# Bali's Cultural Arts and the Contest of Identity During the Tourism Era of Bali

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Bali is quite well known by the outside world for its cultural arts. This has caused Bali to be developed as a tourist destination. The development of Bali as a tourist destination has been carried out by the Dutch colonial government since the beginning of the 20th century. Based on presidential instruction, Bali was made a pilot for tourist destination projects because the potential of Balinese cultural arts has been widely promoted abroad. The development of Bali as a tourist area has led to a cultural identity contest between the interests of the state and the interests of Bali. The state needs foreign exchange revenues, while the regional government wants to maintain a Balinese cultural identity as part of religious activities. Thus, this paper aims to examine performing arts a part of Balinese arts and cultural heritage, amidst the contest of identity. The focus of the study in this paper is: How is the development of traditional Balinese performing arts a contest, and how do Balinese local governments maintain an artistic and cultural identity? To study the issues above, qualitative research methods are used in analysis of the theory of hegemony. The results of this study show that traditional Balinese performing arts experience secularisation, and the concept of cultural tourism is changing into a tourism industry.

**Key words:** *Bali Cultural Arts, Contest of Identity and Tourism.*

## Introduction

As an ethnic group that lives in the Indonesian archipelago, Balinese people have a wealth of distinctive cultural arts, which have made Bali, as an island, quite well known in the eyes of the world. Many depictions are carried out by foreigners, who came to Bali since the colonial era. They have promoted Bali as: the Island of God, the Island of Paradise and the Island of a Thousand Temples. With this image, the attraction of foreign tourists to Bali is so strong that Bali has developed into a very renowned tourist destination. This is so not only domestically, but also internationally. The holistic link between Balinese cultural religion, arts, customs, and ceremonies has provided a special attraction for tourists. Therefore, Bali was officially declared to be a tourist visit area by the Indonesian government, based on presidential instruction No. 9 of 1969 (Yoeti, 1985, p. 56).

The people and local government of Bali are very aware that tourist areas will be a meeting place for various cultural forms brought by tourists. The awareness of the people, and the local government of Bali, has raised concerns for the community. Government intellectuals indicate that the art of Balinese culture will be overwhelmed by global culture brought directly to Bali by tourists. The people and the local government of Bali, as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), did not have the power to reject the presidential instruction. Even so, they still tried to save Balinese cultural arts from the negative influences of foreign cultures.

This paper aims to examine the ideas of intellectuals, artists, humanists, the local government and Balinese people in anticipating worries of the negative influence of tourism on the arts and culture of society. To anticipate this possibility, Bali began to apply ideas to strengthen the Balinese cultural identity in the face of external cultural threats brought by tourists. It should be explained here that the strengthening of Balinese cultural and artistic identity has been carried out by the colonial government since 1941. This was done by establishing the Hollandsche Inlandche School (HIS) under the Sila Darma foundation called Balisering (Fliehaar, 1941).

The development of tourism in Bali is also feared to have a negative impact on the Balinese culture, arts and life. Therefore, a cultural concept is needed to be able to protect Balinese cultural arts. This paper focuses on issues related to the existence of performing arts in the midst of tourism developments, which have led to a contest between the central government and the regional government. The desire of the central government is to increase state revenues and the welfare of society. The only economic tip for the Bali region is developing tourism. The local government of Bali, under the leadership of Governor Ida Bagus Mantra, is very worried that the tourism policy will overthrow Balinese culture and Bali will lose its identity. Thus, the problems this paper will focus on are: How is the development of

traditional Balinese performing arts a contest between local and national interests, and how do Balinese local governments maintain traditional performing arts and cultural identity?

To anticipate the possibility of tourism being developed to undermine Balinese cultural arts (that have their own characteristics and are in great demand by foreign parties), the Regional Government cooperates with intellectuals, humanists and artists to formulate a concept. This concept is a basis for strengthening Balinese cultural arts, so that they are not easily overwhelmed by developments in tourism, which are feared to couple with capitalist interests. The results of the sacred and no-sacred arts seminar, held in 1972, create the conceptswali, bebali and balih-balihanartsand. Balinese regional government policies (that developed the concept of cultural tourism) can be considered as the ideal foundation to protect or fortify Balinese cultural arts from negative influences outside of culture that are a result of tourism.

**Research Method**

The research method used in examining the phenomenon of Balinese art and culture is a qualitative research method. It has a historical approach that adheres to heuristic analysis. Qualitative research procedures range from collecting, analysing, and then connecting data with one another to become scientific writing (Moleong, 2011). The historical approach, in this case, is to test data sources. These are both written sources and sources of information with source criticism methods (Gottschalk, 1986, p. 35). The qualitative approach is a very broad data description with a solid foundation. It contains explanations of the processes that occur within the scope of research on an object of research.

The object of research in this matter is traditional Balinese performing arts, which have been understood to contain spiritual values (sacred) and are full of devotion and togetherness values as a form of solidarity bonds. The framework of thinking used in this paper is based on the historical thinking that Bali was developed as a tourist area by the Dutch colonial government. One qualitative research method has determined how to collect data through observation. The results of observations on the performing arts have found that, sanghyang dance (as one of the sacred arts) has been packaged into a kecak dance, which is specifically presented to tourists.

As an analytical tool to examine the problems of Balinese art and culture in the midst of the development of tourism, the theory of hegemony is used in addition to the concepts of secularisation and the concept of cultural tourism. The theory of hegemony is a theory that emphasises the existence of a power's influence on cultured ways to impose the interests of the ruler. The concept of secularisation is, the development of traditional performing arts into touristic art. The concept of cultural tourism is the development of culture-based tourism in

Bali. The real conditions that exist in Bali show that there has been a contest between the interests of power and the concept of cultural order that leads to industrial tourism.

**Discussion**

The concern for Balinese identity has been revealed in a number of writings, such as by Jean Coteau and Usadi Wiryatnaya in his book: Bali di Persimpangan Jalan Sebuah Bunga Rampai (Denpasar: Nusa Data Indo Budaya, 1995) and Henk Schulte Nordholt, in his book: Bali Benteng Terbuka 1995-2005, Otonomi Daerah, Demokrasi Elektoral dan identitas-Idenitas Defensif (Denpasar: Library Larasan, 2007). The concern shows that Bali (with its distinctive identity involving art, culture, religion, customs and traditions), has been torn apart by a system of government. The decentralisation of regional autonomy has had an impact on the dynamics of conflict at the local level. Tourism development also illustrates that Balinese identity (which is strengthened by cultural arts), has lost its originality, authenticity and unity. This is as a result of tourism development oriented toward capitalist interests.

It will be very important to examine the colonial interests that lie behind the development of Balisering. However, the Dutch colonial government still wanted to strengthen its power and exploit Bali to gain benefits for the colonial government. Tourism developed in Bali, based on presidential instruction No. 9 of 1969, implies the existence of a money-oriented buying and selling system. This means that tourism leads to the cultural industry. This raises concerns for intellectuals, artists and cultural experts about the impact on Balinese art culture, which has been known as a Balinese identity in the eyes of the outside world.

The development of the cultural industry as a result of touristic consumption has pushed the tourism of Bali into the capitalist system. The capitalist system, in this case, is an economic system. It has a dual aspect, meaning that on the one hand it has use value, and on the other hand it has an exchange value (Giddens, 2009, p. 57). The phenomenon of Balinese art has developed into a cultural industry that has purposed value. It is also traded to tourists to fulfil the needs of the Balinese people. It will be very understandable that tourism in Bali is part of the livelihood of the Balinese in fulfilling their daily needs. Thus, Balinese art is included in the cultural production arena. Cultural production arenas are divided into two sub arenas. These are limited production arenas and large-scale production arenas (Bourdeau, 2010: xxxiii).

The art of Balinese culture is an identity that causes Bali to be well-known to the outside world; therefore, the government and the people of Bali have an interest in protecting and preserving Balinese cultural arts so that they remain intact and are not polluted by outside cultural influences. Identity will refer to the image of a Nation (Tilaar, 2007, p. 35). The identity of the Balinese has been formed as an image that is understood by outsiders. Besides

its hospitality is its art and culture. It can be realised that the development of Bali's tourism caused Bali to become a space of contest for various types and forms of culture. One way the Dutch colonial government maintained Balinese cultural arts was by establishing the Hollandsch Inlandsche School (HIS) Sila Darma in Klungkung in 1941. It included Balinese cultural arts in the educational curriculum known as Balisering. The Balisering concept in the world of education, initiated by the colonial government, can be understood as a means to strengthen Balinese artistic identity. Because Balisering was the idea of the Bali's colonial government, it could often be considered to have a hidden political motivation: to stem the widespread nationalism in Bali.

It seems that behind the founding of Balisering, there was colonial hegemony that wanted to keep controlling Bali so that it would not unite or become part of Java. Even Bali had to become a territory of Dutch colonial rule, which placed Bali as part of the Dutch kingdom. It is very clear to understand that this desire of the Dutch colonial government gave Bali the nickname of Jong Hollands, which means Young Dutch (Agung, 1989: 8). Colonial hegemony, in this case, is a particular concept that is used to maintain a particular social or political order by establishing relations between colonial cultures. These are considered to be elite cultures, with Balinese culture considered a mass culture or popular culture.

Balinese culture has been made a popular culture since 1930. In simple terms, mass culture is popular culture produced through mass-production industrial techniques and marketed to gain profits to mass consumer audiences (Strinati, 2010, p. 36). This has been done since 1930. The packing of male choirs in the Sang Hyang dance became the performing arts of Kecak by Walter Spies and Baryl de Zoete, along with art in Bedulu, Gianyar and Bali (Bandem, 1983: 42). Kecak then becomes a commercial art that can bring in money. Thus, Kecak is produced massively and has its own standards.

Hegemony is basically an effort to lead people to judge and accept a social phenomenon in the framework determined by the authorities. This is done by influencing the cognitive structure of society (ideationally). The effort is carried out through certain ideologies that are considered morally right by the community, so that the dominance of the idea of power holders is not questioned (Burke, 2011, p. 128; Hasan, 2011, p. 26). The relation between power, culture and intellectual ideas in the colonial period was carried out by establishing Balisering and establishing Kertya Liffrink van der Tuuk (which is now called Gedung Kirtya). This condition can be considered as a relationship between cultural domination and subordinate culture. This relationship can be understood as a social control or cultural hegemony (Burke, 2011, p. 126). The success of the power holders spreads the influence of their hegemony because it is supported by related infrastructure organisations in which intellectual adherence occurred due to cultural and political factors (Kumbara, 2010: 10).

The concept of cultural hegemony, in this case offered by Gramsci, is that the ruler ruled not only with violence but with persuasion. In this persuasion, there was a conspiracy with some people who were considered influential in the field of Balinese art and culture, including religious individuals and artists. To analyse the existence of this conspiracy Pierre Bourdeau offered the concept of symbolic violence and negotiation. The concept refers to the process that forces the controlled group to recognise the validity of the ruling class culture (Burke, 2011: 129). The culture of the ruling class at that time was capitalist culture and commercialisation, which obtained economic benefits in the form of money. Capitalist culture is the cultural identity of invaders who want to get economic benefits from their colonies. One system that must be developed in Bali is to make Bali a tourist destination. Colonial ideology, in this case, is related to the dissemination of ideas and the creation of ideas that are super social constructions. This provides justification for the interests of the dominant class (Giddens, 2007, p. 52). In my opinion, the ideology of Dutch colonialism encouraged the development of tourism in the early 20th century.

The interest of the Dutch colonial government in Balinese cultural arts caused Bali to be promoted as a pretty good tourist area. This was carried out by Vereniging Toristen Verkeer (VTV) since 1910. Promotion was carried out by publishing a guidebook about attractions in West Java, Central Java, Bali, Lombok, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Banten, and Toraja, which are all printed in English (Yoeti, 1985, p. 31). Based on the promotion, the Dutch travel agent in Batavia named Lissonne Lindeman (LisLind) began to bring tourists to Bali by using the Maatschappij package (KPM). Since 1930, many tourists, researchers and artists have come to Bali. To accommodate tourists who are close, a number of hotels have been built between Hotel Sanur Beach and Kuta Beach, followed by Bali Hotels.

Since Indonesian tourism has been independent, it has also been developed through the establishment of NV Honet, which is the only nationwide Indonesian company engaged in tourism. Then, in 1953, SERGAHTI (a Union of Joint Hotels and Tourism Indonesia) was established, followed by PT. NATOUR (Hotel and Tourism Corp) in 1955. Tourism at this time was not well developed because the political climate in the country was not stable. This was due to the emergence of various separatist movements. The foundation of the state was not yet strong. The form of the state was still debated, and the system of government was not yet stable. Tourism has gotten fresh air since the issue of Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 1969. In article 2 of the Instruction, it is implied that the purpose of tourism development is to increase the country's foreign exchange revenues.

In this instruction, the interest of the state to obtain foreign exchange has been implied, which means that the potential for tourism is directed towards earning money. Therefore, various cultural products, including arts, are also directed to be traded for foreign exchange revenues. This is done on the grounds that it will benefit the welfare of society. This condition again

shook people's minds, especially the Balinese people, who have the potential of sacred cultural values. The idea arises that tourism will be inevitable because tourism development is in the interests of central power. However, this does not address how to fence off Balinese cultural arts (which are sacred) so that they are not overwhelmed by tourism. This tourism has economic interests behind the desire to strengthen Bali's identity and image in the eyes of the world through cultural arts. For this purpose, the role of organic intellectuals is needed to provide ideas that can be used to strengthen or safeguard the interests of Bali. In this case, intellectuals are associated with certain social structures and functions. According to Seymour Martin Lipset, intellectuals are those who create, disseminate and practice culture (Mutahir, 2011, p. 3).

In this case, Balinese people see intellectual roles and positions as preserving, protecting and defending cultural values that are considered to have a social order that can make Bali better. It is possible that changes will occur because of the culture of construction. However, the changes expected by the community do not bring Balinese cultural values to the brink of destruction due to the pressure of external culture. For the sake of creating ideas, the dissemination of ideas is often used as a reference. As well as carrying out the wheel of culture, especially Balinese culture which has its own peculiarities, intellectuals are often used as references (Eyerman, 1996, p. 1-2). In Balinese society, intellectuals are considered people who have broader abilities. Intellectual property is a cornerstone of hope in fighting for their lives, both in terms of social problems, art and cultural issues. Intellectuals are considered capable of negotiating power, because intellectuals are a group that are considered by the authorities to be critical thinkers when thinking about Bali.

By looking at Gramsci's views on intellectuals, not all intellectuals have intellectual functions in society. Therefore, Gramsci distinguishes intellectual types. These are: (1) Traditional intellectuals, who are intellectuals that spread ideas and become mediators between people and their superior classes, (2) Organic intellectuals, who are intellectuals that research, study and try to provide a reflection on the situation but are limited to the interests of the group itself, (3) critical intellectuals, who are intellectuals who that are able to escape from the hegemony of the ruling or powerful elite, (4) universal intellectuals, who are intellectuals that seek to fight for civilisation, fight for humanity and fight for humanism (Mutahir, 2011, p. 5-6).

As vehicles for pouring ideas from the results of research and studies, organic intellectuals try to reflect on the state of Balinese art and culture that will be faced with tourism. As a reflection of the thoughts of organic intellectuals working with the local government of Bali, a 1972 seminar was held on sacred and provocative arts. It classified which art was considered sacred and which could be considered profane. The results of this seminar were then used as a fortress to fence off Balinese cultural arts, with the classifications of art called

Wali, Bebali and Balih-Balihan arts. In 1978 the art classifications were strengthened by the policies of the regional government of Bali under Governor Prof. Dr. Ida Bagus Mantra through the concept of cultural tourism.

The policy was issued with the aim that Balinese cultural arts can still be protected, even though it is impossible to avoid the development of tourism. This is because the policy to develop Bali's tourism is a policy of the central government. The goal of this central policy is to develop tourism in order to earn large foreign exchange revenues. As a result, the economic system will become the main reference in the tourism development process. Economically speaking, the assumption behind our thinking is that there is a process of buying, selling and opening markets for the needs of tourists. Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 1969 indicates a change in the system of developing tourism from a culture-based system to an industry-based one. Consequently, the tourism industry develops. In my observation, what is presently touted as cultural tourism is in reality a cultural industry.

The role of actors in the structure of tourism in Bali is very important to note. Anthony Giddens offers a concept called Structuralism (Burke, 2011, p. 168). Giddens Structural Theory focuses its attention on repetitive social practices that are basically a theory that connects agents or actors with structures. Human actions explain the internal relations and mutual influence between agents and structures. All social actions require structure, and the whole structure requires social action. Agents and structures are intertwined. They are not separated in human practices or activities (Ritzer, Douglas J Godman, 2004, p. 507-508).

The classification of sacred and non-sacred arts contained in the concepts of Wali, Bebali and Balih-Balihan is played by the actions of tourism actors. The art of Waliand balih-balihan has become a very vague concept. This shows that performance art, as an arena of cultural production, experiences an identity contest between limited production arenas. These are often regarded as high art, serious, ritual, or classical art. It is symbolic, prestigious and involves artistic celebrity. In principle, it rejects economic and political discrimination with the arena being a large-scale, market-oriented production and mass production (Boerdeau, 2010, xxxiii).

According to Bourdeau, the arena of limited production is the production of art for producers. The motive for obtaining economic profit is minimally denied by the artists themselves. The hierarchy of authority is based on various forms of symbolic profit. An example of this is when people see themselves as non-profit-seeking figures (Boerdeau, 2010, xxxiv). This condition, since the emergence of tourism, has moved into the arena of large-scale cultural production. Namely, the arena of production (which includes mass culture or popular culture) is mass produced and maintained by cultural industries. These industries are large and complex, involving dominant hierarchical principles and economic capital (or the bottom line

of financial profit) (Bouedeau, 2010 xxxv). The identity of Balinese art and culture is no longer essential and inherited. Tourism has become a reference for Balinese identity, in other words, Balinese identity is tourism. This shows that in the reform era, essentialism of re-identity is wide open to contestation, reinterpretation and capture. It is also utilised in social processes and political negotiations, as well as being returned to the cultural space of tradition (Ramstedt, Thufail, ed, 2011, p. 3).

Thus, in understanding the development of tourism in Bali, there will appear to be a hegemony of central power towards the region. It be able to bring in foreign exchange revenues. Hegemony, in this case, is a situation in which the historical blocs of powerful class factions exercise social authority and leadership over subordinate classes through a combination of strengths, and moreover with consensus (Barker, 2004, p. 62). In this case, the central power faction is carried out through a combination of central power and consensus on regional government, which means that hegemony is carried out through presidential instruction No. 9 of 1969. This instruction only looked at the development of Bali's tourism from the point of view of the central interest in obtaining foreign exchange.

The government does indeed has the right to intervene and to support a variety of artistic and cultural activities belonging to the public that do not have market interests. However, the government also must protect anything that begins to emerge and does not receive wide audience response immediately (Smiers, 2009, p. 307). If it is associated with Balinese cultural arts and tourism (besides encouraging cultural arts for the tourism market), it also has to protect cultural arts that can strengthen the identity and distinctiveness of Balinese art and culture. This means that the position of sacred and non-sacred art is clear. The originality of Balinese culture must remain protected.

## Conclusion

Bali was developed as a tourist area that has been going on since the colonial era. It was directed by the New Order government in hopes of gaining economic benefits. One aspect that can be used as an asset to gain economic benefits is cultural arts, especially traditional Balinese performing arts.

The development of tourism, in hopes of gaining economic benefits from Balinese cultural arts, create a struggle between central interests and regional interests that want to maintain the art of Balinese culture in its identity. Through traditional performing arts, the classification and concept of tourism that is developed is cultural tourism.

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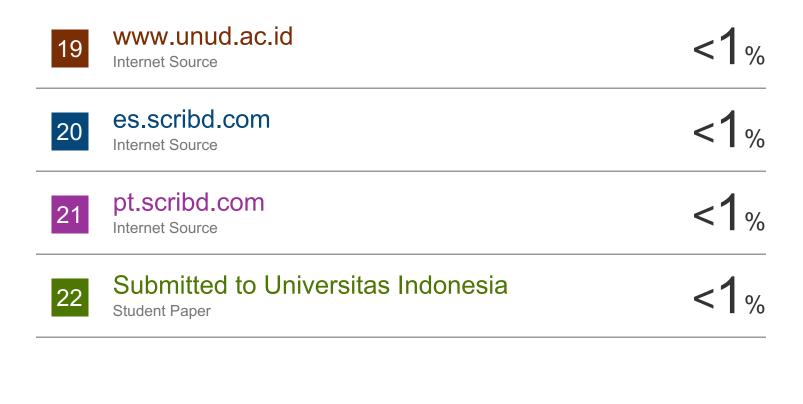
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