuta and Legian villages was culverted in 1990s, there is no visible river that flows to the seaside in

Kuta Village. The principal soil structure of the area consists of regosol, limestone and sandstone deposits. Although the table water is around 1.00-2.00 metres from the surface, the soil composition is able to absorb rain water quickly so that the village is spared from the disaster of periodic flooding during the rainy season.



Figure 34: The annual rubbish at Kuta beach during west monsoon. *Source of figure (B. Post, 2014, May 17).*

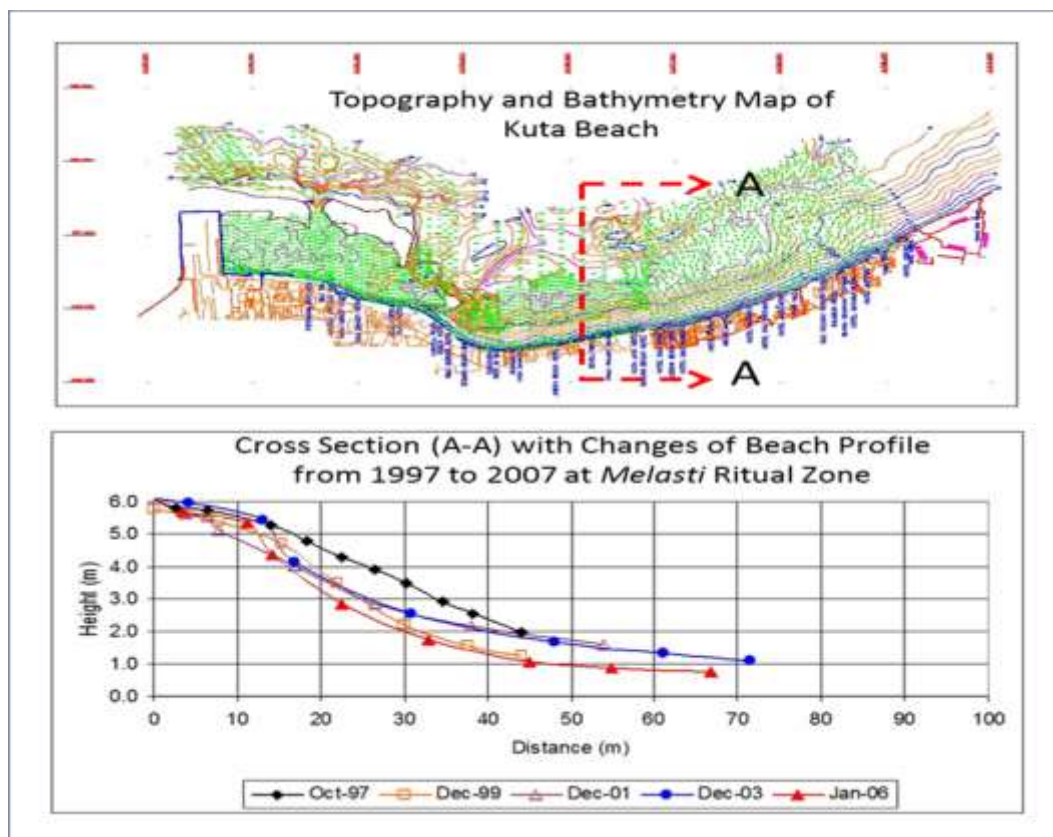


Figure 35: Topography and bathymetry of Kuta beach and the change of its beach profile. *Source of figure (SDA, 2006).*

5.2.2 Development of the Village

The early history of the Kuta Village was well known as an important port connecting the Java Island during the kingdom era in the 14th century and later became a slave port during the colonial era. The words of Hugh Mabbett (1987), "In praise of Kuta: from slave port to fishing village to the most popular resort in Bali", reflects the significant historical changes that have taken place in this part of Bali. To ascertain the significance of the physical changes of the village, particularly the transformation in land use, we have to refer to data compiled by Kuta District, of which Kuta Village forms part. From this data, it appears that tourist accommodation constituted the highest percentage of converted land, followed by housing, retail and services (Regency, 2002a).

The rapid growth of tourist accommodation was up to 111.8%, leading to a rapid decrease in green spaces in the area which has been reduced by around 45.47%. Significantly, these changes in land use took place during a period of only 5 years (1995-2001). By the end of 2001, the total built environment became 67.57% of the overall land mass, whilst open spaces, including coastal areas, comprised only 28.73% of the total. At the same time, mangrove forests have been destroyed to make way for new developments. This change in land use, moreover, has taken place over an extended period of a decade (up to 2012) according to the Planning and Development Board of Badung Agency. The figures below show the significant transformation of empty land (green spaces) for building construction from 1955, 1995, 2001 to 2012 respectively (Figure 36).

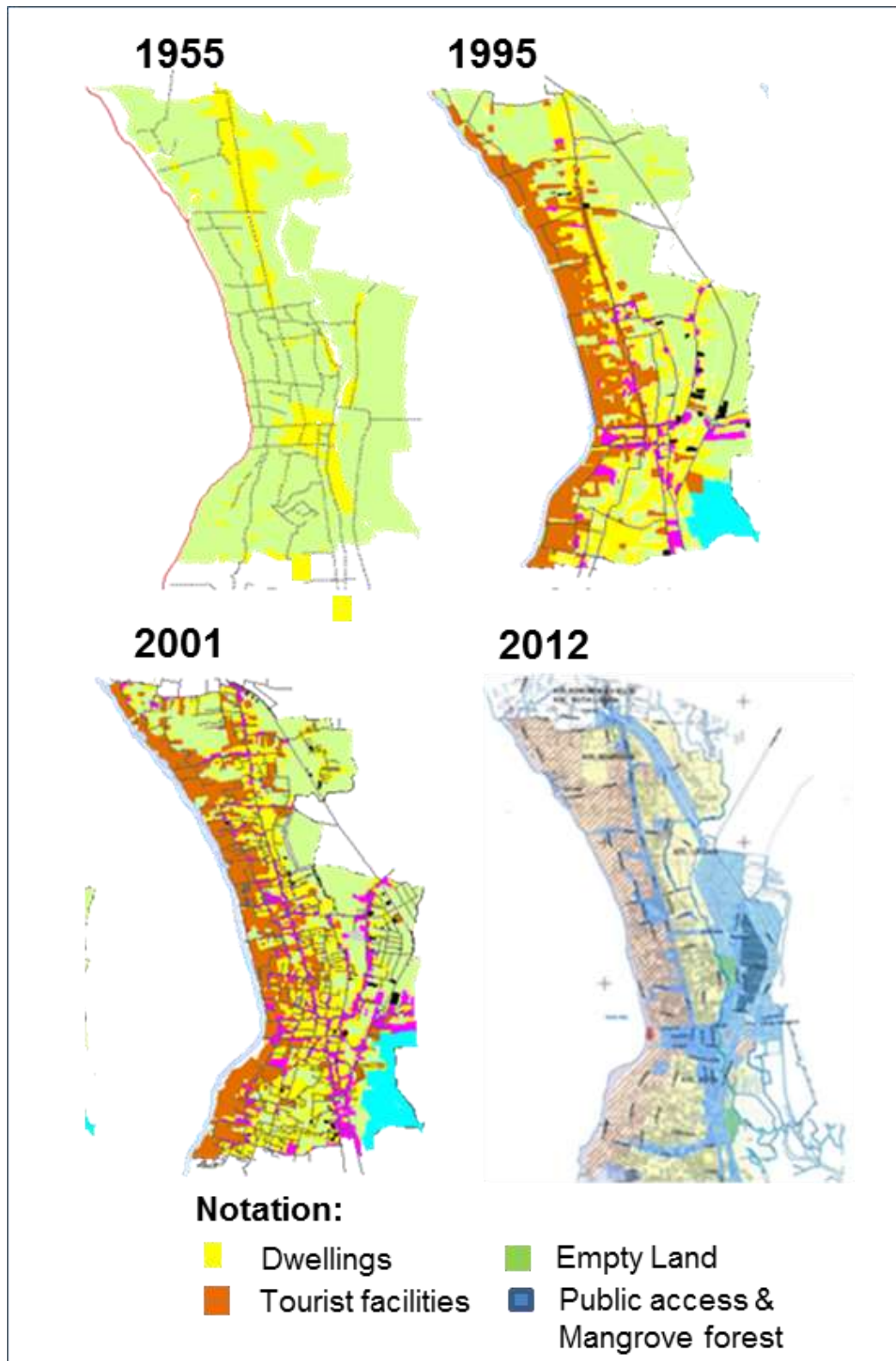


Figure 36: The significant change of green fields as civic spaces for built environment in 1955, 1995, 2001 and 2012 *Source of maps (Regency, 2002b, 2012).*

The composition of land use in the *kelurahan* area of Kuta (Kuta administrative area of the village) in 2010 and 2013 indicates that the built environment has continually expanded, whilst agricultural land and other green spaces have gradually decreased, the only exception to this are the cemeteries which have been preserved. The total area of the built environment in the last year of calculation (2013) was 644.12 hectares (or 6,441,200 m²) which comprised 89.09% of the total area of the village (Table 7). The data also shows that there was an increase of 3.69% in the last three years, or 1.23% (8.89 hectares) each year (Bada Pusat Statistik, 2011; 2014). This data is clear evidence that the region of Kuta Village is undergoing unsustainable urban development that will have serious environmental consequences without some measure of control.

Table 7: The land use of Kuta coastal village in 2010 and 2013.

Land Use (total area = 723 hectare)	2010		2013		Decrease/ Increase
	Area (hectare)	%	Area (hectare)	%	
Agriculture land	15.00	2.07%	12.21	1.69%	-0.38%
Undeveloped area	36.06	4.99%	22.30	3.09%	-1.90%
Built environment	617.42	85.40%	644.12	89.09%	3.69%
Cemetery	0.20	0.02%	0.20	0.02%	0.00%
Other	54.32	7.52%	44.17	6.11%	-1.41%

Source: Badung Statistics Agency (Bada Pusat Statistik, 2011; Statistik, 2014)

Such changes in land use are matched by a significant increase in population according to statistic compiled data in 2011 (Bada Pusat

Statistik, 2011), the population of the village in 2010 was 12,654, consisting of male (6,428) and female (6,226). From the total area of the village, the density of the village was 1,750 per km² which is the one of the highest in Bali.⁷ According to data from *desa adat* (Kuta Village), the number of Balinese in 2004 was 7,688 members with 1,714 families, so it is predicted by using the rate growth that the number of Balinese in 2014 was 9,995 with over 2,000 families (L. P. D. Kuta, 2013). From a future prediction of population expansion, it is assumed that the native Balinese Hindu population will comprise 70.82% of the total, whilst 29.18% will be non-Balinese or non-Hindu (such as Muslim, Christian, Buddhist and Confucian). Besides Hindu temples, there are several shrine places for other religions, such as Mosques (3), Churches (2), Buddhist temple (1), and others (1). The existence of these religious buildings demonstrates that Kuta Village has a wide multi ethnic community.

A significant factor in the rapid growth of Kuta Village and its neighbouring villages was the construction of the International Airport of Ngurah Rai in 1968, whose runway (approximately 800 metres in length) is oriented perpendicular to the shoreline (Figure 37). The construction of the airport gave rise to significant erosion of the beaches on both sides of the runway. The north side of the runway (facing Kuta Village) has witnessed the worst erosion as a result of prevailing winds from the south-west. Even though the rehabilitation of Kuta beach, in response to this erosion, was carried out by the central government in 2008, the depletion of sand deposits continues, leading to a significant narrowing of the beaches. Besides having a serious impact on tourism, this beach erosion has also had a detrimental effect on the spaces used for ritual and ceremonial events. According to the findings of the Bali Beach Conservation Project (BBCP), published in their report of 2008, sand depletion on beaches due to erosion amounted to approximately 42,000 m³ from 1972 to 2003 since the construction of the Ngurah Rai International Airport (Figure 38).

⁷ For further information about the number of population in Kuta District from 2010 to 2013, it can be seen Badung in Figure 2014 (Statistik, 2014)

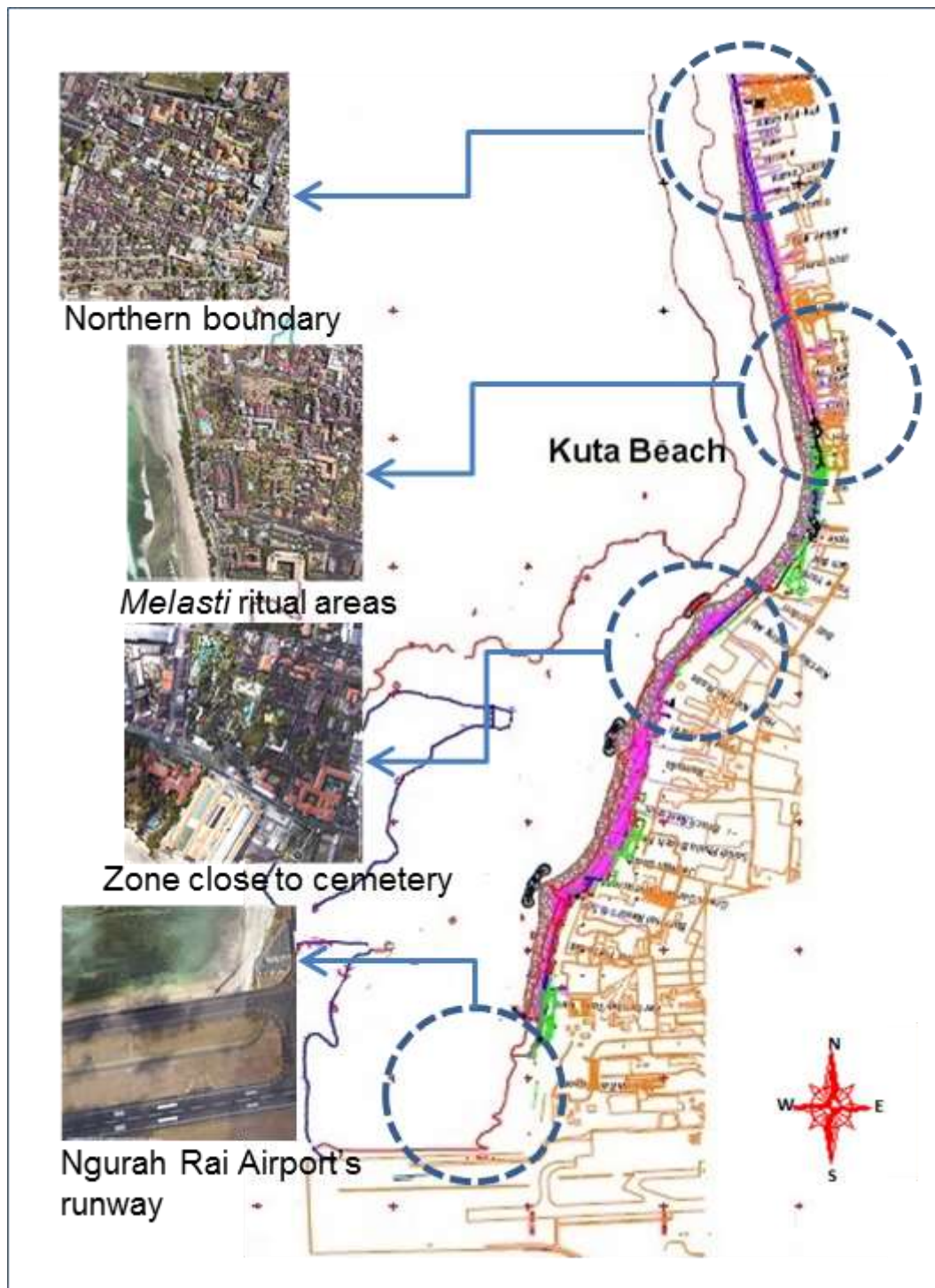


Figure 37: The aerial images of Kuta coastal village showing problems in eroded beaches and high building densities. *Source of figures (SDA, 2004)*

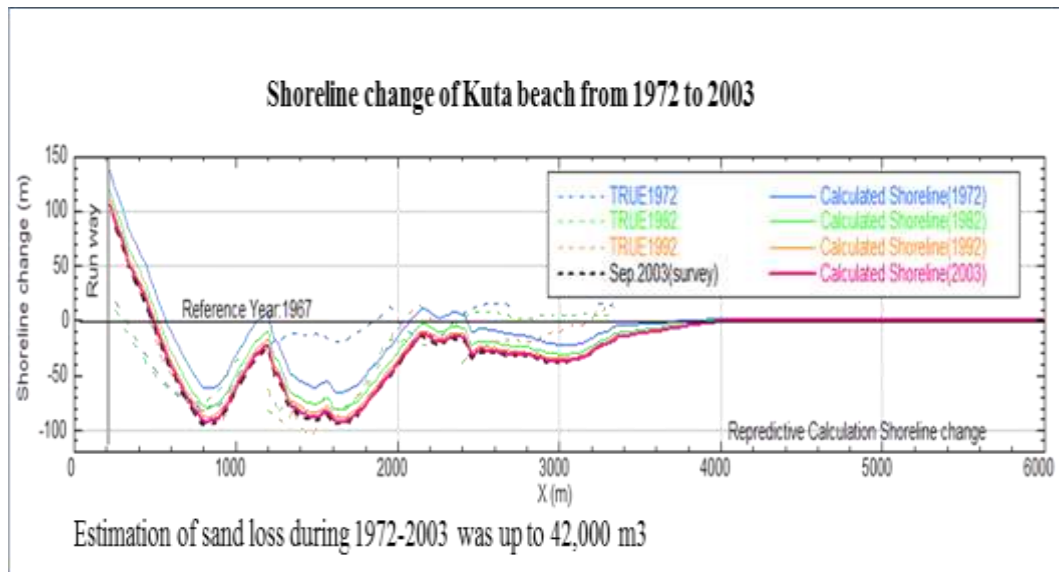


Figure 38: Estimation of sand lose in Kuta coastal village from 1972 to 2003.
Source of figure (SDA, 2008).

5.2.3 Community Structure and Organisation

According to the published monograph of Kuta Village, there are several social organisations or community groups in the territory of Kuta Village that can be categorised under the following: 1) traditional village organisation (*desa adat*), 2) traditional social organisation within the village (*banjar adat*), 3) fisherman groups (*mendega*), and 4) profession and youth groups (*sekehe*). These organisations play an important role in maintaining social cohesion of the village. Below is a more detail description of these community groups.

a. Traditional village and social organisations (*desa and banjar adat*)

Referring to the earlier Chapter 4, *desa and banjar adat* constitute a unit in a traditional Balinese village. In Kuta Village, there are 13 *banjars* as traditional social organisations based on mutual needs, known as '*sukkha-dukha*'⁸; these comprise Pande Mas, Pengabetan, Pering, Pelasa,

⁸ *Sukkha-dukha* is an essence of mutual needs among *banjar* members in which this term derives from Sanskrit words which is similar meaning to 'pleasant-unpleasant' translated by Monier-Williams, M., & Cappeller, C. (Eds.). (1899). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pemamoran, Temacun, Tegal, Buni, Teba Sari, Jaba Jero, Anyar, Segara, and Mertajati. Each *banjar* has its own jurisdictional territory within Kuta Village. The total number of members of these *banjars* in 2014 was 9,995 which comprised a large portion of the population of Kuta Village. The *banjar* territory of Jaba Jero is the largest in the village and the smallest is Pemamoran. The main duties of these *banjars* concern not only maintaining the territory and temples of the village, but also to oversee the ritual traditions. Besides these village duties, each *banjar* in Kuta Village also has its own dedicated temple and specific roles within each, such as cremation and human rituals from its members, and other rituals relating to the *banjars'* temples.

Every member of the community groups has similar duties and obligations. However, a slight difference may take place during festival processions in the street. This is because each *banjar* is located at varying distances to the village civic spaces (where the temples and cemetery are located). As a member of the *banjar*, you are tied to the *banjar's* temple and their religious activities in accordance with the *banjar* rules (*perarem*), whilst at the level of the village *banjar* members are also connected to their village temples and other socio-spiritual activities through customary laws (*awig-awig*). Having similar duties, these different roles are registered in an organisational chart, where both the *banjar* and *desa* are able to coordinate activities. This can be seen, for example, in the organisational chart of Kuta Village (Figure 39) where there are three major duties handled by these community groups; *parahyangan*/temple activity, *palemahan*/territory and *pawongan*/members of the village. *Kerta desa* (the law assembly) was established to solve any conflicts that may arise in the village.

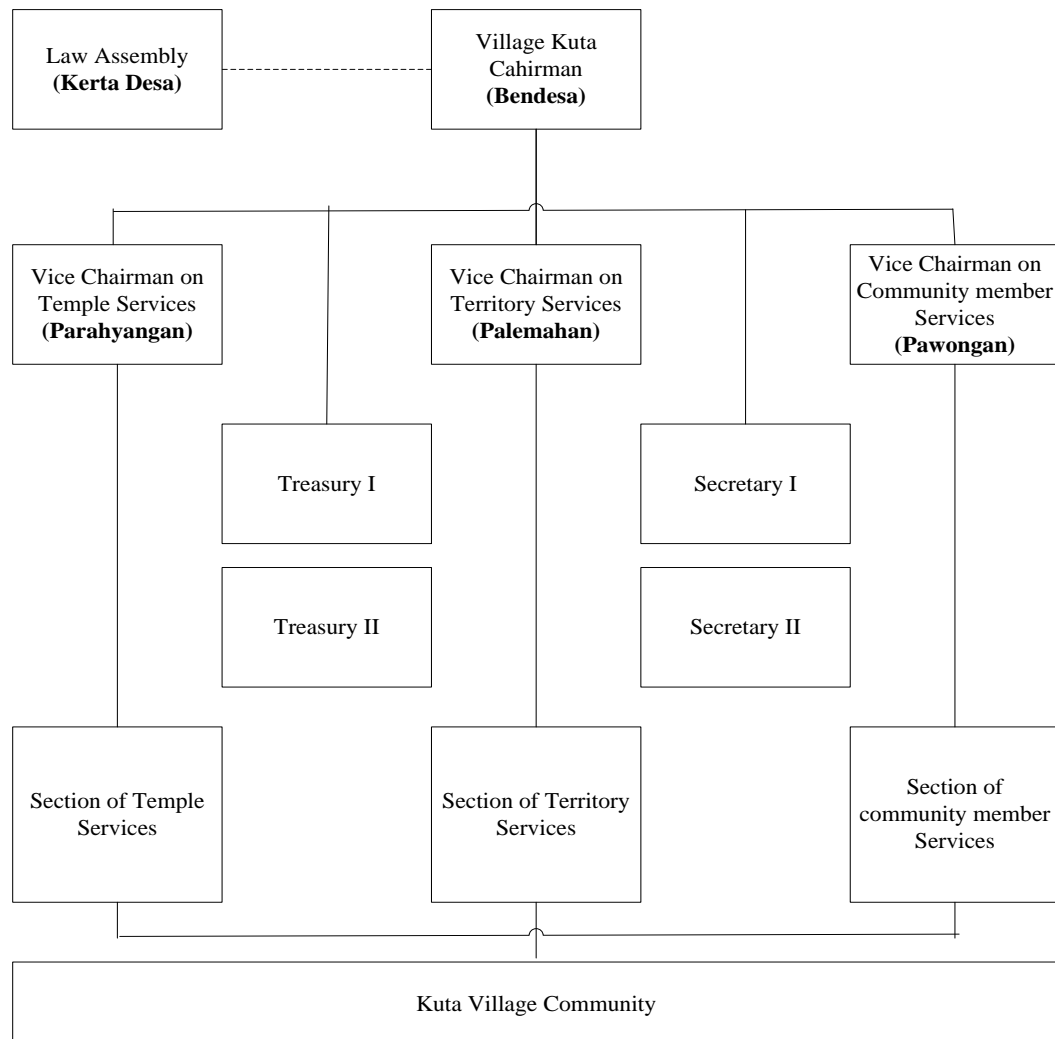


Figure 39: Kuta Village's organisation structure. Source: Kuta Village Monograph (D. A. Kuta, 2013).

b. Fisherman groups (*mendega*)

An important representative community in Kuta Village are the fishermen. Historically, Kuta fishermen were an independent community that were distinct from the rest of the population of the village. This is because they had their own territory and dedicatory temple and only had responsibility to the king (Regency, 2002b, p. 1). After Indonesian independence however, the territory of this group came under the jurisdiction of Kuta Village according to the local policy of Badung Regency which refers to national policy on such matters. Because of this, they are obliged to coordinate with the authorities of Kuta Village in relation to any activities taking place

on the beach. Even though they do not come under the organisational structure of the village, their roles and responsibilities (as defined under the three distinct coastal zones: Segara, Jerman and Pemelisan) significantly influence the economy and social structure of the town. In addition, the fishermen have an important role to play in the ritual practices, as evidenced in the rituals of *melasti* and *nangluk merana/pakelem*. This is because both rituals take place at sea and as the fishermen's territory these nautical rituals aim to achieve a cosmic balance (of which more will be said later).

They operate and maintain traditional fishing vessels and follow practices that do not over exploit the resources of the sea. They are fully aware of the need to preserve their beaches and the sea since these resources are the most vital asset for Kuta Village, for both the fishing industry and tourism. One example of this ecological concern is that turtles often visit Kuta beach but not normally during the tourist season,⁹ because of this, the fishermen along with the local community along have designated a protection zone on the beach for turtle seed breeding which forms part of Kuta Ecological Programme. Importantly, this initiative is supported by awareness by foreign tourists of the need to preserve the turtle habitat.

The figure below (Figure 40) shows the three zones of boat moorings along the coast and the type of fishing vessels used on the beaches in Kuta Village. In addition, the fishing community is supported by 150 members who not only undertake fishing activities but also transport tourists to offshore locations for surfing activities. The extra activity provides an essential income for many fishermen and contributes to the larger economy of the community. Such services for tourism – that lie outside the traditional practices of community life – sometime come with a cost. We see this most clearly in the *subak* members of the farming communities in Kuta Village, whose traditional lifestyles have changed

⁹ Mal Harris is one of Australia's NGO members in Bali who specialise in turtle conservation in Kuta highlighted in an unstructured interview conducted on 25th August 2013.

dramatically since the paddy fields in the area were converted into uncultivated green fields and plantations awaiting sale for commercial development.

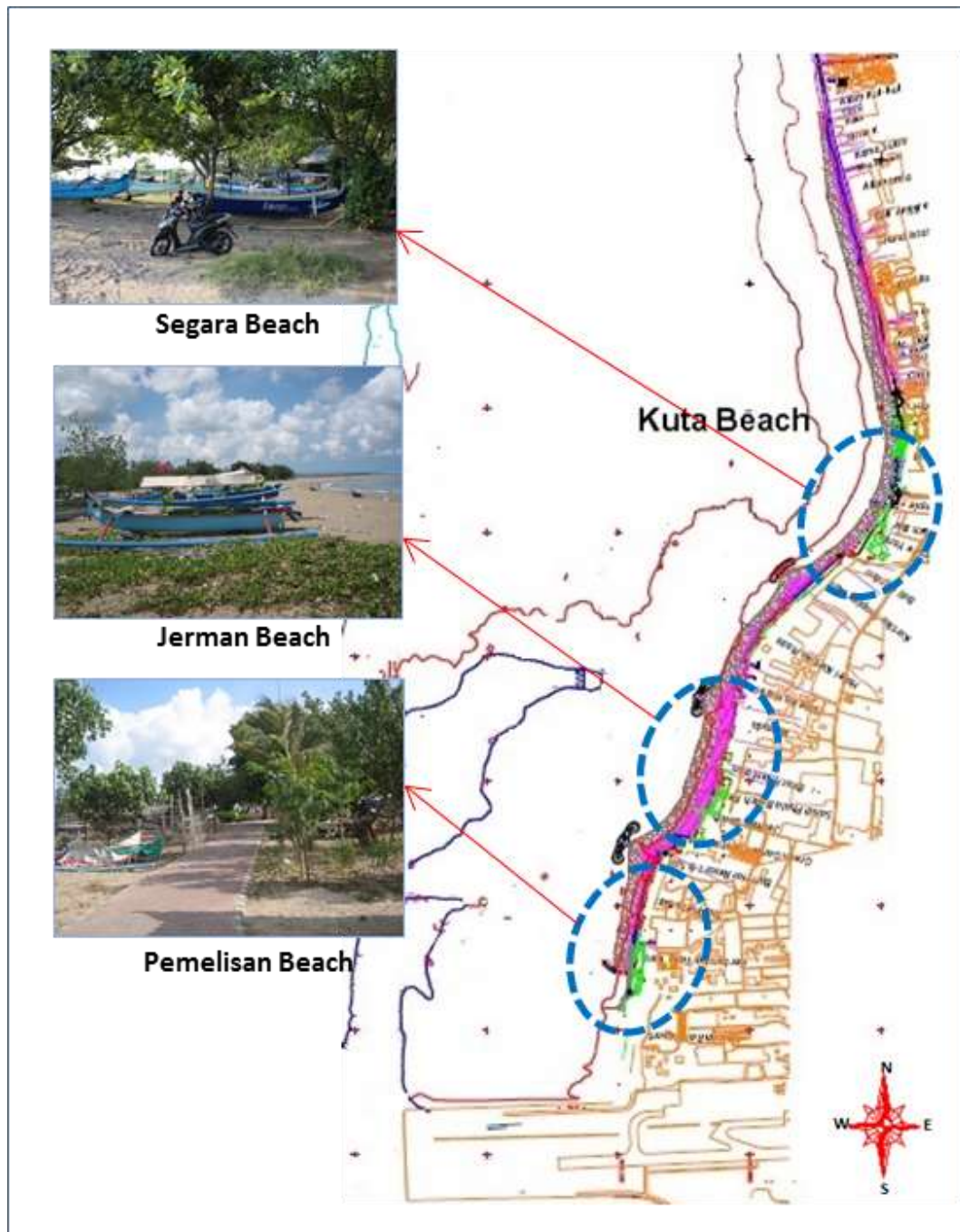


Figure 40: Three locations of the fisherman's boat moorings in Kuta beach.
Source (SDA, 2008).

c. Specific groups (*sekehe*)

There are several groups in music related activities that include a youth group (or *sekehe*). These comprise memberships of a choir (*sekehe santi*), and a traditional music ensemble (*sekehe gong*), both of which support ritual ceremonies. Their roles are not only to participate in the temples' rituals and ceremonies but also in cremation ceremonies and other rituals. Meanwhile, the youth group is the main support in most of these activities in Kuta Village.

In order to accommodate and strengthen the three key duties of the village members such as maintaining and securing the village temples (*parhyangan*), supporting village members (*pawongan*), and overseeing the territory (*palemahan*), the application of customary law (*awig-awig*) is the main judicial framework for governing their village. This law was set out on 2nd May 1992 and signed by both local leaders and by the government of Badung Regency (Kuta, 1992, p. 93). The *awig-awig* consists of eight sections which regulate the three major duties of the village and other things. These comprise the followings:

- 1) The boundary and territory of Kuta coastal village comprising 13 *banjars*.
- 2) The basis and purpose of the *awig-awig*.
- 3) The regulations on the selection of community members (*pawongan*), responsible for organising grand meetings around the traditional wooden bell, village properties, and the regulation of the paddy cropping system, building settings, disaster management as well as involvement of the other members' specific rituals.
- 4) The regulation on religious practices: temple rituals, cremation and environment rituals.
- 5) Observing regulations for the marriage system in relation to marriage legalisation, separation and inheritances.

- 6) The procedure to add or revise the content of the customary law/*awig-awig*.
- 7) Determining the date of declaration of the *awig-awig*, signed by the local village leaders and the local government of Badung Regency.¹⁰

There are three purposes of the *awig-awig*, previously highlighted in the Chapter 3, these are 1) to preserve and develop religious life, 2) to practice the traditions of Hinduism, and 3) to build a safe community with considerations of human welfare in both a physical and non-physical sense. It is clear that this law seems to direct the village members to be more aware of religious Hindu practices, and in doing so to also unify the community in Kuta coastal village. In addition, this law not only regulates the activities of Balinese citizens but also non-Balinese Hindus who live in the village. Although they are recognised as having different duties and responsibilities in the village, such involvement in physical developments is expected to maintain communal harmony of the village.

In regard to kinship, most Balinese members of Kuta Village recognise that their families do not descend from a common ancestor. In the beginning, they came to Kuta following a decree from the king to secure the coastal port by assembling guards. A large number of the Balinese settled in this area during the Badung kingdom (the 19th century) and the period of Dutch colonial rule (early of the 20th century) which was followed by several ethnic groups, such as Chinese and Bugis. When the Balinese moved and settled in Kuta, they left their families and family temples (*kawitan* temples). They come to the original place located outside Kuta particularly on auspicious days of their *kawitan* temples for praying and offering ceremonies (D. A. Kuta, 2013). This migration and assimilation is testified by the location of *kawitan* temples which are known as the *dadya ageng/ merajan ageng*, or the 'big ancestor temples' located outside Kuta.

¹⁰ See- The *awig-awig desa adat* Kuta, 1992 (the customary law of Kuta Village).

Meanwhile, the majority of Balinese citizens descend from non-aristocratic noble families. Moreover, there is no Hindu priest from Brahmin descent living in the village. In large ritual activities, the Brahmin priests are invited from the neighbouring villages (Kerobokan or Buduk Village) according to custom and village agreement. Although members of the Balinese community are not closely tied to a common kinship, the territory and customary laws are likely to be the important factors that bind the community life in which there is rarely conflict.

5.2.4 The Economy of the Village

The dark history of the Kuta area as a slave port, then a hiding place for pirates, followed by a centre for opium smuggling to Java island, finally came to an end in 1839 after *Nederlandsche Handel Maatsschappy* (NHM) formally opened their branch office in Kuta (Agung, 1998, pp. 13-14). Since then Kuta developed into a thriving place for business and trading activities. During this earlier period, trading with foreigners had taken place and was permitted by the son of the Badung's king, called I Gusti Ngurah Gede Kesiman (the first king of the Kesiman royal palace in Badung area). Even though the Kuta Village was established by the king in order to secure the royal territory as the vanguard in the form of a fortress, the village members took the opportunity to become involved in this trade business. Agricultural production, such as herbs, spices, rice paddies and coconuts, served as the prime products of the village and were shipped by NHM to other destinations. Among the strong trading links with Kuta was Singapore and ships from Singapore bound for England were loaded with opium, iron material, Gambier, ammunition, clothes, Chinese coins and other stuff made in England.¹¹ The presence of NHM in Kuta, however, only lasted for four years ending in 1843. This was due largely to conflict of interests, competition and declining support from the royal household.

¹¹ See- the Pierre Dubois's presented paper written on 27th February 1831; he was the representative of Netherlands East Indies Government who lived in Kuta from April 1927 to end of the Java War.

Although the NHM Company moved from Kuta to another location, the operations of Kuta port still continued even up to in 1890 when it was used as an alternative transit point for freighters travelling from Europe to Asia Pacific. The trade traffic increased and was followed by a number of merchant fleets, whose ships' crews and captains stayed in Kuta during transit. Due to these activities, development of guest accommodation began in 1920 and affected the community life significantly, thereby progressing from an agricultural to a service based society. Meanwhile, the life of the fishermen seemed not to have changed very much during this time. Fish from the sea was not only consumed by the community, but also sold at the nearest markets from their village, such as Abian Timbul and Badung Markets - both located in the midlands.

Since the rapid growth of tourist facilities along the coast from the 1970s, fishermen have taken every opportunity to create activities that would appeal to tourists by providing boat transportation for surfing activities, without forgetting their main work. These initiatives have led fisherman to be more resilient, given that their lives in other resorts has been more challenging due to the decline in the fishing industry. However, in spite of this decline, the number of Kuta fishermen has actually increased since 1996 (from 130 to be 150 members) and is located in three zones (Segara, Jerman and Pemelisan beaches). However, up to 85% of fishermen provide tourist services, whilst others still have a sustainable livelihood as full-time fishermen (Sanjaya, 2013).

Since the significant change from an agriculture-based to a tourist industry-based economy, most local residents use their houses for tourist accommodation, a form of community-based tourism developed since the beginning of the 1970s. These family businesses, which have boomed in the past ten years, provide cheaper tourist accommodation compared to the more expensive hotel accommodation. Due to great business opportunities in Kuta, a private corporate agency, supported by an abuse of power, has barged to manage Kuta beach resort since 1980s-1990s

without permission from Kuta community, causing serious conflicts between the Kuta community and local government. This historical situation is described by Hugh Mabbett (1987: 159) who argues that the local community of the *banjar* is noted for its fairness entrusting people who have withstood so much to take responsibility for supporting the Kuta tourist industry for the sake of the Balinese community at large.

In the early 1990s, the *desa adat* of Kuta finally succeeded to take possession of the management of Kuta beach resorts from the agency following their intensive struggle with the government. Since then, the *desa adat* have managed their territory and assets further, strengthened by local government policy. In order to enhance their profitable assets, the *desa adat* have established three distinct institutions, or task forces, relating to their income. This relates to the profits from the beach management board, the art shop and shop rental management, as well as local saving and any loans and from these sources and assets, the *desa adat* collect revenue. During an interview, conducted with the *bendesa* (head of Kuta Village/*desa adat*), it was claimed that the total savings of the *desa adat* is almost £30 million (Swarsa, 2014), a huge sum, especially considering the less than secure economic situation in other parts of Bali. Compared to other villages, Kuta Village is probably the richest village on the island. This saving provides ample on-going financial support for the ritual ceremonies and to maintain their temples and other developments.

5.3 Rituals Traditions and Festivals

The ritual traditions of the Kuta Village community, especially in religious practices, can best be understood from an historical perspective, they have evolved in conjunction with the establishment of it's a closely-knit community. Investigations so far have demonstrated that the littoral region of Kuta has long possessed a culturally integrated territory reflected in the routes and calendars of its festivals.

The establishment of shrine places in the 14th century, at the invasion points of Majapahit troops along the coast of Kuta, were generally recognised as demarcating the first ritual ceremony in this area at the shrine called Sanggaran (Pesanggrahan) temple (Regency, 2002a). At that time, the inhabitants of Kuta were only fishermen and they had full responsibility for maintaining this temple. Because of their initial duties and their importance in maintaining a relationship with the gods and goddesses of the sea, this temple became known appropriately as the 'fisherman's temple'. Traditionally, fishermen take responsibility for the rituals during every day of the ceremony. A set of more elaborate ritual traditions emerged after the establishment of the village, supported by the inclusion of more elaborate village temples. According to the chairman of Kuta Village (called *bendesa adat*), the establishment of Kuta Village actually took place as late as the 18th century even though the original settlement of the town is much older. This suggests that the village temples were most probably constructed during this century (Swarsa, 2014).

Furthermore, the kinds of rituals and festivals taking place in the Kuta Village are similar to other coastal villages in Bali, where the sea and coastal wellsprings constitute the 'impure zone' of the geography of the island (refer back to the triadic description of mountain/sea relationships highlighted earlier), and the village becomes one of the most important places for purification and holy sacrifice to ensure balance and harmony with the cosmos. In many ways, the sea has a similar function to lakes in the mountain regions, which are also used for holy sacrifices and purification rituals (Arnawati, 2001, pp. 8-11). As a coastal village, the Kuta community has long served a key ceremonial function in Bali by offering holy sacrifice rituals every year which is part of their duty as citizens. This is because the purpose of these rituals is not only to maintain a balanced nature as a whole, but more crucially to ensure the welfare of the village, including its environment in accordance with the Balinese Hindu belief systems.

Besides recognising the different historical backgrounds of the community members and their duty to offer annual rituals, other traditional practices entail the following:

- Maintaining the route of the *melasti* ritual procession, from the village temple to the fixed zone on the beach, by supporting the physical environment of the village and beach and controlling/redirecting traffic during events.
- Conducting the different routes of cremation rituals to the cemetery by liaising with both commoners and the nobility/gentry. Whilst this ceremony has been relatively well maintained until now, it seems these events are increasingly put at risk due to the demands of a modern/globalised life. From interviews conducted with *klians* (chiefs of the banjars) and *bendesa adat* (chief of the Kuta Village), there is a strong belief that these rituals form an integral part of Balinese traditions and respect must be made to the deceased and to our ancestors (Swarsa, 2014).

5.3.1 Religious Practices on the Village and Coast

Since ritual practices form a central part of their belief systems and religion, they have become a tradition which has to be practiced in a cycle of time. As outlined in chapter 4, the five major rituals involve temples, priests, cremation, human life and environment rituals. Meanwhile, some of the ritual traditions of Kuta community are more specifically focused on the religious activities of the temples and their compounds; these rituals are celebrated on specific days for human purification day and environmental sacrifices sometimes along the coastal areas.

a. Temple anniversary

Several temples are under the management of the village, comprising three village temples (Pura Puseh, Pura Desa & Bale Agung, and Pura Dalem Khayangan), Pura Segara, Pura Prajapati, Pura Penyarikan, and

Pura Melanting (D. A. Kuta, 2013). The anniversaries of these temples are called '*odalan*' and take place on different days held every traditional Balinese year/one cycle of *pawukon* (210 days). Through this cycle, one temple is blessed with two anniversaries in a year of the *Gregorian* calendar, with a different anniversary day for each temple. In addition, the village community organises a special temple anniversary ceremony (*odalan*) which takes place about ten times in a year. Although each temple anniversary ceremony does not always offer a ritual on the beach as is the case with the *melasti* ceremony, a purification ritual at a wellspring always takes place as an important part of these anniversary processions (Dewa, 1998).

According to an interview survey, beside managing these temples, each *banjar* in Kuta Village has its own dedicated temple, this means that there are 13 *banjar* temples and a further 29 temples owned by families and profession groups as well as clans of the village (D. A. Kuta, 2013, pp. 8-12). The village temples (called *tri khayangan*) have the biggest ritual events called '*ngusaba desa*' which take place every 30 years, where the members must alternatively handle this ritual for around three months from its preparation to the day of the ritual. The time and dedication required to organise these temple ceremonies is substantial extending over months at a time. This activity, however, in the Kuta community has come under pressure in recent years as a result of external commercial and work related factors that have sometimes imposed time limits on such events.

b. *Melasti* ceremony

The *melasti* ceremony which celebrates the Balinese New Year (*nyepi* day) is one of the most interesting ritual traditions in the village and is situated along the coastal territory. The ritual usually takes place three days before the *nyepi* day and extends the whole day from morning to evening. From a fieldwork survey, this event is hosted by the village community (members of the 13 *banjars*) who attend the central village temple (Pura Desa & Bale Agung) and bring artefacts from their family and

clan temple as an offering to the temple's major altar. The *melasti* ceremony, whose procession extends along the coast, usually commences in the afternoon around 3pm as the route takes approximately 30 minutes from the temple. Young virgin women dancers (called *rejang dewa*) and the traditional security guards (*pecalang*) are involved in this ritual. The security required for this ceremony does not, however, halt tourist activities along the coast as they only manage the area of the *melasti* on the coast in a specific zone (Figure 41 & 42). There are 3 guards from each *banjar* participating in this ritual, with 39 security guards patrolling the route who spread out in different directions.



Figure 41: The traditional security guards (black and white uniform) to manage traffic.



Figure 42: The young virgin woman dancers in the street and on the beach.

In the post ceremony of the *melasti*, two rituals take place the day before the New Year (*tawur kesanga*) and New Year's Day (*nyepi* day). The *tawur kesanga* is a ritual ceremony celebrating the underworld and is carried out along the main street intersection of the village (between Raya Kuta and Pantai Kuta Streets). This ceremony takes place from morning to afternoon and then merges with the festival of *ogoh-ogoh* (the grotesque statue as a symbol of demonic spirits). Every *banjar* community in Kuta Village participates in the ceremony to create an *ogoh-ogoh*, commemorating their youth (Figure 43). The evening parade festival uses a similar route to the *melasti* festival and passes the place of the *tawur kesanga*. The end of this festival takes place in the cemetery, which is located along the coast (the southern side of Segara temple), and is celebrated by burning the *ogoh-ogoh* as the finale of the procession. According to I Wayan Watra (2007, p. 13), the *ogoh-ogoh* is a new tradition derived from the root of Hindu belief and represents the powers of the underworld as part of the universal powers. Furthermore, the festival is a symbol bringing and returning the underworld powers as human intruders to their original place, hence the humans are able to achieve a balance and harmony to enter a new year.



Figure 43: The festival of *ogoh-ogoh* (gotesque statues) as a symbol of demonic at Kuta coastal village, *Source of photo (google.co.uk, 2014a).*

In the New Year celebrations, the traditional security guards (*pecalang*) are responsible for monitoring the whole area of the village. Since the *nyepi* day is a day of silence and stillness, Kuta citizens are not permitted to leave their homes. In addition, the *nyepi* day requires that no one is allowed to turn on the lights from morning until the next morning (05.00 am). Even the International Airport of Ngurah Rai is expected not to operate during the *nyepi* day. Only the village security guards (*pecalang*) are permitted to go out in order to monitor and control the implementation of the *nyepi* day (Figure 44 & 45). However, there are of course exceptions, during emergency situations for example.



Figure 44: The surroundings of Kuta coastal village in celebrating a new year of *nyepi*. Source of figures (beritabali.com, 2014, March 31).



Figure 45: Only village security guards are allowed to go outside to monitor the event of the *nyepi* day. Source of figures (beritabali.com, 2014, March 31).

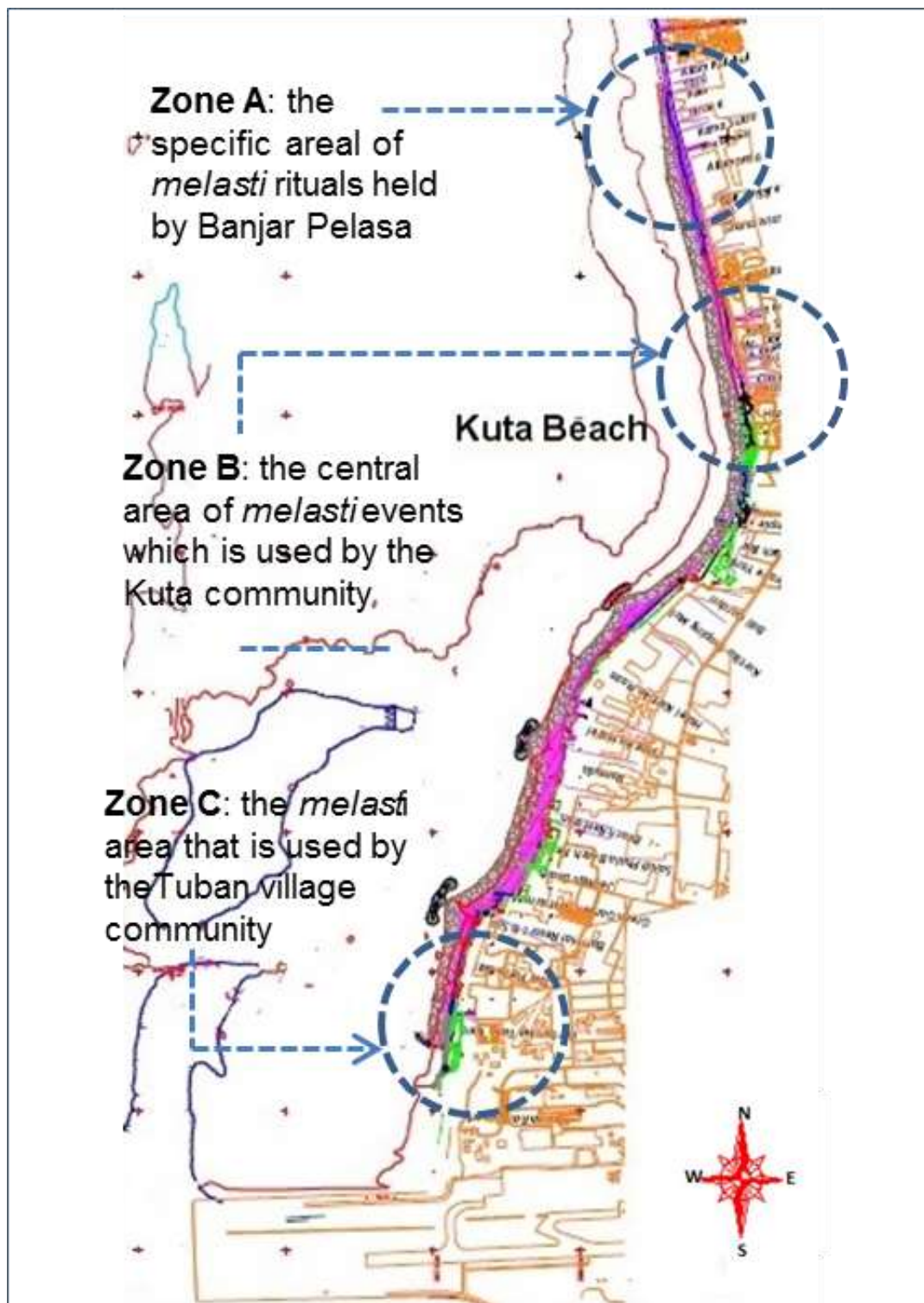


Figure 46: Three zones on the beach for the event of the *melasti* ritual.
Source of map (SDA, 2008)

Other ritual practices take place in relation to the *melasti* ceremony, notably in the Banjar Pelasa quarter located at the north-east of the village. The Banjar community hold a specific ceremony because of these traditions, which usually takes place in December. This ceremony has a different route compared to others in the village, but incorporates the coast as its final destiny where special rituals are performed. The *banjar* community hold the *melasti* ceremony twice each year since they must also carry out the event along with other village members when celebrating the *nyepi* day. (The route of the ritual to the coast will be explained in the next sub section.) According to this survey, there are three zones covered by the *melasti* ceremony along the Kuta beach which are the southern, central and northern areas. The southern area is used by the neighbouring village of Tuban, whilst the Kuta Village and Banjar Pelasa use central and northern areas respectively (Figure 46).

c. Cremation ritual (*Pelebon/Ngaben*)

The tradition of the cremation ritual in Kuta Village is similar to other villages in Bali in that it is also handled by the *banjar* community. In order to effectively manage this sombre ritual, the *banjar* adopts specific guidelines called '*perarem*' that are based on the village's customary law. The *perarem* is a source of *banjar* law enforcement which provides moral direction on how to manage its community (Sudantra, 2007). From their *perarem*, all *banjars* in the Kuta Village participate in each cremation ceremony over a period of least three days. The members usually attend the cremation procession during the last two days before the final cremation. Whilst non-participation in this ceremony is frowned upon by indigenous members of the community, nobody has yet been evicted for not attending. A likely reason for the reluctance to impose such draconian punishment is the all-pervasive principle of '*sukkha-dukkha*' (pleasant-unpleasant) in the community. The principle of *sukkha* covers mostly human rituals (puberty and tooth-filing (a ritual before marriage) and marriage and other rituals that identify memorable situations) whereas

funerary rituals are part of the principle of *dukha* (unpleasant situations). A concluding remark made by one of the *banjar* chiefs is that everyone will die anyway so absence from this ritual ultimately does not have significance.



Figure 47: The cremation festival using beach access to the village cemetery.

The activities carried out by members of the Kuta community are specifically directed at the family of the deceased to ensure the ritual is properly and respectfully observed. Responsibilities are managed evenly by the *banjar* organisation, whilst all members are expected to attend the

final procession to pay their respects to family members at the cemetery. The village cemetery, which is reserved only for the Balinese community of Kuta Village, is located on the coast. Due to this location, every cremation ritual in the village will use the beach space as part of the ceremony (Figure 47). Although we do not have reliable data of the number of deaths in each *banjar*, it is estimated that approximately seven cremation rituals take place each year. Hence, each member must participate in these funerary rituals approximately 21 days per year given the duration of each. Furthermore, with 13 *banjars* in this village, cremations take place approximately 91 times in a year.

The everyday life and culture of the Kuta community is inevitably affected by the presence of tourists. As Macleod (2004, p. 3) states, the tourist industry is a strong and powerful sector that profoundly impacts on the social, economic and cultural life of the community. In spite of this pressure, however, the Kuta community seems to be able to maintain its traditions by implementing purification rituals specifically aimed at the well-being of the village (called '*banyu pinaruh*'). This ritual tradition has been observed by successive generations of younger members of the community. As one of the human purification processions, bathing in the sea is overseen by the youth during the morning, using a zone along the beachfront from the *pura*/temple of Segara to the Hard Rock Hotel (Figure 48).

d. Other ritual activities

Another form of a purification ritual, called '*melukat*' is similarly carried out by the Kuta community for specific purposes. This is a modest ritual event which is offered continually after bathing in the sea. It is also compulsory for someone who is appointed as a priest to serve the temple ritual activities. For specific reasons, someone from outside of the village is also likely to carry out this ritual along Kuta beach, however most people prefer to offer this ritual in front of Segara temple near to the cemetery rather than other places.

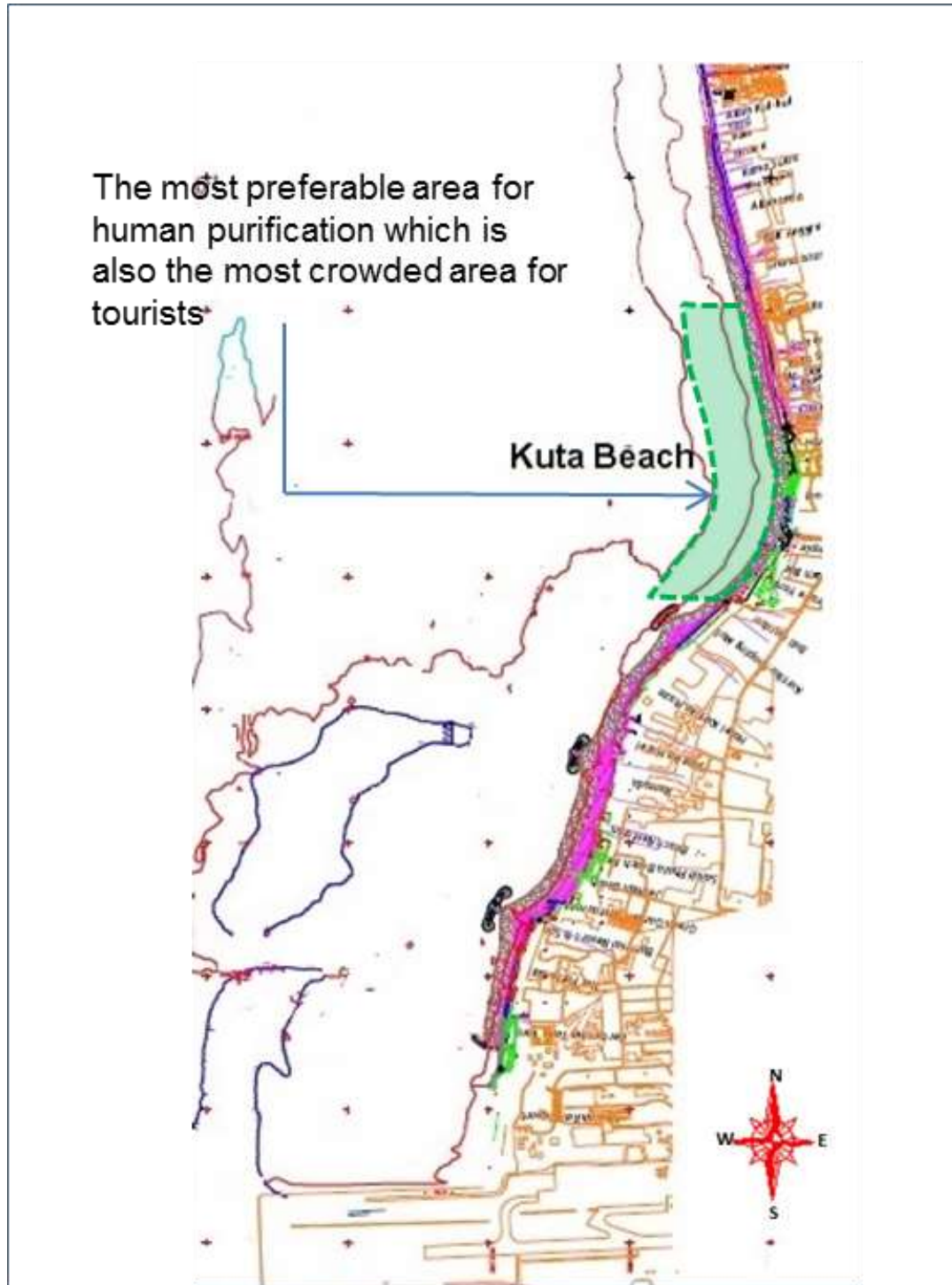


Figure 48: The area (zone) of the human purification ritual (*banyu pinaruh*) at the crowded tourist area.



Figure 49: Some locations used for those rituals and ceremonies that concentrates on the forces of nature in which Dalem Temple serves as the focus.

e. Ritual expressions to the nature (*nangluk merana/ pakelem*)

Ritual expressions to the nature are essential for the well-being of the Kuta community. Called *nangluk merana/pakelem*, these rituals are held every year in the sea, usually in December or the sixth dark moon according to the Balinese lunar system. Unlike the other rituals, the *nangluk merana*

involves animal sacrifices (a black duck). On certain extraordinary occasions (storm/earthquake, prolonged drought, etc.), the sacrifice involves a black goat or even a buffalo. The colour black is a symbol of the underworld and is used as the signature colour of this ceremony, whilst duck and goat/buffalo are regulated in the Hindu scriptures of Balinese region. Animal sacrifices take place in traditional boats that float offshore.

This ritual is held by the *banjar* members under the coordination of the village organisation (or *prajuru desa*). The main aim of the ritual, carried out by Kuta Village members, is to neutralise and stabilise the nature of the sea. Three important settings are used for the implementation of this ceremony and its accompanying sacrificial ritual and those are the coast and sea, street intersections and the Dalem Temple. After offering animal sacrifices in the sea, a further ritual is officiated within the Dalem Temple. This temple is located approximately 150 metres from the coast (Figure 49). Significantly, the ritual is not only held in Kuta Village, but is also held simultaneously in other places in the two neighbour villages (Legian and Seminyak Villages) along a single stretch of Kuta beach.

5.3.2 Route of Processions and Festivals

From observations made and interviews carried out with the *banjars'* chiefs and the head of Kuta Village, there are several different routes of festivals based on various kinds of rituals relating to the temple, cremation, human and environmental contexts.

a. The route of temple rituals (*melasti* rituals)

The implementation of the *melasti* ceremony, which celebrates the Balinese New Year (the *nyepi* day), has a definitive route that moves from the Desa and Bale Agung Temple's inner zone to the coast (Kuta beach). The length of this route is approximately 2 km and has taken place since the foundation of the village in the 18th century. However, some leaders have proposed to relocate the *melasti* ceremony away from the initial zone on the beach since this zone is the most crowded

area of the village. However, most members have rejected this proposal due to the implicit connection between the traditions and ritual significance of the ceremony and the historical place in the beach-front (Wendra, 2013). In spite of these challenges, the festival and the rituals on the beach have become one of the most important in the religious calendar of Kuta Village. The route of the *melasti*, moreover, closely relates to temple anniversaries, given that the festival route follows the location of the temples. Banjar Pelasa one of 13 *banjars* (a social organisation within the Kuta Village) has a specific *melasti* ritual where the route of this ritual is not similar to the village *melasti* ritual's route. Finally, those temples that are located on the coast forge a unified sacred territory along the beach-front during the *melasti* festival, whereby each temple precinct constitutes an integral part (Figure 50).

b. The route of cremation rituals

As mentioned earlier, there are different routes for families of the nobility/gentry and commoners in the cremation ritual festival. Even though this difference could be construed as evidence of hierarchical society whereby equal rights are compromised in the name of tradition, this practice continues without complaints from village members. The route for families of the nobility uses the principal access of the village through the main street intersection, before entering the beach from the north side toward the cemetery. The commoners, on the other hand, use other access points from the eastern part of the cemetery. These different directions ultimately converge at the main gate of the cemetery (Figure 51).

The route of the cremation ritual for the nobility forms the main ritual attraction along the street from east to west, whilst public traffic follows a different direction that sometimes gives rise to traffic jams for approximately 15-30 minutes. Meanwhile, the direction of the deceased of the commoner families typically follows the direction of traffic towards the cemetery (matching with traffic guidance in the village).

With approximately 91 cremation rituals taking place every year for the whole *banjars* in the village, or one festival every two months in every *banjar*, these funerary festivals do not give rise to any major public inconvenience since they are of a brief duration and, based on the dual principles of *sukha-dukkha* (pleasant-unpleasant) referred to earlier, full respect is always given to the deceased.

c. The route of a ritual expression to the nature

The yearly agenda of a ritual expression to the nature (called *nangluk merana*) taking place in the sea is carried out by the *desa adat* and supported by *banjar* members. On the first day of this ritual, *banjar* or village members assemble at Pura Dalem Khayangan/Dalem Temple, as the central activity of this ritual, to pray for successful implementation. From this temple, they move to other locations (on the coast, in front of the Segara Temple and street intersections) as places for the offering ceremony. Members, who are on standby on the coast during the ritual undertakings, have a duty to the sea by transporting sea water using a traditional boat which is then carried ceremonially as holy water to the Dalem Temple. The holy water is then sprinkled by the priest on to the worshipper and other attending members (Figure 52).

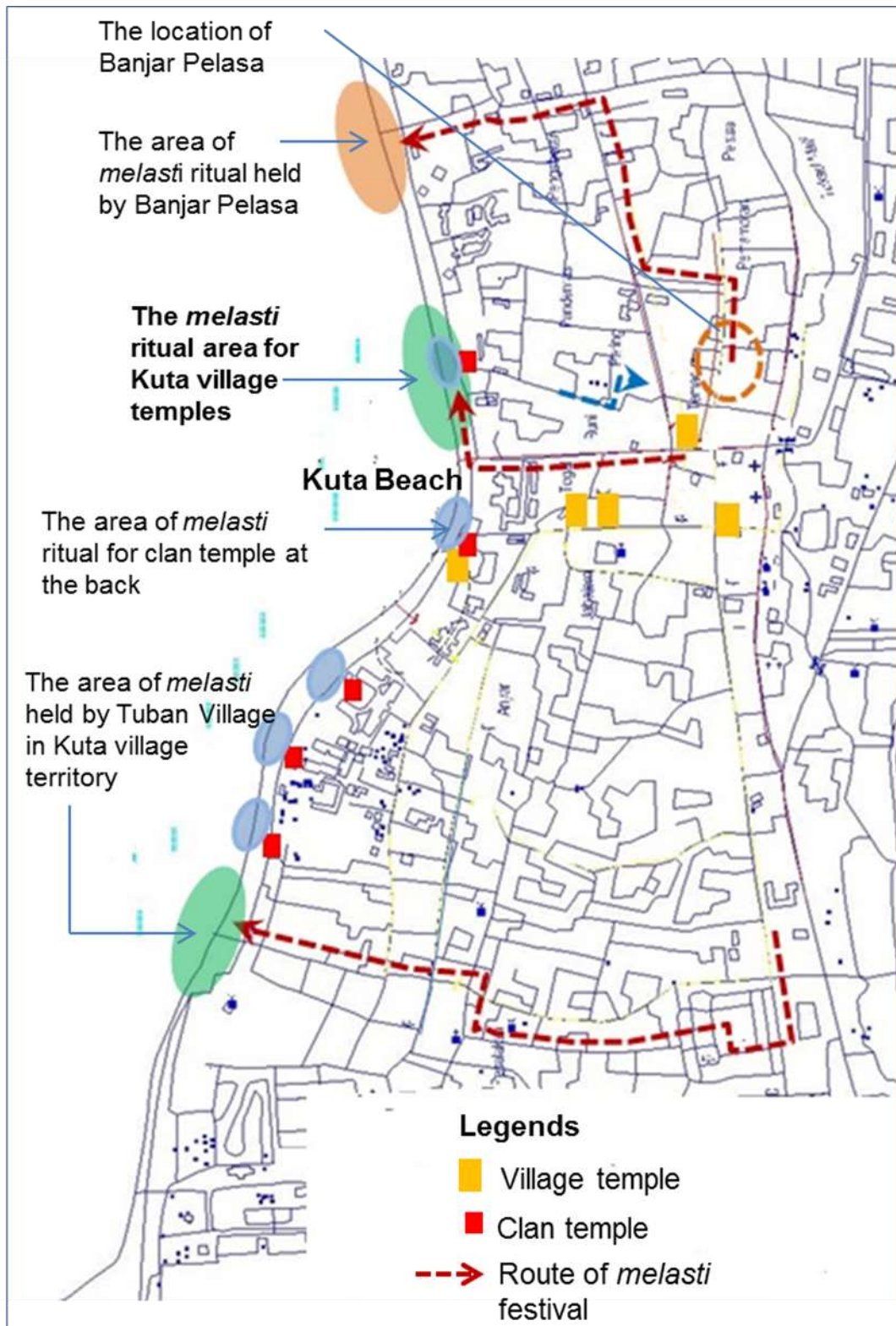


Figure 50: Temple locations, zones and routes of the *melasti* ritual along the beach. Source of map (SDA, 2008).

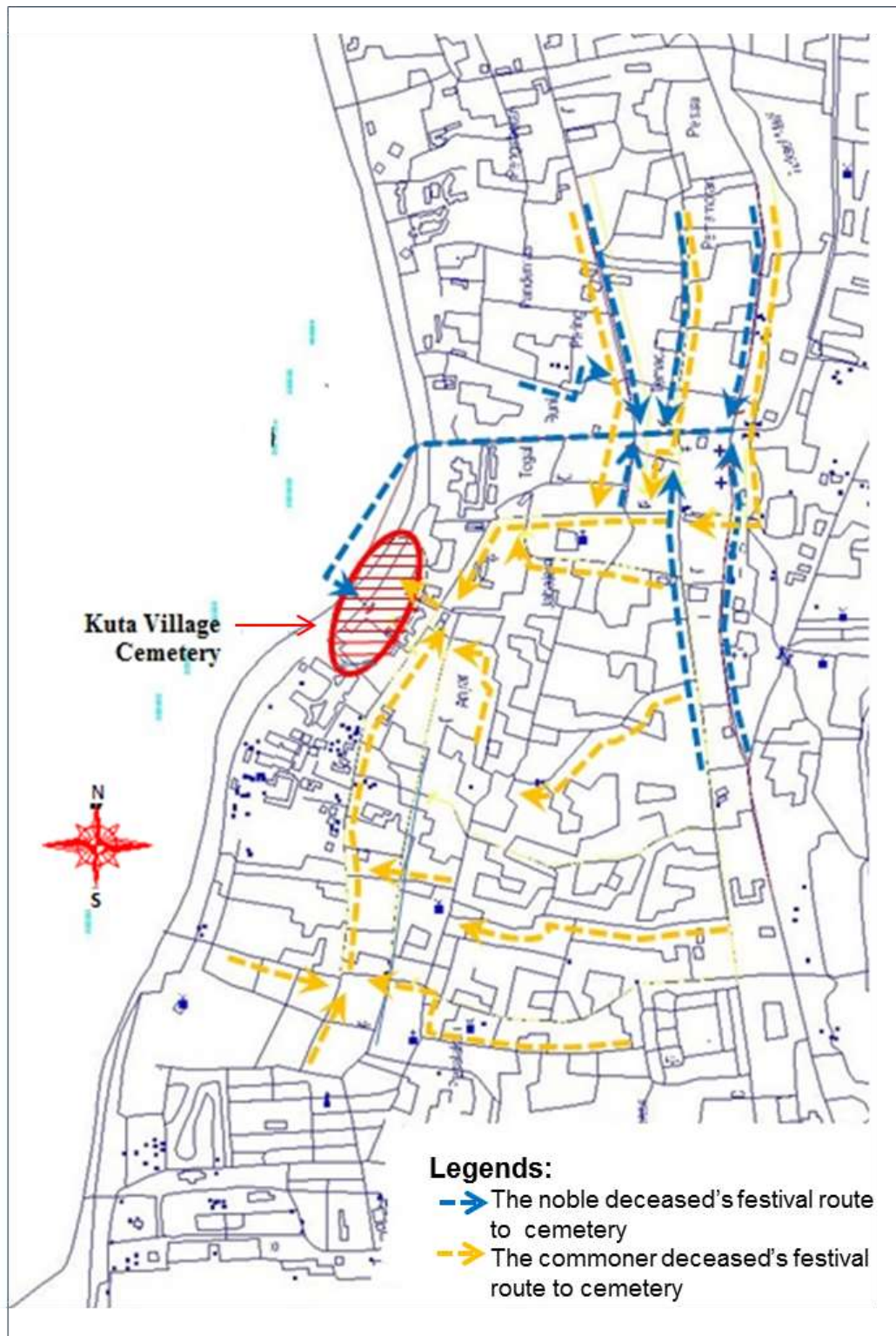


Figure 51: The different routes of cremation processions between gentry and commoner deceased in Kuta coastal village. *Source of map (SDA, 2008).*

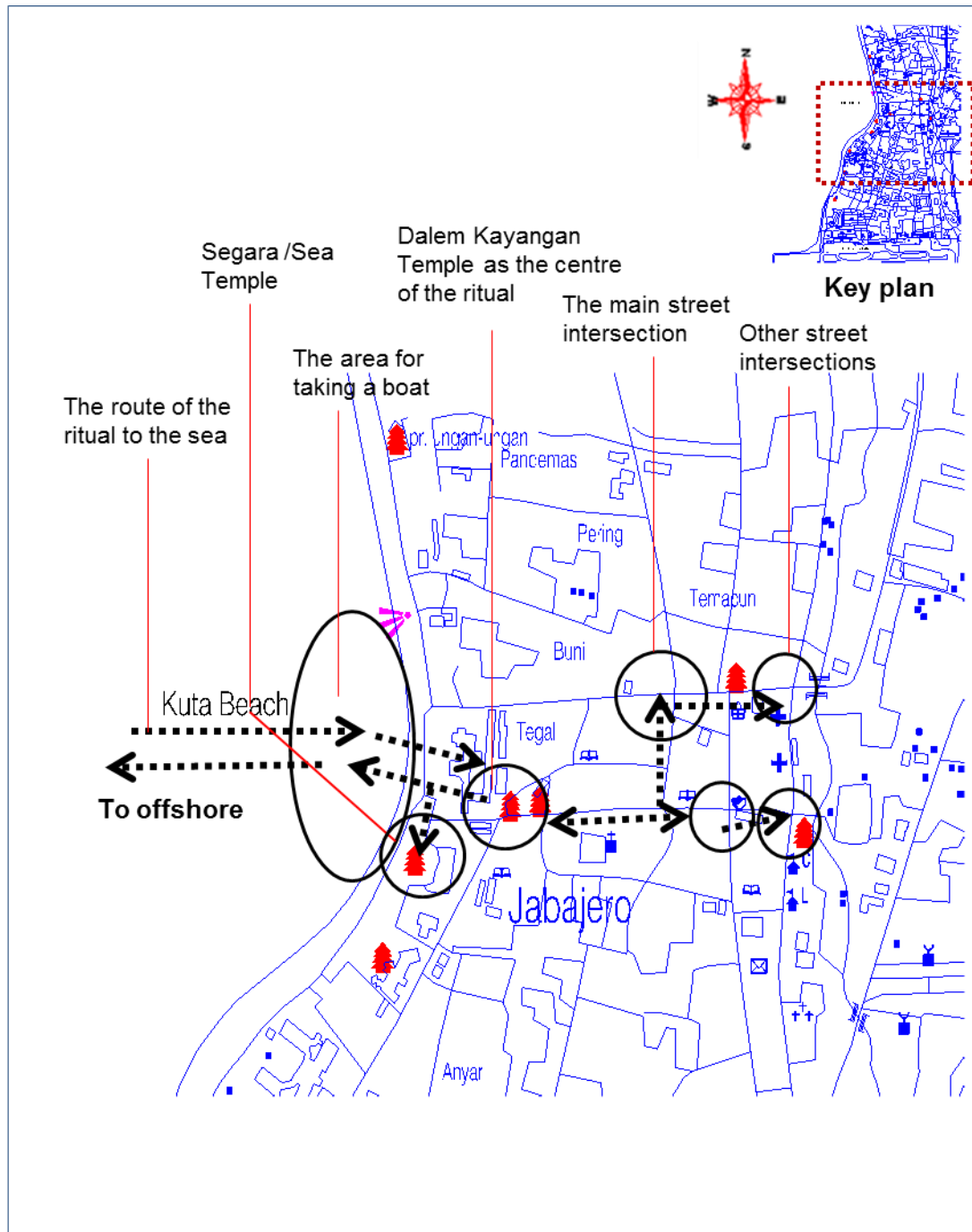


Figure 52: The route of *nangluk merana* that takes place during the 6th dark moon. Source of map (SDA, 2008)

The calendar of rituals and festivals in Kuta Village is organised according to the Balinese calendar system which uses both the 'lunar' and *pawukon* timescales. Those ritual festivals are observed during both full and dark moons every 30 days. Those rituals that adopt the *pawukon* calendar system take place every 210 days. The sixth and ninth dark moons usually occur in December and March and are important days for carrying out the festivals along the streets and the coast in Kuta Village. The diagram below (Figure 53) describes the Hindu calendar according to the lunar calculation system, in which the two dark moons are the most important days for ritual festivals in the village and coast of Kuta. The sixth dark moon, in December, is the day for the ritual expression to the nature (the sea), referred to earlier in the sea and in the Dalem Temple, and the festival of *melasti* takes place in relation to the ninth dark moon that extends into the Balinese New Year (*nyepi* day). Given the discrepancy between the Gregorian (solar) and lunar calendars, sometimes the ninth dark moon takes place in early April. Even though the solar cycle has around 366 days in one cycle (a year) and the lunar cycle has approximately 355 days, both co-exist in the ritual practices of Bali. This is because the lunar calendar has the 13th month (approximately 30 days) every three years, called '*nampih sasih*' and usually takes place in the 11th and 12th months in the lunar calendar system.¹²

Moreover, the calendar used in other ritual festivals is derived from the temple anniversaries and are also based on the *pawukon* calculation system which takes place every 210 days. Because of this calculation, the temple anniversaries sometime occur twice a year. In the interview that was conducted on 16th May 2014 with the head of Kuta Village (Swarsa, 2014) at his office, it was made clear that the festival surrounding the temple anniversaries comes under the management of the *desa adat* Kuta and the community of fishermen. Only two temples celebrate its

¹² The source of the 13th month in the lunar calendar system (called *nampih sasih*) can be founded in the inscription of *Purwaning Wariga* which is translated by I Ketut Wiana (2003).

anniversary by using the lunar calendar system, Pura Melanting 2 (Kuta art market temple 2) constructed in the 1980s and Pura Pesanggrahan (Table 7). In this case, there is little difference with the prevailing tradition in the determination of the anniversary of the temple, although it must not contradict with the Balinese Hindu rules and regulations in determining temple anniversaries. Even though there is a different calculation in the temple anniversaries, March, April, and December months are the most crowded ritual events and festivals in this village, whilst the high tourist seasons usually take place in December and January and July and August which indicates that the most crowded people in the village is during December and January every year.

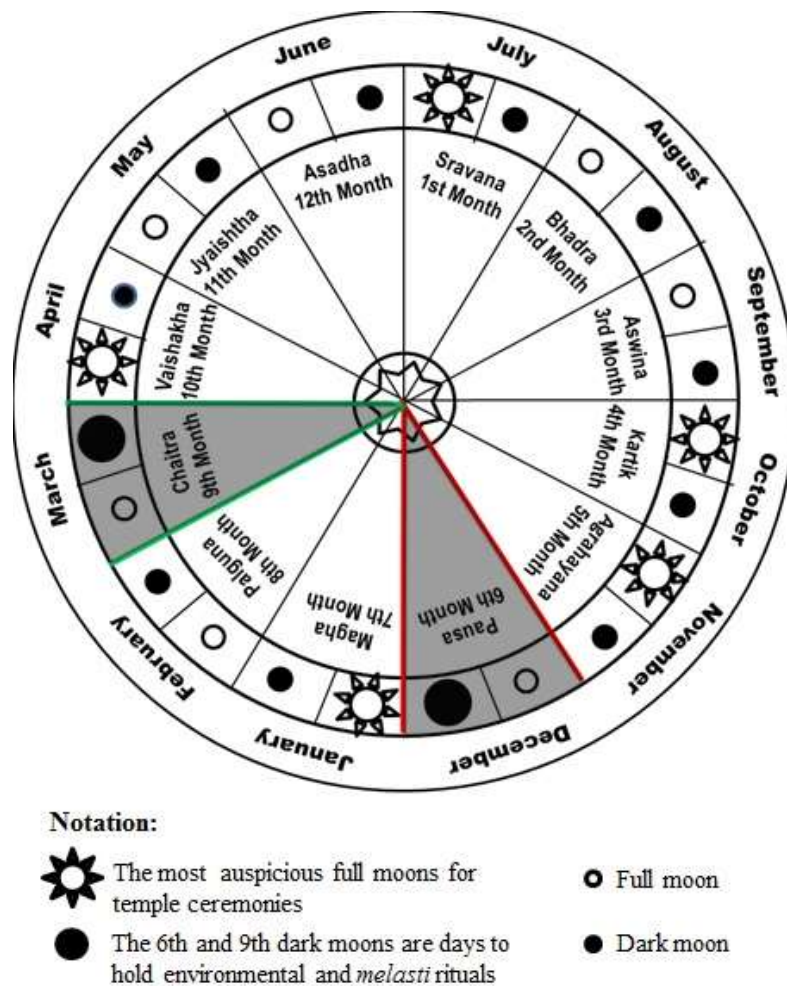


Figure 53: A graphical lunar calendar showing the 6th and 9th dark moons, usually taking place in March and December as crowded ritual events in Kuta coastal village.

Table 7: The list of the village temples' anniversaries in Kuta territory according to the religious calendar.

No	Temple	Anniversary	Group in Charge
1	Pura Desa & Bale Agung	<i>Saniscara</i> (Saturday) <i>Kliwon</i> <i>wuku Kuningan</i>	Banjar Temacun
			Banjar Pemamoran
			Banjar Pering
2	Pura Puseh	<i>Sukra</i> (Friday) <i>Paing</i> , <i>wuku Dungulan</i>	Banjar Pelasa
			Banjar Anyar
3	Pura Dalem Pura Penataran and Pura Prajapati	<i>Budha</i> (Wednesday) <i>Manis</i> <i>wuku Medangsia</i>	Banjar Jaba Jero
			Banjar Pande Mas
			Banjar Pengabetan
			Banjar Merthajati
4	Pura Penyarikan	<i>Budha</i> (Wednesday) <i>Wage</i> <i>wuku Langkir</i>	Banjar Buni
			Banjar Tegal
5	Pura Segara	<i>Budha</i> (Wednesday) <i>Wage</i> <i>wuku Kelawu</i>	Banjar Segara
			Banjar Teba Sari
6	Pura Melanting 1 at Open Market	<i>Sukra</i> (Friday) <i>Umanis</i> , <i>wuku Merakih</i>	<i>Desa Adat</i>
			Shopper
7	Pura Melanting 2 at Art Market	<i>Purnama Jyestha</i> (11 th full moon)	<i>Desa Adat</i>
			Shopper
8	Pura Pesanggrahan (Fisherman Temple)	<i>Purnama Kelima</i> (5 th full moon)	<i>Sekehe Jukung</i> (Fisherman Members)

Source: (D. A. Kuta, 2013a)

5.4. Contemporary Challenges

Kuta Village has a long historical background relating to the Balinese Kingdom and its later transformations in the 20th and 21st centuries as a

result of tourism. The impact from both has made the community in Kuta both more aware of its deep traditions and more resilient in dealing with contemporary challenges when compared to other villages. Notwithstanding, this twofold character of its indigenous citizens, Kuta Village, along with elsewhere in Bali, faces major and unavoidable challenges in the implementation of ritual traditions as part of their everyday life and beliefs. Since ritual traditions form a vitally important part of the civic life of the Balinese, the specific issues concerning maintaining these ritual traditions are increasingly dependent upon tourism and the impact of globalisation, life style and natural phenomenon, as well as law and regulations.

5.4.1 Tourism and Globalisation

Tourism has become a significant factor in the life of Bali since the early 1970s. Kuta Village has become the most favourite destination for tourists on the island according to results of a survey carried out by the Bali Tourism Agency in 2001. As a global industry, tourism carries significant weight and influence on community life (Macleod, 2004, p. 3). These influences are not just economic but are also social and cultural as the researcher has already outlined. Cheater (1995, p. 125) states that tourism has an immense potential for affecting global relations at a socio-political, financial and ecological level. Furthermore, Lanfant (1995, p. 5) argues that the pressure of tourism on societies can accelerate their economies and thereby impose different dynamics of change that has significant implications in sustaining local identities.

Giddens (1996, p. 64) states that globalisation itself is mostly characterised by intensification of social relations across the world, linking distant localities whereby experiences in one location are influenced by events taking place far away in another and vice versa. Furthermore, the impact of globalisation according to David Lehmann (2009) is as follows:

“...may bring about the unpacking of local cultural complexes but in the process it creates multifarious local identities and criss-crossing frontiers, so that diversity comes to rule more than ever before in local space, even while similarities and link across social and spatial distances also become ever more evident.” (Lehmann, 2009, p. 409)

Due to the onset of globalisation and subsequent developments connecting closely to tourism, it is impossible to talk about the former without acknowledging the latter as Bali amply demonstrates (Hitchcock & Putra, 2007, p. 5). As one of the main tourist resorts in Bali, Kuta Village best summonses this inter-dependency. When the terrorist attacks took place in the Kuta area on 12th October 2002, the impact on tourism was not just confined to this area but extended across the whole of Indonesia. Even after the terrorist attack in New York on 11th September 2001, there was a significant drop in tourism in Bali. This demonstrates the global nature of tourism in general, of which Bali is a prime example, whereby sensitivity of incidences in one part of the world can significantly influence another.

The role of social media and global markets to accelerate information across the world has also become a driving factor, as guests are now able to receive information easily regarding tourist sites and their events/festivals. The *melasti* ritual festival as an annual Kuta festival has become a highlight for tourists travelling to Bali. As anecdotally confirmed by one American tourist who said “I visited Kuta Village to see the *melasti* ritual festival through information from my daughter returning from Bali and from the internet”.¹³

Hotel management usually promotes the *melasti* festival and directly benefits from the event for specific profit-oriented purposes. Indeed, the profit generated from the festival is particularly beneficial to hotels but without any fair distribution to the wider community. On the other hand, the community seems reluctant to participate in such profit-making activities,

¹³ An unstructured interview with Mrs Linda Pershing who is a professor from California State University took place in the day of Kuta *melasti* ritual festival on 27th March 2014.

believing that it undermines the sacred character of the event. Even though the implementation of this ritual tradition is becoming more difficult each year due to economic and commercial reasons, there is a universal opinion that it must not be stopped. If the ritual festival only provides financial benefit to the private companies, this may become a source of conflict between these organisations and the wider community. In order to sustain this tradition for the future, by ensuring a fairer distribution of benefits for all parties, it is necessary to examine a number of issues, as the next chapter will highlight.

5.4.2 Lifestyle and Public Life

The interaction of tourism and globalisation, and its impact on local people, has given rise, among other things, to changes in the location of boundaries which brings new groups (new life styles) in new settings (Lehmann, 2009, p. 414). Even when tourists visit a place such as Bali for short periods of time, they have a strong impact because of their propensity to communicate with local people whose residence are often in proximity to the tourist accommodation. Agents of change (whether local or from outside) are believed not only to embrace economic and social developments but also other aspects of life, such as political and cultural aspects, not to mention belief systems and religious behaviour. Macleod (2004, p. 187) suggests that the most profound impact of tourism can take place in the personal arenas of the private households in domestic lives and in emotional experiences which react to deeply held beliefs of the moral fabric of the group of people who form that community. Doxey (1976) strongly suggests that tourism in residential destination areas has an evolution and an intensification that goes through a series of stages, from euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism and then to a final situation whereby the lifestyles of individuals and communities (including its physical environment) will never be the same again. In addition to tourism being arguably the most significant agent of change of a community's lifestyle, there are other factors which may affiliate with

tourism to profoundly influence lifestyles. As stated by K. Van Eijck & B. Bargeman (2004) education and age have a greater impact on lifestyle rather than economic, religious or political factors.

As already noted, Kuta Village was originally established as a fishing community in the 18th century where fishing activities were the main livelihood, in addition to farming coconut plantations during the later era of the Badung kingdom in the 19th century. The foundational change of the lifestyle of indigenous people took place in the 1970s after Kuta became one of the most important tourist destinations in Bali. Because of this, social interaction with foreign tourists could not be avoided, influencing them in sometimes profound ways, including learning foreign languages. The change of lifestyle was followed by changes in the arrangement and function of their dwellings by providing guest rooms for tourists. In addition, the provision of food and drink for tourists that responds to their culture and taste was inevitable to further impact on the lifestyle of the hosts. Furthermore, these changes in the livelihood of the local people also led to significant changes in their daily routines which in turn affected ritual practices.

Tourist facilities located in Kuta Village are owned by few local people with most of them working in the private sectors in whereby their “free” time (outside work) is increasingly limited. This gives a significant decline in adherence ritual to traditional practices in their homes and community. However, their participation is still needed in most ritual ceremonies, which are not only for their families but are also for the benefit of the valued community, as members of both *banjar* and *desa adat*. Balancing the demands of work obligations of ritual practices and involvement in the community has become a major challenge for members today.

The recent challenge derives largely from the global market and the ASEAN Economy Community, (i.e. free trade in South East Asia), recently launched in 2015. The agreement means that workers from other countries in South East Asia will be able to seek employment in Indonesia

through tight competition. Even though the Minister of Tourism and the Creative Economy of the Indonesia Republic are very optimistic about the opportunities, there is an inevitable downside as some commentators are pessimistic about the capacity of Indonesian workers to compete in the global market (B. Post, 2014, 6th May, p. 20). Further discussion of this issue will be made in the next chapter which is partly based on fieldwork survey results.

The rapid growth of tourist facilities in Kuta Village has led to a rapid reduction in open spaces for ritual processions and festivals. As a consequence, the increasing building density parallels increasing population (1,750 per sq.km has resulted in narrower open spaces (Statistik, 2014). This includes beach fronts and their public access. In some cases the loss of open spaces (public spaces) was largely the result of the implementation of the Kuta Beach Rehabilitation in 2008, which was established due to private interests and fishermen's interests (Figure 54). Natural phenomenon often accounts for changes in the morphology of beaches and coastal regions. For instance, climate change is commonly regarded as the main cause of beach erosion along with other factors. Appropriate solutions to minimise these natural and manmade impacts have still not been addressed, since the preservation of culture, ritual tradition and custom closely relates to the use of open and public spaces, many of which significantly contribute to the civic realm.

5.4.3 Law and Regulation

The success of towns and villages in Bali, with their integrated spaces of sacred precincts and civic buildings can best be measured under the 'banner' of ritual and ceremony. This feature is inserted into their customary laws at the village level (called *awig-awig*). This law, however, is under the remit of official state legislation regulated by central government. Even though both regional and national policies take into consideration the needs of local people, especially in ritual practices and beliefs, the implementation of customary law in the use of public spaces

has to abide by regulations that are not always receptive to traditions. There is no clear statement in government policy and regulation that clarifies the use of public spaces by the community for ritual/ceremonial purposes; they only tacitly acknowledge respect for local 'wisdom' in a common basis for implementing law. Accordingly, permission and coordination with local government is absolutely necessary.

We can see this evidenced in the policies and regulations for the management of beaches/littoral regions, including Kuta beach. One of their regulations stipulates that setback lines of every building structure on the coast must be 100 metres from high water level (HWL) to onshore (R. Indonesia, 2007a, p. 3/article1:21). It sounds like a sensible objective but in reality the setback lines of many of the tourist resorts in Kuta do not meet these regulations. At one level, this indicates that the laws and regulations set out by the government have not been properly implemented. Since law enforcement, control and monitoring are generally weak in Bali, opportunities to exploit the situation for private/commercial gain, by encroaching on public spaces, has become commonplace.

The implementation of processions in festival events in Kuta Village has given rise to various disputes in recent years, which relate to access of public spaces for periods of time (although no evidence of public inconvenience was highlighted in the survey). The main issue centres on traffic congestion, even though the route of these festivals is in the opposite direction to the traffic flow. These disputes even extend to the ceremonial activities on the beaches which, as the researcher has already been indicated, form a key place for enacting sacred rituals forming the culminating part of these processions.

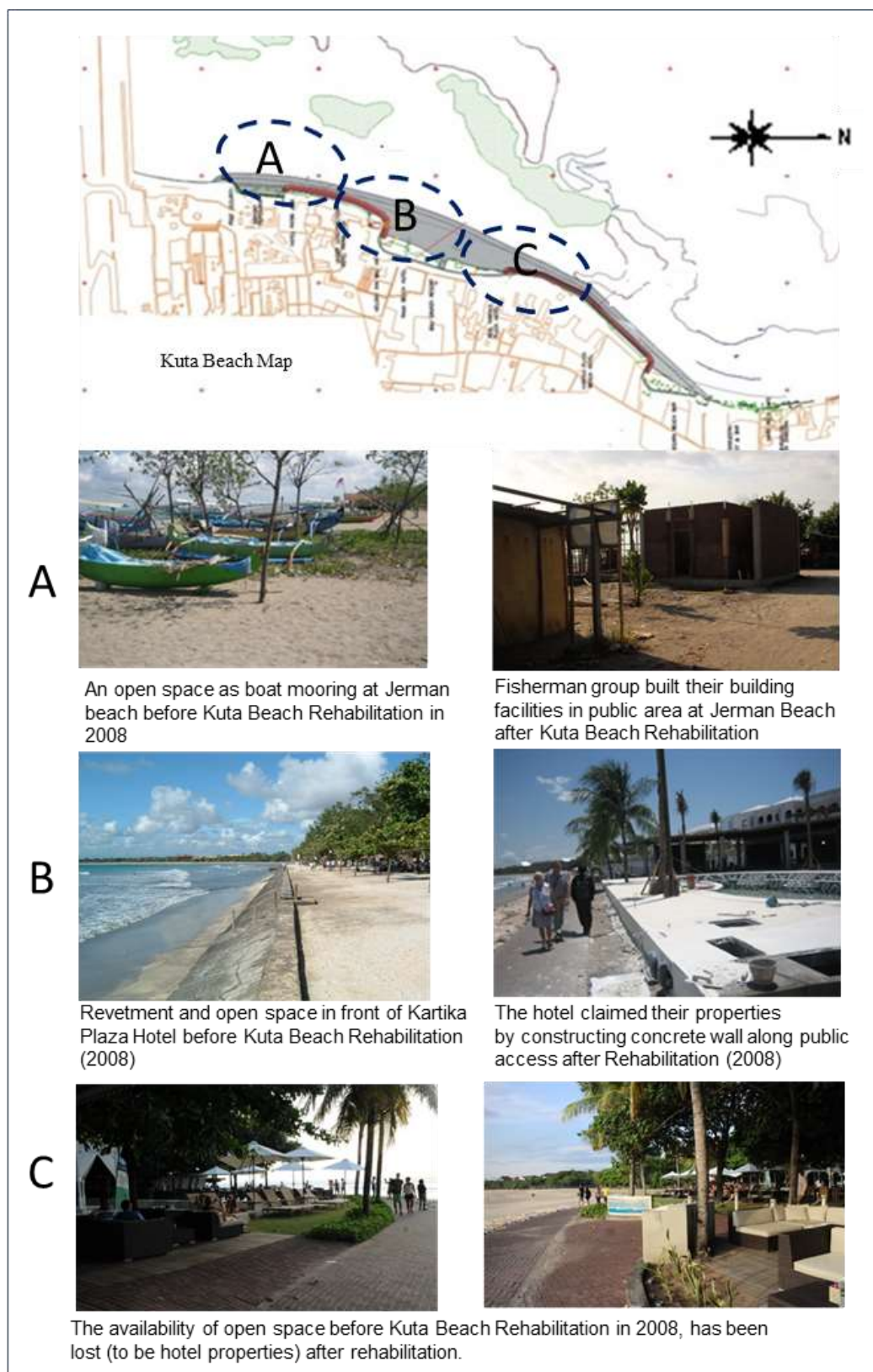


Figure 54: The loss of open spaces (public spaces) in three locations after Kuta Beach Rehabilitation in 2008. Source of map (SDA, 2008).

5.5 Conclusion

The long history of Kuta Village, from its root as a fishing and agrarian community to its more recent development as a tourist destination, has been accompanied by significant changes in the ethnic mix of other populations with the influx of many tourist residents. Notwithstanding this change, the traditional indigenous people of the Balinese community still constitute the main population of the village and dominate its social and religious life. Since the 1970s, when tourism was really established, the Kuta geography and its outlying areas have witnessed significant and long-lasting transformations that continue to influence the socio-cultural, economic and politic lives of the community. From these changes, two key developments have emerged, as outlined in this chapter: 1) construction of tourist facilities, and 2) a significant increase in population density. Importantly, this twofold impact is matched by the unprecedented wealth of the village, which has significant commercial and cultural assets when compared to other regions in Indonesia.

The ritual practices and ceremonial events constitute the most important activities of the community which demonstrates the continuing devotion to their gods and goddesses, and accompanied by purification rituals in the temples located in different parts of the town. In spite of the significant human and monetary capital allocated in supporting these ceremonies and their surrounding built fabric, there remain important challenges that sometimes undermined these ritual practices, such as challenges created by a combination of tourism and globalisation, lifestyle and competences, the impact of natural phenomenon and laws and regulations from local and central governments. To what extent these challenges bring positive and negative impacts to the ritual traditions of the village will be considered in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 6: Contemporary Analysis of Kuta Coastal Village

6.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to provide the results of fieldwork in Kuta Village which can be divided into two main parts. The first part relates to changes in the village's civic and religious life and its impact on society at large. The second part provides a critical examination of this impact, in terms of social, economic and politic aspects arising from increasing commercialisation and privatisation of the beaches, and their urban peripheries. From these investigations, the chapter will reveal the views and opinions of stakeholders of the regions and the civic/religious festivals in Kuta, as well as members of the public who rely on these spaces in the town.

The opinions of six different groups were determined by conducting a series of surveys, collating the views of different stakeholder groups as outlined earlier in Chapter 2. Respondents' opinions about the value of these civic spaces in the village, as well as public reaction to recent changes, were carefully recorded. Each group of stakeholders will have different opinions based on their background, knowledge, experiences, and personal priorities. Whilst not grounded in any over-arching theoretical premise, or tested on the basis of validity in regard to 'evidence', assessing public reaction is nevertheless an important factor in supporting the research findings about the use (or misuse) of public space.

These reactions derive from various parties, which are not only from the general public as beach users (local community, guests/tourists and hotel companies), spectators, environmentalists, and private companies employing Balinese people, but also from government bodies (Badung and Bali). Their reactions have been recorded by conducting a number of questionnaires and interviews. The profiles of the different stakeholders

involved in this research, are not described in this chapter but can be found with more detailed information (questionnaires, interview questions, etc.) in Appendix 1 & 2.

6.2 Physical Changes to Civic Space

This first section will look at the results of observational/site survey and text-based research carried out to identify changes that have occurred as a result of tourist development. There are four territorial zones or categories, which form the focus of this investigation and are the basis for evaluating and analysing the physical changes to civic space in Kuta beach and village: 1) village coastal territory, 2) village temples, 3) the routes of ritual processions, and 4) ritual zones on the beach. Many of these overlap and intersect, providing the framework for sometimes complex relationships between everyday commercial interests and the occasions for civic and religious ceremony.

6.2.1 Village Coastal Territory

This part of the research aims to identify the changes that have happened in the coastal village regions. The rapid growth of development of Kuta Village has not abated since the village was formally identified as a main tourist destination and attraction in Bali in the early 1970s. Since then, I have already indicated in Chapter 5, rapid development of land, from open spaces to dense urban development for commercial use, can be clearly identified in the maps of Kuta from 1955 to 2012. Even though this village has a generally high building density, land conversion has been unprecedented, based on data of Land Use between 2010 and 2013. Investors in commercial developments in Bali have, of course, greatly benefited financially from rising land and property values. Today there is only one lot of land along the stretch of Kuta beach that remains undeveloped. Located at the rear of the fishermen's boat mooring area (called Jerman beach), it is likely that the current land owner will consider developing this site for more tourist facilities. However, one downside to

this proposal (which may mean that the site is saved from such development) is that the site does not have direct access to the beach due to the fishermen's boat moorings and storage facilities.

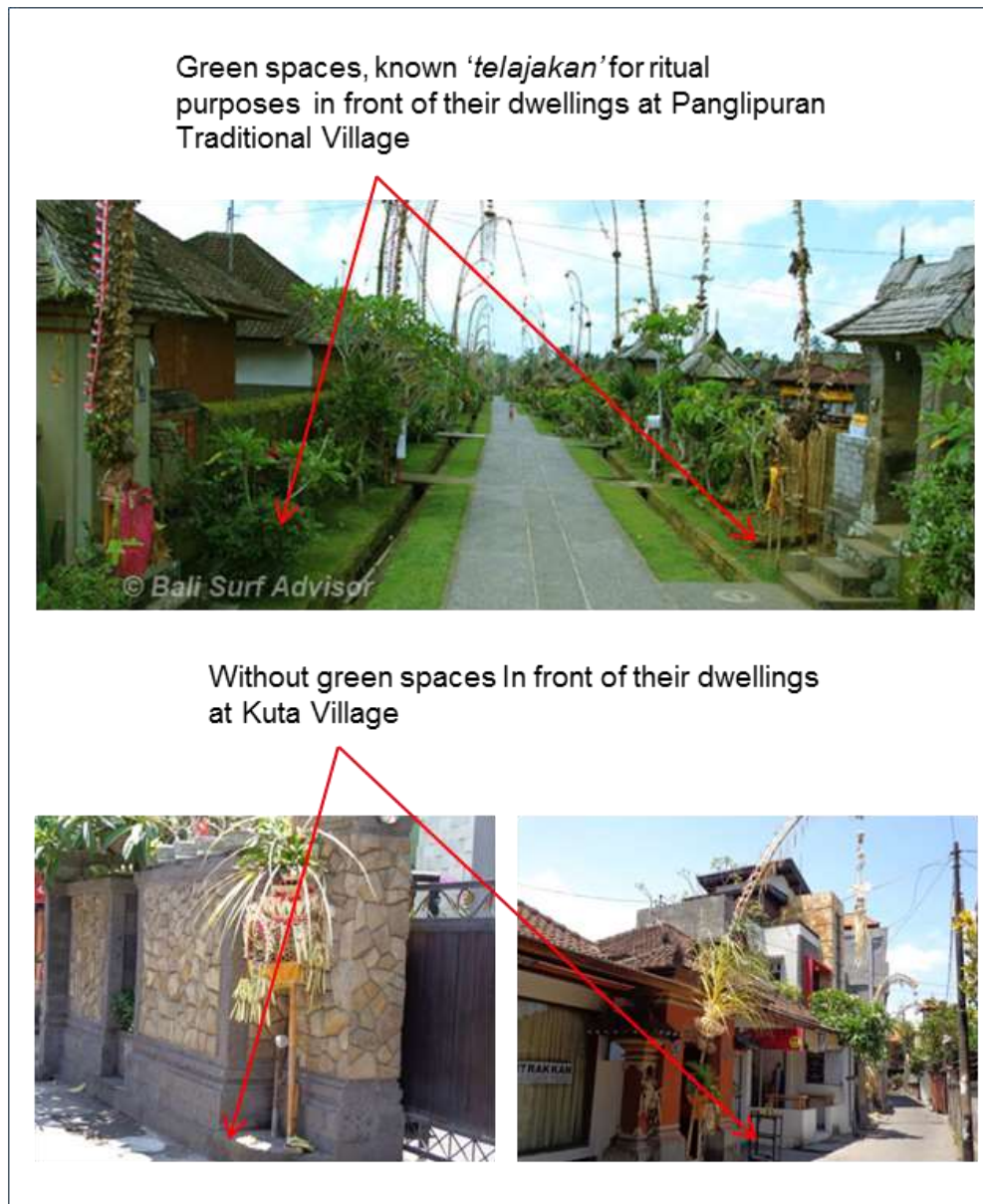


Figure 55: A comparison between Panglipuran Traditional Village (top) and Kuta Village (below) in preserving religious spaces along the front of these dwellings. Source of figure: www.balisurfadvisor.com (cited 25/8/15).

One of the major problems with the recent constructions in Kuta, as already outlined, is the tendency to build illegally without obtaining

planning permission, resulting in uncontrolled developments and serious overcrowding. These developments are not just related to tourism however, but to other commercial and housing projects, reflecting a general culture of ineffective regulation and legal enforcement. One of the consequences of these developments, when seen in relation to ritual practices, is that most traditional dwellings in Kuta have disappeared and been replaced by modern buildings that often ignore the traditional lifestyle of the inhabitants. At the same time, common practices of further extending these dwellings along their frontages has led to the loss of key open space (known as '*telajakan*') which have traditionally been used for domestic ritual purposes (Figure 55).

Site surveys and records have shown that the fisherman village has gradually been converting into a tourism village and urban town. This has led to significant changes, especially along the beach traditionally used by the fishermen. Before the Independence of Indonesia, the coastal area along Kuta beach was mainly occupied by the fishermen, given that this territory was treated as a separate zone from the village. The area, moreover, carried symbolic significance as a cosmic fulcum (*loka*) for the daily lives of the fishermen, ultimately demarcated by the location of their temple. In contrast, these territories have become a commercial (profane) cosmos since Independence, largely due to the fact that the land has been largely absorbed into Kuta Village. This boundary/territorial change has necessitated both symbolically and socially, an adjustment to their self-identity and mode of existence in relation to on-going village development, whilst the land surrounding the fishermen's temple is now owned by a private company. Even though they could use the hotel access to provide ritual offerings in their temple, their territorial independence was seriously compromised. In 2008, however, a public access, in the form of walkway in front of the temple, was constructed by the central government via the Bali Beach Conservation Project (BBCP) of Kuta (SDA, 2008). This public route has significantly addressed this problem, enabling direct access to the temple without trespassing on hotel grounds (Figure 56)

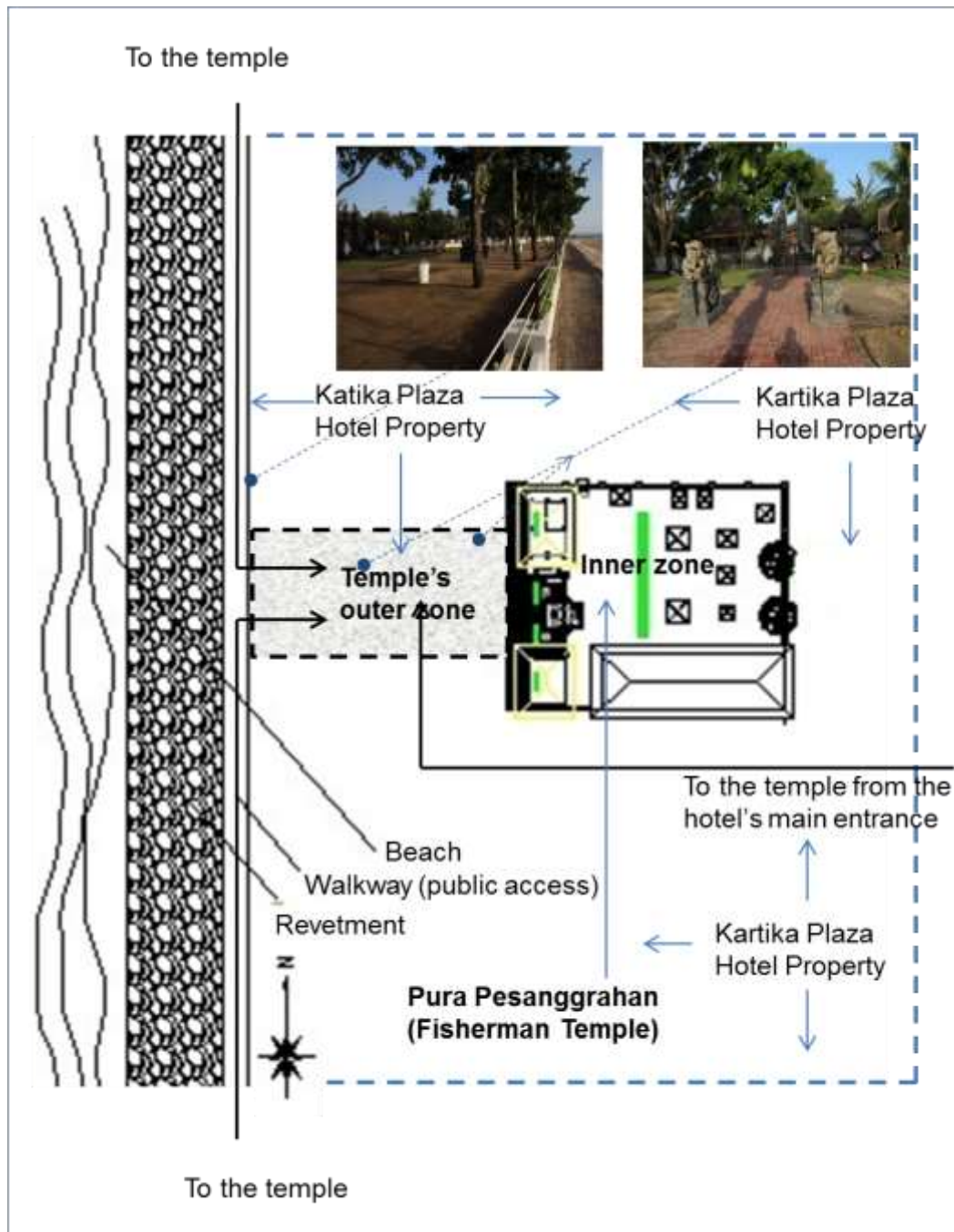


Figure 56: Recent situation of Pesanggrahan Temple as the fisherman's temple at Kuta coastal village.

Besides dealing with a loss of territorial guardianship, and the accompanying impact this has had on their ritual practices, the fishermen also have had to face serious erosion of the beaches, giving rise to a

narrowing of the available terrain along the seafront. The negative impact of this erosion, however, has not only affected the livelihoods of the fishing community, but has also affected the activities of both tourists and local residents on the beach. One of the most important aspects for the Kuta community, as I have already described, is the implementation of the ritual traditions on the coast.

Significant erosion has taken place on the southern part which is mainly caused by the construction of the International Ngurah Rai Airport's runway, in addition to natural phenomena and climate change. The impact of this runway on the eroded beach was analysed by Nippon Koei Consultants, Japanese experts on coastal construction, during the implementation of Bali Beach Conservation Project (BBCP) for Kuta beach (SDA, 2008). From the questionnaire survey undertaken as part of this research, it became clear that most respondents think that the airport runway was the main cause of erosion of Kuta beach. Although this beach has been conserved since 2008 by constructing submerged breakwaters, the erosion cannot be halted altogether (it is estimated approximately 2,000 m³ of sand loss per year). It indicates that this beach needs continual maintenance requiring financial support and coordination with the different stakeholders.

6.2.2 Village Temples

By looking at the location of the three village temples, as a source of identity of Balinese villages along the east side, the middle and the west sides of this territory reveal that this village layout was guided by the principles of *catuspatha* (cross pattern), dividing the territory by a street intersection (Figure 57). In addition, it was based on the geographical setting of the village in which the sea is located to the west of the village. Based on established rules and conventions of the temple design, every village temple should be surrounded by open spaces framed by a ceremonial boundary, called *jaba sisi* or outer zones, which can also be used for access. Dwellings or other buildings located close to the village

temple must be located at a distance of at least as much as the height of the temple's boundary fence or at the priest's fathom (known as a *depa agung*). This rule is also recorded in the Regional Spatial Planning of Bali Province (see Chapter 4).

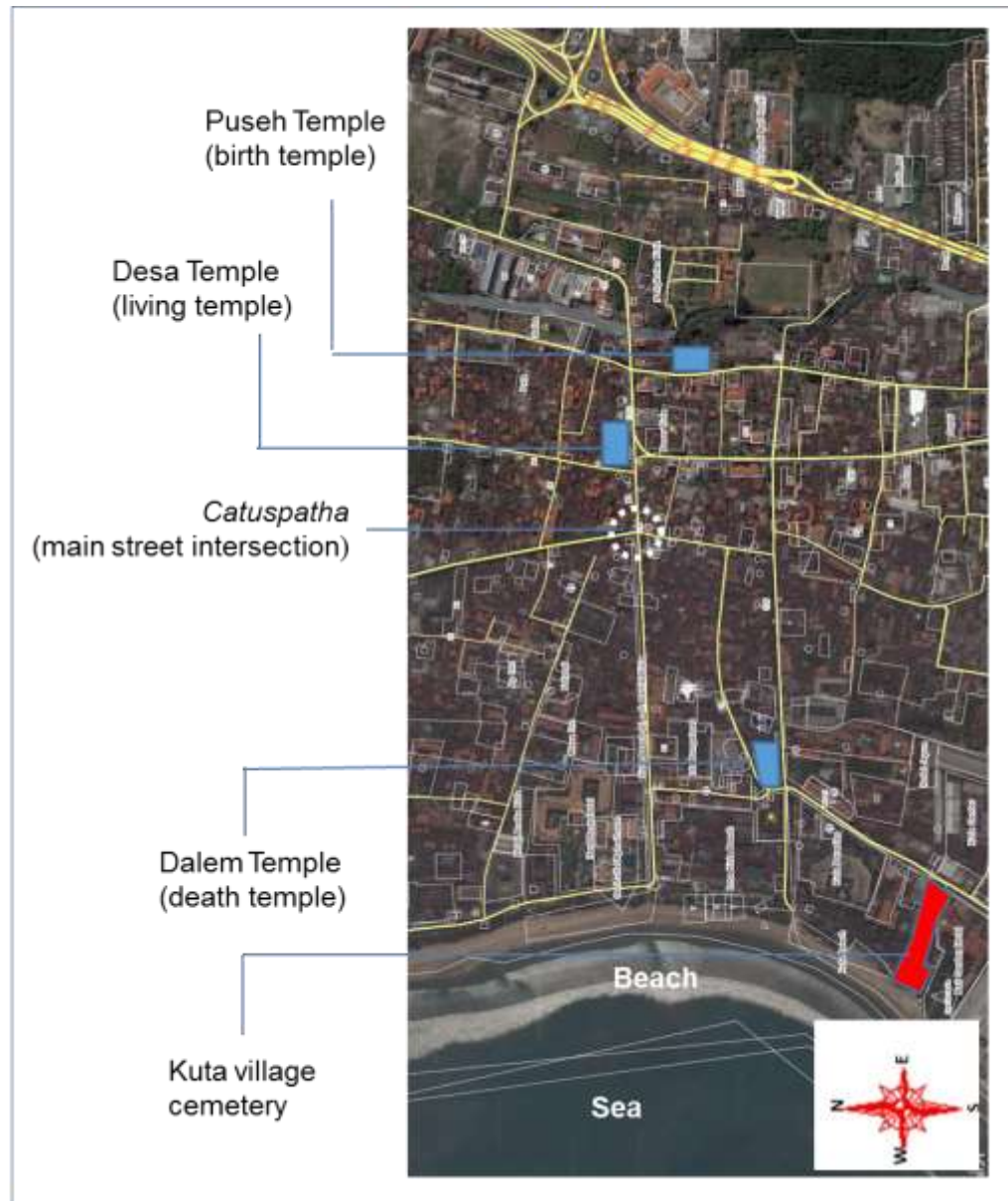


Figure 57: Kuta coastal village is characterised by imposing road junctions in the urban territory, *source of map (wikimapia.org)*.

Even though the research has revealed that there is no data on the initial development of the village temples, the changes that have taken place in

their religious spaces can be evaluated on the basis of respecting or adhering to certain written rules in the inscriptions of *Bhamakertih* and *Hasta Kosali*. Principally, the three village temples must have a wide space at the front, known as the outer zone/religious space or the *jaba sisi*. This space is also traditionally used as a means of access to enter the main gate of the temples. The function of this space, however, has changed to become the main public access, so that it no longer has an outer zone, or *jaba sisi*. As a consequence, activities between the religious life of the community and the public realm intersect through the ceremonial activities of these temples. Hence, the involvement of the traditional security guards to manage traffic during ceremonial has become even more important.

Besides the formality of the temple fronts, the rear of the Desa and Bale Agung, Dalem and Segara Temples have limited space (with no access), an arrangement that is not appropriate to the design principles of Balinese Hindu temples. This transgression to traditional rules was due to the sacred precincts being closed by other recent public facilities. A similar transgression can be found at the Puseh Temple, in which there is no access on the right side, whilst the rear is an undeveloped area (Figure 58 & 59).

Furthermore, the Dalem Temple and cemetery form an integrated space located at end of the village boundary. A green field/open space, situated next to the cemetery, demarcates a transition or liminal zone to another adjoining village. This arrangement reiterates the pattern of Balinese spatial architecture outlined in Chapter 4. Today, the surrounding religious spaces of the Dalem Khayangan Temple have largely disappeared as a result of the intrusion of other buildings (hotels, shops, art market and other public buildings) that obstruct the historical connection between temple and cemetery. Without the provision of religious spaces (Figure 60), the temple precinct is encroached by the urban fabric of adjacent

streets. This situation has brought about a negative impact on the ritual procession of the temples.

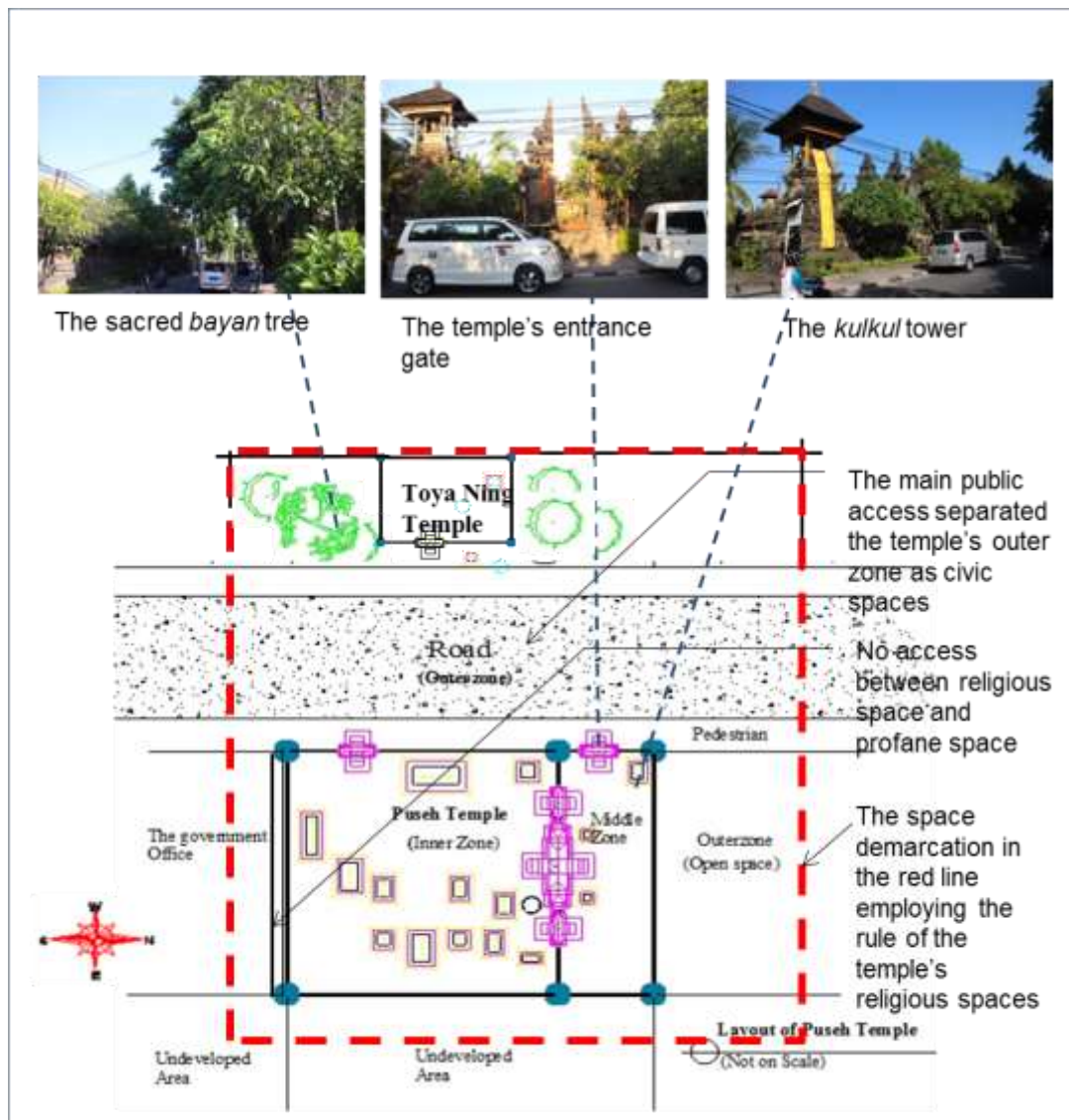


Figure 58: The outer zone of Puseh Temple served as the main public access separating the Toya Ning Temple at the cross roads.

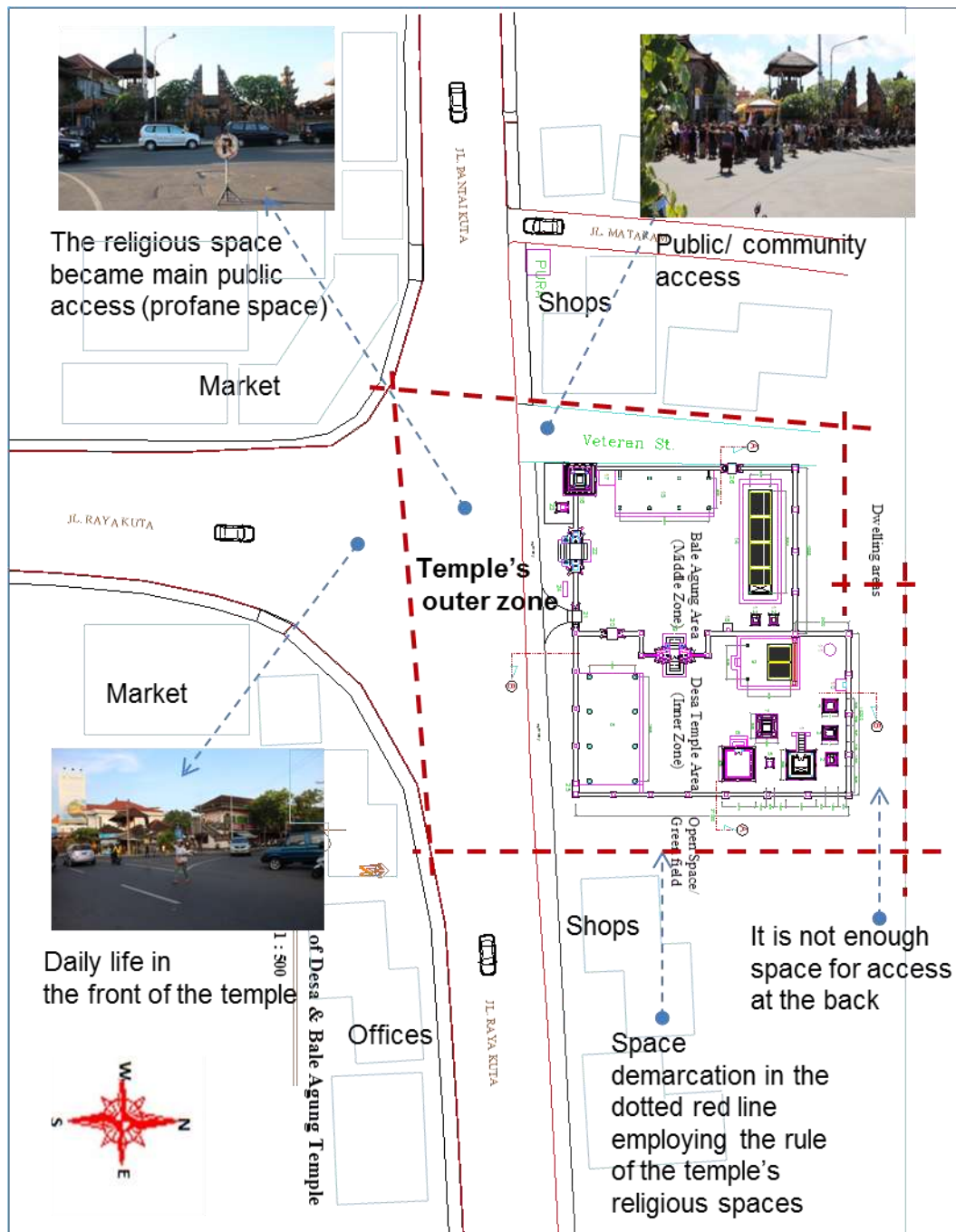


Figure 59: The outer zone of Desa and Bale Agung Temple served as the main public access with no access at the rear.

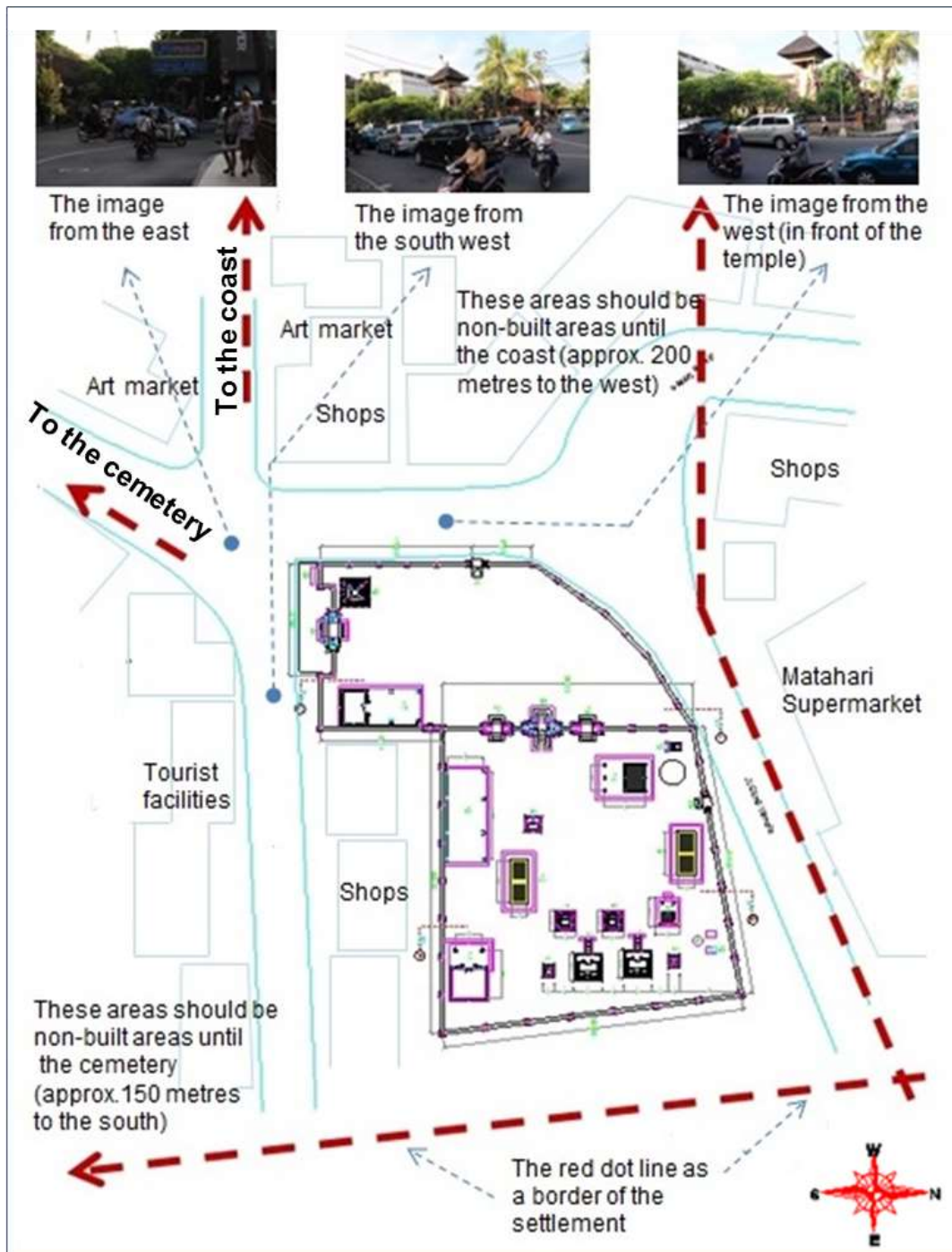


Figure 60: Plan indicates a loss of space between the Dalem Khayangan Temple and its adjacent cemetery.

6.2.3 Ritual Zones

Whilst the religious and civic spaces of the village have gradually disappeared due to economic and commercial reasons, the narrowing and compartmentalising of coastal areas, such as beach-fronts, are the result of a number of factors (illegal 'land-grab' by unscrupulous hotel companies/managers due to unclear boundaries between private and state ownerships, and land/beach erosion), the demarcated ritual territories of the surrounding areas of the village have been well maintained by the community. This has meant that there has been no significant change to the traditional ceremonial practices. The territory used for the annual *melasti* festival, for example, has been preserved and protected, although this zone is the most crowded zone in Kuta Village for tourist activities and other public events. On the other hand, the zone of the cremation rituals, which is more intensively used by the 13 *banjars* in the village community, is relatively less crowded.

We are given a good indication of the varying levels of crowding (Figure 61) in those zones where tourism and ceremonial procession comeingle. We see this in particular in the very sensitive zones reserved for the *melasti* rituals and processions. In spite of one's initial impression of chaos and collision of these events, the relation between religious and profane spaces during different occasions, is generally respected. This is because the community is very tolerant of and receptive to tourists, and in the main tourists respect these Balinese rituals, as evidenced in the polling survey conducted as part of this research. The setting and atmosphere of the rituals on the beach, on the other hand, present increasing challenges as it is very difficult to sacralise the cosmos through ritual enactments (such as offerings) when the ritual performance is surrounded by spectators who are less sensitive to certain protocols of dress and behaviour.

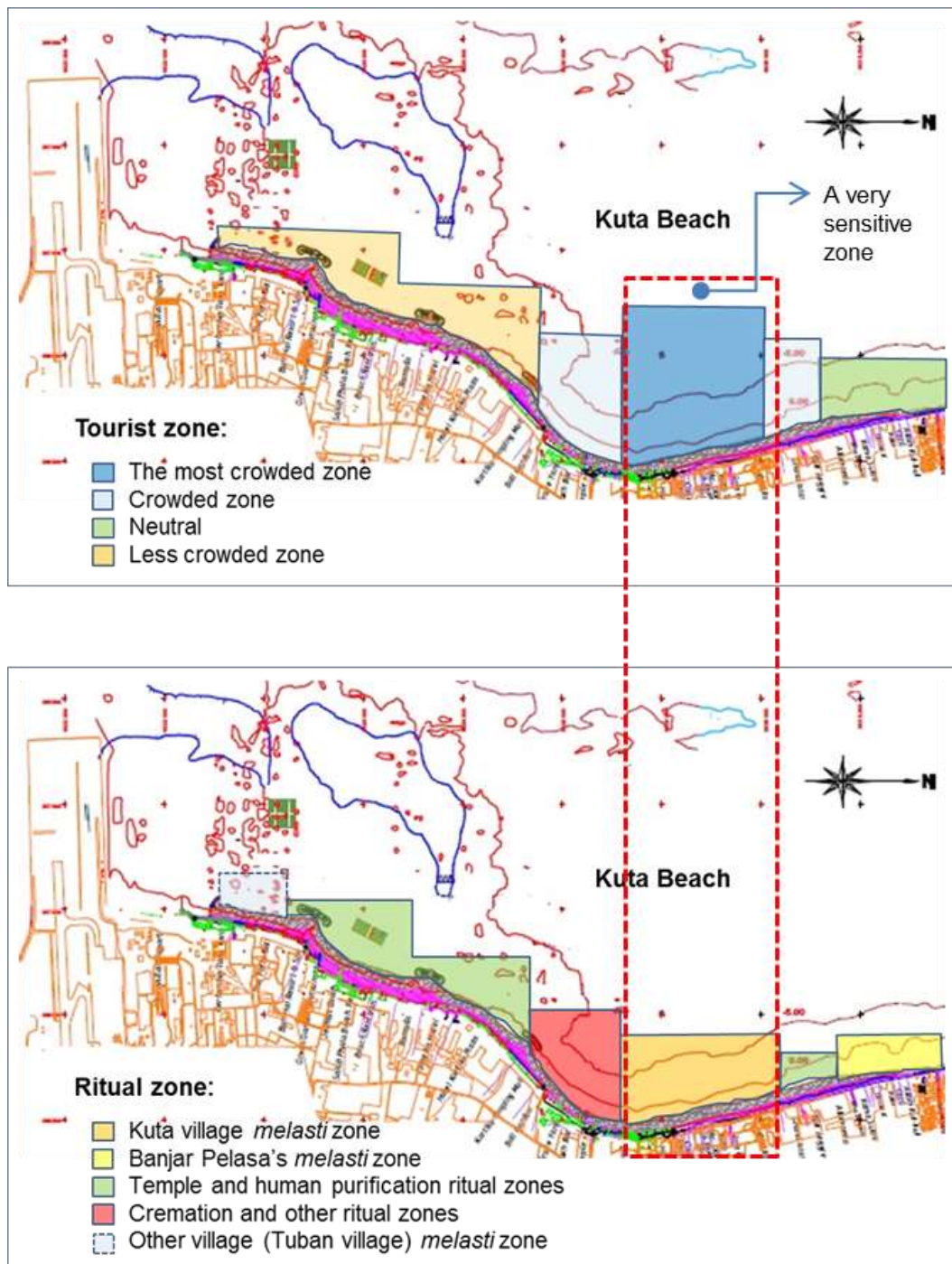


Figure 61: Plans indicating relation between tourist and ritual zones on Kuta Beach.



Figure 62: The change of route in collecting holy water for the purification of the deceased. Source of map (wikimapia.org).

6.2.4 Routes of Ritual Procession

As ritual zones generally have not changed across the topography of the village, the main routes of processions remain remarkably consistent in spite of dramatic changes to the built environment. In addition to the problems created by traffic and vehicular congestion, in maintaining the traditional routes of these festival and ceremonies (mentioned in previous chapters), there is also the equally problematic practice of transporting the holy water (*toya penembak*) by car from the sea during the middle of the night before the day of the cremation. The reason for this departure from traditional practices of carrying the water by foot in a procession is the greater convenience of vehicular transportation due to the fact that the location of water collection is in another village (Seminyak Village), approximately 4-5 km away from Kuta Village (Figure 62). Such departures, whilst not ostensibly significant in themselves, nevertheless demonstrate the gradual erosion of ritual procession as an ancient practice.

6.3 Societal Changes to Kuta Society

Besides the recent and dramatic increase in transportation in the coastal settlements in Bali, such as Kuta Village, other factors have impacted on the ritual topography of the littoral regions. This is highlighted in the function and location of ancient paddy fields in the village. The loss of agricultural land and other green fields, and the implication of the ritual traditions associated with them, have contributed in part to the erosion of traditional Balinese culture in some areas. Central to this decline was the central role of the *subak* (or traditional farming organisation), whose management of water irrigation systems formed an integral part of the ritual and religious life of the indigenous communities of the littoral regions, complementing the activities of farmers and sea-farers. Of particular interest are the offering ceremonies to the goddess of Dewi Çri, whose role was to ensure prosperity of the paddy fields and their supporting granaries (called *lumbung*), which have largely disappeared. Most communities have erased these utilitarian buildings in exchange from a new building infrastructure that

responds to a changing lifestyle. One of the consequences of this change in the management of the agricultural landscape is that the traditional cosmic meanings of vegetables, as part of the Hindu belief systems, has been virtually lost through a combination of change in land use and the destruction of shrine places.

The issue of the decline in the traditional values of kinship may on the surface not seem remarkable today given the ubiquitous nature of such transformation worldwide. However, what makes these changes especially significant in the littoral regions in Bali is that they are taking place on many fronts simultaneously and on multiple levels. We need only observe the impact of tighter working practices on the community, as mentioned previously, and how traditional observance of ritual practices has been seriously compromised as a result. Perhaps the most poignant feature of this impact is the decline of families making ritual offerings to their ancestors simply because the younger generation no longer have enough time (or are inclined) to learn from their elders the skills needed for organising, and participating in, rituals and ceremonies. This situation is not peculiar to Kuta Village, as one would expect, but is evident in many other parts of Bali and beyond. Some people see this situation as an opportunity to enhance their skill in making offerings for specific business proposes. This shift in the *demand* for, and *supply* of, ritual activities could be said to reflect an essential change from a socio-cultural to be a socio-economic activity. Such a change could be said to reflect a broader global phenomenon which, to paraphrase Saskia Sassen, is characterised by the dominance of finance as the principal agent for social, political and cultural legitimacy (Sassen, 2016).

6.3.1 Economic Life

The impact of tourist development in Kuta has largely contributed to shifting the economic focus of the community. As Mabbett (1987) states, Kuta physically and socially changed from a slave port/fishing village to the most popular tourist resort in Bali. Given the financial rewards of an increasingly

commercial environment in Kuta Village, most of the locals enthusiastically took advantage of the emerging market sectors. The shift of the work force, from primarily agricultural and fishing-based activities to the commercial world of tourism and other industrial sectors was to have a significant and long-lasting impact on the social and cultural life of the community, as I already demonstrated. Besides being employed in these sectors, many local people also started their own businesses by providing bed & breakfast (accommodation) and non-starred hotels.

Notwithstanding these changes, the properties occupied, or used by, villagers have been well maintained and supported by the community groups/organisations. This support has provided opportunities to introduce open-air art markets and several shops which are specifically rented to the local people. The resulting high economic value of property has served as a vital financial support for ritual ceremonies, social activities and other developments. The Kuta monograph, published in 2013, shows that properties in the town included 210 shops at Kuta Art Market (in close proximity to Kuta beach) and a further 64 shops at other locations around Kuta Village, whilst the land occupied by temples and other religious sanctuaries, which were protected according to 13 land certificates, comprised a total of 1.605 hectares or 16,050 m² (D. A. Kuta, 2013, pp. 27-28). According to the chief of the *desa adat*, the community organisation oversees a total asset of approximately £30 million¹⁴, an astounding figure that best reflects the significant amount of wealth creation over the past 20 or so years. This total income not only derives from renting shops, but also from parking tickets, the profits from commercial beach activities, savings and any loans serving their community.

¹⁴ An unstructured interview with the chairman of Kuta Village held in his office on 14th May 2014.



Figure 63: The well-maintained *banjar* meeting halls and village building in Kuta Village.

Not surprisingly Kuta Village is the wealthiest of all the villages/towns on the island. With its substantial income and nationally recognised good governance, it seems they have little difficulty in maintaining traditional rituals and ceremonies. In support of this reputation is the well-maintained fabric of civic/religious buildings, such as the *banjars*' meeting halls and *desa adat*'s office building (Figure 63). Besides collecting funds from its members, the *banjar* also receive donations and participation funds from local government and private companies within the precinct the *banjar* territory. However, a serious challenge has emerged in maintaining a balance between the wealth creation capacity of tourism and the continuity of community rituals and festivals, both of which rely on this income. Sadly, this balance is undermined by gangsters and other criminals exploiting in illegal ways the enormous commercial opportunities that exist in tourism in Kuta Village, resulting in a negative impact on the community's economic life.

6.3.2 Politic Life

Kuta village is part of the territories of Kuta District, a district that consists of 5 administrative villages with the centre of the district located at Kuta Administrative Village, which is also the territory of Kuta Village (known as the *desa adat* of Kuta, referred to earlier). In the 1990s, the Kuta community leaders and the neighbouring villages attempted to enhance their status from a district to a city, following a special request to central government. Politically, the main purpose of enhancing the status was to strengthen its position in both regional and national governments, which includes enhancing their financial benefits and income. However, this request failed and led to this territory remaining under the Badung Regency. Since Kuta has become the leading tourist destination in Indonesia, this territory is the most important place for the government of Badung, especially in collecting their locally generated revenue through land and building taxes. It can be seen from Badung in figures published in 2012, that Kuta tourism is the main contribution of revenue to the Badung Regency (Statistik, 2012a). Although, the Kuta community may have a high bargaining position in social, economic and politic factors with the government of Badung, due to the main sources of revenue, there has not been little conflict between both parties.

However, in order to strengthen the authority of the *desa adat* of Kuta, the government of Badung gave them jurisdiction to manage Kutak beach as part of the territory of the town through an official decree (No.1133/2000). In spite of the reputation of Kuta Village as a well-managed community, supported by a strong culture and traditions, it seems that the beach-front requires more oversight given its importance as one of the world's premier tourist destinations, especially when suffering the negative impacts of unchecked commercialisation on the civic life of Kuta, tragic bomb attacks from terrorists and other criminal issues in the last two decades. Less critical, but no less contentious is the issue of the appropriate use of the term '*adat*' and '*pakraman*' as expressions/definitions of a town and its

community. Whilst Kuta Village has adopted *adat* rather than *pakraman*, most other villages on the island find *pakraman* preferable. The term *adat* is more focused on customs (Purwita, 1984, p. 4), whilst *pakraman* expresses members of the village (Oka, 1992, p. 2). The difference perhaps indicates the uniqueness of Kuta in the emphasis it places on the customs relating to citizenship as being commensurate with the physical village/town.

This issue finds a political/administrative recognition in a new national policy released by the central government (as referred to earlier in Chapter 4) concerning the status of the village (R. Indonesia, 2014). The two structures of the village, as defined by the two terms between the administrative and traditional meanings of a territory, will no longer be applied in the future (at least officially). This means that only the socially defined structure of village 'complies' with the official government policy. This policy has led to a serious debate among Kuta leaders, resulting in growing concern about the future control of, and authority over, village assets, customary laws, culture and traditions. Under central government, new national laws are being implemented that some observe will result in a partial surrender of local customary laws, as we see in Kuta Village with regards to managing festivals and ceremonies. This policy is still in its development stage and is expected to be applied next year.

6.4 Results of the Survey

This section details the second stage of data gathering used to investigate stakeholder opinions in the research area. The initial stages of this process were described in the section on Research Design and Methodology. This section consists of two key elements: survey response rates and opinions of beach users. The results of opinions of beach users are further sub-divided into the results of polling surveys and the in-depth interviews conducted.

Furthermore, the average of percentage of the group participants who involved in the survey was up to 80% from the initial plan; this is because of

some reasons, such as, time availability of the survey and respondents' sensitivity. Although it was less than 100%, it can be said as a good response rate. And then the participants' responses deriving from different stakeholders and methods were analysed into a descriptive analysis. Their responses have become key findings from the research survey. The key findings of the survey comprise three parts: 1) response rates measured by the total number of participants responding in each group to the survey, 2) results of opinion poll surveys for beach users and spectators, and 3) respondents' reactions of each group resulted from the survey (polling surveys and in-depth interviews), based on their experience of physical and social aspects.

6.4.1 Response Rate

Ideally in social surveys, a large number of participants would be desirable to ensure a reliable result. However, given the small nature of the survey area and limitations on time available, this was not possible in this investigation. Nevertheless, the results have provided some useful data as I will demonstrate. The number of respondents in each group varied, depending on the number available to question, their engagement in other activities and willingness to participate. Private companies (such as hotels and other private companies) did not all respond and some simply returned the question sheets unanswered. However, this is an issue often encountered in social survey research where response rates can be very low. Some stakeholders had dual roles; for example, local community members/leaders were also members of the local government. Meanwhile, other groups showed an excellent response rate with 100% expressing their opinion by returning the sheets. The spectators were also over the target initially set at the research planning stage (Table 7).

Table 8: The percentages and reasons of respondents in the survey.

Participant (data collection method)	Number of Respondents			Reason
	Target	Realisation	Response rate	
Group 1: Beach users (opinion poll survey)	60	50	83%	Some local community members were also government local leaders. The same people should not be polled twice and so the group was divided up.
Group 2: Spectators (opinion poll survey)	30	37	Over 100%	This high participation is because I was assisted by architecture students from Udayana University as volunteers to distribute the questioners.
Group 3: Local community leaders (in-depth interview)	15	10	67%	Difficulties in finding their residence and setting the right time for the depth interviews as the reasons were less than 100%.
Group 4: Government members (in-depth interview)	15	15	100%	Since the researcher used a letter of permission from them for conducting the depth interviews.
Group 5: Private companies (in-depth interview)	10	7	70%	Because they were busy people with concerns for commercial sensitivity.
Group 6: Environmentalists (in-depth interview)	10	6	60%	Some difficulties in arranging and contacting them before conducting the depth interviews.
Average			80%	

Although a response rate of each group can be anticipated and set out before distributing the question sheets (especially opinion poll surveys), I set the number of participants/respondents earlier, anticipating perhaps optimistically that the response rate would achieve 100%. This means that the sample size and number of sheets distributed to respondents is in balance. The reasons for this are that the beach users, as respondents,

consist of four sub-groups, with different characteristics which have to be distributed equally (as mentioned in Chapter 2), while the spectators observing the festival had a limited amount of time and were an unpredictable number of respondents (located along streets and on the beach). In table 8, the response rate of each group shows that there were different distinct response rates of results derived from opinion poll surveys (group 1 & 2) and in-depth interview surveys (group 3, 4, 5 & 6). The results of the response rate from groups 1 & 2 were over 80%, whilst the other groups were less than 80%. There are several reasons as shown in the table 8 to the groups with less response rates than 80%; however, the percentage response rate achieved in total was 80% which is generally a good response rate.

6.4.2 Results of Opinion Poll Survey

In the opinion poll surveys, findings are divided into two separate groups (group 1 & 2), with different questions based on the main aim and purpose of the survey. The first group comprised beach users and they were classified into four sub-groups: foreign and local guests on the beach, members of the local community and beach front hotel representatives. The purpose of this group was to measure their responses to the use of the beach to accommodate several different activities. The survey was conducted at peak time when most guests are on the beach. The second group was specifically focused on foreign tourists who had a chance to look at the largest annual ceremony, both along the road and on the beach. This was conducted during the event of the *melasti* festival on 28th March 2014. Their response was needed in order to ascertain the popularity of this event, tourist perceptions and its sustainability. Hence, because of the different data required, the list of questions for the two groups was arranged into a different format, but both were analysed by using standard deviation in order to ascertain several scores, such as individual score, maximum and minimum scores, mean score, deviation and standard deviation scores.

The description of scores is represented in the tables and graphs, whilst the detail of calculation can be seen in the Appendix 2.

a. The beach users

As shown in table 10, the number of beach users' respondents is 50 based on four sub-groups; foreign and local guests (15 respondents each), local community members (10 respondents) and beach front hotel representatives (10 respondents). The list of all questions was classified into four groups and each section comprises five variable questions so that there are 20 questions in total. Table 11 shows these four groups and the subsequent questions. A scoring system of 1-5 was used to score each variable (see Appendix 2). With 50 responses, the maximum score is therefore 250 and the minimum 50. Total and average scores in each question resulted from the sum of the respondent's score recorded which is then divided the total number of respondents (Table 9 & 10). Furthermore, the respondents' answers for each question can be seen in Appendix 3. From the tables below, it can be seen that there are five questions (No. 3,11,13,18 and 20), that have the highest scores which can be summarised as follows:

- Question 3: The principal cause of over-development in Kuta Village is increased tourist accommodation.
- Question 11: The principal attraction for visitors coming to Kuta Village is the sea/wave.
- Question 13: Vendors along the beach are regarded as a significant disturbing factor in the tranquillity of the beach.
- Question 18: The respondents fully agreed that Kuta beach is a religious space which is a part of the civic space of the town.
- Question 20: The visitors generally respect Balinese ritual ceremonies.

On the other hand, the lowest scores were questions of No. 1 & 16 which can be summarised as follows:

- Question1: More than half of the respondents did not have the experience in order to know the surroundings of Kuta beach well since they were only guests.
- Question 16: Local government was regarded as the proper responsible party to manage conflict of interests in the use of the beach.

Other important responses deriving from other questions can also be summarised as follows:

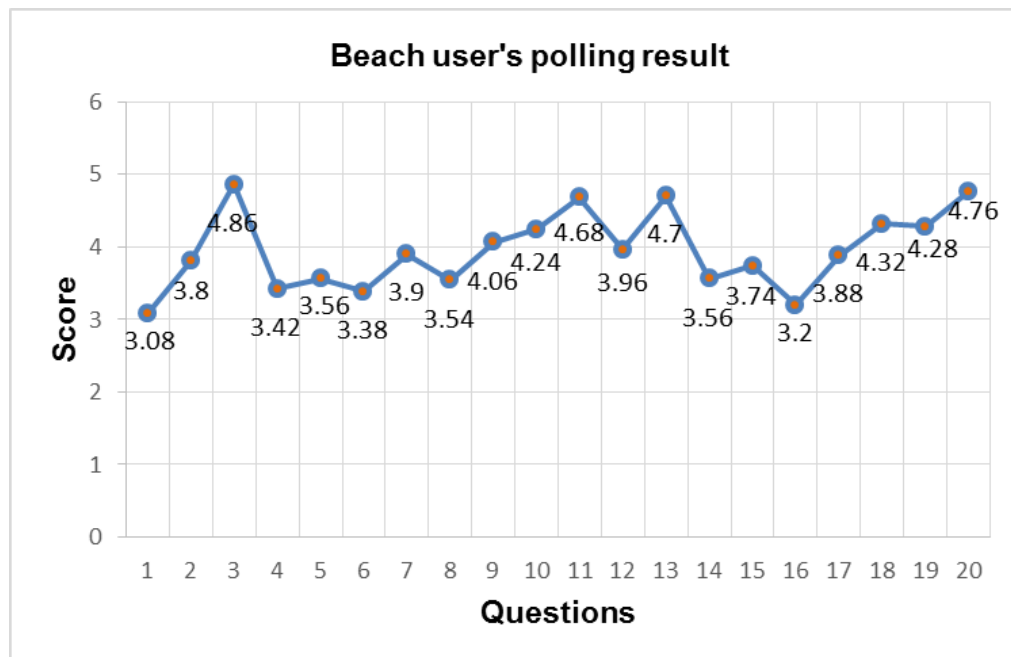
- Question 9: Narrower beaches have occurred at Kuta beach due to erosion.
- Question 10: The structure of the runway and natural phenomenon are the main cause of Kuta beach erosion.
- Question 17: The best way to avoid friction between ritual events and guest activities on the beach is to inform hotels before the events.
- Question 19: Most respondents' responses agreed to the position religious ceremony on the beach as a priority over other uses.

To gain more detail, the four sub-groups of the beach users' respondents were compared with one another and the results pointed out that there were not strictly different scores from their responses, as shown in the graph below (Table 11). If these sub-groups are divided into two distinct groups as guests (foreign and local guests) and non-guests (local community members and hotel representatives), the results are very different scores in two questions (No. 1 & 2). Since these questions are about understanding the history of the place (beach), it seems reasonable that the guests had lower score rates than the non-guests due to their limited length of stay.

Table 9: Total score of each question of the polling survey for beach users.

Section of questions	No.	Questions (variables)	Score	Average score
Section A: Understanding history of place	1	How long have you lived/stayed in Kuta area?	154	3.08
	2	How well do you know about the Kuta area and its surroundings?	190	3.80
	3	What kinds of development facility have significantly changed the beach surroundings of Kuta?	243	4.84
	4	What factor most determined these change?	171	3.42
	5	What in your opinion is the best solution to avoid overdevelopment?	178	3.56
Section B: Understanding beach area	6	How often do you go to the beach?	169	3.38
	7	How well do you know about Kuta beach?	195	3.90
	8	Is the beach still being eroded after Rehabilitation in 2008 by Central Government?	177	3.54
	9	Do you agree the wide beach is narrower than the first time you know?	203	4.06
	10	What in your opinion is the main cause of beach erosion in Kuta?	212	4.24
Section C: Accommodating many interests	11	What is the most interesting feature at Kuta?	243	4.68
	12	Do you feel freely to have an activity on the beach?	198	3.96
	13	What a kind of activity is mostly disturbing you on the beach?	235	4.70
	14	If you have some inconveniences, where should you place instead of inform your complaints?	178	3.50
	15	Do you think that Kuta area is safe for everyone?	187	3.74
Section D: Beach management	16	Who is the properly responsible party to manage conflict of interest in the use of the beach?	160	3.20
	17	In your opinion, how is it best to avoid friction between ritual ceremonies and guest activities on the beach?	194	3.88
	18	According Kuta Balinese Society, the beach of Kuta is a religious space and forms of a 'civic space'. Do you agree with this statement?	216	4.32
	19	Do you think ritual ceremonies should priority over other uses of the beach?	214	4.28
	20	How much respect do you have in the implementation of ritual ceremony on the beach?	238	4.76

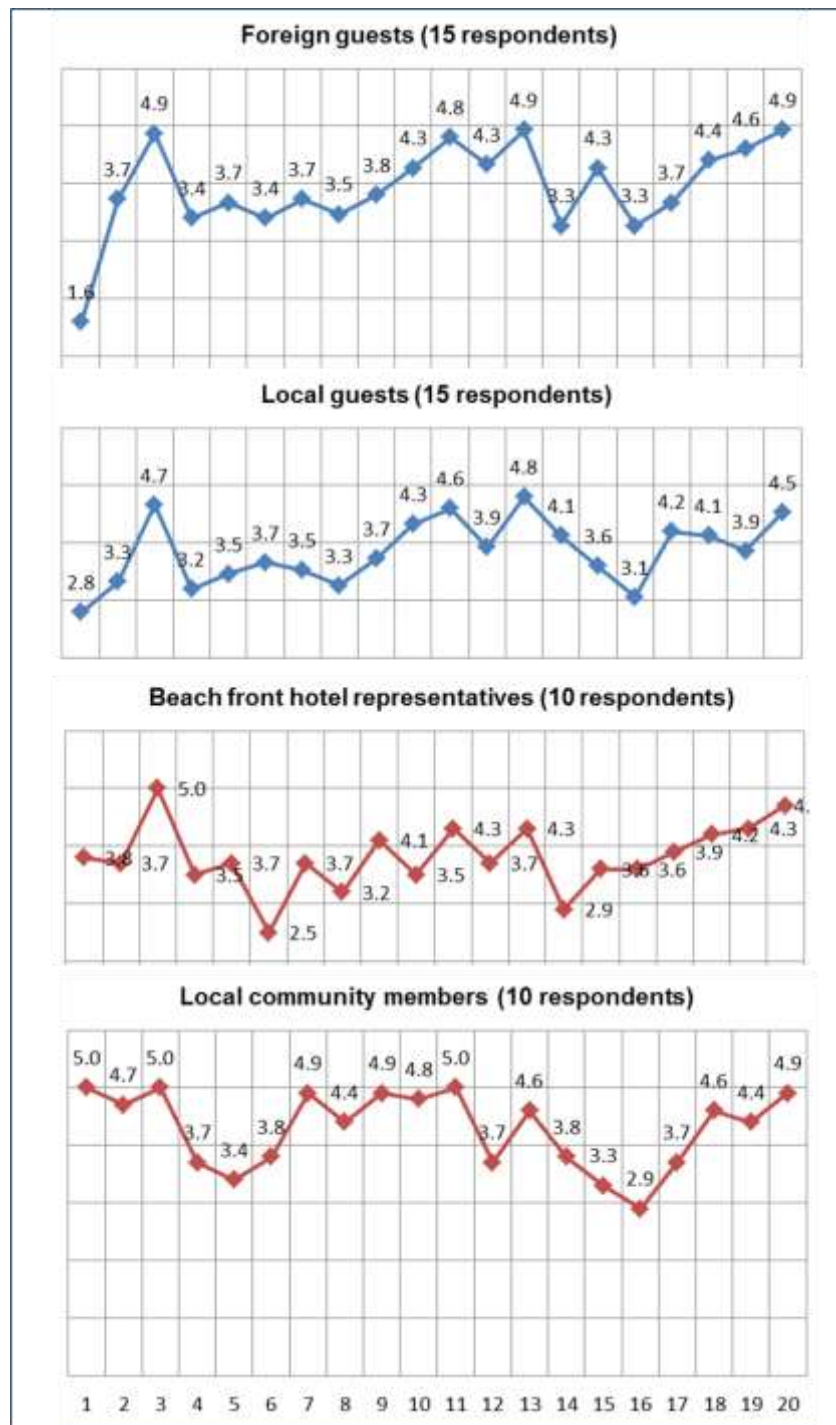
Table 10: The graph of the beach user's polling result.



In addition, other important responses from both groups can be highlighted in several questions (No. 6, 14 & 16) as follows:

- Question 6: The guests were more frequent to the beach during their stay than the nonguests, hence the beach is a very important place for the daily activities of the guest.
- Question 14: The non-guests mostly selected the *desa adat* to report any inconvenience, whilst the guests tended to choose life guards for informing their complaints to.
- Question 16: The guests tended to choose local government as the party properly responsible for managing conflict of interests rather than the *desa adat*, whilst the non-guests selected conversely.

Table 11: The graph of the four sub-groups' results from beach users



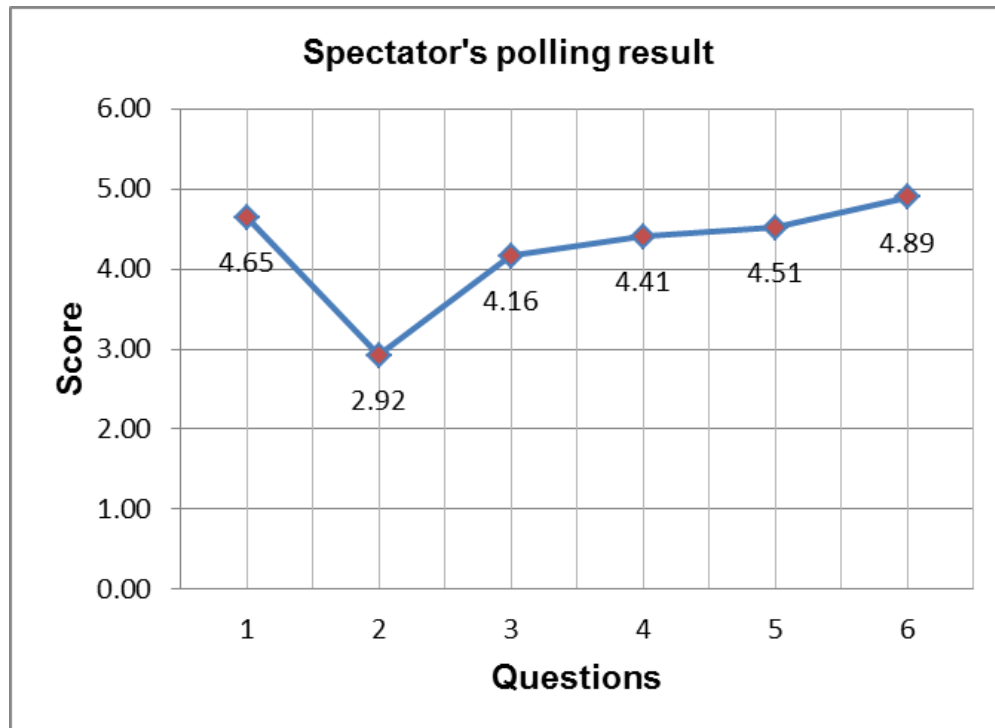
b. The spectator

Spectators comprised largely of tourists who were visiting Bali from overseas, the total number of respondents being 37 (see Appendix 2). There is an interesting background from the respondents coming from Asia, Australia, Europe and America, whose numbers were almost equally weighted. Unfortunately, there were none from Africa. From this origin data, it is clear that Kuta Village is one of the most favourite tourist destinations for the more affluent parts of the world. The spending power of these tourists positively contributes to enhancing the economic wealth of the area and its residents who gain a living from tourism. The opinions of these spectators were ascertained during the annual *melasti* festival that takes place with a distinct festive atmosphere. To conduct an opinion poll survey of the spectators, there were six questions proposed for this event. A scoring system of 1-5 was applied elsewhere in this research, indicating an increasing opinion from 1 (not all) to 5 (most). With minimum and maximum scores of 37 and 185, a result of each question is shown on the tables below (Table 12 & 13).

Table 12: Total score for each question for spectators in the polling survey

No	Questions (variables)	Score	Average score
1	I enjoy seeing the Melasti's ritual procession festival on the road	172	4.65
2	This ritual is one of my main reasons to come to Bali	108	2.92
3	I think this ritual obtains benefits for all parties	154	4.16
4	This ritual must be preserved as an important tourist attraction	163	4.41
5	This ritual will be carried away in my memory after returning	167	4.51
6	And I would like to recommend my friends to visit this island	181	4.89

Table 13: Graph representing of the spectators' polling result



These tables show that five variables seem similar in their score, with a high total score indicating that the respondents almost fully agreed (within the score range of 4-5), whereas only question 2 is the lowest score. The complete responses in each variable for this survey result can be seen in Appendix 3, but the highlights of these variables can be summarised as follows:

- Variable 1: The respondents felt that they fully enjoyed seeing the festival during their holiday as a great opportunity.
- Variable 2: The religious festival was not the main reason for the respondents coming to Bali; they may have seen the island as a whole which is not only an attraction of culture and traditions but also the nature of Bali.
- Variable 3: They recognised that the festival in the street and beach would not obtain benefits for all parties, although from their perspective this festival was interesting tourist attractions.

- Variable 4: The respondents mostly agreed to preserve the religious event as an important attraction for them.
- Variable 5: The respondents' responses show that they also fully agreed on this ritual giving them a beautiful memory after returning from Bali.
- Variable 6: As the highest score from their responses, it shows that they definitely agree on recommending their friends to visit Bali, and Kuta in particular.

6.4.3 Respondents' Reactions to Changes in Civic Spaces through Opinion Full Survey

Respondents' reactions to changes in civic spaces as religious settings for different ritual enactments in Kuta Village were obtained by observation, polling surveys. Groups of respondents' reaction can be divided into two groups. These are: 1) Beach user reaction to ritual events, and 2) Spectator reaction to religious festivals.

a. Beach user reaction to the ritual events

In terms of obtaining essential information required, especially on the background of village development, the questions proposed for civic space users were split into four categories: changes of settlement, potential and interests, coastal management, and the ritual practices on the coast. Variables in the last category were filled by the local leaders only, as they focus on the ritual practices on the beach.

1) The background of changes of settlement

When asked about the kind of development that has significantly changed in the surroundings/settlement, all of the sample surveys (100 per cent) state that the development of tourist facilities is the driving factor of change. Looking at the factors that have led to the impact, the following breakdown was given: economic factor (24 percent), unplanned development (18 percent), Government policy (24 percent), tourism (26 percent), and less control and monitoring (4 percent).

Because both the government policy and less control and monitoring factors are part of the government duties, the most determined factors to the significant change of territory derives from the government. To avoid over-development of Kuta Village, implementing an action of conservation was the most preferred solution by the respondents (42 percent), followed by limitation of development (24 percent), redevelopment (13 percent) and then stopping migration (0 percent).

Other changes identified relate to the existing shoreline, whereby the respondents assume that beach erosion is still taking place; although beach rehabilitation by sand replacement (by 50 metres) extending offshore was carried out in 2008 (BBCP, 2008). From the user's opinion, the main cause of this erosion is because of the construction of the International Ngurah Rai airport's runway, located at the southern side of the village (52 percent). The second cause is climate change/natural phenomenon (34 percent), and other causes such as coral mining, human activity, and waste water discharge (less than 10 percent).

2) Potential and interests

The potential of Kuta beach and the interests of guests who come to the beach have various responses from the respondents. The results indicated that 98 percent of respondents chose the beach environment of Kuta (sea/wave, sunset and beach) as the most important feature of Kuta Village. On the other hand, tourist facilities and other popular attractions account for only 2 percent. Meanwhile, with an accumulative score of 3.96 (almost a score of 4), as a response to views about Kuta Village, suggests that, the beach users still believe that the town is a mostly safe and pleasant place. However, 86 percent of respondents regarded the existence of vendors as the main disturbance to the tranquillity of the beach, whilst other factors such as ritual ceremonies and interference from other guests had a response rate of only 4 percent each. When inconvenienced, the guests tended to report their

complaints to beach life guards or their hotel, depending on where the inconvenience takes place. The chief of life guards, says that “we have a good relationship and coordination with hotel companies to handle guest complaints that take place on the beach.”(Tresna, 2013).

3) Coastal management

Regarding the management of the coastal areas of Kuta Village, the respondents' replies indicate that the local government is identified as the most responsible party (42 percent), followed by life guards (30 percent), stakeholders consisting of government, community and private companies (12 percent) and *desa adat* (8 percent) respectively. From this result, the local government is expected by the respondents to have a pivotal role for handling conflicting demands in the use of the beach.

To avoid friction between guest activities and ritual festivals, especially on the beach, the results show that respondents thought that the following should take place: informing the hotels before taking place ceremonies (50 percent), setting separate zones for both activities (18 percent), informing guests before the ceremony (16 percent), and for other options (less than 10 percent). These results indicate that every ritual procession and festival on the beach requires the co-operation of hotels, particularly located along the beach, before it takes place. However, most of them recognise that the areas used for ritual ceremonies constitute essential spaces for the civic/religious life of the town by giving 90 percent response. Other results show that the dominant respondents (84 percent) chose to agree to placing ceremonial activities as the priority on the beach, a low percentage of respondents either agreed or disagreed (8 percent). These results prove that the beach users respect these events as central to the local culture and traditions.

b. Spectator reaction to religious festivals

Even though the main reason of the spectators visiting Bali was not to experience the religious festivals, most spectators acknowledged the value of these events. This means that the ritual events have been able to offer an interesting attraction for foreign tourists who visit Bali. During the *melasti* festival, for example, they were able to communicate during the interviewing periods of the ritual procession with the festivals' participants without prohibition from the traditional security guards/*pecalang* of the festival, whilst the participants seemed to enjoy communicating with the spectators. Mutual respect between the spectators and festival participants was evident throughout this event. It was obvious that the spectators' reactions were very positive and they recommended that these ritual events be supported for the benefit of future tourists.

6.4.4 Respondents' Reactions to Changes in Civic Spaces through In-depth Interview

There were four groups involved in-depth interviews as shown in Table 8 that were carried out during two separate field surveys with different schedules. The reason of this is because it allowed other aspects of the research to be further considered, and all because of the time limitations to conduct a single survey. The first field survey took place from 1st of July to 24th August 2013 and the second survey was from 28th March to 24th May 2014. The schedule of in-depth interviews for the four groups of respondents was recorded, comprising dates, time and place, whilst the respondents to each group was conducted according to the schedule arranged from local and community leaders to environmentalists respectively.

Table 14: The time schedule of in-depth interview

Respondent		Schedule of In-depth Interview															
No	Group of Respondent	1st Field Survey								2nd Field Survey							
		Jul-13				Aug-13				Apr-14				May-14			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1	Local community members																
	& local leaders																
2	Government members																
3	Private companies																
4	Environmentalists																
	Preparing government's letter																
	Final report																

The total number of respondents involved in-depth interviews was 45, consisting of 1) local community and local leaders (17 respondents); 2) government members (15 respondents); 3) private companies (7 respondents); and 4) environmentalists (6 respondents). Transcriptions of in-depth interviews to each respondent was conducted by 'fill note', whilst the list of questions used English, except in the case of local leaders who used both Indonesian and English languages, in order to accelerate their answers relating to ritual practices in the village. A problem in communication and the use of English between interviewer and interviewees was a main reason for using the manual system in recording the transcriptions of the interviews. At the end, the interviewer was responsible for translating the comments of the interviewees into English. In response to the main objectives of the research, and the different line of questioning for each group, respondents' reactions to changes in civic practices and traditions brought different perspectives as can be seen in the transcriptions and summary notes. A complete list of information of these in-depth interviews, including the transcriptions, and summaries of respondents' comments are presented into the tables. These are displayed at end of each discussion for easy reference and better formatting of the thesis.

a. Local people's reaction to ritual traditions

Data collection from local community members through in-depth interview, derived from two sources (as illustrated in Table 8 and results of an opinion poll survey for beach users). These comprised local communities as beach users (10 respondents) and local community leaders (7 respondents). Hence a total of 17 in-depth interviews were carried out. Total number of respondents however was actually 16, since the head of Kuta Village (*bendesa adat*) was involved in both in-depth interviews as shown in table below. The reason for this was to collect information that was more official, acceptable and valid.

Table 15 below shows the summary of in-depth interviews with the local community leaders in response to the implementation of ritual traditions in the village and on the beach. The summary resulted from the transcription of in-depth interviews from each respondent (Table 20). It can be pointed out that they have maintained these ancestral traditions without significant changes. According to the local leader, there was a proposal to relocate the offering rituals on the beach, during discussions at a village meeting. However no one agreed to this idea, even though the locations on the beach are the most crowded tourist zones in the town. Similar to the route of cremation festivals, the community members want to retain the ceremonial procession as part of their tradition, even though there are two different routes for distinguishing between the gentry and common people, an arrangement which conflicts with the principles of equality and human rights. As a result, both the routes and zones of ritual practices have been preserved.

Table 18 & 20 of the transcriptions of in-depth interviews, a summary of responses, was created from the transcriptions of in-depth interviews to local communities that focused on the implementation of ritual practices on the beach. From this summary, the interviews indicated that there is no significant change of ritual zones on the beach. However the area for the purification rituals - by bathing in the sea (*banyu pinaruh*) - has been

extended to other zones along the beach. The only change in the route of the procession has taken place in the methods of collecting holy water (*toya penembak*) for a deceased purification as part of cremation ceremony. Officials realised that having a clean beach and tourist facilities was essential to ensure Kuta remained a premier tourist destination. Inevitably, this has meant that the physical surroundings, and social and cultural life, have significantly changed as a consequence.

To anticipate a conflict of interests in the use of public spaces, such as access to the beaches when the festivals take place, the village community organisation (*desa adat*), through their task forces have been agreed that: the village guard (*pecalang*) and the Kuta beach management board (*Badan Pengamanan Pantai Kuta*) will make a formal announcement to the public and hotel companies about any special arrangements needed to maintain the route and place of the festivals before the event days. Even though a polling survey, on the level of public inconvenience stemming from the festival procession in the street, is not yet available, it is recognised that some inconvenience will occur due to delays in using public access. Hence, every effort has been made to address any conflict of interests, in relation to the ritual processions which has been anticipated by the *desa adat*.

Since they have realised that Kuta tourism is a vital asset for the local community of Kuta, members of the community have managed their ritual traditions and practices largely without restrictions for the movement of tourists. As demonstrated in Figure 42, 43, & 47, every ritual ceremony is regularly attended tourists in Kuta Village and the beach. Perhaps it is not as usual in other places hosting such solemn events as cremation rituals to have guests attending wearing 'bikini' clothes without any complaints from the organisers of the ceremony.

Although it seems they have well maintained their traditions and interactions with the tourists, they recognise that maintaining the kinship among them has decreased slightly; due to modern lifestyle and restrictions on working times. The decreased kinship takes place in some social mutual

relationships (in Balinese word called '*menyame braye*'), such as visiting and helping each other in family ritual ceremonies and other activities. Certainly, these do not include the involvement of family members in cremation rituals because their involvement constitutes part of their duty and obligation which are bounded by their rule of '*sukha-dukkha*' (or 'pleasant-unpleasant') in the *banjar* community (the neighbour community/social traditional organisation). Another recognition of the leaders was that coordination with the local and regional governments is required in the management of Kuta beach, especially in beach maintenance, monitoring and control of the development. It is impossible for these tasks to be handled by the Kuta community alone. Besides requiring a huge budget, they require workable regulations and planning law.

Table 15: The list of respondent from local leaders

Respondent		Contact Number	In-depth Interview			Remark
No	Status/Job Description		Date	Time	Place	
1	The head of Customary Kuta Village	+6282146343433	14/5/14	13:10-14:47	Kuta village office	
2	The chief of Banjar Anyar Kuta	+628123628019	29/4/14	13:35-14:58	Meeting hall	
3	The chief of Banjar Pelasa Kuta	+6287862747181	12/5/14	12:30-13:35	His house	
4	The chief of Banjar Tegal Kuta	-	29/4/14	15:25-16:53	Meeting hall	No contact number
5	The chief of Banjar Jabe Jero Kuta	+62812368333277	5/5/14	14:07-15:45	Meeting hall	
6	The chief of Banjar Tebasari Kuta	-	5/5/14	16:18-17:47	Meeting hall	No contact number
7	The chief of Banjar Pemamoran Kuta	+62811395427	8/5/14	14:25-15:45	Meeting hall	

Table 16: The list of respondents from local community members

Respondent		Contact Number	In-depth Interview			Remark
No	Status/Job Description		Date	Time	Place	
1	The head of Customary Kuta Village	+6282146343433	13/8/13	10:35-11:20	Kuta village office	
2	Kuta leader	+62811385653	13/8/13	10:55-12:05	His house	
3	Kuta leader	+62811395430	6/8/13	17:10-17:56	His house	
4	The former head of Customary Kuta Village	+628123813890	6/8/13	15:35-16:25	His house	
5	The head of beach task force of Kuta Village	+62816580145	20/8/13	10:20-11:16	Office	
6	The chief of fishing group	+628123923071	21/8/13	11:18-12:05	His house	
7	The head of Customary Legian Village	+62811387475	5/8/13	10:15-11:03	Office	
8	The former head of Legian Village	+623618560447	5/8/13	17:18-17:57	His house	
9	Ex. Chairman of Samigita Forum	+62811397973	7/8/13	11:45-12:37	Office	
10	Local Legian leader	+62811386589	7/8/13	14:44-15:31	His house	

Table 17: The transcriptions of in-depth interview from local leaders

No	List of questions	Respondent			
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I	Background of territory & temple				
1	When was the village and temple (other temples) established?	18 th century	Our <i>banjar</i> temple established in the early 20 th century	18 th century	18 th century
2	How often have these temples or other temples been renovated?	Once	Not yet in our <i>banjar</i> temple	Once	Once
3	Has the village established a special team in every temple renovation and other similar developments?	Yes, we have	Yes, the head of <i>banjar</i> becomes a member of the team	Yes, we have	Yes, we have a special team
4	From where does the main budget come to renovate the temples and other facilities?	Village's budget, government aid and donation from individuals	<i>Banjar's</i> budget, government aid and donation from individuals	Our <i>banjar's</i> budget and donation from government and individuals	Village's budget, government aid and donation from individuals
5	Has the government provided financial support for the temple's renovation and village buildings?	Yes, of course	Yes	Yes	Yes, of course
6	Have other parties donated monies for the renovation of the temple and other village buildings?	Yes, but it was limited donation	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	What kinds of roles have to be shared by non- Balinese or temporary residents in these developments?	They have not yet contributed in this development	Sometimes they give donation in our development	Nothing	Nothing contribution
8	What kinds of fines are charged for those who do not participate in these developments?	Without fines	No fines	No fines	

II	Temple Anniversary	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1					
1	When does the temple's anniversary take place?	Every six months according Balinese Calendar	Every six months (Monday/ <i>Soma Klurut</i>)	Every six months (Saturday/ <i>Sanicara Kliwon/Tumpek Landep</i>)	Every six months (Wednesday/ <i>Buda Cemeng Warigadean</i>)
2	What is the strategy/procedure to endorse the temple members to participate in temple anniversary?	Every <i>banjar</i> alternates to be responsible in handling the village temple anniversary	Customary law, <i>banjar</i> regulations (<i>perarem</i>) and member's duty	Through <i>banjar's</i> meeting (<i>sangkep</i>) and regulations (<i>perarem</i>)	Because of high consciousness from the members, no needs a strategy
3	What kind of rituals take place in these temples as part of the festival procession on the beach?	<i>Melasti</i> , and <i>mulang pakelem</i> and <i>nangluk merane</i> (rituals for a balance of nature	<i>Pedudusan Alit</i> ritual takes place every five years	<i>Melasti</i> and <i>nangluk merana</i>	<i>Melasti</i> ritual
4	When does the ritual on the beach usually take place?	Every year	Every five years	Every five years	<i>Banjar</i> temple will take <i>melasti</i> ritual when the anniversary takes place in full month
5	Describe the route of the ritual procession to the beach? Are there variations to this route?	Desa Temple- main street- towards to the beach	From Kubu Anyar Street to Kartika Plaza and Wana Agung Streets	To the north across Legian Village before reaching the beach.	From Raya Kuta Street to Pantai Kuta Street towards the beach
6	How many members participate roughly in every ritual festival to the beach?	Thousands of people	Around 400 people	300-500 people	Around 350 <i>banjar</i> members
7	How long does the ritual ceremony take place on the beach?	2-3 hours	Approximately 2 hours	Less than one hour	1.5 hour
8	After completing the ritual offerings on the beach, is the same route followed on return to the temple?	The similar route	Yes, the route is similar	Yes, the same route	Yes, the same route

III	<i>Melasti</i> Ritual	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Can you explain briefly the itinerary of the <i>Melasti</i> from the preparation to the end of the day?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Ngaub Ida Bethara</i> - <i>Melasti</i> - <i>Mapakelem</i> - <i>Melinggih ring Pura Desa</i> - <i>Panyikeban</i> 	Groups of people (<i>pemaksan</i>) come to Desa Temple for gathering before going to the beach	There are three groups (<i>pemaksan</i>) to join in the village's <i>melasti</i> ritual, whereby they go directly to Desa Temple	We just follow the itinerary of <i>melasti</i> according to the village guidance.
2	Describe the route of the ritual procession from each <i>banjar</i> community carrying sacred shrine equipment to the village temple (Pura Desa).	From each location it goes to the Desa Temple without considering traffic circulations	From Kubu Anyar Street to Raya Kuta Street	From Majapahit Street to Pantai Kuta Street	From Raya Kuta Street to Desa Temple at Pantai Kuta Street
3	Roughly how many members participate in this event from the village temple and to the coast?	Thousands of people	Thousands of people	Approximately 3000 people	Thousands of village members, while our <i>banjar</i> members consists of 26 groups
4	How long does the <i>Melasti</i> ceremony take on the beach?	2-3 hours	Around 3 hours	Around 3 hours	Around 2 hours
5	Is there a different route of the festival procession from the initial route (from the village temple to the coast and vice versa)?	No, it is a similar route	No, it is the same route	No, it is the same route	No, it is similar route
6	How many village security guards/ <i>pecalang</i> are involved in this event, and are there changes in traffic routes for vehicles during this event?	39 members are to manage the traffic, backup by other government members (Hansip)	Our <i>banjar</i> provide 3 security guard members	Our <i>banjar</i> provide 3 security guard members	Our <i>banjar</i> provide 3 security guard members
7	Do you have different experiences in every <i>Melasti</i> ritual festival on the beach?	As far as I know I do not have different experiences	No	No	Principally, it is the same.

8	What is the most inhibiting factor in the implementation of <i>Melasti</i> ritual?	Nothing	Only the problem of time	Cremation rituals in <i>banjar</i> community lead not to participate in village <i>melasti</i> ritual.	Crowded and traffic congestion
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IV	Human and Cremation Ritual	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Does the tradition of <i>banyu pinaruh</i> by bathing in the sea still continue in Kuta community?	Still continue as our tradition	Still there	Still continue	Still as a tradition
2	Where is the most favourable place for Kuta members to take a bath on the beach?	In front of Segara Temple	In front of Segara Temple	In front of Bali Anggrek Hotel	In front of Segara Temple
3	Why is there a different route of access to the cemetery in the cremation ceremony between the common people and the noble/gentry (<i>golongan menak</i>)?	As a tradition I have to keep it well	This is our tradition	Due to a tradition	Due to maintaining the tradition
4	Can you describe briefly the route of procession to the cemetery in your own <i>banjar</i> ?	From the <i>banjar</i> it goes to Bakung Sari street towards the cemetery	It depends on the location of the family deceased which follows public streets to the cemetery	For common people, the route is from Majapahit street to Blambangan and then to Singosari Street towards the cemetery.	If the noble family, the route is from Raya Kuta Street to Pantai Kuta Street through the beach to reach the cemetery
5	Over how many days do the <i>banjar</i> members participate in the cremation ritual?	3-4 days	3 days	3 days +the day of cremation	3 days
6	How many cremation ceremonies take place roughly in your <i>banjar</i> per year?	Five times	Approximately 10 times	7-8 times in a year	uncertain
7	How high is the level of participation of the members in the cremation ritual?	Very high	High	Very high	High

8	What kinds of fines are charged to members who do not get involved in the cremation ritual?	Pecuniary fines	Human approaches and warning	Nothing	Only warning, not yet getting fines
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V	Human and Cremation Ritual	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Does the tradition of <i>banyu pinaruh</i> by bathing in the sea still continue in Kuta community?	Still continue as our tradition	Still there	Still continue	Still as a tradition
2	Where is the most favourable place for Kuta members to take a bath on the beach?	In front of Segara Temple	In front of Segara Temple	In front of Bali Anggrek Hotel	In front of Segara Temple
3	Why is there a different route of access to the cemetery in the cremation ceremony between the common people and the noble/gentry (<i>golongan menak</i>)?	As a tradition I have to keep it well	This is our tradition	Due to a tradition	Due to maintaining the tradition
4	Can you describe briefly the route of procession to the cemetery in your own <i>banjar</i> ?	From the <i>banjar</i> it goes to Bakung Sari street towards the cemetery	It depends on the location of the family deceased which follows public streets to the cemetery	For common people, the route is from Majapahit street to Blambangan and then to Singosari Street towards the cemetery.	If the noble family, the route is from Raya Kuta Street to Pantai Kuta Street through the beach to reach the cemetery
5	Over how many days do the <i>banjar</i> members participate in the cremation ritual?	3-4 days	3 days	3 days +the day of cremation	3 days
6	How many cremation ceremonies take place roughly in your <i>banjar</i> per year?	Five times	Approximately 10 times	7-8 times in a year	uncertain
7	How high is the level of participation of the members in the cremation ritual?	Very high	High	Very high	High
8	What kinds of fines are charged to	Pecuniary fines	Human approaches and	Nothing	Only warning, not yet

	members who do not get involved in the cremation ritual?		warning		getting fines
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No	List of questions	Respondents			(8)
		(5)	(6)	(7)	
I	Background of territory & temple				
1	When was the village and temple (other temples) established?	18 th century	18 th century	18 th century	
2	How often have these temples or other temples been renovated?	Once	Once	Twice	
3	Has the village established a special team in every temple renovation and other similar developments?	Yes, the head of <i>banjar</i> becomes a member of the team	Previously, it was handled by the village organisation, now it has been handled by a team	Yes, the head of <i>banjar</i> becomes a member of the team	
4	From where does the main budget come to renovate the temples and other facilities?	Village's budget, government aid and donation from individuals	Village's budget	Village's budget	
5	Has the government provided financial support for the temple's renovation and village buildings?	Yes, of course	They participated in providing financial support	They already participated	
6	Have other parties donated monies for the renovation of the temple and other village buildings?	Yes, but it was limited donation	Yes, they are from private companies	Yes, they are from private companies	
7	What kinds of roles have to be shared by non- Balinese or temporary residents in these developments?	They have not yet contributed in this development	Social Aid, such as beach cleaning and surroundings	Donation	
8	What kinds of fines are charged for those who do not participate in these developments?	Without fines	Without fines	Without fines	

II	Temple Anniversary	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	When does the temple's anniversary take place?	Every six months (Saturday/ <i>Sabtu Kliwon Wariga</i>)	Every six months (Wednesday/ <i>Buda Cemeng Warigadean</i>)	Every six months (Saturday/ <i>Sabtu Kliwon Klurut</i>)	
2	What is the strategy/procedure to endorse the temple members to participate in temple anniversary?	<i>Banjar</i> law (<i>perarem</i>) as guidance	Besides using customary law, we endorsed them into human approaches	Responsibility to provide parts of offerings	
3	What kind of rituals take place in these temples as part of the festival procession on the beach?	<i>Melasti</i> ritual taking place according to the temple anniversary	<i>Melasti</i> ritual relating to the <i>banjar</i> temple's anniversary	<i>Melasti</i> ritual relating to the <i>banjar</i> temple's anniversary	
4	When does the ritual on the beach usually take place?	When the temple anniversary takes place in full moon)	When the temple anniversary takes place in full moon)	When the temple anniversary takes place in full moon)	
5	Describe the route of the ritual procession to the beach? Are there variations to this route?	There is a route variation between going and returning to the beach	There is a route variation between going and returning to the beach	From <i>banjar</i> towards in front of Mercure Hotel without route variation	
6	How many members participate roughly in every ritual festival to the beach?	Around 600 <i>banjar</i> members	Around 240 members	Around 400 members	
7	How long does the ritual ceremony take place on the beach?	Approximately 2 hours	Around 2 hours	Around 2 hours	
8	After completing the ritual offerings on the beach, is the same route followed on return to the temple?	It is different	It is different	The same route	

III	<i>Melasti</i> Ritual	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Can you explain briefly the itinerary of the <i>Melasti</i> from the preparation to the end of the day?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ritual for permission to the gods - <i>Melasti</i> festival - Ritual to the sea - Placing the scared <i>pratimas</i> on the altars - End 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ritual for permission to the gods - <i>Melasti</i> festival - Ritual to the sea - Placing the scared <i>pratimas</i> on the altars - End 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ritual for permission to the gods - <i>Melasti</i> festival - Ritual to the sea - Placing the scared <i>pratimas</i> on the altars - End 	
2	Describe the route of the ritual procession from each <i>banjar</i> community carrying sacred shrine equipment to the village temple (Pura Desa).	To the south before taking Raya Kuta Street and then towards the temple	To the east taking Raya Kuta Street and then towards the temple	Desa Temple is located in our <i>banjar</i> , so it can be reached from the north to the south	
3	Roughly how many members participate in this event from the village temple and to the coast?	500-600 <i>banjar</i> members	400-500 <i>banjar</i> members	260 <i>banjars</i> members	
4	How long does the <i>Melasti</i> ceremony take on the beach?	Around 2 hours	Around 2 hours	Around 2 hours	
5	Is there a different route of the festival procession from the initial route (from the village temple to the coast and vice versa)?	No, it is the same route	No, it is the same route	No. it is the same route	
6	How many village security guards/ <i>pecalang</i> are involved in this event, and are there changes in traffic routes for vehicles during this event?	3 security guards from our <i>banjar</i> whom thy then join with others from other <i>banjars</i> (39 members)	3 security guards from our <i>banjar</i> whom thy then join with others from other <i>banjars</i> (39 members)	3 security guards from our <i>banjar</i> whom thy then join with others from other <i>banjars</i> (39 members)	
7	Do you have different experiences in every <i>Melasti</i> ritual festival on the beach?	No.	No.	No change	
8	What is the most inhibiting factor in the implementation of <i>Melasti</i> ritual?	Traffic	Change of temperature and traffic	Temperature	

iV	Human and Cremation Ritual	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Does the tradition of <i>banyu pinaruh</i> by bathing in the sea still continue in Kuta community?	Still maintaining well	Still maintaining well	Still continue	
2	Where is the most favourable place for Kuta members to take a bath on the beach?	In front of cemetery and Segara Temple	In front of cemetery and Segara Temple	In front of Segara Temple	
3	Why is there a different route of access to the cemetery in the cremation ceremony between the common people and the noble/gentry (<i>golongan menak</i>)?	As part of traditions	Our traditions and customs	Due to part of our tradition	
4	Can you describe briefly the route of procession to the cemetery in your own <i>banjar</i> ?	It depend on the location of the deceased family	It depend on the location of the deceased family	If the deceased from common people, it goes from Mataram Street to Singosari Street and then towards the cemetery	
5	Over how many days do the <i>banjar</i> members participate in the cremation ritual?	3 days + the day of the cremation	3 days + the day of the cremation	4 days including the day of the cremation	
6	How many cremation ceremonies take place roughly in your <i>banjar</i> per year?	Around five times	Around five times	Around five times	
7	How high is the level of participation of the members in the cremation ritual?	High	Very high	Very high	
8	What kinds of fines are charged to members who do not get involved in the cremation ritual?	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	

V	Environmental Ritual	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	What is the name of a ritual taking place in the sea which was carried out by Kuta community?	<i>Nangluk merana</i>	Ritual in the sixth dark moon (<i>nangluk merana</i>)	<i>Nangluk merana</i>	
2	What is the main purpose of the ritual in the sea?	Balanced cosmology	Purification of the nature	For balancing the nature	
3	What kinds of natural phenomenon are used to carry out this ritual?	Based on running time	Natural disaster	Epidemic of a diseases	
4	How often does the ritual in the sea take place?	Every year	Every year	Every year	
5	Which organisation (the <i>banjar/desa pakraman</i>) is responsible for handling the ritual in the sea?	<i>Desa adat</i> as in charge whilst <i>banjars</i> as executors	<i>Desa adat</i>	<i>Desa adat</i>	
6	What kinds of animal sacrifice are used in the ritual?	Black duck in the sea and chicken on the land	Duck and chicken	Black duck	
7	Where does the route of the ritual procession begin?	From Dalem Temple to the west (in front of Segara Temple towards to the sea	It is started from Dalem Temple to Segara Temple and then to the sea	From village street intersection to Dalem Temple	
8	Where does the animal sacrifice take place and how long does the ritual last?	In front of Segara Temple (it takes approx. an hours)	In front of Segara Temple (it takes approx. an hours)	In front of Dalem Temple (it takes approx. one and a half hour)	

Table 18: The transcriptions of in-depth interview from local community members

No	List of Question	Respondent				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Implementation of ritual on the beach					
1	Is there a ritual ceremony that has declined/disappeared on the beach?	No	No	No, even merrier	No	No
2	If Yes, please name it and give a reason below	-	-	-		-
3	Has there been a change of place for offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	No	No	No	No	No
4	If your answer is Yes, please give it a reason below.	-	-	-	-	-
5	Has there been a change of route for the procession of religious ceremony (<i>Melasti</i> , <i>Pelebon</i> , <i>Banyu Pinaruh</i>) from the village to the beach?	No	No	No	No	No
6	If Yes, please describe and give it a reason below	-	-	-	-	-
7	Is there official information provided to beach users concerning the use of beaches for regular ritual ceremonies (e.g. <i>Melasti</i>)?	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
8	Do you have any comments on this? Please write it down below if you have.	Most tourists understand and respect to local culture	Most tourists understand and respect to local culture	Information only	Most tourists understand and respect to local culture	To make ritual access smoothly and safely
9	Is there official information	No	No	No	No	Yes

	provided to beach users concerning the use of beaches for temporary ritual purposes (e.g. cremation ceremonies)?					
10	Do you have any comments on this?	No need information	No need information	-	-	Giving information on the beach only
11	Is there a prohibition to discharge amount of rubbish to the sea after offering ceremony, especially cremation ceremony?	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
12	If your answer is Yes or No, please give it a reason below.	Except the essential parts of ritual	Except the essential parts of ritual	Essential parts thrown to the sea are not rubbish	Essential parts thrown to the sea are not rubbish	Only throwing ash away to the sea
13	Do you feel there has been a significant change in the socio-cultural, economic, politic life as a result of the changes of setting and context of your surroundings?	Yes definitely,	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
14	If Yes, please describe it below.	The change of socio-economic life is most dominant	Economic life has changed dramatically	Commercialization in ritual has taken place	Mutual relationship seems to slightly decrease	Life is more modern and international relationship
15	What do you think will be the main implication which is likely to take place for Kuta Society arising from your previous answers?	As long as the leaders go on the track of law and social justice, it will go to a positive direction.	Find the best solution to sustain the positive condition. Beach management is essential	The Balinese are over pursuing worldly life, this will bring high threats	To avoid degradation, there must be a coordination and good governance among stakeholders	To gather among family members have been increasingly rare and migrants who settle will rapidly increase.

No	List of Question	Respondent				
		(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Implementation of ritual on the beach					
1	Is there a ritual ceremony that has declined/disappeared on the beach?	No	No	No	No	No
2	If Yes, please name it and give a reason below	-	-	-	-	-
3	Has there been a change of place for offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	If your answer is Yes, please give it a reason below.	-	The Badung community's place for melasti has moved from Legian to Seminyak	The Badung community's place for melasti has moved from Legian to Seminyak	The Badung community's place for melasti has moved from Legian to Seminyak	The Badung community's place for melasti has moved from Legian to Seminyak
5	Has there been a change of route for the procession of religious ceremony (<i>Melasti, Pelebon, Banyu Pinaruh</i>) from the village to the beach?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	If Yes, please describe and give it a reason below	-	The place of Melasti has changed due to hotel development	Only for Banyu Pinaruh is free	Due to replacement of the ritual	Due to replacement of the ritual
7	Is there official information provided to beach users concerning the use of beaches for regular ritual	Yes	No	yes	Yes	Yes

	ceremonies (e.g. Melasti)?					
8	Do you have any comments on this? Please write it down below if you have.	Since they close public access	But a good idea to inform ritual activity to the guests	To avoid inconvenience of the guests	Information needed to make every guest understand	For permission, wider space, and respect
9	Is there official information provided to beach users concerning the use of beaches for temporary ritual purposes (e.g. cremation ceremonies)?	yes	No	Yes	No	No
10	Do you have any comments on this?	Information for motor cycle and car parking	But a good idea to inform ritual activity to the guests	No need information	But still need information	Information only
11	Is there a prohibition to discharge amount of rubbish to the sea after offering ceremony, especially cremation ceremony?	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
12	If your answer is Yes or No, please give it a reason below.	Except the essential parts of ritual	Except the essential parts of ritual	To keep beach clean	Only small parts thrown to the sea	Only essential parts permitted to throw to the sea
13	Do you feel there has been a significant change in the socio-cultural, economic, politic life as a result of the changes of setting and context of your surroundings?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
14	If Yes, please describe it below.	The change due to economic factors	Tourism brings positive and negative impacts	Change is immortal, but need an agreement	Change of young generation's behavior and economic life	The economic life is more strong
15	What do you think will be the main implication which is likely to take place for Kuta	As long as having a strong culture, negative impacts	Continual hotel development will lead to pollution	Kuta beach is the world own, it should be kept through	The change of their economic life makes the change	Local community will be recessive, mutual

	Society arising from your previous answers?	can be tackled	and traffic congestion	sense of belonging	of their life style	relationship will be decrease periodically
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Table 19: A summary of local leaders' reponses

No	Question	Summary
I	Background of territory & temple	
1	When was the village and temple (other temples) established?	Around 18 th century.
2	How often have these temples or other temples been renovated?	Once in average.
3	Has the village established a special team in every temple renovation and other similar developments?	Yes, we have a team commonly consisting of <i>banjar's</i> representative.
4	From where does the main budget come to renovate the temples and other facilities?	Village's budget, government aid and donation from individuals.
5	Has the government provided financial support for the temple's renovation and village buildings?	Yes, the government has participated in village development.
6	Have other parties donated monies for the renovation of the temple and other village buildings?	Yes, but it was limited donation.
7	What kinds of roles have to be shared by non- Balinese or temporary residents in these developments?	We do not push them to participate in the village development.
8	What kinds of fines are charged for those who do not participate in these developments?	Without fines.
II	Temple Anniversary	
1		
1	When does the temple's anniversary take place?	Most temple anniversaries take place every six months according Balinese Calendar.
2	What is the strategy/procedure to endorse the temple members to participate in temple anniversary?	It relies on customary laws and consciousness of community members.
3	What kind of rituals take place in these temples as part of the festival procession on the beach?	<i>Melasti</i> , and <i>mulang pakelem</i> and <i>nangluk merane</i> (rituals for a balance of nature.

4	When does the ritual on the beach usually take place?	Every year.
5	Describe the route of the ritual procession to the beach? Are there variations to this route?	In the level of the village, there is no variation in routes, except in banjar.
6	How many members participate roughly in every ritual festival to the beach?	Thousands of people.
7	How long does the ritual ceremony take place on the beach?	2-3 hours.
8	After completing the ritual offerings on the beach, is the same route followed on return to the temple?	The similar route.
III	Melasti Ritual	
1	Can you explain briefly the itinerary of the <i>Melasti</i> from the preparation to the end of the day?	- <i>Ngaub Ida Bethara</i> ; - <i>Melasti</i> ; - <i>Mapakelem</i> ; - <i>Melinggih ring Pura Desa</i> ; - <i>Panyikeban</i> .
2	Describe the route of the ritual procession from each <i>banjar</i> community carrying sacred shrine equipment to the village temple (Pura Desa).	It really depends on the location of <i>banjars</i> , they walk to the Desa Temple through the shortest path without considering traffic circulations.
3	Roughly how many members participate in this event from the village temple and to the coast?	Thousands of people.
4	How long does the <i>Melasti</i> ceremony take on the beach?	2-3 hours.
5	Is there a different route of the festival procession from the initial route (from the village temple to the coast and vice versa)?	Commonly, it is a similar route.
6	How many village security guards/ <i>pecalang</i> are involved in this event, and are there changes in traffic routes for vehicles during this event?	39 members consist of three members from each <i>banjar</i> .
7	Do you have different experiences in every <i>Melasti</i> ritual festival on the beach?	Without different experiences, because of part of traditions.
8	What is the most inhibiting factor in the implementation of <i>Melasti</i> ritual?	Nothing seriously inhibiting factor, crowded and traffic may be little inhibiting factor.
IV	Human and Cremation Ritual	
1	Does the tradition of <i>banyu pinaruh</i> by bathing in the sea still continue in Kuta	Still continue as a tradition.

	community?	
2	Where is the most favourable place for Kuta members to take a bath on the beach?	In front of Segara Temple.
3	Why is there a different route of access to the cemetery in the cremation ceremony between the common people and the noble/gentry (<i>golongan menak</i>)?	As a tradition deriving from the ancestors without written evidence.
4	Can you describe briefly the route of procession to the cemetery in your own <i>banjar</i> ?	There are various routes according to the banjar locations and the deceased of the family.
5	Over how many days do the <i>banjar</i> members participate in the cremation ritual?	3-4 days.
6	How many cremation ceremonies take place roughly in your <i>banjar</i> per year?	Five times average.
7	How high is the level of participation of the members in the cremation ritual?	Very high.
8	What kinds of fines are charged to members who do not get involved in the cremation ritual?	With pecuniary fines.
V	Environmental Ritual	
1	What is the name of a ritual taking place in the sea which was carried out by Kuta community?	<i>Nangluk merana</i> .
2	What is the main purpose of the ritual in the sea?	For harmonious balance between micro-macro cosmos.
3	What kinds of natural phenomenon are used to carry out this ritual?	Various diseases or catastrophe
4	How often does the ritual in the sea take place?	Every year
5	Which organisation (the <i>banjar/desa pakraman</i>) is responsible for handling the ritual in the sea?	<i>Desa adat/pakraman</i> .
6	What kinds of animal sacrifice are used in the ritual?	Duck in the sea and chicken in the land.
7	Where does the route of the ritual procession begin?	From Dalem Temple to in front of Segara Temple.
8	Where does the animal sacrifice take place and how long does the ritual last?	In the sea and in front of Segara Temple (an hour).

Table 20: A summary of local community members' responses

No	Question	Summary
	Implementation of ritual on the beach	
1	Is there a ritual ceremony that has declined/disappeared on the beach?	No, the ritual practice is still maintained well, as part of belief systems
2	If Yes, please name it and give a reason below	-
3	Has there been a change of place for offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	No, there is no change from the initial place of ritual
4	If your answer is Yes, please give it a reason below.	-
5	Has there been a change of route for the procession of religious ceremony (<i>Melasti</i> , <i>Pelebon</i> , <i>Banyu Pinaruh</i>) from the village to the beach?	No, only human purification (<i>banyu pinaruh</i>) ritual has extended to other places on the beach
6	If Yes, please describe and give it a reason below	-
7	Is there official information provided to beach users concerning the use of beaches for regular ritual ceremonies (e.g. <i>Melasti</i>)?	Yes, official information is announced to hotels along the beach.
8	Do you have any comments on this? Please write it down below if you have.	It leads a change of traffic or stopping public access for a couple of minutes/hours
9	Is there official information provided to beach users concerning the use of beaches for temporary ritual purposes (e.g. cremation ceremonies)?	Yes, but for the beach users only
10	Do you have any comments on this?	Information for motor cycle and car parking
11	Is there a prohibition to discharge amount of rubbish to the sea after offering ceremony, especially cremation ceremony?	Yes, it is accommodated by a local policy
12	If your answer is Yes or No, please give it a reason below.	Except the essential parts of ritual
13	Do you feel there has been a significant change in the socio-cultural, economic, politic life as a result of the changes of setting and context of your surroundings?	Yes, a change on social aspects could not be avoided.
14	If Yes, please describe it below.	The change is due to economic developments as a driving factor
15	What do you think will be the main implication which is likely to take place for Kuta Society arising from your previous answers?	As long as having a strong culture, negative impacts can be minimised

b. Government's reaction

Both the government from Badung Regency and Bali province became the main sources of data, relating to planning regulations on Kuta beach. There were 15 respondents who involved in the survey whereby the transcriptions of in-depth interviews of each respondents can be seen in table below (Table 21). From the transcriptions of in-depth interview (Table 22), a summary of the government members' responses mostly indicates that both levels of government recognised that most building structures along the beach have contravened the national setback line regulations but without confirming the root of the problem. Although there is no confirmation, it is abundantly clear that the main cause of the problem is weak law enforcement. Principally, the local government could check at the first stage of the building permit process by providing benchmarks on site, so that they could monitor and control the distance of building structures to the offshore from construction stage to building operations.

However due to the unavailability of such benchmarks on building site, the owners sometimes argue that their developments comply with land certificates which are released by the National Land Board (*Badan Pertanahan National/BPN*), whilst local government have no means of checking these boundaries. This is because the BPN is not part of the local or provincial governments, or is under the local or regional governments. Rather they are part of the central BPN in Jakarta. It seems there is a blunder in the coordination among the different levels of government. Abuse of power and corruption, in releasing legal land certificates, can easily take place if there is no control and weak law enforcement within government departments.

Although they recognised that there is synchronization of policies among national, regional and local levels, a case of the difficult coordination between the different departments took place in 2006 when the government of Bali province and Badung Regency conducted a boundary survey and formed a team, involving the BPN of Badung and the

consultant of Bali Beach Conservation Project (BCCP), to ensure a demarcation line is identified between private and state ownership along the Kuta beachfront (SDA, 2006). This survey finally failed since the building owners/private companies unwilling to show their land certificates; the team had no authority to force these companies to disclose their certificates. The BPN (the responsible party for releasing the legal certificate) was not allowed to show the private land certificates according to their policy, although for public purposes, except an approval from the head of the central BPN. Hence, this is the second blunder in Kuta beach management system and because of such lack of control and monitoring, as well as weak law enforcement, the encroachment of public and civic areas continues.

Even though their reaction in the interviews suggests they respect the Balinese culture, traditions and customs, by pointing out that Kuta beach has been managed by the local community in terms of community empowerment and due to their historic territory, they also acknowledge that it could not sufficiently be handled by a single party. One of the reasons is because Kuta beach is one of the central tourist resorts and the most favourite tourist attraction in this region. Hence, there is always the danger that major disputes will take place. The two bomb attacks in Kuta Village, for example, took place in 2002 and 2005 caused significant negative impacts on both tourism and the life of ritual practices. This evidence proved that Kuta Village community, on its own, is not effective enough to secure their territory as one of the world tourist destinations. This means that coordination and an agreed consensus of the different stakeholders is essential.

Table 21: The list of Respondents

Respondent		Level of Government	Contact Number	In-depth Interview			Remark
No	Status/Job Description			Date	Time	Place	
1	Research Officer of Regional Planning and Development Board	Bali Province	+62818556159	15/7/13	09:10-10:36	Office	
2	Head of Water Resources Division	Bali Province	+628337625715	15/13	11:00-12:10	Office	
3	Project Manager of River and Coastal Area	Central Government	+628123989756	16/7/13	13:35-14:38	Office	
4	Ex. Project Manager of Bali Beach Conservation Project (BBCP)	Central Government	+62818557270	23/7/13	09:15-10:41	Office	
5	Head of Planning Division (Directorate of Water Resources (DWR))	Central Government	+628123852203	16/7/13	14:20-15:25	Office	
6	Head of Tourism Affair Control Division	Bali Province	+62811380982	17/7/13	11:05-12:07	Office	
7	Head of Culture Agency of Bali Province	Bali Province	+6281338591229	17/7/13	13:35-14:40	Office	
8	Regent Assistant Economy and Development Affair	Badung Regency	+628123977028	26/7/13	14:17-15:21	Office	
9	Head of Land Use Affair	Badung Regency	+628123682673	24/7/13	09:30-10:35	Office	
10	Secretary of Tourism Agency	Badung Regency	+623619009270	24/7/13	11:10-12:13	Office	
11	Secretary of Kuta District	Badung Regency	+6281353303000	25/7/13	11:05-12:09	Office	
12	Head of Administrative Kuta Village	Badung Regency	+6281337736893	25/7/13	13:20-14:27	Office	
13	Head of Community Empowerment of Kuta Village	Badung Regency	+628155752222	25/7/13	16:45-17:56	Office	
14	Head of Community Empowerment of	Badung Regency	+6281338620327	2/8/13	10:25-	Office	

	Legian Village				11:37		
15	Head of Administrative Seminyak Village	Badung Regency	+6281805685258	2/8/13	14:10-15:17	Office	

Table 22: The transcriptions of in-depth interview

No	List of Questions	Respondents				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I	Implementation of Policy					
1	Do you have policy or regulation to manage the beach in the area of your authority?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
2	If your answer is Yes, please mention it below or copied and attached.	Covered in Regional Land Use Planning of Bali Province, No.16/2009	Governor decision letter No.1694/02-C/2012 concerning Establishment of Beach Management Coordination Team	-	Based on our contract of project implementation of BBCP	Governor decision letter No.1694/02-C/2012 concerning Establishment of Beach Management Coordination Team
3	Do you think there is synchronisation among national, regional and local policy in relation to beach management in your area?	Yes	No (Not Yet)	Yes	-	Not yet
4	If your answer is Yes or No,	Regional	There are more	We have	Just following	There is no

	please give it your reason below.	Regulation refers to National Policy, especially the beach setback line regulation	than two Ministries to handle coastal development in Indonesia	coordination with other parties involved in coastal areas before preparing construction activities	the contract according the national regulation	synchronisation in the level of implementation between province and regency
5	Could you give a reason why the regulations of setback line (sempadan pantai) in the Badung Regency in general and particularly the Kuta beach, is less than 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL)?	As the national policy has been stipulated since 2007, a bit late as the national regulation	Weak control from the authority agency	Badung Regency have full of responsibility to set setback regulation less than 100 metres.	Because the regulation of setback line issued after the development of hotels	Weak control from the agency who is responsible.
6	What is a main reason for the management of Kuta beach by the Kuta traditional village/Desa Adat Kuta?	In order to empower the traditional community keeping their authority area	In order to maintain beach sustainability	As they have an authority to manage their area, particularly in Bali.	In Bali, particularly in Kuta, the Kuta traditional village has an authority to manage the beach.	As part of their area according to their notion
7	Do you think that the Kuta traditional village is sufficiently effective to manage Kuta beach for today and the future?	Neither yes or no	No	Yes	Yes	No
8	If your answer is No, please give your argument	Depending on kind of aspect	Need an integrated concept and management	-	-	Control is required to avoid arrogant.
9	Do you agree that it is	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

	appropriate to establish an official organisation body to manage and maintain Kuta beach into Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM)?					
10	If your answer is No, please give your reason.	-	-	-	-	-
II	Respect to Balinese Society					
1	The sea with its beach is a religious space from the notion of Balinese Society based on philosophy of Mountain-Seaward/ <i>Nyegara-Gunung</i> , whilst many beaches have become tourism resorts tending to be commercial spaces. This means that there are contradicting values. Do you agree with this statement?	No	No	No	No	No
2	If your answer is No, please explain your argument	Beach is scared area which is also public area, so the function should be in balance	Must be a supporting collaboration in terms of sustainability	As the mission of coastal development is sustainability covering cultural sustainability	Because the availability of walkway is a boundary between private and public or religious space.	Beach is public space, setting of zone will be better
3	Some new tourist areas have limited public access to the beach; these situations might have a big problem for Balinese Society for offering	Infra-structure should be provided by the government, followed by tight monitoring	Before construction, should be set out a Memorandum of Understanding	Construct hard beach protections completed by public access	Make planning before developing areas as tourist resort	Make planning before developing areas as tourist resort

	ritual to the sea. How can resolve this problem? Please give your answer		among parties to provide an access.			
4	Do you have a regulation to respect to Balinese Society in terms of offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	Yes	No	Yes	yes	No
5	If your answer is Yes, please mention or copied and attached	It is not specific on the beach, but to the traditional village as a whole	-	It is not specific on the beach, but to the traditional village as a whole	It is not specific on the beach, but to the traditional village as a whole	-
6	If your answer above is No, how to sustain and strengthen the position of Balinese society in offering ceremony particularly in Kuta beach as a tourist resort? Please give your opinion briefly	-	Construct an access to the beach, punishment for building against the law and regulation	-	-	There is no prohibition when taking ritual ceremony on the beach
7	When Balinese Society parade in the street and then toward the sea as <i>Melasti</i> or procession of cremation, traffic jam is inevitable to takes place. Is this a serious problem from your perspective?	No	Yes	No	No	No
8	If your answer is Yes, please give your solution	-	Control to the growth number of vehicle is still weak and	-	-	-

			overdevelopment			
9	Currently, members of Balinese Society, who participate in ritual ceremonies on the beach, are not exempt from discharging ritual waste into the sea. Do you agree with these conditions?	Yes, as the sea is religious place which should be maintained well its purity	No	No	No	No
10	If your answer is No, please give your argument.		Amount of rubbish is not too much, no need regulation.	Because it is just organic materials, it is easy to decompose in the water	Balinese society believe that sea is holy place so that they will protect the sea from dangerous waste	As it is just small parts which is not called rubbish or waste.

No	List of Questions	Answers/Comments				
		(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I	Implementation of Policy					
1	Do you have policy or regulation to manage the beach in the area of your authority?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
2	If your answer is Yes, please mention it below or copied and attached.	Regional Land Use Planning of Bali Province, No.16/2009	Regional Land Use Planning of Bali Province, No.16/2009	Badung Land Use Planning No.29/1995, used by the end 2012	Badung Land Use Planning No.29/1995, used by the end 2012	-
3	Do you think there is synchronisation among	Yes, regional regulation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

	national, regional and local policy in relation to beach management in your area?	synchronise with national policy				
4	If your answer is Yes or No, please give it your reason below.	Because below regulation must adopt higher regulation	However, in implementation there are imbalance in the field, since regional regulation just adopts national regulation	Since local regulation refers to higher regulations	Since local regulation refers to higher regulations	Since local regulation refers to higher regulations
5	Could you give a reason why the regulations of setback line (sempadan pantai) in the Badung Regency in general and particularly the Kuta beach, is less than 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL)?	Since development of hotel facilities at Kuta was earlier than the issue of setback line regulation.	The existing average condition is less than 100 metres, but becoming more crucial due to private several activities in public	RDTR 2003 was based on the existing condition on the site, now we must refer to National Policy setting out 100 metres	Analysis of detail land use planning was based on the existing site, in the future it will refers to the national regulation	No comment
6	What is a main reason for the management of Kuta beach by the Kuta traditional village/Desa Adat Kuta?	The reason must come from Badung Regency	Agreement between the community-Government for empowerment and prosperity	There is no decision from the government to give authority for the traditional village	Just an agreement to manage and maintain the beach	To empower and enhance economic life from the local traditional community
7	Do you think that the Kuta traditional village is sufficiently effective to manage Kuta beach for today and the future?	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

8	If your answer is No, please give your argument	-	In management it need a coordination among stakeholders	The beach is a dynamic place accommodating many interests, it should be handled by stakeholders	Need supports from the government	-
9	Do you agree that it is appropriate to establish an official organisation body to manage and maintain Kuta beach into Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM)?	Yes, as long as still respect to local wisdom and putting priority for local people prosperity	Yes	Yes, backed up by task force with clear job description and accountability	Yes	Yes
10	If your answer is No, please give your reason.	-	-	-	-	-
II	Respect to Balinese Society					
1	The sea with its beach is a religious space from the notion of Balinese Society based on philosophy of Mountain-Seaward/ <i>Nyegara-Gunung</i> , whilst many beaches have become tourism resorts tending to be commercial spaces. This means that there are contradicting values. Do you agree with this statement?	Yes, but beach is not just for religious life, it is also for social life. And the important thing is to avoid privatization of the beach.	Yes, but there is tolerance between tourist and local community, in reality tolerance has gone very well.	Yes, but there is no problem in the use of the beach by now	Yes, but must be in balance in the use of other facilities	No
2	If your answer is No, please explain your argument	-	-	-	-	The beach is used for many activities in harmony
3	Some new tourist areas have limited public access to the	By stick to the regulation in regard	There must have an agreement	Must be made an agreement signed	We have a plan to release a	The development must be in harmony

	beach; these situations might have a big problem for Balinese Society for offering ritual to the sea. How can resolve this problem? Please give your answer	to this matter	between local community and government to set out several zones for tourism activities	by the local government	regulation of zoning system which may cover the problem of limited access to the beach	
4	Do you have a regulation to respect to Balinese Society in terms of offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	Yes	No,	No	No	No
5	If your answer is Yes, please mention or copied and attached	Bali Province Regulation No.2/2012 regarding Bali Cultural Tourism	-	-	Yes, the Decree No. 1133/2000 stipulating that the beach areas around Badung Regency are managed by Desa Pakraman	-
6	If your answer above is No, how to sustain and strengthen the position of Balinese society in offering ceremony particularly in Kuta beach as a tourist resort? Please give your opinion briefly	-	there is enough that the government is welcome to local community in the use of the beach for ritual	Just non-verbal agreement to give the traditional village in beach management. In the future it needs a legal regulation	-	Traditional law (awig-awig) justifies with the real condition
7	When Balinese Society parade in the street and then toward the sea as <i>Melasti</i> or procession of cremation, traffic jam is inevitable to takes place. Is this a serious problem from your	This festival becomes tourist attraction even though making a little bit of traffic jam, this ritual is not every day it is	Yes	Yes	No	No, festival in the street is an amazing tourist attraction, this takes place not everyday

	perspective?	only every six months/year				
8	If your answer is Yes, please give your solution	-	Development of accessibility and decreased number of vehicle by regulation is needed	Management of time is essential to avoid traffic congestion	-	-
9	Currently, members of Balinese Society, who participate in ritual ceremonies on the beach, are not exempt from discharging ritual waste into the sea. Do you agree with these conditions?	Yes	Yes	Yes, however the essential part of ritual which must be thrown to the sea should be accommodated	Yes	Yes, however the essential part of ritual which must be thrown to the sea should be accommodated
10	If your answer is No, please give your argument.	-	-		-	-

No	List of Questions	Respondents				
		(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
I	Implementation of Policy					
1	Do you have policy or regulation to manage the beach in the area of your authority?	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
2	If your answer is Yes, please mention it below or copied and attached.	Badung Land Use Planning No.29/1995, used by the end 2012	-	Permendagri No.4/2007; to empower the community through	-	-

				mutual assistance		
3	Do you think there is synchronisation among national, regional and local policy in relation to beach management in your area?	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
4	If your answer is Yes or No, please give it your reason below.	Because stakeholders must involve in management of the beach	It must be synchronized as the beach is a strategic area public utilization	There is no synchronization in implementation	No coordination between National Land Certificate Agency with other Agencies	Each regulation is good but must be integrated
5	Could you give a reason why the regulations of setback line (sempadan pantai) in the Badung Regency in general and particularly the Kuta beach, is less than 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL)?	Based on the existing	Because Kuta resort has developed before regulation	Weak Law enforcement and powerless regulation	No comment	Really depends on control and monitoring team on the field
6	What is a main reason for the management of Kuta beach by the Kuta traditional village/Desa Adat Kuta?	Because they know very well their surroundings	For empowerment and prosperity of the local community	Strong request to local government as a part of their authority	Because Kuta beach is a part of Traditional Village Authority	Since this area touches public need under the government
7	Do you think that the Kuta traditional village are sufficiently effective to manage Kuta beach for today and the future?	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
8	If your answer is No, please give your argument	-	-	Do not have a clear concept to manage	It is not effective yet	Needs a coordination with

				the beach into a professional way		other parties (stakeholders)
9	Do you agree that it is appropriate to establish an official organisation body to manage and maintain Kuta beach into Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM)?	Yes	-	Yes	Yes	
10	If your answer is No, please give your reason.	-		-	-	
II	Respect to Balinese Society					
1	The sea with its beach is a religious space from the notion of Balinese Society based on philosophy of Mountain-Seaward/ <i>Nyegara-Gunung</i> , whilst many beaches have become tourism resorts tending to be commercial spaces. This means that there are contradicting values. Do you agree with this statement?	Yes	Yes	Yes, as long as there is management of zones for ritual and tourist	Yes	Yes
2	If your answer is No, please explain your argument	-	-	-	-	-
3	Some new tourist areas have limited public access to the beach; these situations might have a big problem for Balinese Society for offering ritual to the sea. How can resolve this problem? Please give your answer	The government should resolve the problem by providing public access to facilitate Balinese's ritual activity	A regulation must be made to manage and to enforce punishment in the field. Gives the traditional village to monitor the beach	Development of tourist resort must be completed with appropriate planning	It must be set out communication and coordination between the community and company	Team evaluation must analyze the problem

4	Do you have a regulation to respect to Balinese Society in terms of offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	No	No	No	No	No
5	If your answer is Yes, please mention or copied and attached	-	-	-	-	-
6	If your answer above is No, how to sustain and strengthen the position of Balinese society in offering ceremony particularly in Kuta beach as a tourist resort? Please give your opinion briefly	Giving authority to the traditional village in management of the beach	The traditional village must have a good coordination with companies to utilize the beach for ritual ceremony	Provides zones for ritual, educate Balinese in interaction with tourist, and encourage involvement of the government	To train or educate them in order to be more responsible and respect	Encourages the government to avoid relocation of any temple.
7	When Balinese Society parade in the street and then toward the sea as <i>Melasti</i> or procession of cremation, traffic jam is inevitable to takes place. Is this a serious problem from your perspective?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
8	If your answer is Yes, please give your solution	The government and indigenous people have to make new accesses to avoid bottleneck.	Needs a good coordination with among stakeholders in order to understand the situation	To inform hotels and tourists, and to give information via media electronic	-	Most people should respect one another, the government should develop new access and make wider access.
9	Currently, members of Balinese Society, who participate in ritual ceremonies on the beach, are	Yes	No	Yes	Yes/No	No

	not exempt from discharging ritual waste into the sea. Do you agree with these conditions?					
10	If your answer is No, please give your argument.	-	Because Balinese community have realized that the sea must be keep clean, only small part of ritual must be thrown to the sea.	-	It depends on kinds of ritual	There is no strict prohibition as the Balinese understand of how to maintain the sea.

Table 23: A summary of government members' responses

No	List of Question	Summary of Response
	Respect to Balinese Society	
1	The sea with its beach is a religious space from the notion of Balinese Society, whilst many beaches have become tourism resorts tending to be commercial spaces. This means that there are contradicting values. Do you agree with this statement?	No
2	If your answer is No, please explain your argument	Beach is scared area which is also public area, so the function should be in balance
3	Some new tourist areas have limited public access to the beach; these situations might have a big problem for Balinese Society for offering ritual to the sea. How can resolve this problem? Please give your answer	Infra-structure should be provided by the government, followed by tight monitoring
4	Do you have a regulation to respect to Balinese Society in terms of offering ritual ceremony on the beach?	Yes
5	If your answer is Yes, please mention or copied and attached	It is not specific on the beach, but for the traditional village as

		a whole
6	If your answer above is No, how to sustain and strengthen the position of Balinese society in offering ceremony particularly in Kuta beach as a tourist resort? Please give your opinion briefly	-
7	When Balinese Society parade in the street and then toward the sea as <i>Melasti</i> or procession of cremation, traffic jam is inevitable to takes place. Is this a serious problem from your perspective?	No, because it is not routine
8	If your answer is Yes, please give your solution	-
9	Currently, members of Balinese Society, who participate in ritual ceremonies on the beach, are not exempt from discharging ritual waste into the sea. Do you agree with these conditions?	Yes, as the sea is religious place which should be maintained well its purity
10	If your answer is No, please give your argument.	

c. Company reaction on respect of rituals

The seven private companies that are located in Kuta Village were one of the groups involved in the in-depth-interviews. The transcriptions of in-depth interviews from each company are available as shown in table below (Table 24), whilst a summary of their response in relation to the availability of working leave for the Balinese who work in their companies in order to ascertain their respect for these ritual practices (Table 25). Their respect by providing the working leave for the Balinese employees is acknowledged as one of the strategies in maintaining the sustainability of their ritual traditions.

Based on the interview results, every company has two regulations for employee leaves and are based on the national policy and the company policy. According to the National Act No.13/2003 (article 79, 80 and 85), the annual leave has a duration of 12 days only, three months of working leave for women giving birth and 15 days for abortion (R. Indonesia, 2003). In relation to ritual activities, the national act in article 80 only states that it is compulsory for the companies to consider an employee's ritual activity based on their religion and belief without more detailed statement, so that every company enables to create their further policy as the second regulation in the working leaves.

As a consequence, every company has a specific regulation to manage their employees concerning working leave in order to maintain their productivity and profit. Even though there are slightly different regulations in every company, the average of leave in relation to ritual ceremonies according to the interview results can be summarised as follows:

- The employee's first wedding ceremony: three days. The son/daughter's wedding ceremony: two days.
- Close family death (father/mother/in-law, husband/wife, son/daughter/in law): two-three days (depending on the company).
- Child birth ritual: one-two days (depending on the company).

The above availability of the working leaves is set for workers in general, whilst the leaves for specific purposes which are required by the Balinese workers in terms of involving in ritual practices do not cover in these regulations. Meanwhile local and provincial governments do not provide and regulate the working leaves for the Balinese in the involvement of their ritual. The participants in these ritual activities certainly require tens of days working leave in a year. For instance, the average number of cremation rituals taking place in every *banjar* community was predicted at seven to eight times in a year. Whilst every spouse is supposed to participate in this ritual at least three times over different days resulting in them providing their time over 21 to 24 days a year. Meanwhile, at least 15 to 20 days a year for participating in temple ceremonies must also be provided by employers, this result derives from the number of village and *banjar* temples, family temples and other temples which are mostly celebrated in 210 days or twice in a year.

The annual leave of 12 days stipulated in the National Act is, of course, not enough to fill their ritual activities, although the local and regional government have not yet acted to provide a local regulation on working leave for the Balinese in terms of their protection and ritual sustainability. Besides that, these rituals are very sensitive and crucial for the Balinese maintain their competitiveness and competence in the working environment. Without protection from the local government, they have a difficulty to face tight competition with other people who are not Balinese since the non Balinese may have less number of leaves. Meanwhile, the number of the non Balinese as migrants from other islands enter labour market in Kuta tourism cannot be stopped. This dilemmatic situation leads a negative impact for the Balinese employees who work in private sectors. As a consequence, their existence as employees really depends on a good relationship with their employers.

Table 24: The list of respondents

Respondent		Company	Contact Number	In-depth interview			Remark
No	Status/Job Description			Date	Time	Place	
1	Human Resources Manager	PT. Kharisma Bali Int. Cargo	+62361755136	21/5/14	11:15-12:05	Kuta village office	
2	General Manager	Bakung Beach Resort Hotel	+62361753991	19/5/14	16:10-17:00	Hotel Lobby	
3	Human Resources Assistant	The Oberoi Hotel	+62361730361	13/5/14	10:30-11:25	Hotel Lobby	
4	Head Waiter	Bali Summer Hotel	+6287861464802	15/5/14	17:05-17:57	Hotel Lobby	
5	Assistant Restaurant Manager	KFC Kuta	+6285337000218	15/5/14	15:15-16:09	KFC Restaurant	
6	Assistant Manager General Affair	Hard Rock Hotel	+62361761869	20/5/14	15:55-16:45	Office	
7	Human Resources Manager	Patra Jasa Bali Resort & Villas	+623619351161	20/5/14	10:45-11:40	Office	

Table 25: The transcriptions of in-depth interview

No	List of Questions	Answers/Comments				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
II	Leave management					
1	How many Balinese in your company?	85 (90%)	43 (95.5%)	183 (91%)	45 (75%)	30 (85%)
2	Do you provide authorised leave of absence for Balinese who take part in the ritual ceremonies?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	If Yes, what kind of ritual and how many days/annual periods?	Gods and human ceremonies which are around 2-3 days.	Temple ceremonies, <i>tooth-filling, wedding ceremony, cremation: between 2-3 days</i>	Some rituals: wedding, baby's three months, cremation which around 2-3 days	Almost all Balinese Holidays which approximately 6 days.	Cremation and other family death rituals which are around 3-4 days.
4	What is a normal (and emergency) procedure in your company for applying for leave during working time?	In normal procedure: 7 days before leaving date, whilst the employee can make a report later as emergencies.	Informing a week prior to the leave in normal procedure, whilst a day prior to the leave for family ill or death.	An approval should be obtained at least two weeks prior to the leave (in normal procedure), whilst the leave may be	In emergency, it is enough to inform to manager directly, whilst in normal procedure, the employee should be	The employees must apply a leave a month prior to the leave, whereas, it is enough to confirm or call by phone to manager in

				scheduled at any time if emergency.	approved by general manager.	emergency accidents.
5	Does your company care and respect Balinese ritual ceremonies in your surroundings (<i>banjar/desa adat Kuta</i>), and endeavour to accommodate these events? Please give some reasons if Yes or No.	We provide some charity fee to support some Balinese ceremonies in the level of <i>banjar</i> and <i>desa adat Kuta</i> .	We participate in religious ceremonies around the hotel by providing food and beverages.	We give the Balinese donation to support their ritual events.	Our company participate regularly in Kuta <i>melasti</i> ceremony.	The day after Nyepi Day, our company is closed in order to respect the Balinese event called " <i>peken majalanguan</i> ".
6	In respect to holidays, the central government usually releases a national holiday calendar whilst the regional government also releases an additional holiday according to the Balinese Hindu Holiday calendar. Which calendar does your company follow?	We accommodate the Balinese Hindu Holidays, as our office is located in Bali. As a result we need to balance between work and Balinese ceremony.	Our company follow the Balinese Hindu Calendar as most of our employees are Hindu and respect to Balinese ritual practice/ culture.	We follow the national holidays; the exception is only two days for a celebration of Galungan Day.	We follow both the national and Balinese holidays.	We follow both of the national and Balinese holidays.

No	List of Questions	Respondents				
		(6)	(7)			
I	Leave management					
1	How many Balinese in your company?	434 (85%)	250 (87%)			
2	Do you provide authorised leave of absence for Balinese who take part in the ritual ceremonies?	Yes	Yes			
3	If Yes, what kind of ritual and how many days/annual periods?	Temple ceremonies, in which the number of leave depends on request and gets approval from the head department.	Balinese religious ceremonies: wedding, cremation, and tooth-filling which are around 2-3 days.			
4	What is a normal (and emergency) procedure in your company for applying for leave during working time?	Fill a form for a leave and get an approval from the head department, whilst in emergency procedure, it is enough a call to	In normal procedure: filling the form signed by employee, head department and HR manager, whilst in emergency			

		supervisor/manager to take an emergency leave.	the form of leave is signed only by head/assistant department.			
5	Does your company care and respect Balinese ritual ceremonies in your surroundings (<i>banjar/desa adat Kuta</i>), and endeavour to accommodate these events? Please give some reasons if Yes or No.	We are always participating in every ceremony of temples around Kuta Village.	Yes, providing donation, joining in village temple anniversaries, and cleaning up the temples.			
6	In respect to holidays, the central government usually releases a national holiday calendar whilst the regional government also releases an additional holiday according to the Balinese Hindu Holiday calendar. Which calendar does your company follow?	We follow the Balinese Hindu Holiday, by letting them to take their time in celebrating the ritual.	The company follows both calendars.			

Table 26: A summary of private companies' responses

No	List of Questions	Summary of Response
1	How many Balinese in your company?	An average rate of Balinese employees who work in the companies is between 75-95 per cent
2	Do you provide authorised leave of absence for Balinese who take part in the ritual ceremonies?	All the companies provide authorised leave for Balinese ceremonies
3	If Yes, what kind of ritual and how many days/annual periods?	They mainly provide leave for specific ceremonies as cremation, wedding and tooth-filling
4	What is a normal (and emergency) procedure in your company for applying for leave during working time?	Most of them provide leaves which are approximately two-three days.
5	Does your company care and respect Balinese ritual ceremonies in your surroundings (<i>banjar/desa adat Kuta</i>), and endeavour to accommodate these events? Please give some reasons if Yes or No.	Various kinds of respect have been shown by the companies such as participation in temple and other religious ceremonies, providing donation, food and beverages.
6	In respect to holidays, the central government usually releases a national holiday calendar whilst the regional government also releases an additional holiday according to the Balinese Hindu Holiday calendar. Which calendar does your company follow?	They commonly follow both the national and Balinese holidays in providing their Balinese employee's leave, only one company as a franchise company strictly follows the only national holidays.

d. Environmentalist's reaction

Different academic backgrounds from the environmentalist led to the different opinions of them in which there can be seen from the transcriptions of in-depth interviews (see Table 26). After in-depth interviews with 3 foreign and 3 domestic environmentalists, their opinions in beach zone management, particularly between religious and commercial spaces, can be categorised into two different opinions. The foreign environmentalists' opinion tended to be more focussed on the implementation of law enforcement, whilst the local environmentalists' opinions mostly emphasised the importance of boundaries, especially between ritual and commercial zones of the beach areas; they recognised that beaches in Balinese philosophy are sacred spaces.

Even one of the environmentalists, added that beach zones are strategic spatial zones at a local and provincial level, meaning that these zones have a priority in the implementation of spatial planning since they have a positive impact on economic, politic, social and environmental aspects (Putra, 2013). This is strengthened by the National Policy No.15/2010 (R. Indonesia, 2010). Even though both environmentalists have different areas of priority they agree that the beaches must be managed well in order to avoid friction resulting from conflict of interests between local communities and private/hotel companies (Table 29).

The implementation of the setback line regulations, in which building structures on the beach are stipulated to be 100 metres from High Water Level (WHL), is never used, not only on Kuta beach but also in and across other regions in Bali. Because this is less than 100 metres, the width of the beaches has become narrower. Moreover, the foreign environmentalists also state that the Balinese themselves are very tolerant of people and this is another reason why there appears to be no friction with the tourists and commercial interests. If the law was properly enforced, private beaches could be avoided and hotel security monitoring the beaches could also be challenged. This is the task for the government as a representative of the

state to ensure that the beach is a public space or public property. Local wisdom of the Balinese notion in terms of a balancing cosmology or spaces should be implemented well, and the national policy should adopt this local wisdom into planning and design guidelines.

Table 27: The list of respondents

Respondent				In-depth interview			Remark
No	Status/Job Description	Institution	Contact Number/E-mail	Date	Time	Place	
1	Planning and Urban Development Expert	The University of NSW-Australia	a.cuthbert@unsw.edu.au	8/08/13	14:57	-	Via e-mail
2	Landscape Designer	International Consultant	madewijaya2@gmail.com	20/8/13	13:07	-	Via e-mail
3	Team Leader of Bali Beach Conservation Project Pack.2	JICA-Japan	onaka-ss@n-koei.jp	30/9/13	14:06	BBCP Office	His response via e-mail
4	Member of Zoning System Org. Team	Udayana University-Bali	+62813 3738 4714	4/8/13	13:10-14:56	Udayana University	
5	Member of Zoning System Org. Team	Udayana University-Bali	+62811 397 974	11/8/13	17:15-18:42	His house	
6	Director of GUS (Non-Government Organisation)	Kuta's NGO	+62813 3876 5669	22/8/13	11:05-12:25	GUS office	

Table 28: The transcriptions of in-depth interview from foreign environmentalists

No	List of Questions	Respondents		
		(1)	(2)	(3)
1	According to the basic philosophy of Balinese Hinduism, sea including its beach is a sacred area as a part of areas for offering ritual ceremony; this derives from the concept of Nyegara-Gunung or seaward-mountain ward. Whilst Bali beaches have become tourist resorts in most areas of the beach meaning that this is a commercial	I am not sure that there have been many conflicts; at least they are not reported if they are. Most tourists are fascinated by local ceremonies and would respect the process. There will always be a few who don't, but they are in the vast minority. The problem is not so much from the tourists as the developers and hotel owners	To my understanding, beaches in Bali are not 'sacred areas', but they can be used for sacred ceremonies such as <i>Melasti</i> , <i>Ngangkid</i> and <i>Ngulapin</i> . They have always been mix use zones and their division into sacred and profane zones has been self-regulated.	In the old time, (means before tourism development in Bali), the beach was utilized as ritual ceremony area mentioned above. On the other hand now, tourism in Bali is the most contributed industries not only for Bali Island but also for Indonesia. Due to this, people's life has also drastic changed

	<p>zone. So that there is an opposite value between the notion of Balinese and tourist development of Bali. What do you think about this? How to manage these opposite values?</p>	<p>who seem to think they own the beach and that local people are bad for business. So the key conflict is between ownership of facilities and everybody else. Part of the reason that the conflicts do not appear very great is that most of the beaches on the island are black sand and tourists don't go there. So the problem is really limited to a handful of sites.</p>	<p>Perhaps, now, sacred areas in front of beach-side Pura Dalem for example, or at confluences (Peti-tenget for example) need protection. Better the adat community protects rather than government (to date govt. enforcing of zoning regulations not effective e.g. green belts on highways).</p>	<p>and also they can keep the life. Considering this, at least we cannot come back to the economy condition in the old time. This means it is important to be coexisting each other, tourism and religious use. For example at Sanur, because of no sandy beach due to the beach erosion, not only tourism use but also religious use was restricted. However after recovery the sandy beach, both use has been come back again. The beach can be utilized for both purposes. Also, the opportunity to see the religious events on the beach has been contributed as one of the specific tourism resources in Bali. As the result, it is thought that both use of the beach is not opposite value and it is possible to coexist each other.</p>
2	<p>Many ritual ceremonies take place on the beach such as Melasti, cremation ceremony, human purifications and others, in the same time many tourists are sun bathing, swimming, or other activities. There are different setting and activity from both users. It</p>	<p>This is basically the same as question one. Again I don't see a lot of conflict since the Balinese themselves is very tolerant people. If they were Islamic things would be different. Part of the problem however is that the planning regulations are not</p>	<p>Not a serious problem. Not conflicting. Tourists stay back/away. Balinese are not heavy-handed. They welcome tourists even if scantily dressed; it seems, as long as not too close to offerings/people praying.</p>	<p>I don't think so, I think, it is possible to coexist each other as mentioned above. If there is a possibility to cause some conflict, the solution is "zoning". This means the area will be divided for each purpose of beach use between tourism and</p>

	<p>makes conflict of interests. Is it a serious problem in the future from your perspective? Is it necessary a solution? What do you think about this matter?</p>	<p>enforced, and religious sites are under threat from development as at Tanah Lot. Also Pastika's moratorium on development in Nusa Dua seems like a political stunt, if it happened it would really help to reduce conflict by reducing the numbers of tourists in the area.</p>		<p>religious use. But, I think this might cause the decrease of advantage in Bali on tourism. Or as more soft imaged measures, it is recommended "control of beach use". For example, when the local peoples want to the beach as religious ceremony, it is controlled the tourists use for the moment.</p>
3	<p>Natural disaster as erosion has taken place in most areas of the beach leading to the significant decrease of the beach's space. This beach erosion also has brought about the negative impact of the religious festival on the beach. Some areas for festival have disappeared due to hard erosion, for instance; Lebih, Saba, Candi Dasa Beach, and others. Do you have an opinion to tackle this problem?</p>	<p>I don't think that there have been any 'natural disasters' through erosion. This is a contradiction in terms. Nature does things and one of the things is that the sea erodes certain kinds of rock. This is not a disaster but a natural process. The real disasters are the <i>unnatural</i> disasters caused by development, such as the wholesale destruction of the beaches at Candidasa, the pollution and erosion of the Mangroves and other things. This in turn is caused once again by a combination of inadequate and unenforced planning law, corruption in the development control process, and the failure to regulate a decent barrier between the sea and tourist development.</p>	<p>Bali's coast lines are volatile. Even before commercial coastal development beaches would 'disappear' (e.g. Sanur, Batu Belig, and East Coast). Traditionally, beach ceremonies could retreat to coastal fringes if beach gone or if a big king tide — this is now difficult as there is so much coastal development. But hotels always accommodate. Some even have fully functioning temples within their grounds (e.g. Grand Bali Beach, Sanur).</p>	<p>Sandy beach is required to maintain the religious events. Thus, only the solution is to recover the sandy beach. As the measures to recover the sandy beach against the beach erosion; Artificial sand nourishment Control and improvement to decrease of sand source (if cause for decrease of sand source is due to decrease of sand inflow from the river, river control. If sand source is corals, improvement of marine environment to increase the coral) However, measure 2) is basically very difficult. So, realistic measures might be 1).</p>

4	<p>The narrower beach is not only caused by erosion, but also due to inappropriate setback line of building structures from the national policy in which this policy set out that setback line of the building structures must be 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL). Do you have an opinion regarding this matter?</p>	<p>Yes, I have an opinion! The 100 metres must be enforced. Any structures that have been built illegally should be demolished and no new building permits allowed for any development within that zone. In addition, access to all beaches should be incorporated into any developments. It would indeed be interesting to find out if the 100 m rule applies to Bali and how many properties have infringed the rule i.e. are illegal. Even more interesting would be <i>how they managed to get built at all</i> if planning and building regulations forbid it. Incidentally, the Western name for this is HWMOST – the high water mark of ordinary spring tides (when the high tide is at its highest, not lowest. This can make a significant difference to the size of the beach)</p>	<p>National policies are not always enforced. Bali's physical environment (Buana Alit) has been poorly managed. But its spiritual environment (Buana Agung) continues to be well managed and pliant.</p>	<p>I fully agree this opinion. However, the appropriate set back line shall be set based on more technical aspect. Probably, 100m set back is actually very difficult considering the current land use along the coast. The suitable set back line shall be set taking into account 1) predicted beach erosion in the future, and 2) present land use condition along the beach. To achieve this, it is surely necessary to establish the regulation and strict control and management system.</p>
5	<p>Nusa Dua is the only one resort was developed into planning and design considerations, whilst others are not. However, most of them tend to be private resorts. Indications of the private resorts are lack of public access and facilities, full of tourist activities, monitored by hotel security, and others. It seems</p>	<p>All of the development control regulations for Nusa Dua should be revised in the light of tourist development over the last thirty years or so. Hotel security should not be allowed to monitor beaches. This should be done by the state on the principle that the security is there to <i>allow access</i></p>	<p>The govt. has since 2010, allowed developers to implement a policy of 'culture neutral'. Govt. is promoting 'urban tourism'. Cultural tourism has become a culture of tourism. But the Balinese culture just adapts. Def. not marginalized. There are</p>	<p>The tourism development such like Nusa Dua is, I think, necessary taking into account the necessity of variation on tourism, even if it is not contributed to welfare of Balinese society. Because, there was a fact that the international conference, event</p>

	<p>too far from the notion of Balinese society and the society tends to be marginalized. What wrong is this? How to resolve this problem?</p>	<p>to the beach not prohibit it. All beaches should be public property around the entire island, and legislation should be changed to allow this to happen.</p>	<p>separate universes. Nusa Dua is over-controlled and not the real Bali. Conclusion: so far Balinese culture always wins through. Right of ways are never denied (see five-star Amandari where a barong path goes through middle of lobby). Creating concepts won't work as impossible to police. Too much greed and corruption. The gods will always win through.</p>	<p>etc., are held mostly at Nusa Dua new tourism development area. One of the strong reason is this area can keep the safety due to isolation from locality. And these events, activities are surely contributed to the tourism in Bali and Indonesia. If there is no any area such like Nusa Dua, there was no suitable area for such like international events. So, my opinion is even though some particular beach area cannot touch by local residents, it is necessary taking into account the tourism development.</p>
6	<p>From several issues mentioned above, what is your opinion or idea to create a concept for achieving a balance among ecological needs, custody of civic realm and development of tourist resort beaches?</p>	<p>Overall I would say that Bali has sacrificed all concepts of a public realm to private development, and this needs to be reversed. In Denpasar and other towns there are few if any public open spaces, an adopted open space policy, pedestrianised streets and provision for sports activities. This leaves the beaches, but these should be part of an open space system in all urban areas and not considered a separate element. Only Alun Alun exist which in theory belong to the palaces, and are part of traditional society.</p>		<p>As I have mentioned above, the important thing is; "coexistence" between tourism development and maintaining Balinese culture and welfare of resident. The activities for each part have surely contribution to other part. To achieve this, it might be necessary "zoning for the use of tourism and culture event (but case by case permanently or temporally)".</p>

		<p>These are insufficient for modern life and a general population expansion over the last 100 years. Beaches should not be segregated areas for tourists, and the government should take a stand over this issue, enforcing public access to even the most private and secluded areas. Again if this were the case, conflict would again be reduced since local people would have greater access for ceremonies. Another option overall is that the government should consider <i>reducing the number of tourists to Bali</i> until it can adequately provide the infrastructure – waste disposal, roads, water supply, clean non-polluting vehicles, clean air, good public transport etc. A huge part of the problem is the incredible greed and ignorance that pervades development overall, where money is worshipped above all else, and the wrong assumption that more money means better living conditions. This needs to change radically. Bali is already overpopulated, over touristed, over polluted, with too many cars and motorcycles, groundwater is being polluted, rubbish is thrown</p>		
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		everywhere by local people, roads are unsafe, there are no safe paths for cyclists, and the international press is increasingly critical of Bali as tourist destination. In this regard lessons can be learned from Bhutan, where wealth is measured by GNH (Gross national happiness) rather than GDP (Gross Development Product). Each of these contains its own assumptions about how development should be controlled, especially tourism.		
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Table 29: The transcriptions of in-depth interview from local environmentalists

No	List of Questions	Resondent		
		(4)	(5)	(6)
1	According to the basic philosophy of Balinese Hinduism, sea including its beach is a sacred area as a part of areas for offering ritual ceremony; this derives from the concept of Nyegara-Gunung or seaward-mountainward. Whilst Bali beaches have become tourist resorts in most areas of the beach meaning that this is a commercial zone. So that there is an	Based on philosophy of Balinese Hindu, Beach is one of sacred areas; this philosophy is inserted into the Land Use planning of Bali Province. From 16 tourism areas according to this planning, there are 15 areas which are associated with the beach. As known, not all coastal areas are sacred, if tourist areas are located	Conceptually, Bali is one spatial island divided into three zones; mountains, midlands and coastal areas. Though the coast is impure zone, this area has also a power which is similar to the mountain. Both areas are the important natural resources for human life. As similar to the midlands, there	Beach management and usage should be proportional. Even though tourism is the most driven factor in the future, it should be owned by Balinese. The sense of regulations seems worth for everyone, but in fact it is like law of the jungle in which the strongest will be a winner. To avoid that, the supreme of

	<p>opposite value between the notion of Balinese and tourist development of Bali. What do you think about this? How to manage these opposite values?</p>	<p>in the sacred area, they should consider 'Bhisama' (the decree of the Balinese Hindu forum which has been adopted into the regulation (Local Policy No 16/2009). PP Currently, the central government has released a new policy; No.15/2010 concerning about management of Land Use in the level of Province and Regency covering three strategies, such as planning, Utilisation & Control These strategies are expected to formulate four actions; zoning system, permits, rewards and punishment, and fines Before setting out zoning system, Local government should be prepared a detail of land use.</p>	<p>are also some temples along the beach as sacred areas for the Balinese The beach is a buffer zone of the midlands; the sea is a media of transportation to other place. Even though there is an opposite value in tourist beaches but there is no conflict up to now.</p>	<p>law should be auctioned in the field since beach management is a long-term programme giving a lot of benefits for the community. It is not short-term programme.</p>
2	<p>Many ritual ceremonies take place on the beach such as Melasti, cremation ceremony, human purifications and others, in the same time many tourists are sun bathing, swimming, or other activities. There are different setting and activity from both users. It makes conflict of interests. Is it a serious problem in the future from your perspective? Is it necessary a solution? What do you think about this matter?</p>	<p>Land Certificate Agency as a part of the government is very often not synergy with other regulations leading to many cases in land use planning. Today, investors tend to attempt proposing public open space as commercial facilities to the government in order to get a huge benefit through collusion, nepotism and corruption. To solve the problem is through the law enforcement.</p>	<p>I agree there is a change of value in Balinese society for example there is as an image of ritual ceremony in Kuta beach along with tourist using bikini, the Balinese seem not annoying them, though they are very close to the tourists with bikinis, and they do not get advantages from the tourists directly. To avoid a friction in the future, design of beach zone to manage the religious ceremonies and tourist</p>	<p>A potential friction had been there, since the beach has been tourist areas and it has explored it maximally. I seek that the Balinese has adapted well with tourism without friction when they offer ritual ceremony on the beach. I think this relates the Balinese of how they offer worship to the gods without affected by negative surroundings. The positive thing is the Balinese loves serenity and peace; in contrast, the</p>

			activities is essential. The zone should be designed into impressive forms so that it can be useful for both activities.	negative impact is tourism brings them to be capitalistic.
3	Natural disaster as erosion has taken place in most areas of the beach leading to the significant decrease of the beach's space. This beach erosion also has brought about the negative impact of the religious festival on the beach. Some areas for festival have disappeared due to hard erosion, for instance; Lebih, Saba, Candi Dasa Beach, and others. Do you have an opinion to tackle this problem?	Coordination with all agencies who responsible to maintain the beach. The province and regency government must handle together since the tourist beaches are one of the strategic areas.	I have no idea to solve this problem, but I just suggest to the government to handle the tourist beaches as a priority, since the impact this area is significant.	I do not understand about erosion technically, Besides natural disaster, erosion is also caused by human activities such as deforestation of mangroves. I fully expect Bali beaches not to be more eroded in the future. I hope there is a great effort to handle beach erosion from parties with long term protection and comprehensive solution. Environmental problems are interrelated globally without geographical boundaries
4	The narrower beach is not only caused by erosion, but also due to inappropriate setback line of building structures from the national policy in which this policy set out that setback line of the building structures must be 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL). Do you have an opinion regarding this matter?	In the regional regulation level, the setback line is set out minimal 100 meters, but the implementation seems very difficult, one reason is because there are many beach characteristics which need a different solution such as coral beach or areas without beach.	From long discussion and analysis, the regional regulation has stipulated the setback line of the building structure must be minimal 100 metres, since the release of national regulation in 2010. We know that before 2010 most buildings are less than 100 metres. For the existing buildings may be very difficult to remove at the back, but it is better to be implemented for new buildings.	Very odd, this regulation is never familiar in public society. If people heard, they did not understand in implementation. Principally, the do not know which buildings contravene the regulations, what kind of fine from the law. Law enforcement must be implemented without different distinction on the law.
5	Nusa Dua is the only one resort was developed into planning and design	Initially, beach is public area strengthened by the regulation.	It has to be returned to the current regulation states that	There is a mind-set in Bali that tourism is for all; tourism has

	<p>considerations, whilst others are not. However, most of them tend to be private resorts. Indications of the private resorts are lack of public access and facilities, full of tourist activities, monitored by hotel security, and others. It seems too far from the notion of Balinese society and the society tends to be marginalized. What wrong is this? How to resolve this problem?</p>	<p>Because of this there is no reason to create a private beach. In the future, through the zoning system, an access to the beach in accommodating ritual ceremony has to be a priority.</p>	<p>beach is public spaces. In this case, it is possible to solve the problem into management of time as this area is very often to be used for the world leader meeting. For security purpose in the world meeting might be acceptable, whilst usual occasion is not.</p>	<p>been worship in Bali. This has taken place since long time discourse only without a serious planning in order to strengthen Balinese society. It time Bali owned by the Balinese, not by investors, or guests, though they spend their money.</p>
6	<p>From several issues mentioned above, what is your opinion or idea to create a concept for achieving a balance among ecological needs, custody of civic realm and development of tourist resort beaches?</p>	<p>We have to refer to the original regulation in which the central government is expected to accommodate the local wisdom. Local Wisdom of the Balinese has been inserted in the regulation such as; decree of <i>Bhisama</i>, and <i>Sad Kertih</i>. One important thing, for example, a temple is classified into three zones; pure, buffer and land use zone. This is based on the zoning system planning.</p>	<p>A balancing concept is required to manage the fast growing issues in tourist beach resorts.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Beach management must be managed into an integrated and sustainable way. The fast growing of environmental damage needan immediate action. ▪ Good regulations must be used seriously aiming to conserve beaches. Law and justice must be implemental well without abuse of power for protecting somebody or something. ▪ Other strategy is to educate the community to the above issues in order to understand clearly.

Table 30: A summary of environmentalists' responses

No	Question	Summary
1	According to the basic philosophy of Balinese Hinduism, sea including its beach is a sacred area; whilst Bali beaches have become tourist resorts in most areas, meaning that there is an opposite value between sacred and profane. What do you think about this? How to manage these opposite values?	Although there is not stipulated in regulations that beaches are sacred areas, the beaches are public areas. Planning regulations and law enforcement are essential to manage the different activities in these areas.
2	The beach accommodates different setting and activity from beach users. It makes conflict of interests. Is it a serious problem in the future from your perspective? Is it necessary a solution? What do you think about this matter?	All different stakeholders who involve in coastal area should synergy one another into an integrated coastal management. Even, time zone management is required to accommodate different activities, so conflicts or disputes can be avoided
3	Beach erosion has brought about the negative impact of the religious festival on the beach. Some areas for festival have disappeared due to hard erosion, for instance; Lebih, Saba, Candi Dasa Beach, and others. Do you have an opinion to tackle this problem?	Since beach erosion is not only caused by natural phenomenon but also the impacts of the development. Coordination among the governments is needed to tackle this problem, whilst law enforcement must be carried out.
4	The narrower beach is not only caused by erosion, but also due to inappropriate setback line of building structures from the national policy in which this policy set out that it must be 100 metres from High Water Level (HWL). Do you have an opinion in this matter?	Ineffective law enforcement, unclear specification, and weak management are the main cause of law infringement in setback line of building structures.
5	Most of tourist resorts tend to be private resorts. Indications are lack of public access and facilities, full of tourist activities, monitored by hotel security, and others. It seems too far from the notion of Balinese society and the society tends to be marginalized. What wrong is this? How to resolve this problem?	The regulation should be placed in right position that beaches are public areas which are used as much as possible by publics. There is no reason that hotel securities can monitor publics in public areas.
6	From several issues mentioned above, what is your opinion or idea to create a concept for achieving a balance among ecological needs, custody of civic realm and development of tourist resort beaches?	Local wisdom of the Balinese notion in terms of a balancing cosmology or spaces should be implemented well, and the national policy should adopt this local wisdom into planning and design guidelines.

6.5 Conclusion

From my analysis of the Kuta coastal village, encompassing stakeholders' reactions and the changes of the physical village environment, as well as social, economic and politic life of the community, it can be concluded that:

The rapid growth of Kuta Village development, especially in tourism development, without appropriate planning considerations and considerations of the carrying capacity of the village, has led to serious negative impacts on both built environment and social cohesion. The government and other stakeholders, who are responsible for protecting and maintaining public spaces, still give undue priority to revenue generated from the Kuta tourist industry, whilst any suggestion of a moratorium of such development seems impossible. It is likely that there will be no land left for development in the next ten years. Although this situation has contributed significantly to enhancing economic viability of the community, the social cost and environmental disadvantages might be bigger than the economic advantages. Development without appropriate planning consideration is a key factor in this current imbalance in the Kuta coastal village.

Even though conflicting demands in the use of the beach have not resulted in major public dispute and respondents (especially the guests who were involved in the research) have given positive reactions to the ritual practices and festivals in Kuta Village, there are serious threats to the future sustainability of the ritual practices and festivals in the future. The first threat derives from Balinese citizens who work in private companies whose policies on permitted leave conflict with participation in ritual practices and festivals. There is only a national policy to regulate their leave, whilst specific events, such as ritual activities, really depend on the company's respect of their Balinese employees. Since local government does not provide protection for the Balinese workers for such participation, they find themselves in a weak position in maintaining those

traditions. The second threat is due to the increasing traffic congestion in the village/town territory of Kuta; this impact leads to serious obstacles in the future religious festivals taking place in the streets and on the beach. Complaints from other people (road users) who are not involved in the festival will no doubt increase because of this inconvenience. Hence the two threats become driving factors which will lead to serious conflicting demands in the future.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter presents the outcomes of the research, summarises the key points highlighted in the thesis and finally makes suggestions for further research in this area. Throughout the investigation, I have sought to determine the impact of recent developments on the civic and religious life of the coastal town of Kuta Village in Bali, through an historical and contemporary examination of its ritual and ceremonial traditions and practices. The research has traced these changes/transformations by following six key stages of the investigation, to be addressed in this Conclusion:

- Reiterate the research aims (section 7.2);
- Highlight key research questions which are addressed in the course of the study (section 7.3);
- Formulate recommendations in terms of providing planning and design guidelines (section 7.4);
- Provide an account of how this research contributes to new knowledge (section 7.5);
- Highlight any limitations of the investigations undertaken, and make suggestions for future research (section 7.6); and finally
- Summarise the conclusion of the thesis (section 7.7).

7.2 Research Aims

The aims and objectives of this research cover five key areas of enquiry:

- a. To identify changes in the understanding of and use of the civic realm, and how they have led to increasing pressures in maintaining ritual practices and traditions.

- b. To evidence the challenges facing civic and cultural identity in Kuta Village, largely as a result of tourist development, and their impact on the prevailing traditions.
- c. To identify the conflicting demands of different stakeholders and their various impacts on the public life of Kuta Village.
- d. To ascertain the sources/causes of these problems through interviews with stakeholders.
- e. To propose a planning and design strategy that attempts to maintain a balance between ecological needs, custody of the civic realm and sustainable development of coastal tourism.

Based on the analysis of data from surveys undertaken and historical research undertaken into the development of ritual/ceremonial practices in Bali and their various adaptations, the findings of this research have revealed a number of areas of conflict (spatial, territorial, cultural and political) - that have not been properly investigated before. I envisaged that the findings of my research would provide a reliable basis for reviewing current planning regulations and design policy in the littoral regions of Bali, and therefore would go some way to addressing these problems. Indeed this was the initial impetus for undertaking this research.

7.3 Addressing the Key Objectives (Answering the Research Questions)

Five key objectives derive from the five research questions. In addressing the first key objective - to identify changes in the understanding and use of the civic realm - I began by re-interpreting and adapting the western meaning of 'civic realm' in the particular context of the public life and religious traditions of Bali. This reformulation of 'civicness', as both a spatial and ritual activity, provided a useful theoretical and critical framework for examining the symbolism of topography and place in Bali today, in particular in the relationship between coastal areas and hinterland. This relationship was considered by drawing upon the rich

history of Balinese Hindu tradition of siting temples and initiating ritual practices.

By beginning this investigation, by outlining the mytho-historic associations of topography, I was able to demonstrate how changes in the use of land over time (particularly with recent commercial developments) have had a significant impact on the long-held relationships between the symbolism of territory and ritual in Bali. These changes really begin in earnest during the period of Dutch colonisation when commercial trade and privatisation of land were introduced and important ceremonial buildings were destroyed or altered. The intention of this initial historical investigation was to demonstrate that an understanding of the more recent challenges to the traditions of public ceremonies and religious rituals, as a result of tourism, commercialisation and ecological degradation, needs to be contextualised through the lens of historical developments of religious and political life in Bali.

Hence, the study comprised both historical research of ritual/ceremonial traditions, to provide a background and context, and contemporary field-survey techniques, to measure continuity and change of these ancient practices.

a. Changes in the understanding and use of the civic realm, and pressures in maintaining ritual practices and traditions

The historical standpoint of this initial enquiry set the context for an investigation of the more recent challenges, which have come about since the 1960s when Bali quickly developed into a major tourist destination. This investigation has revealed that the ecological and social balance between fishing and agricultural communities, between coastal and hinterland forms of subsistence, was dramatically altered during this development. It is largely through these changes and their impact on the civic and religious life of Bali, that the more immediate challenges facing the ritual/ceremonial practices of Kuta Village

should be framed. The research has highlighted the following key challenges in this regard:

- 1) Increased pressure on the various uses of beachfronts arising from illegal hotel development extensions and land-grab by tourist companies, and coastal erosion, all of which have restricted access to temples and other sacred shrines.
- 2) Changes in the working practices of organisations and their employees that impact on the time traditionally devoted to participation in rituals and ceremonies.
- 3) Increased densification of Kuta Village, and the resulting increase of traffic congestion leading to some public ceremonies being either redirected or disrupted.

b. The challenges facing civic and cultural identity in Kuta Village, and their impact on the prevailing traditions

Through an investigation of contemporary documentation, and conducting questionnaires and interviews (both structured and unstructured interviews), it became apparent that local practices in rituals/ceremonies and festival events have faced significant challenges in recent years as a result of rapid urban transformations. Notwithstanding these challenges, it is evident that these traditions continue to thrive, being adaptive and resilient to the recent developments. My investigations further addressed the second objective of the research; namely to document the challenges confronting civic identity in Kuta Village as a direct result of tourist/commercial development. The following key findings were identified:

- 1) The sense of kinship among community members, in handling ritual activities, has gradually decreased due to shorter working times, changes to livelihood from agriculture to tourist industries, and general lifestyle.

- 2) The skills and knowledge of younger people, in preparing ritual offerings, have deteriorated when compared to their elders; this is in part the result of less time being spent in instructing the younger generation in these traditions and the lack of local raw materials in the village used for this purpose.
- 3) Besides the impact of limited time, consumerism and commercialisation have also led community members to change their habits in preparing ritual/festival events (this includes, as indicated above, the growing tendency to buy offering materials rather than produce them locally). These skills in preparing offerings, which is traditionally recognised as a form of 'local wisdom', may eventually disappear altogether, at the same time as consumeristic habits increase.

c. The conflicting demands of different stakeholders and their various impacts on the public life of Kuta Village

Although village members have been able to maintain the main routes of religious festivals in the town, along streets and beaches, the traditional route taken for collecting holy water for purification rituals (such as in funerals) has changed as a result of the convenience of automation. These initial investigations then led me to address the third objective of the research: namely to understand the conflicting demands of different stakeholders and their possible impacts on the public life of Kuta Village. This was undertaken largely through field work, concentrating on the spaces utilised for public ceremonies and religious rituals. These spaces include beaches, temple precincts and streets. A series of interviews were conducted, and survey questionnaires carried out with the various stakeholders, from tourists (during festival events) to government officials. The results of these surveys revealed a number of key findings that can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Civic and religious festivals make a significant contribution to the tourist experience of Bali
- 2) Traffic congestion taking place during religious festivals in the streets has led to increasing friction between pedestrians and road users.
- 3) There exists an evident lack of understanding of both the cultural and commercial value of these events, by both the employers of the inhabitants and the hotel companies.
- 4) There is a lack of coordination between the two different village management structures; between the *desa adat* and the *desa dinas* (government official). This has resulted in conflicting demands and laws (in particular between customary and national laws).
- 5) Significant contradictions and inconsistencies exist between local, regional and national government legislation and law enforcement.
- 6) There are conflicting demands about the use of shared public spaces for accommodating rituals, fishing, commercial activities (hotelier/private organisations), and other public events. In particular the beach areas have witnessed growing disputes among different stakeholders, which have been further exacerbated by the lack of proper law enforcement.

d. The sources/causes of the problems through interviews with stakeholders

Based on results of observations and in-depth interviews, I have highlighted some evidence that partly addresses the fourth objective of this study: to ascertain the sources/causes of these problems, through interviews with different stakeholders, notably:

- 1) Developers (hotel companies) have not followed planning regulations, especially in the implementation of designated setback lines/boundaries. For example, almost all building structures used for tourists, at the southern end of Kuta beach, have setback lines

from the offshore (High Water Level/HWL) of between 25 and 50 metres, whilst the regulations stipulate 100 metres.

- 2) Due to the lack of consultation with the local community, on the development impact, several previous access paths to the beach and coastal temples have been blocked by tourist facilities and other commercial structures. These obstructions have significantly affected the outer zones of the religious/civic spaces, leading to a reduction in the territories of the temple precincts.
- 3) There is a lack of policing these areas, and the enforcement of appropriate penalties for infringing the law. As a consequence of these shortcomings, these territorial infringements are being used as precedents by the law-breakers to justify further land-grabs.

e. Proposing a planning and design strategy that attempts to maintain a balance between ecological needs, custody of the civic realm and sustainable development of coastal tourism

There is a common argument that there is need for further economic development through tourism in Bali that drives these unregulated developments. Profit-oriented development has been actively supported by the government through enhanced land and building taxes. The government assumes that measuring success in such development can be assessed purely on the basis of local revenue. Finally, from these surveys and their historical, cultural, social, and political contexts, I have sought to address the fifth objective of this investigation: to propose a framework for a possible planning strategy that identifies a balance between ecological needs, custody of the civic realm and sustainable development of coastal tourism. This objective can be summarised under the following key points:

- 1) Kuta community members have significantly benefited economically from the tourist industry in Bali. Since the revenue from this sector is one of the largest contributions to the Badung Regency and Bali in general, the economy of Balinese society is

almost totally reliant on the tourist industry. Hence, whatever negative effects may occur, it has to be acknowledged that empowerment and protection of the community, in their cultural/religious, social, economic and political lives, has become dependent upon maintaining (and further developing) the Kuta/Bali tourist industry.

- 2) The uniqueness of Balinese culture, traditions and customs is an asset and the community's strong identity is recognised as a major tourist attraction, according to the results of research undertaken. Hence, these 'assets' have significantly contributed to increasing the number of tourists coming to Bali. Because of this, maintaining the Balinese festival and ritual practices (whatever their intrinsic value to the local inhabitants) is a way of maintaining the community in times of significant change. Not surprisingly therefore these issues must constitute a pivotal aspect of contemporary planning policy and design strategy.
- 3) The activities associated with Balinese culture, traditions and customs are intimately connected to civic spaces. Recent developments of Kuta Village as a major tourist resort, which have largely been implemented without considering planning and design issues and the consequences of increased densification, have placed added stress and conflicting demands on the public spaces of the village. A calculation of the 'carrying capacity' of Kuta Village, its ability to accommodate additional building development, is an important strategic consideration when addressing a more ecologically balanced solution.
- 4) Kuta Village has developed to become the most well-known tourist resort in Indonesia and one of the premier destinations in the world, which has contributed significantly to the economy of Bali. The potential of the tourism sector in Kuta to enhance the economic viability of the community also has a key role to play in determining

a balance among the conflicting demands placed upon the coastal tourist areas of Bali. However, a crucial problem in the relationship between the community of Balinese workers and private companies, in maintaining (and protecting) ritual practices, is recognising the value of these traditions in the 21st century, and in doing so to formulate appropriate planning and design safeguards.

- 5) To mitigate the impact of tourist development on Balinese culture, it is important that some form of projected 'master-plan' of the town is made, that takes into account the need of religious and ceremonial spaces. In addition, the master-plan should be developed in conjunction with the local community and spiritual leaders with consultation at all stages.
- 6) Given the current weaknesses of law enforcement and coastal management a robust policing system for developers, and penalties for their infringement, should be put in place as a priority, without giving remission for those who repeatedly infringe existing and future laws. Such an initiative must ensure an equitable share of the economic rewards of future development with the local population.

7.4 New Contribution to Knowledge

In addressing the key research aims and objectives, outlined in the introductory chapter, I have summarised below what I see as my contributions to knowledge in this field:

- a. The research has revealed a remarkable continuity of ritual and ceremonial practices in Bali (and Kuta Village in particular), in spite of the negative impacts of globalisation. My investigations have evidenced the manner in which this continuity relies upon the interdependency between the physical territory of the village and town and a particular cosmological/symbolic understanding of space (whether geographic or topographic); a fragile relationship that requires careful negotiation between contemporary

needs/expectations and past traditions. Unlike other scholarly studies of Balinese festivals and ceremonial practices that simply document the events themselves, this research has demonstrated how a better understanding of the historical contexts of ritual/ceremonial practices (including their symbolic relationships to geography and topography) give us much better insight into the social, cultural, political and economic state of these practices today.

Historically, the village boundary was marked by green spaces (now subject to increasing development), where village temples served as symbolic and territorial references for outsiders. There remains however, in spite of these changes, an integration of all aspects of life, from the village environment (temples, dwellings and open spaces) to ritual practices. Even though Balinese society has a complex hierarchical structure, as this research has evidenced, comprising a bewildering array of kinship groups and social organisations, the society is unified by a strong sense of community, in which the religious activities of public temples constitute the central means of collective orientation. Hence, the deep traditions of Balinese littoral regions, such as Kuta Village, are still very much alive in modern/contemporary life, providing abundant material for social and anthropological research.

- b. More specifically, my research has revealed how the philosophy of the *tri hita karana* (three causes of harmonious relationship between gods/goddesses, humans, and the environment) finds expression in the physical spaces of temples, dwellings and open spaces which are integrated into a single territory. These three realms in turn become a reflection of the structure of Balinese communities, where the boundaries among territories are demarcated by open spaces/green fields, known as '*bengang*' or '*karang suwung*' (as signs of places). Moreover, the remarkable integration of all aspects of the Balinese life, and their manifestation in the physical spaces of public

ceremonial activity, provide rich anthropological material for critically reviewing modern settlement patterns and urban design concepts.

- c. Since the earth is recognised as the sacred cosmos, and all materials and non-materials have a different sphere of existence (realm/*loka*), this implies that there are no evidently fixed (unmediated) profane spaces, a point that challenges Mircea Eliade's dualistic model of sacred/profane space referred to in this investigation. According to Balinese belief (and as found elsewhere with traditional communities) sacred and civic spaces merge and become largely integrated through the synthesising effects of rituals and ceremonies. Even though Kuta Village is facing significant challenges today, as a result of commercialisation and privatisation of land, there exists a strong sense of civic identity bound by religious observance.

The great struggle between maintaining traditions and pursuing a 'modern' lifestyle will no doubt continue in Kuta Village as elsewhere in Bali. Those issues relating to planning and design regulations and coastal management, outlined in this study, should not only be encompassed within the coastal/beach environment and coastal tourism but also need to recognise their respective roles in supporting and enriching the culture, traditions and customs of the local people.

7.5 Recommendations for Planning Authorities

In order to address these key objectives, I have outlined the following recommendations:

- a. Four important aspects outlined in the last section (community, ritual traditions, civic spaces and the tourist sector) should be seen as interdependent, rather than as isolated concerns. The community, for example, relies on the economic benefits that come with tourism that also have the potential to contribute to improvements to social mobility and urban infra-structure; Balinese culture (as defined in terms of ritual traditions) is dependent upon the life of the community in all its aspects

whilst the presence of civic spaces draws meaning and purpose from that culture.

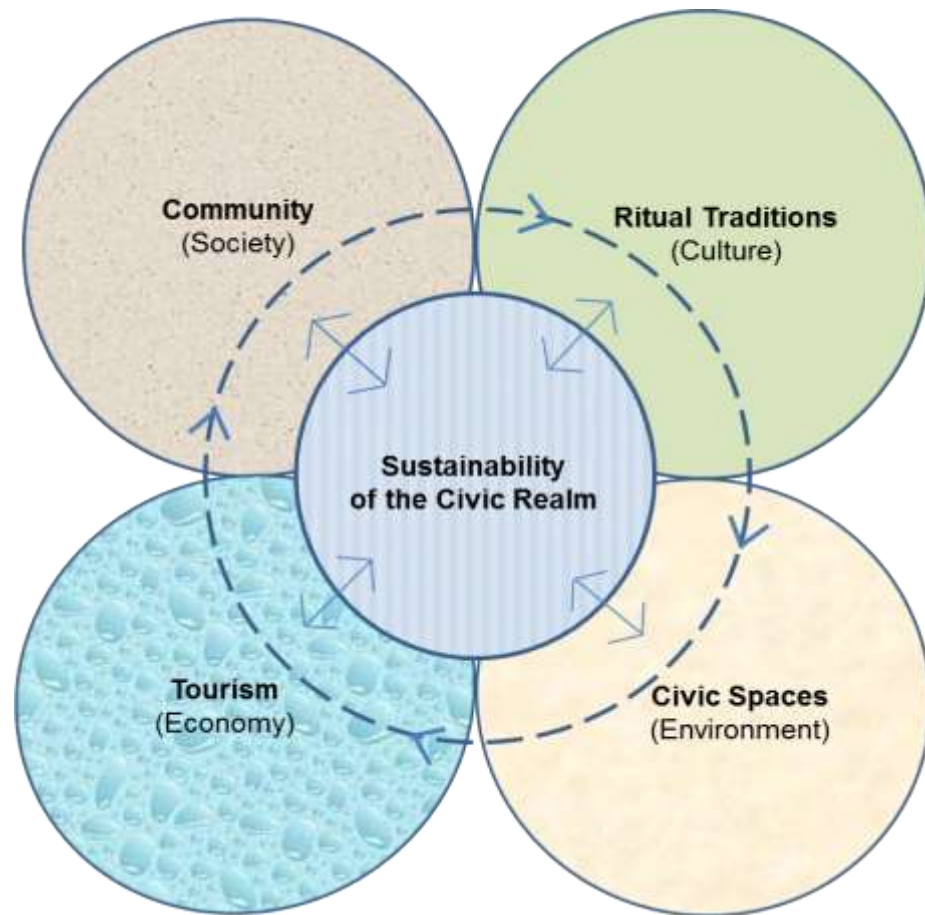


Figure 64: Four key considerations to influence planning policies

- b. My research findings have clearly demonstrated that the tourist sector in Kuta Village (and Bali in general) is substantially influenced by the civic and religious activities of public spaces, whether beaches or street. Therefore, it is recommended that these four aspects are adopted as the basis for formulating planning and design guidelines to more effectively address the conflicting demands placed upon the coastal tourist areas of Bali (Figure 64). On this basis, it is recommended that local, provincial and central governments consider

these relationships when preparing policies and regulations for future developments of coastal tourist resorts in Bali.

- c. Since coastal environmental degradation has not only taken place in Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia, but also in other parts of the world that experience similar issues to the littoral regions of Bali, my list of recommendations may be usefully applied to other situations. In Tunisia, for example, the government has recently developed mass tourism and declared that this constitutes one of the key priorities in their development strategy for the future. However over exploitation of the landscape and its natural resources has led to negative impacts on the coastal environment. One visible casualty of this impact has been the loss of natural sand dunes due to hard beach erosion (De Stefano, 2004; Endy, 2004; Hazbun, 2008, p. 42). Although the cause of erosion problems between Kuta and Tunisia is slightly different, there is a similarity in over exploitation of coastal development.

7.6 Limitations and Future Research

This section briefly outlines some of the limitations I encountered in the course of my research, and also highlights areas of future research in the field.

7.6.1 Limitations

From the outset I was aware of limitations posed by the research topic, as a result of the challenges of collecting sufficient and effective data for the investigation, and addressing an area of research where there is little current scholarship or primary (text-based) sources, particularly in the historical field. To begin with (and as already indicated earlier), applying the western term 'civic realm' to the very different culture of Bali brings with it certain challenges. This was recognized in the early chapters (Chapter 1 and 4) of the thesis, where I provided a summary outline of the etymology of the term and its theological and philosophical applications in the West. In the course of my investigations, however, some positive and

useful areas of overlap were revealed between these associations/meanings and the particular Balinese symbolism of geography and terrain. 'Civicness', or civic identity, as defined in spatial and ritual terms, was the nearest terms I could find in the English language that adequately convey the sense of place that underpins Balinese culture, not just religious but also ceremonial in the broadest sense. It was on this basis that the civic realm served as the general framework for exploring Balinese ritual and festive practices, as demonstrated in the life of Kuta Village.

This study covers a broad spectrum of aspects and data collection techniques which resulted in a very complex thesis. Hence, three distinct but inter-related topics from the basis of the thesis; civic realm, ritual traditions and littoral regions; all related to tourism and its impacts. The description of the civic realm in Bali was intended as the life of ritual practices taking place in their coastal territory, based on their notion and belief; hence the civic realm in the context of Bali, the ritual traditions/practices and the littoral regions constitute an important focus, albeit with some limitations of use.

An area where the research could have been expanded concerned the area of the fieldwork survey, the time spent on the research, and the sample sizes. As illustrated in Chapter 2 and 5, the total area of the survey (Kuta Village) was 6,391,993 m² (639 hectares) which is one of the most crowded areas in Bali, whilst other locations relating to the survey were the civic centre of Badung Regency and Bali province which have very different locations. Moreover conducting the survey required an official letter from both levels of government which required approximately two weeks to obtain before conducting the survey. Because of the area, location and procedure, the time spent on the survey was reduced. This delay is one of the reasons for limiting the total number of the sample sizes. Other reasons are due to the fact that the research was not focused on one particular stakeholder group as the respondent but on all groups

who were involved in the use of Kuta territory, including government bodies. For the purposes of statistical confidence a large sample size is always an advantage. Whilst the sample size of the research might not be sufficient enough, to describe the most statistically significant results from the respondents' opinions and reactions, it was nevertheless useful to supply indicative information. Interviews by their nature are one to one exchanges and so sample sizes are less of an issue here. Hopefully, this research can be developed into more specific goals with a larger sample size.

7.6.2 Future Research

For future studies especially in coastal areas, there are a wide range of research possibilities in the study area. Indonesia is the largest archipelago country occupied by various ethnic groups in the littoral regions. Potential studies could include tourist impacts on the quality of life, well-being biodiversity, coastal and marine aquaculture, as well as marine tourism (Budiharsono, 2005, p. 1; Dahuri, 2001).

In relation to further studies on the civic realm on the littoral regions, it is suggested that future research agendas could be as follows:

- a. Widening research to not only focus on coastal environmental degradation, derived from the rapid growth of urban development and population, but also on the coastal community's social and economic resilience due to privatisation, the negative aspects of capitalism and globalisation. Those factors link to one another in order to influence the quality of community life and coastal environment. Hence, future studies will endeavour to pay more attention to coastal/urban extension by measuring the capacity of the coasts/urban areas to accommodate human activities.
- b. Carry out research related to the empowerment of government and other stakeholders to create a more transparent and fairer system, particularly in regard to coastal/littoral regions such as: integrated

coastal management/integrated coastal zone management (ICM/ICZM), coastal village management, the use of advance technology as a geographical information system (GIS) in remote sensing systems for control and monitoring system, and other integrated coastal development.

- c. Research into community empowerment and participation as environmental supporters in coastal/urban areas is an important subject of the future studies in relation to strengthening environmental protection while enhancing the quality of the community life. Through future studies, it is expected that a strong correlation between the environment and the community will be found whereby both are interdependence. A quantitative research to measure coastal tourism development impacts on social and economic aspects of the community embracing income and expenses, welfare, education, safety, health and convenience of the community are also important aspects for future research.

7.7 Conclusion

From the whole process and description of the research thesis, a final conclusion can be provided, as follows:

- Contextual information revealed in this research covered three distinct aspects. Those are civic realm, ritual traditions and the littoral regions. This revealed the study as a current and valid topic for research.
- The application (and adaptation) of the concept 'civic-realm', in the context of Balinese ceremonial and ritual practices in Kuta Village, has highlighted some limitations, not initially foreseen at the outset of the investigation. This concerns the traditional association of the term with a stable ritual, mercantile, political and religious environment, without the threat of unpredictable multifarious agents. The collective impact of coastal erosion, rapid and

unchecked commercial development, ineffective law enforcement and internal conflict/dispute between local stakeholders and regional/national governments on the cohesiveness and continuity of participatory ceremonies in Kuta Village has given rise to a much more volatile dynamics that initially envisaged. Through this impact my research has demonstrated that ecological, social, political and religious factors are closely inter-related and inter-dependent, revealing in the process a fragile ecosphere that is only compensated by a resilient and committed community of participants. Such resilience however increasingly depends on the commitment of individuals against a background of growing uncertainty.

- The mixed research method (qualitative and quantitative methods) was selected in order to produce relevant information. The use of the mixed method has obtained several benefits in strengthening the quality of the thesis since some qualitative data was quantified by using a score system.
- The research carried out was informative and produced valuable information. This can be seen from fieldwork survey processes, data collection techniques used, and the number of groups of participants who were involved in this research. The involvement of different stakeholders from local community members, beach users, spectators, government members, private companies to environmentalists has shown that their opinions and reactions have played a key role in revealing new valuable information.
- The new information provided by this research can be usefully utilized outside of academia and in other academic contexts. The research can also feed in to practical aspects such as the development of planning methods especially in involving tourist development. Although this research can be developed more deeply by the involvement of a larger number participant creating a

stronger research result or taking small part of the thesis's aspect in order to be more focus, it provided new opportunities for further research particularly in littoral regions. Hence, the programme will feed into further research in Bali and elsewhere.

- Finally, the research has resulted in three academic papers and one international journal publication (To be published).

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