



Spring 2016

# Bali's Eclectic Image: A Touristic Island Paradise and A Prevalently Modern Nation

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# Bali's Eclectic Image: A Touristic Island Paradise and A Prevalently Modern Nation

## **Abstract**

This body of work is meant to address the way in which Bali's present external image as a "touristic island paradise" contributes to its environmental, political, and social issues being faced. By explaining how the island's public image can be altered to that of both a "touristic island paradise" and a "prevalently modern nation", am helping to prevent of these issues from furthering. Understanding how Bali's present image can be restructured requires first a consideration of its basis in colonization, colonial-discriminatory stereotypes/ mindsets, and how these mind-sets have affected foreign perspectives of the Balinese people today. Through analyzing examples of present-day foreign perspectives of Bali as obtained through interviews and participant observation, I can further explain to what extent they contribute to Bali's image as solely an "island paradise" and therefore begin to describe how they can further contribute to its additional image as a "prevalently modern nation". Individual foreign perspectives and mindsets of Bali/ Balinese are key to maintaining its image as a whole and therefore need to be considered in order to ultimately create a public image that will lead to further awareness of Bali's issues and in turn the desire to address these issues.

## **Keywords**

Balinese tourism, Indonesia, colonization, racial relations, indigenous, unequal power dynamics

## **Disciplines**

Asian Studies | Social and Cultural Anthropology | Tourism

## **Comments**

"SIT Study Abroad Indonesia: Arts, Religion and Social Change" Research Paper

BALI'S ECLECTIC IMAGE: A TOURISTIC ISLAND PARADISE AND A PREVALENTLY  
MODERN NATION

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SIT STUDY ABROAD: ARTS, RELIGION, AND SOCIAL CHANGE

SPRING 2016

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## **Acknowledgements**

I first and foremost want to thank my fellow American friends, both in Bali and at home for not only listening to me, but giving me advice as I attempted multiple times to verbally find the focus of my research topic. I also would like to thank Bu Ary, Pak John, and Pak Yudi (my lovely advisor), for giving me guidance. Importantly, I would like to thank all of my informants for their interest in my field study and for agreeing to be a part of it. And lastly I would like to thank my beloved mother and grandparents who have supported me since day one with all my various research abroad and without whom this would not be possible.

## **Abstract**

This body of work is meant to address the way in which Bali's present external image as a "touristic island paradise" contributes to its environmental, political, and social issues being faced. By explaining how the island's public image can be altered to that of both a "touristic island paradise" *and* a "prevalently modern nation", am helping to prevent of these issues from furthering. Understanding how Bali's present image can be restructured requires first a consideration of its basis in colonization, colonial-discriminatory stereotypes/ mindsets, and how these mind-sets have affected foreign perspectives of the Balinese people today. Through analyzing examples of present-day foreign perspectives of Bali as obtained through interviews and participant observation, I can further explain to what extent they contribute to Bali's image as solely an "island paradise" and therefore begin to describe how they can further contribute to its additional image as a "prevalently modern nation". Individual foreign perspectives and mindsets of Bali/ Balinese are key to maintaining its image as a whole and therefore need to be considered in order to ultimately create a public image that will lead to further awareness of Bali's issues and in turn the desire to address these issues.

## Introduction

As an individual who comes from an education background in Indigenous, and more specifically, Native American Studies, I have spent the majority of the two years leading up to this field study focusing on issues pertaining to Indigenous social justice. This focus includes training on the history of colonization, post-colonial theory, tribal-government, cultural appropriation, Native land rights, and the present-day injustices that each of these entail. I not only continued my academic concentration by being awarded a two year research grant to study the current status of Indigenous representation in both American and Australian school systems, but spent my most recent summer working for the National Congress of American Indians located at the Embassy of Tribal Nations located in Washington D.C. Much of my focus has therefore recently entailed advocacy for Natives by bringing their concerns to the awareness of the non-Natives who are ultimately the cause of their issues. When first coming to Bali, I was aware of its popular tourist industry but was unaware to what extent it consumed locations of the island. When first traveling to the tourist location of Ubud and observing the overwhelming amount of western foreigners that were present, I could not help apply my knowledge of post-colonial theory to that of Ubud's tourist industry. This led me to notice the significant segregation of foreigners as tourists and Balinese as hospitality workers. Although the situation of western presence in America and Bali are vastly different, as America's is based on historical colonial settlement and Bali's on tourism, both stem from colonization and its discriminatory stereotype of a "primitive" population that needed to become "civilized". While this led to many persisting negative impacts concerning Native Americans, I became concerned that these impacts may have led to the issues facing Balinese as well. Foreigners commonly view Bali as a "touristic island paradise". To what extent do foreigners in Bali contribute to this image and to what extent does this image contribute to the continuation of Bali's issues?

At the outset it is important to say that this paper is not meant to portray Balinese as victims of a discriminatory colonial past that has resulted in issues they are incapable of rectifying themselves. Rather, I intend to portray them as the prevailing and successful lawyers, doctors, teachers, government officials, farmers, and service workers that they are. Not only are Balinese active agents in their own lives, but also have a long history of adaptation to prove it as they always took power and control during a situation of foreign influence. Across a thousand

years of history they have adopted and transformed external cultural practices when desired, taking full advantage of new opportunities. If it was not desired, they did everything in their power to fight its presence while illustrating their agency; nonetheless, if this force of influence prevailed, they found a way to take advantage and embrace it while making it entirely their own, despite the possible suffering that may have been associated. The two most relevant examples are that of Hinduism and tourism, with tourism being the one around which I have structured this study.

Secondly, while I illustrate that Bali's well demonstrated agency as a nation (referring to a body of people unified by a common land and culture rather than that of a country) has led to their power and success as seen through tourism including its contribution to the economy, employment, and social status, its effects have not only been positive. Tourism has led to many issues as well concerning environmental degradation, political corruption, and social disparities therefore in actuality further proving Bali's status as a modern nation as it is impossible for any functioning body to be without problems. In addition to present-day issues, it is near impossible to know of a modern nation that has not experienced acts of attack or war and suffered as a result. Bali has not only experienced war as demonstrated by Dutch invasion, but has suffered as well as they were then forced to be prisoners on their own land through the beginning stages of tourism. Ultimately, this creation of tourism by the Dutch led to the tourism that has created the many issues faced by Bali today.

Thirdly, as an individual who is neither Indonesian nor Balinese, it is not my place or position to speak on what is best for their nation or what they should or should not be doing in terms of how to address their issues. Having said this, I am not only a Euro-American whose ancestors took part in colonization and its creation of Bali's tourism, but I am also a foreigner who has taken advantage of its resulting present-day tourist industry by choosing to continue my college degree on its island. As a result, I can only speak for the group whom I represent, which in this case is that of the foreigner; the group whose individuals are the main source of promotion and advertisement for Bali's tourism therefore affecting the rate at which other foreigners come to Bali. Whether it is through word of mouth, social media, pieces of writing (social, academic or business), film, or photography, an image of Bali is being projected largely *to* foreigners and *by* foreigners as resulting from their personal perspectives of Bali. This image portraying one of an "island paradise" with smiling people is ultimately one rooted in colonial-discriminatory



stereotypes/ mindsets that were meant to paint the Balinese as "unintelligent" and "inferior" in order to mask the injustice and violence that was committed against them on that land. While Bali's present-day image of an "island paradise" is not meant to benefit a colonial force but rather the Balinese themselves as they are in power and control of their own tourist industry, the persisting image has resulted in some persisting stereotypes as well. While they may be unconscious, these mindsets/stereotypes have an effect on individual foreign perspectives therefore influencing on the overall public image of Bali. Rather than one that represents their true identity as a modern nation with a history of war, a successful tourist industry, a thriving religion, competitive universities, and a handful of issues, Bali's foreign public image has become one that reflects the ambitions and desires of the individual foreigners themselves. As a result, attention has increasingly been taken away from the true identity of the Balinese and placed on the increasing demand of foreign interests therefore resulting in a lack of awareness for Bali's increasing environmental degradation, political corruption, and social disparities. Unfortunately, if action is not taken sometime within the near future, these current seemingly unimportant issues will begin to affect the success of the tourist industry itself that the Balinese have so confidently risen to perfect.

So now the question becomes one concerning what I can do to help prevent these issues from further taking hold of Bali's successful, rich and thriving culture. As this is obviously an extremely large and complicated topic of concern, I chose to focus on that which applies to my concentration of study, which ultimately involves the analyzing of colonization and its effects concerning unequal power relations including ethnicity, wealth, and status. In other words, in what ways are foreign perspectives of Bali contributing to the lack of awareness surrounding the island's issues? In order to address this question, one first must understand the unequal power dynamics seen between foreigners and Balinese present in Bali's tourist areas. Not only does this directly tie to Bali and its history, but to the foreign motivations for coming to Bali as well as their resulting perspectives of the island therefore influencing Bali's image as a whole. Ultimately, Bali's image needs to be altered from that of solely a "touristic island paradise" to one of both a "touristic island paradise" *and* a "prevalently modern nation" therefore presenting Bali as the successful and confident touristic, artistic, and religious culture that it is.

While the topics addressed above are extremely interwoven, my research question ultimately concerns the way in which foreign perspectives of Bali can be improved in order to

bring more awareness and therefore prevention, of Bali's increasing issues. This topic cannot be understood unless first recognizing Bali's history of evolving public images leading up to today and its touristic roots in colonization and their associated notions of eclectic culture, cultural tourism, diverse advertisements, unequal power relations, and colonial-stereotypes. In doing so, foreigners can bring further awareness to their role in forming Bali's public image and therefore work to change foreign perspectives to one that includes Bali's realistic identity that is often masked by the tourist agenda.

### ***Methods***

The town of Ubud, located near the center of the island, is most commonly regarded as the cultural center of Bali for tourists therefore bringing in foreigners with more of an interest in the arts as it is far from the beaches and the larger more luxurious resorts. By staying in Ubud, I was exposed to tourists/ expatriates that came for specific reasons, or those who were interested in Balinese religion and art rather than the beaches, surfing, and diving. Throughout the field study, I conducted interviews, made observations, and did textual research in order to gather information concerning Bali's image to foreigners. In addition to this, Ubud has a very large expatriate community and many organizations and businesses operated by foreigners, which represent the diverse reasons why people come to Ubud.

### **INTERVIEWS**

Throughout the course of three weeks, I conducted 13 interviews; nine foreigners, and four Balinese. Originally, I wanted to interview only expatriates (foreigners who live permanently in Ubud/ Bali) thinking they would have a better understanding of the unequal power dynamics I was observing. But after my first interview, I realized that it would be beneficial to obtain the perspectives of tourists as well as they are the individuals that Balinese so thoroughly cater to. Although I assumed I would get a variety of responses, I decided to interview Balinese as well in order to have perspectives from both social parties concerning the unequal power dynamics. Although I have not included interviews with Balinese in the final

write-up, their input did give me a better understanding for the economic importance of tourism that many Balinese emphasize.

Out of the nine foreigners I interviewed, I was able to contact three of them through a community group page on Facebook called "Ubud Community". People post messages on the group page every day with topics concerning taxi rides, best restaurants, places to stay, or any topic relating to the community of Ubud. As people post requests regularly, I decided to post a message asking if anyone was interested in meeting up for an interview as I was doing a field study on expat and tourist relations. After messaging with three people, they all agreed to meet for coffee or lunch for the interview. While I did type out structured questions, the interview was more conversational as I asked questions based on their response rather than following my initial order of questioning. I also found that typing their responses during the interview was more productive than using a recorder as the seconds used to type gave them more time to think about what to say. The recorder seemed to put more stress on the individual while they spoke as it gave less time for breaks. It seemed as if the individual felt more pressured to have constant dialogue and concern for how they spoke, whereas when I typed their responses, the pressure of how they sounded was lifted as they talked more openly without concern for constant dialogue.

In choosing my accommodation in Ubud, I found it beneficial to stay at a hostel where the atmosphere is very communal therefore allowing me to meet travelers and build deeper connections compared to meeting an informant online. Three of the eight foreigners interviewed I met at my hostel, The Happy Mango Tree. It is very common to casually strike up conversation with those staying in the hostel via the common area or bedroom (structured like dorm rooms with bunk beds) with questions starting with, "Where are you from?", "How long are you here?", or "What brings you to Bali?". After explaining to other travelers that I was here for field study, I was ultimately able to obtain three interviews after living with them for a few days. The relaxed atmosphere and the large number of backpackers in the hostel made it very easy to converse with people about my topic, even if just through casual conversation. I was able to gather the remaining three interviews from people I had met while out at dinner. I always carried my computer and notebook around with me wherever I went (I took walks quite frequently and attempted to stop at a different cafe every day) with the consideration of meeting a possible informant or two. I would also like to mention that all names used within this paper have been changed in order to protect the identity of my informants.

As for the four Balinese I interviewed, three of them I met through my methods of observation which included spending time with market women while they worked to sell items in their shops. I was able to meet the remaining Balinese interviewed through my time spent at cafes.

## **OBSERVATIONS**

In order to further understand the social dynamics between foreigners and Balinese in Ubud, I observed the interactions between the two social groups. I spent a total of about nine hours each in two small clothing stores in Ubud. In both stores I spent time sitting and observing and chatting with the woman who worked there (both women worked alone) as customers came and left. I also spent a lot of time at restaurants (I tried to go to a different one every day) observing how the servers interact with their customers. Lastly, I spent many days walking around the town observing other ways that Balinese interact with foreigners and vice versa. Most of these interactions included men standing on the street asking people walking by if they wanted a taxi and women asking if they wanted a massage. As central Ubud is very condensed, it was very easy to walk from place to place in order to gather these observations. In addition, my status as a traveler/ foreigner in a dorm-style hostel allowed me to use participant observation to observe and interact with tourists on a daily leading to further analysis on the diverse perspectives of Bali.

## **TEXTUAL/ LITERATURE RESEARCH**

In order to give some background information and apply a historical context to tourism in Bali and Ubud, I looked at a few anthropological texts including works by Vickers and Picard who are both known for their study of Bali. I also include excerpts from the well-known novel *Eat Pray Love* by Elizabeth Gilbert in order to incorporate a foreign perspective of Bali that my readers may better recognize and therefore relate to. In addition, I incorporate quotes from scholars concentrating in racial/ ethnic relations in order to give further validity for my section pertaining to unequal power dynamics.

## **From Colonization to Touristic Culture: Bali's Evolving Image**

Before any discussion of Bali's present image as an island paradise can be made let alone a discussion of the foreigners that contribute to it, it is vital to understand and be aware of Bali's history concerning colonization and the many foreign public images that were projected as a result of it. Not only does this illustrate the power and strength that Balinese have despite their violent past, but their intelligence in turning a degrading situation into one of wealth and prosperity. The key points that should be kept in mind during this section include the discriminatory stereotypes/ mindsets of those attempting to take over power, and Bali's continuously changing and evolving eclectic culture. In order to recognize Bali as a prevalently modern nation, it is necessary to understand its history and therefore its resulting effects.

### ***Savage Bali***

Firstly, Bali is, and has always been, an eclectic culture as its people have a diverse range of ethnicities, backgrounds, and origins. Over thousands of years people from other islands and the mainland have migrated to Bali or taken control therefore bringing new beliefs, dances, art, and forms of government. A wave of Hinduism and Buddhism came to Bali around the eighth century ultimately changing Balinese cultural beliefs, being mostly animistic, to that of mostly Hinduism that we see today. Balinese kingdoms not only interacted with Javanese powers resulting in cultural influence, seen through elements of Hinduism and Buddhism, but with Chinese powers as well resulting of their use of the Chinese coin in addition to some images of art and dance. Beginning around the 14th century, a wave of Islam came sweeping through the archipelago therefore converting the majority of Bali's neighboring island of Java, to Islam (Picard, 1996, 19). Bali was grounded in their Hindu beliefs and culture resulting in their lack of conversion to Islam despite multiple attempts from Java and other outside forces to convert them. While the majority of Javanese did convert to Islam during this time, many Javanese fled to Bali with the hopes of maintaining their Hindu beliefs and values therefore furthering the diversity of ethnicities and bringing a range cultural elements to Bali including literature, art, dance, and the caste system that we still see today.

Towards the end of the 16th century, Bali became a center for slave and opium trade in order to uphold their role as a strong competitor in the trade market that spread across South East Asia (Vickers, 2012 33). With Bali's multiple powerful kingdoms at the time, they had a

consistent relationship with Dutch concerning their status as a location for their known elements trade. These first interactions with European powers involved not only trade, but missionaries as well. While the Balinese were successful in slave trade, they were also successful in refusing to convert to Christianity via Portuguese and Dutch missionaries and therefore maintained their Hindu identity which had by that time transformed into a form of pure *Balinese* Hinduism Balinese as a result of their various foreign influences (Vickers 45). During this period of trade with multiple European powers and merchants, Bali's nine kingdoms of the time had some internal conflicts, just as the majority of western nations have had, therefore illustrating their long historical status as an organized body with common-world political, social, and economic interests and issues. Due to the physical cultural differences between the Balinese and European traders, the Europeans, including the British and Dutch, described the Balinese as "savage" and "uncivilized" therefore presenting a negative and inferior illustration of Balinese people to the majority of Europeans (Picard 19).

By the 19th century, European powers had spread across the world with the attempt to colonize any foreign nation they could get their hands on with various European colonies seen throughout Asia, Africa, and the America's. Colonization refers to a nation or body that views themselves as superior to another nation or body of land therefore allowing them to exploit the land and its recourses, including the inhabitants of the land, for their own economic and political benefit. As Bali had a close trading relationship with the Dutch in the past, they decided that Bali would be an idealistic target to obtain as they were actively looking for land to colonize; Bali was located in a prime location of trade with valuable resources. The Balinese were not "helpless uncivilized savages" during the invasion of the Dutch, as common European thought portrayed them, but were rather a powerful militaristic force that actively and successfully fought the foreigners in war. For those who know about the Dutch colonization of Bali, many are unaware that various Balinese kingdoms defeated the Dutch a total of three times in 1848 then again in 1849 therefore successfully beating the European invaders (Vickers 52).

Unfortunately, throughout the 1850s and up to 1900 the Dutch were able to slowly conquer various areas of Bali until the Balinese knew that they had no chance. Instead of surrendering, the Balinese, including powerful kings, decided to allow the Dutch to end their lives by running, many without weapons, at the invaders; "thus the encounter between Bali and the West, begun under the best auspices, ended in the ritual of confrontational sacrifice - the

'fight to the finish' - by three of the island's leading royal houses, who chose to give themselves a glorious death rather than give themselves up to a foreign mater" (Picard 20). Those Balinese involved in the traditional war tactic known as *puputan*, included women and children of all ages, therefore showing the pride and unbreakable dedication they had to their land and people. The mentality that the Balinese were "uncivilized savages" gave further justification to the Dutch soldiers while they did not hesitate as they proceeded with the killings causing the death of over 1000 Balinese men, women, and children. By dehumanizing another race or culture, they are more easily seen as the "other" creating more distance between the two groups ultimately causing feelings and superiority and justification for oppression as one soldier even stated that the Balinese "were glad to die" (Vickers 259).

### ***A "Living Museum": The Beginning of Tourism***

These significant *puputan* killings of 1906 and 1908 brought much shame and embarrassment to the Dutch as they officially took control of the island in 1908 (Vickers 60) ultimately leading to the creation of tourism in Bali. The Dutch did not want their island colony to be viewed and remembered as the location where hundreds of Balinese were killed at the hand of their control, so therefore decided to "cover up" their embarrassment and shame by promoting Bali as a culturally rich island paradise for tourists. The Dutch were intrigued by the Balinese culture including their art, dance, religion, and most of all their bare-breasted women. They wanted to "protect" and "preserve" Bali as a "living museum" so that tourists could come to the island and enjoy the amusement of experiencing a "primitive" culture while still taking advantage of the island's beaches and landscapes (Picard 20). The Dutch accomplished this image of Bali as a "living museum" in the 1920s by implementing a policy known as "the Balinization of Bali" in which the colonists educated the Balinese on aspects of their own culture while being sure they did not adapt elements of western culture. This policy was created to not only be sure that their culture looked authentic to tourists, but in order to fulfill their agenda politically as well (Picard 21). By "protecting" Balinese culture, the island colony became less of a threat to Islamic radicalism and "various nationalist movements which had recently arisen in Java and Sumatra" (Picard 21).

In 1928, the Dutch opened up its first hotel named the Bali Hotel in Denpasar located directly on top of the site of the 1906 *puputan* killings (Picard 40) therefore successfully taking

attention away from their embarrassing act of violence and replacing it with their "paradise" image of Bali. With Bali's image as a tourist destination really taking form in the 1930s, the majority of advertisements and promotions of Bali came from previous scholarly and academic writings as well as brochures, photographs and books depicting images of its "exotic land and it's even more exotic people". The amount of racism illustrated through these advertisements is unfortunately not surprising for this time as the majority of anthropology was based on the inferiority of races other than Caucasian. Vickers states that "the Dutch drew upon the scholarly appreciation of the Balinese culture to ease their consciousness" (Vickers 130) about the killings as anthropologists believed that "the racial disposition to sexual overindulgence [the Balinese] shared with other 'Asiatics' made them inferior to Europeans" and that "race was not simply a matter of skin color... but of the development of all parts of the body" making Malay women (including Balinese) more promiscuous than European women due to their "large sexual organs" (Vickers 127). The overly advertised descriptions of the bare-breasted women of Bali was one of, if not the main selling point of the island during its first years as a tourist destination therefore further promoting its image as a "living museum" of the "primitive" past. While the invasion of the Dutch would have otherwise influenced Balinese culture by westernizing it, their desire to "preserve" it for tourism kept the Balinese completely separate from the Dutch colonizers and European tourists creating more of an "inferior" and "superior" mentality.

In addition to this discriminatory mentality, the irony lies in fact that the Dutch were illustrated to be "preserving" the "primitive" Bali, while many westerners contributed to the "traditional Balinese" art popular to tourists. For example, Rudolf Bonnet "steered Balinese artists in the direction of his own aesthetic interests" by labeling "bad" next to the works he did not approve of (Vickers 161); these European artists saw themselves as helping Balinese painting take renaissance height. While their ideas of "protecting and "preserving" Bali were meant to prevent change, they in actuality meant that change could occur only if it was according to the tastes of the western preservers (Vickers 162). Ultimately, once again, one can see that Balinese culture is constantly changing and is eclectic as, despite the extent of attempt to remain unchanging, outside forces are constantly having an impact on cultures therefore showing their constantly evolving nature. Despite this reality, the tourists still accepted the image of Bali as a culture stuck in the past and as an unchanging "living museum" as "the exotic world outside Europe was more inspiring than the familiarity of home..." (Vickers 140). In similarity to some



of my informants, these Europeans not only had the desire to travel, but to escape the discontent of home life as the violence of the First World War and the stress of the American Great Depression took hold during that time. Bali's image as a tourist destination and "living museum" allowed westerners to find pleasure in their lives at the expense of the Balinese in the form of discrimination and foreign control.

Unfortunately, the foreign control and violence did not stop after the Dutch left during World War II as it was the Japanese that moved in to take their place. While tourism was slowing to a halt during this time, the need to uphold its paradise image came to a halt as well. Without tourism in the picture, the Balinese were no longer precious artifacts behind glass in a museum but rather captives on their own land, something they had been since the Dutch first took control. Vickers states that Japanese rule was cruel as exemplified by "one of the major religious leader of north Bali who was beaten and hung upside down for days for his un-cooperative activities" (Vickers 217). After the Japanese lost the war in 1945, the Balinese began to gain back their strength as a nation although the Japanese had promised to hand Bali back over to the Dutch. During the interim period between the exit of the Japanese and the supposed re-occupation by the Dutch, Bali's political agenda had split into those who wanted independence (the Republic) and those who were pro-Dutch and favored the benefits and resources that the European country brought. Once again, violence broke out as a result of this split as seen in the Gianyar-Ubud area which "became the main site for the incarceration, torture, and sometimes execution of anti-Dutch Balinese" (Vickers 222). This area of Ubud was mostly consumed by those who were pro-Dutch as the Balinese rulers received high status and beneficial recourses from the Dutch.

With Indonesia winning independence in 1945, the Balinese were finally free of Dutch control. Although Bali was now an independent territory within Indonesia, the Indonesian government decided to continue promoting Bali as a tourist destination as "tourism in their eyes brought with it all that is bad about modern life and modernization, but could be a force for good if properly managed" (Vickers 240). In this case, tourism would be used to not only boost the Indonesian economy but once again "preserve" the Balinese culture. Just like the Europeans, the Indonesian government did not think of Bali as a culture that has been evolving and changing for thousands of years, but rather one that is so unique and "unchanging" that it needs to be preserved, mostly for the benefit of tourism. It's image as an island paradise was therefore

defined by the Indonesian government as well as the Balinese elite who do not speak for all Balinese but rather a small interest group (Vickers 242) interested in the economic benefit and ultimate social status that would bring.

Once again, In 1965 and 1966 terror struck the island as thousands of Balinese were killed by the Indonesian government for suspicion of communism resulting in yet another grave act of violence at the hands of an outside force. The killings of suspected Balinese communists occurred not only during the day but sometimes at homes in the middle of the night ultimately illustrating the inhumane mentality of those hired to commit these horrendous acts. While Bali was obviously devastated by the death of family members and friends, the media focused on Jakarta, the capital in Java, as the main location of the communist murders. As a result, many tourists had even more of a desire to travel to Bali as they were unaware that murders happened on the small island as well. With tourism starting back up again for the first time since Indonesian independence, the government had a plan to promote Bali's paradise image by presenting "a list of rituals, starting with a cremation ceremony, then outlining the artistic pleasures consisting of dances, paintings from Ubud or the traditional art center of Kamasan, gold and silverwork, and stone carvings" (Vickers 262). This image was presented while arguing that sentimental activities such as trance dances and cock fighting should be minimized or eliminated to ensure that their "nation is not seen as a laughing stock internationally, or as a kind of sexual curio for the satisfaction of voracious western appetites" (266), an argument that was not considered by the Dutch when promoting tourism. While it was their intent to rid Bali's image as an erotic magical island, that image still persisted due to the remaining western mindset concerning stereotypes that continued during this time. The 1930's Dutch perspective of Bali as a perfect paradise without problems was still very much alive leading into the 1960's and 70s with the Indonesian government in control.

### ***Cultural Tourism vs. Touristic Culture***

As the "New Order" of Indonesia came into power under President Suharto in 1967, there were growing ideas that "the invasion of Bali by visitors originating from different horizons was seen as a threat of cultural 'pollution'" (Picard 42). As a result, "the government, heading the advice of the World Bank, commissioned a team of French consultants to draw up a 'Master Plan for the Development of Tourism in Bali'" which included a presentation on their policy of

Cultural Tourism in 1971 (Picard 42). This policy was meant to reinforce Balinese pride in their cultural tradition and identity so that it would not be lost to western culture while tourism continued to increase. The more strict governmental plans for tourism included the creation of a number of rules including signs prohibiting people to enter governmental buildings without proper "well kept" attire, and the categorization of Balinese dances based on their level of sacredness. Rules such as these were meant to organize the separation between the elements of Bali that were and were not catered toward tourism while increasing the image of the touristic elements towards a more structured luxurious illustration. Bali's tourism in the 1970s focused on the Indonesian economy as well as "protecting" Balinese cultural tradition through Cultural Tourism by dropping its image as a "living museum" and adapting methods of organization and structure for the tourism industry. The goal was no longer for the island to be viewed as "untouched" as it had in the 1930's, but rather to be viewed as a destination where foreigners could see culturally "traditional" performances and buy "traditional" Balinese art. At this time, not only were the government and authorities catering to the tourists, but the Balinese people were as well, as tourism proved to be a productive field of employment. For example, by attempting to "widen the gap between the ritual and spectacular aspects of dance", Balinese dances were categorized "in order to prevent the profanation of the 'sacred dances' by indiscriminate exploitation for commercial ends" (Picard 71). Although the presentation of Balinese art was meant to be portrayed as "tradition that has been practiced for centuries" and was believed as such, there had been much development and influence from non-Balinese, including not only the Dutch, but the Indonesian government as well, concerning what tourists were seeing. Through the policy of Cultural Tourism, the tourist view of Balinese culture had become one that had been, despite popular knowledge, molded and influenced by those in power as highlighted by Picard:

"Taking into account the fact that tourist performances are now acknowledged as Balinese tradition, one might be tempted to conclude that, between the seminar of 1971 and the festival of 1979 (Bali Arts Festival), a reversal had taken place in the attitude of the Balinese authorities, who renounced their concern for cultural protection and completely gave into the demands for tourist promotion" (Picard 73).

The government authorities ultimately lost their grip on attempting to prevent foreign "cultural pollution" through Cultural Tourism as tourism began to take hold of almost every aspect of

Balinese life. In the 1980's, tourism was booming with around 600,000 tourists visiting Bali per year therefore affecting not only the image of Bali, but Balinese culture as a whole as well. During this decade, "tourism shifted from being an economic option for Balinese looking for employment, to being the focus of the Balinese economy" (Vickers 271) leading more and more Balinese job opportunities through tourism such as in restaurants, performing arts, studio arts, clothing shops, or as tour guides and taxi drivers. As tourism transitioned to benefit the Balinese themselves, the industry became a part of their culture affecting their income, social status, and forms of entertainment.

At this point, the policy of Cultural Tourism had lost its relevance as Bali's cultural tradition no longer needed to be "protected" from western "contamination" seeing that their culture had now adapted a new foreign element in the form of tourism, just as they had done in the past with Hinduism. The high demand for tourist promotion created the growth of the Balinese middle classes illustrating "a division between the 'haves' and 'have-nots', perceived by Balinese as the ability or failure to get access to the tourist dollars promised in government planning and so frequently displayed in the spending-sprees of the tourists themselves" (Vickers 282). Tourism therefore began to set the bar for job opportunities as well as social status showing both the positive and negative effects that were starting to take place. Although agriculture still held/ holds the majority of Balinese jobs, they are the jobs for those viewed as "lower class", with the "upper class" making large profits off hotel and restaurant businesses located in tourist locations. These high profile jobs revolving around tourism suddenly allowed them to afford new cars and other expensive items demonstrating their social status now based on wealth as well as their desired elements of value. Not only did Cultural Tourism have an influence on the economy and Balinese social status, but on forms of entertainment as well. Balinese ceremonies originally produced to promote tourism including elaborate and glamorous grand scale productions of dance and art, had become very popular for Balinese themselves as seen for example with the Balinese Arts Festival; "this performance is not so much intended for the foreign tourists as for the Indonesians, and even more so for the Balinese themselves, if one considers that they make up the main part of the audience for the festival" (Picard 74). While Cultural Tourism was originally created in order to separate foreign cultural values from Balinese in order to "protect" their culture, it had done just the opposite as aspects of Balinese culture had become largely based on tourism itself. Tourism was no longer a "threat" of "pollution" but rather something that

was embraced and taken advantage of through the perseverance of the Balinese people further showing their identity as a modern nation.

By the 1990's and into the present, Bali had holistically become a touristic culture as the Balinese were no longer separated from tourism but were rather active agents in taking advantage of what the industry had brought them. As tourism had influenced their everyday lives, it was now unnecessary to "separate" it from Balinese "tradition" as all past and present aspects of tourism have come to be a part of Balinese identity and culture. It does not matter who or what has influenced their culture because Balinese society, just like every other, has been changing and evolving over hundreds of years as they make contact and interact with various outside forces. For example, while the same past and present authorities promoting Bali as an "unchanged" land of "tradition" are in actuality the ones that have changed and altered its culture, their influences are no longer relevant as they represent and play a part in Bali's natural state as an eclectic culture of the present. Just as Hinduism was once an outside force attempting to make an impact on Bali's culture, tourism had also once been a foreign element attempting to influence the island and is no longer an outside and separate force. Bali should not be viewed as a "salad bowl" described as a culture made up of many diverse cultural elements, but should rather be viewed as a "melting pot" described as a culture with many diverse cultural elements melted into one entity. As items in a salad bowl can be separated, items in a melting pot cannot. Bali's culture is not one housing separate entities as Cultural Tourism attempted to do, but it one that is constantly evolving as a whole as it comes in contact with new entities as illustrated its adapted element of touristic culture. While Bali's history, like many others, includes war, discrimination, and violence, the Balinese have used it to make them who they are as a nation today.

The reason I greatly stress Bali's current identity as one that *includes* a touristic culture lies in fact that it contributes to the island's image as modern, successful, and active nation of the present rather than one of purely an island paradise in which Balinese are given less agency as seen during its past images of "savage Bali", a "living museum", and "Cultural Tourism". Now having further understood Bali's foreign perspectives and therefore public images leading up to the present, one can better rationalize how its issues have increasingly come about.

### *All Modern States Have Issues*

Although Bali's present day element of touristic culture is one filled with positivity including rich artistic creativity and a wide range of economic opportunities, it is also one that includes environmental, political, and social issues. As mentioned in the previous section, as tourism boomed going into the 1990's, Balinese social status began to depend on the amount of wealth one could acquire from the tourist industry therefore causing some to attempt to gain as much wealth as possible even if it was at the expense of the environment, tourists, or other Indonesians themselves. Unfortunately, the cultural element that Bali so heavily depends on is also the one that has brought it issues illustrated through environmental degradation, political corruption, and social disparities.

In terms of the environment, the building of villas and hotels has degraded Bali's water supply and natural landscape in terms of land and wildlife therefore having a ripple effect on the agricultural industry and ultimately Balinese society. Although I argue that Bali has a touristic culture, this is a description used to illustrate Bali's modern state holistically and does not mean that the culture should not be described in a different way. While yes, the state's economy runs on tourism, not all its people benefit from it or take advantage of its industry as the majority of Balinese work in agriculture. I also want to be clear that the tourism industry consumes only a number of Balinese towns/ cities including Sanur, Seminyak, Legian, Kuta, and Ubud while the remainder, and majority, of Bali exhibits little to no tourism where the sight of a foreigner is rare. Despite tourists being confined to certain locations on the island, the effects of its industry can be seen throughout the entire state as it is such a dominant and integral part of Bali as whole. For example, the overuse of water in tourist locations has caused many irrigation supplies to go dry therefore affecting the success crops and ultimately the lives and source of income for many Balinese. In addition, tourism has increased the amount of resources needed on the island such as energy and building materials therefore producing pollution as well as land degradation from deforestation and mining. Bali's small island, which is only about a two hour drive from coast to coast, does not have the energy or resources to continue expanding tourism both in terms of land covered and resources used. The rivers and beach waters have become littered with trash as the amount and rate of consumption by tourists is not taken seriously enough ultimately affecting the

health of Bali's environment, animals, and people. Warren adds to the issues caused by tourism by stating:

"The Balinese press has for decades focused attention on the damaging consequences of alienation of agricultural land and forest for tourism, real estate, and infrastructure developments, problems of water and electricity shortages soil and coastal erosion, pollution, waste management, poor public transport, as well as corruption of the regulatory system and distortions of capitalist overdevelopment" (Warren 294).

As tourism has brought Indonesia and Bali a significant amount of economic wealth, as by the 1990s hospitality made up 2/3 of the island's economy (Vickers 271), the national and local governments have increasingly become consumed with how it can contribute to their ultimate social status. As Indonesia is forced to compete with other world powers, Bali is forced to uphold its reputation as an important source of income through its touristic culture. In doing so, stress is put on Balinese leaders to make as much wealth as possible therefore resulting in the vast corruption seen in Indonesian and Balinese politics. For example, policemen often take money from foreigners to overlook things like lack of documentation or minor crimes. Officers have also been known to slip drugs into the pockets of foreigners after leaving a club therefore "allowing" them to fine the visitors for their "crime". At a higher level, the Indonesian government has made it illegal for foreigners to get a job in Bali unless they go through a lengthy and stressful political process argued to turn them away from the idea. By preventing foreigners from acquiring a job in Bali, they are led to continue to spend money through the outlets designed for them, therefore benefiting the economy, rather than taking money from the state through their otherwise acquired job. In other words, the government can continue to obtain their spending money rather than hand it out to them. In addition, individuals and businesses want so badly to make an income off the tourist industry, that land is bought and hotels are built at an extremely fast pace despite multiple building regulations and laws (Vickers 291). The lack of law enforcement allows this to happen due to the high rate of bribery, under the table deals, and special interests. Unfortunately, so many deals and transactions are taking place concerning the construction of hotels and resorts that the amount of accommodation is starting to outweigh the amount of tourists. In other words, the supply is outweighing the demand. Unfortunately, the land that is being bought for these projects is often forced out of the hands of its original owners through false statements of persuasion leading to issues of displacement.

In addition, the expansion of tourism has not only forced Balinese to move due to environmental degradation or political corruption, but due to increased cost of living as well resulting in various social disparities. For many Balinese living in now tourist locations, the high cost of living has caused them to either sell their land for a high profit or be bought off ultimately forcing them to leave their home behind. In addition, as previously mentioned, despite laws and regulations forbidding structures to be built within a certain distance from temple sites, hotels and resorts have continuously been built past restricted limits. The disturbance of a sacred temple site is not only undesired for visual reasons, but for spiritual reasons as well. For example, the production developments near the sacred temple of Tanah Lot was completed despite the 1994 implementation of the Edict on Temple Sanctity designed to prevent construction within a two-kilometer radius. As a result, Warren describes her conversation with a local woman concerning a plague of mice that had been tormenting the surrounding rice fields "because the spirits propelling these mouse hordes have lost their proper dwelling place in the sacred sphere of the temple at Tanah Lot" (Warren 304). In this case, the social issues of tourism can be seen through the resulting spiritual unbalance and unrest as well as crop depletion negatively impacting the Balinese who live there. In addition to spirituality and cost of living, there are also social issues relating to the increasing tourist population in terms of attitudes of comfortability. While many Balinese are usually happy to invite tourists to cultural events like weddings and cremations, many sometimes get frustrated when large tourist bus come through the street in the middle of a procession (Vickers 269). Although tourism is the basis of the Balinese economy therefore illustrating their success and prevalence, their agency can also be seen through Balinese attitudes, opinions, and perceptions concerning their issues despite the happy smiling image that the tourist industry displays.

Bali's image abroad has gone from that of "uncivilized savages" during war, to a "living museum" during colonization, to a land of art and "cultural performance" through the start of Cultural Tourism, and presently to the broad image of an "island paradise" during an era where "paradise" can represent anything including palm tree beaches, luxury spa resorts, expensive shopping, jet ski fishing, surfing, spiritual meditation, yoga retreats, rainforest bungalows, or artistic culture. Today, Bali's foreign image has become so broad that it is almost impossible to find something one *cannot* do on its island therefore, for the first time, making Bali's image one that is focused on the foreigner rather than the Balinese. While the objectification and



exploitation of Balinese is no longer the focus of Bali's image, allowing Balinese to truly take advantage of tourism while gaining back their power, the image has now exploded causing a "range of problems and pressures... that are perhaps beyond the ability of the local or even national government" (Vickers 309). By taking the image away from the Balinese and placing on the foreigners themselves, an awareness of Bali as a modern state with environmental, political, and social issues can no longer be recognized by foreigners or even by many Balinese themselves. As the tourist industry is the basis of Balinese economy and social status, Indonesian and Balinese have put focused their attention on Bali's widely expanding selling points causing authorities to largely overlooking the issues at hand that stem from lack of focus on what Bali's image really is. Therefore, I am arguing that Bali's image needs to be one that balances both their touristic culture involving its "island paradise", and their status as a modern evolved state including their history, and rich social and spiritual culture, *and* present issues.

## **Bali's Increasing Range of Advertisements:**

### **A Foreign Reflection**

After having a brief understanding of the issues that are facing Bali that have stemmed from colonization and therefore tourism, I first want to give a short description of why foreigners chose to come to Bali. By having an idea of the of the diverse range of foreign desires and ambitions that cause them to leave their homes, one can better understand the increasing need for Balinese to cater to these many advertisements that Bali's "island paradise" image promotes.

Elizabeth Gilbert, a writer and traveler, first came to Bali to take part in, and ultimately write a piece on, a yoga retreat. The next time she set foot Bali she ended up staying for a total of four months ultimately leading to her internationally popular best-selling novel, *Eat Pray Love* and its resulting Hollywood film starring Julia Roberts. While Gilbert ultimately found love in Bali through the likes of another expat, what really motivated her to leave and travel the world? Throughout the book she goes into detail about her life before leaving the United States including her ex-husband and ex-boyfriend, her overwhelming depression and anxiety, and her lack of satisfaction with her daily routine. Gilbert was not content with the way her life was playing out so naturally decided to travel to Italy, India, then Bali in order to "search for the

balance between worldly pleasure and spiritual devotion" (Gilbert 238). Ultimately, Gilbert illustrates that her reasoning for traveling to Bali was in order to "find herself", work on her mental wellbeing, and become closer with God. Located in Ubud, she was away from the beaches, popular surf, and luxury resorts while fully embracing the quiet, artistic, and spiritual energy that the town is publically known for as foreigners often refer to it as the cultural center of Bali. Although Ubud has a strong history of violence as seen during the civil conflict between those who supported the Republic and those who were pro-Dutch, this history's role in Balinese culture has now been largely overlooked by the tourist industry as much of Ubud is seen for its spiritual and artistic cultural elements.

While foreigners come to Bali/ Ubud for various reasons, their basis for coming is often rooted in their own desires and ambitions to leave their home country and spend time in a foreign one. Out of the nine foreigners that I interviewed, four of them came with the desire to begin a new life with possible career motivations therefore illustrating them as "expats" in addition to one "foreigner" who is the child of expats. The other four initially came to Ubud/ Bali for the pure purpose of entertainment and pleasure as they did consider themselves tourists. In terms of the "expat" category I would like to focus on Sarah, Jade and Scott in particular as their reasons for coming to the island offer an understanding of the diverse range of people that Bali's image appeals to. After hours of interviewing and chatting, Sarah, an American woman in her late twenties shared with me that her main reason for leaving her home was to get away from the family stress and drama that had been consuming her life. While she did come to Bali with a potential advertising job already in place, that job ended up falling through as she had concerns with its management and is currently attempting to start her own online tourist business (2016. in person.). In addition, Jade, a 70 year old retired woman from Australia, shared with me that her reason for coming to Bali stemmed from her thought that there was nothing left for her in Australia. She was not in favor of Australia's materialistic popular culture and wanted to move to Ubud, a place where she felt the most spiritually grounded after visiting a few times before. She loves the artistic culture of Ubud and the pureness of Balinese Hinduism (2014. in person). In contrast to Sarah and Jade, Scott came to Ubud specifically for work. He had been looking for a techy place in which he could further his business in virtual design and found the community in Ubud to be the perfect place to do so as it has a large amount of start-up businesses specializing in virtual reality artistic design. Each of these individuals, including Gilbert, saw Bali as a place

where they could better their lives whether it was for the purpose of escaping discomfort, or pursuing a job. Ubud's advertisements of spirituality and a place of career networking appealed to these individuals.

In terms of those I interviewed who identified as tourists, I would like to focus on Tyler and Ingrid as their reasons for coming to Bali as tourists differ the most. Tyler, a 25-year-old backpacker from Holland, had been traveling across South East Asia for about three months before arriving in Bali. When asking him his reason for traveling, he said that he had just finished his last project in the company he had been working for and decided that this was the time to travel before applying for graduate school. Tyler felt that this was the only time in which he could travel before he had to start his "real life" with a career and family. When I asked about Bali and Ubud specifically, he said that he heard from other backpackers that Bali had amazing waves for surfing, which he spent the majority of his travels doing, and had heard from a friend that Ubud was a "chill" and relaxing place to be therefore causing him to visit the town. Ingrid, a woman in her 40s also from Holland, first came to Bali on an organized tour for a holiday after being invited by her friend. During the tour she fell in love with Ubud and has been coming back every year or so since and staying for about three weeks each time. When I asked her why she continues to come to Ubud, she told me that she feels as if Bali is her home and that she was born in the wrong country. Ingrid mentioned that she continues to go to Ubud because that is where the Balinese "culture" is seen and felt the most as that is her favorite part of Bali.

In considering all these reasons for coming to Bali/ Ubud, whether it is to get away from home, see the world, pursue a career, or be exposed to a different culture, what does this say or reflect about the culture or society we are coming from? For some, including Tyler, it may reflect a sort of "coming of age" journey in which those, usually with western backgrounds, in their twenties and early thirties "backpack" around certain parts of the world. For this group, coming to Bali illustrates a part of western culture that leads young adults to leave their family and homeland behind for weeks or months of traveling across the world with nothing but a backpack. Accompanied is the desire to escape "real life" in their home countries and pursue one without the responsibilities of a career and family that their home countries so outwardly pride themselves on. For others, coming to Bali may reflect discontent in the social structure of their home lives. In the case of Sarah, Jade, Ingrid (after her first visit) and even Elizabeth Gilbert, they were finding the need to get away from the lack of satisfaction that their western lifestyles

gave them and move to a place where their burdens could be lifted. They desired a different life so badly that they moved to a different country in order to find it. Others may view their career as the most important element in their life leading them to move from their home country in order to pursue it as seen with Scott.

Overall, people come to Bali/ Ubud and travel for so many various reasons that it is impossible to put those reasons into boxes. But nevertheless, these reasons for coming reflect where they come from and what type of society it is. Whether it is a society that stresses success and family building, materialistic pop culture, or both, all societies that foreigners come from advertise world travel or else none of my interviewees would have come to Bali. Bali has become a place to escape your stress or discontent, pursue a career, and expose yourself to a different culture all through its various accommodations, forms of entertainment, and career outlets. In addition, the island's selling points for tourists range from scuba diving to feeding monkeys, luxury villas to Balinese dance performances, boat fishing to yoga retreats, and shopping to camel rides. As the number of foreigners traveling to Bali increase, the number of individual images of Bali increase as well and therefore so do their promotions of the island. With continuing globalization and the wealth of western countries on the rise, individuals are able to fulfill their ambitions and desires in a variety of nations other than their own. In order to Bali to keep up with the increasing number of foreign desires and therefore maintain their successful tourist industry, they have begun to exhaust their resources by honing in on foreign appeal. While Bali in previous years had a specific selling point, it today has lost its focus on what its selling point is as its advertisements have significantly grown in range of diversity (Vickers 307). These various reasons for coming to Bali have created not only stress for Balinese people as they now have to cater to multiple diverse selling points, but stress for Bali's environment, politics, and society as a whole well as issues have arisen without an organized plan to follow concerning tourism. Ultimately, Bali's image needs to be one that not only caters to not only tourism, but to Bali's identity as a prevalently modern nation with a history of violence in addition to strength and perseverance. By taking the image of Bali away from solely the importance of the foreigner and bringing it back to that of the Balinese as well, the public perception of Bali will include one of respect and success therefore bringing attention to elements that do not meet those descriptions. After having reviewed some examples of why foreigners chose to come to Bali and its associated wide range of appealing advertisements to

foreigners, I will next discuss the diverse perspectives that foreigners currently have of Bali and the ways in which they contribute to Bali's current image of an "island paradise". In doing so, the unequal power dynamics between the foreigner and Balinese brought about by the tourist industry must be addressed as well as they directly affect Bali's public image as a whole and therefore influence the rate at which Bali's issues are being addressed.

## **Unequal Power Dynamics**

Due to Bali's touristic image as solely an island paradise, many foreigners are unaware of the environmental degradation, political corruption, or social disparities that are present as a result of tourism. As Bali attempts to call out and reach a widely diverse range of people, its advertisement of tourism is beginning to be spread too thin therefore leading authorities to largely ignore the issues of the state. Having said this, while I am in no way blaming the foreigners and tourists as contributing to Bali's issues, their perceived image of Bali can have a holistic effect on the continuation or regress of Bali's issues. Firstly, while Bali's external image as an "island paradise" is wonderfully accurate, this image is not is not all what the island embodies. In order for Bali's image as a "prevalently modern nation" as well, foreigners need to reflect on their perceptions of Bali in order to determine if their personal image has been influenced by stereotypes of any kind. Unfortunately, Bali's public image today *is* one that is rooted in colonization and therefore does contain discriminatory stereotypes that have persisted leading into the present. For example, the world has categorized nations with terminology such as "Developed" and "Developing", and "First World" and "Third World" therefore leading to Indonesia largely being seen as inferior compared to other states based on these terminologies that realistically give no description for what the nation actually embodies. With Indonesia falling under the "inferior" categories of "Developing" and "Third World", the majority of foreigners' home countries, such as within North America and Europe, fall under the "superior" categories of "Developed" and "First World" resulting in inaccurate discriminatory stereotypes. This example is one that demonstrates how Europe's historical identity as colonists driven by the personal desire for power at the expense of others have affected international images of nations today. By labeling the "Third World" countries as the "other", the "First World" countries, or dominant group "abrogates itself from any need to examine, describe or justify itself" (Sarra,

2011, p. 52) as previously demonstrated by the colonizers and the colonized. Unfortunately, these resulting stereotypes have unconsciously brought preconceived mentalities of race and nationality into the present day despite Indonesia's independence and Balinese' natural status as active agents in their own lives. Walten et al. states, "race-based differences should not be taken into account when decisions are made, impressions are formed and behaviors are enacted (2014, 113)" and that "any occurrences of racism are treated as abhorrent manifestations of a past that need to immediately be denounced..." (117). By adding the image of Bali as a modern and evolved nation with a similar history and success of that of its visitors, to its current image as a tourist destination, the island will be further seen as equal rather than inferior therefore tearing down discriminatory based stereotypes. In doing so, Bali's modern status can be seriously recognized by not only foreigners but authorities as well therefore causing their *issues* to be recognized and ultimately addressed. This image cannot be achieved unless it is first adopted by individual foreigners themselves as they are key to maintaining Bali's international image as a whole.

### ***Observations: Wealth & Social Class***

When I first arrived in Ubud, I noticed a distinct separation between Balinese and foreigners as the foreigners can be seen walking the streets, eating at the restaurants, and shopping in the shops while the Balinese can be seen driving taxis on the streets, serving the food at the restaurants, and selling the clothes in the shops. In that moment of first walking through Ubud, I was witnessing the product of colonization, foreign mindsets, and Balinese success wrapped into what is today's modern tourist industry of Bali. Bali did look like an island paradise. The Balinese people were smiling while catering to the need of every foreigner whether it was through taxi rides, restaurant service, hotel service, retail service, or entertainment of "traditional" dance performances. Meanwhile, the foreigners were completely taking advantage of it by enjoying the cheap food, clothing, and accommodation with the Balinese waiting at their hand and foot with a groups of women offering massages on almost every block. After having lived with a Balinese family in the rural, non-touristic, village of Kerambitan for three months prior to coming to Ubud, it was somewhat of a shock to see the extent to which tourism dominated the area, the extent to which they attempted to maintain their "island paradise" image, and the overwhelmingly distinct separation between Balinese and foreigners. Ubud's external

image of an island paradise was very successful as the Balinese working in the tourist industry are obvious professionals at their job.

If one chooses to see it, there are obvious unequal power dynamics between the foreigners and Balinese mostly revolving around the Balinese working to make an income while the foreigners spend theirs on entertainment and pleasure. As I spent more time in Ubud, I began to see the lengths that some Balinese in Ubud would go to make even small amounts of cash such as waiting on the street throughout the entire day, asking almost everyone that passes if they need a taxi ride; or the significant amount of women and children walking the streets attempting to sell paper fans. In addition, around 7:00 pm every evening, women with sleeping children sit on the sidewalks begging the tourists for money with at least two women on every street. The majority of the time the foreigners walk by attempting to ignore the women with one arm stretched out palm facing up and the other holding a sleeping child. While walking back to my hostel from a cafe one evening after about two and a half weeks of living in Ubud, one of the begging women asked me for a bottle of water by pointing to the one I had in my hand as I passed. I looked at her and her child, who was the first child I had seen that was awake, and told her yes, I would buy her three large bottle of water from the convenient store across the street. The woman seemed very thankful as she held her smiling child. In describing this situation, I want to be clear that the overwhelming majority of Balinese working in tourist destination are confident and successful middle-class individuals that, just like in any city, have an unemployed population. This example is purely meant to bring awareness of the range of unequal power relations seen between foreigners and Balinese that were very visibly in my favor as I, a student from America who had the resources to fly to a foreign country to further my education, had enough money to buy a woman and her (possible) child a bottle of water that was much needed. Because it is impossible to know the extent to which these women take advantage of foreigners, ultimately showing their agency, that element of concern remains irrelevant as the obvious unequal power dynamics still persist as I, the foreigner, am clearly viewed as the individual with wealth and therefore status. Not only does this contribute to Bali's external stereotype as "inferior", but it demonstrates the social issues facing Bali concerning wealth and social status as well; "the problem for Balinese in the travel business has not been the number of tourists, but finding ways to control the presentation of Bali, especially so that the benefits flow to Balinese" (Vickers 303). These women ultimately demonstrate how the amount of wealth one obtains from

tourism determines social class and therefore reflects the diverse foreign perspectives of power relations resulting from the lack of attention on Bali's true identity and the increasing focus on tourism.

With the individuals trying to make money off the street in mind, the initial outward image of Bali's paradise slightly fades as foreigners are exposed to the issues facing Bali. Walking through the streets of central Ubud every day, it is almost impossible to walk for five minutes without being asked, "taxi?!" at least three times. These visually eager individuals are those who are attempting to make an income off the tourists' spending money that so many other Balinese have successfully made a profit on. Their desire and visual eagerness to make a profit does take away from Bali's image as an island paradise as it demonstrates the Balinese income inequality that "varies according to knowledge of English, age, attitude and contacts with foreigners" (Vickers 271). While it illustrates one of the issues present in Bali today, it also illustrates the agency that Balinese have as they are not just "a group of happy, smiling people always ready to cater to the needs of tourists" (Vickers 266) but rather people with real lives and a desire for income. Once again, I am not arguing that Bali should cease being viewed as a touristic island paradise but that its image should be a balance between that of a tourist destination that of a modern nation. While Bali has an element touristic culture meaning that it is a modern state that is fully effected economically, politically, and socially by tourism as its core, it is not only a land for foreigners, but a land where Balinese make a living, practice their faith, raise families, and deal with everyday issues. For those who choose to observe it, there are obvious unequal power dynamics in Ubud/ Bali that lean in the favor of the foreigner. Menzies and Gilbert state that "... social privileges of whiteness are invisible to those who benefit from them; it is so normal that it is not even recognized as occurring" (2013, 52) which in this case refers to the tourists and expats in Ubud who are mostly of European-caucasian descent. . Through addressing individual examples in which these unequal power dynamics are perceived, further understanding can be given concerning the extent to which they contribute to Bali's image as solely an "island paradise" and therefore begin to describe how they can further contribute to its additional image as a "prevalently modern nation".



### *Diverse Perspectives of Foreigners*

In terms of the present day foreigners, the range of individuals in Bali from different countries, backgrounds, families, societies, and cultures is diverse leading to equally diverse reasons for coming to Bali, views of Bali, and perspectives of Balinese culture. After having done the textual and observational research into Ubud's history and present, it was time to acquire personal perspectives of Bali's current image as described by foreigners themselves. By acquiring these individual perspectives of Bali's current, very broad and diverse, image one can begin to understand the ways in which its image can be altered to one that is a balance between that of tourism and that of a modern state in order to ultimately address Bali's issues as a whole. The unequal power dynamics seen between foreigners and Balinese is key to understanding the extent to which foreign stereotypes still persist therefore assisting in determining the current state of Bali's image and the way in which it can be shifted. Through nine interviews, I asked questions concerning the way in which they justify being in Ubud/Bali while taking part in the unequal power dynamics that often lean in their favor. In other words, to what extent are these foreigners aware of the unequal power dynamics in Ubud/ Bali, and how do they react to them? While it is almost impossible to fit the wide range of opinions and mentalities into categories, I was able to outline the diverse viewpoints into a spectrum of perspectives. On one end, there are those who mostly ignore the unequal power dynamics, whether conscious of them or not, and therefore take full advantage of fulfilling their personal desires and ambitions for their own benefit. On the other end of the spectrum are those who are fully aware of the unequal power dynamics and in recognizing they lean in their favor, choose to spend their time giving back to the Balinese community through acts of charity. In more of the center of the spectrum, as a possible mix between the two ends, there are those who are aware of the unequal power dynamics but do not necessarily act on them meaning they neither take full advantage for their own benefit nor spend their time "giving back", but are rather just present in their lives.

Having said this, I want to be clear that the following analysis of foreign perspectives based on my research, observations and interviews was done with the pure intention of bringing awareness to persisting stereotypes and mentalities that still persist in Bali as a result of colonization in order to further understand Bali's current public image. I am in no way attempting to discredit the obvious beneficial outcomes of colonization that have made Bali into

the thriving nation it is today, but am rather attempting to bring to light the negative impacts that are largely overlooked, including that of its colonial past and resulting discriminatory stereotypes. In addition, the following examples are just a few types of perspectives, as each individual differs, in a very long and complicated topic relating to diversity and unequal power relations. They are not meant to put individuals into boxed categories, as this is impossible, but rather make it easier to understand this very complicated and extensive topic. Lastly, I am not attempting to discredit tourists and expects as all individuals have the right to pursue their desires and ambitions no matter the purpose. I am only attempting to shed light on how colonization has led to issues in Bali that may soon be detrimental to its thriving culture, and therefore highlight how we as foreigners can help prevent them from furthering by bringing awareness to the role that we play in their tourist industry.

### **TAKING ADVANTAGE & PERSONAL BENEFIT: UNCONSCIOUS SUPERIORITY**

As described in the first section, people come to Bali for diverse reasons, but all come because they have been convinced to do so through some form of advertisement or promotion (this does not include the children of foreigners who were born here). By staying in a hostel, I was exposed to foreigners from various Western countries, all around the average age of 25, who were almost always traveling alone with the hopes of fulfilling their own ambitions and desires through the act of travel. Tyler, whom I met at the hostel and is from Holland (Dutch), had first heard about Bali from his grandfather who was a soldier in the Indonesian war during the colonial period. Despite this connection, Tyler knew very little about the island before he began his three month trip around the world until arriving in Vietnam where, upon meeting other backpackers heard that Bali had amazing volcanoes, an incredible party scene, and unbelievable surfing therefore enticing him to visit. After asking if there was anything he experienced here that surprised him, he responded by saying that the Balinese people were much more "into their religion" than he had thought which was something he was not as interested in. When asking about his knowledge of the role of the Dutch in promoting Bali as a tourist destination, he stated that "we [westerners] teach them [Balinese] how the world works so they won't be like Zimbabwe" and that "we still have a lot of pressure on the country... The people can't make their own decisions" but "it takes time to develop. We can't force them to be like us". In addition, when asking how he thought the Balinese perceived tourists, he responded by describing how he feels like a god when Indonesians ask to take a picture with him which makes him feel "really

famous" (2016. in person.). . Overall, Tyler knew very little about Balinese culture in terms of its historical violence, religion, and politics and viewed Bali based on its volcanoes, nightclubs, and "good surf" therefore illustrating him as an individual who saw Bali's image as purely a tourist destination. In terms of power relations, he took advantage of them through his feeling of superiority as a westerner as illustrated by his reference to Indonesia as "needing help" and "not being able to make their own decisions" as if inferior to western nations. Tyler also benefited from the unequal power relations seen by his feelings as a "god" therefore illustrating the enjoyment that his privileged status as a foreigner brings him. Tyler's image of Bali as a destination for surfing and partying shows his lack of consideration for Balinese agency and therefore its image as a modern eclectic state.

In addition to Tyler, during my interview with Sarah, she described statements made by her previous boss including, "Balinese people are here to serve you" and, "they don't work hard enough to be entrepreneurs" (2016 in person). This description of Sarah's boss is another example of an individual who sees Balinese as inferior to foreigners therefore exemplifying a persisting colonial stereotype. Through both examples, the individuals justified their presence in Bali by means of their own beneficial desires and ambitions through the view, even if unconscious, of Balinese as inferior. These are great examples of how advertisements of Bali are targeting a variety of diverse people with different interests as Tyler's image of Bali was based on entertainment while Sarah's boss's was career based; "most tourists see very little of Balinese culture, even the growing expatriate community on the island is relatively isolated from exposure to that... Problems have arisen because the tourists are not only from Australia... all with very different expectations" (Vickers 302). Despite the differences in interests, both were fulfilling their personal ambitions for their own benefit. While this is not a negative critique of those who come to Bali to fulfill their personal desires, as that is one of the main purposes of traveling as both a tourist and expat, it is a critique of the mindset that Bali is nothing but an island paradise where the people are inferior and therefore there "to serve you". Bali should not only be promoted as a place where there are *purely* entertainment and career opportunities, but a place that has an inspiring yet violent history and rich culture filled with intelligent people dedicated to their work, religion, and family as well. Not just one, but both of these images should be presented so that a clearer image is given portraying the reality of Bali's modern culture and therefore its issues.

## **FULL AWARENESS, "GIVING BACK" AND "WHITE GUILT"**

While some foreigners use the unequal power dynamics seen in Bali for their own personal benefit and therefore take advantage, others use them to benefit the Balinese community. Rather than ignoring their position of privilege, some individuals are fully aware of it and therefore use it to "give back" through acts of charity. While this perspective comes from a place of good intentions, it is important for these individuals to be self-reflective in order to be sure they are truly benefiting the desires of those in need rather than themselves; they must evaluate the extent to which their help is needed. For those western foreigners that are aware of Dutch colonization, there sometimes comes the desire to "save" the "infortune" that has come upon Balinese. In some cases as a result, these foreigners feel the need to "help" the Balinese in anyway they can whether it is through giving money to the poor, opening an orphanage, creating an organization for the disabled, or helping the health of Bali's stray dogs. This type of mentality is commonly known as "white guilt" or the "white savior complex" referring to similar situations in areas like the United States in which the "white colonizer" with a history of being the oppressor feels so horribly for the Indigenous group that was historically oppressed that they: 1) adopt aspects of this group's culture into their own lives in order to ease their guilt; and 2) feel the need to assist the group in aspects of their life that might now need "saving". In doing this, the individual unconsciously takes power and agency away from the group therefore reinforcing the "superior" and "inferior" mentality that they were so thoroughly trying to escape. If a foreigner becomes the voice for the group, this further portrays (inaccurately) their image as weak or incapable of power and leadership. In order to prevent taking the voice and power away from the Balinese, those who have the desire to "give back" must do so to through careful determination of what elements truly need assistance. The concern is that Bali's image will cease to move towards one of a modern progressed state and back to one of a "helpless" people in need the "protection" of a more "superior" power that was present during Dutch colonization.

Ingrid is a perfect example of an individual who is fully aware of the unequal power dynamics and therefore chooses to use this awareness to "give back" to the Balinese community. For example, she stated that she gives good tips to the staff, never bargains for taxis, makes donations to the Ubud dog shelter, and brings clothes from home to give to those that are poor both personally and through various charity foundations in Ubud. In addition to "giving back", Ingrid has taken part in non-touristic Balinese ceremonies such as Nyepi, Ogoh Ogoh,

cremations, and weddings and is very knowledgeable of non-touristic elements such as the many issues facing the island including the Reclamation (in which a large area of land is being built for development space and is predicted to negatively affect the environment and surrounding Balinese community). In addition, Ingrid stated that she not only loves Balinese culture, but feels as though she was born in the wrong country of Holland (Dutch) and was meant to be born in Bali as it "is more suitable" for who she is and what she believes in; she comes to Bali "and especially Ubud because it feels like home and that feeling grows stronger and stronger". Ingrid later mentions, "when I am in Holland, I really miss Bali and I am not that happy anymore. Like I am not complete"(2016. in person). After hearing this statement, I could not help but consider that Ingrid's Dutch nationality and ancestry, not to mention her grandfather's role in the Dutch/Balinese war, contributed to her love and interest in non-touristic aspects of Balinese culture as well as her desire to "give back".

Her image of Bali includes its oppressive and violent past through descriptions from her grandfather's participation in the war in Indonesia which left him traumatized and never wanting to return. After her description of some conversations she had had with Balinese concerning Dutch colonization, she states, "It seems like Indonesian people can let go the bad things the Dutch did, unlike the Dutch people because they still hate and judge the Germans about World War II" (2016. in person.). This statement made me further consider Ingrid's possible mentality of "white guilt" as seen through the dislike of her home country and her desire to both take part in or adapt to Balinese artistic and religious culture, as well as help or "save" those who her descendants oppressed. While the Balinese are in control of and have the voice of power over their own culture as they are the ones presenting and benefiting from it, this is not always the outward image that is given to foreigners. Ingrid's image is one rooted in the guilt of her Dutch heritage therefore leading her to justify her presence in Bali, in terms of the unequal power dynamics, through her embodiment of its traditional culture and offering of charity donations. While, the four Balinese that I interviewed were very grateful for "assistance" from foreigners and were glad to include them in their ceremonies, one must be aware of the image that is outwardly portrayed by having a "giving back" mentality. Although Ingrid's image is not consumed by that of a touristic island paradise, but it is one that unconsciously illustrates Balinese as those who are underprivileged offering only their rich artistic and religious culture or their incapacities. Yes, Balinese modern culture should be recognized for its issues and

appreciated for its religion and arts, but Balinese should also be appreciated for their achievements as doctors, lawyers, teachers, government officials, and not to mention professional business workers in terms of tourism. While there is poverty in Bali, there is also an unfathomable amount of poverty in the United States, not only a "First World" country, but the wealthiest country in the world. Every country should be seen as equal without preconceived hierarchies or stereotypes which external images play such a large role in promoting. While those foreigners working to "give back" in Bali are doing so with nothing but good intentions, they need to do so with self-reflection and strong consideration for the extent at which the help is needed while being careful not to be the "savior" and therefore reinforce the "superior" and "inferior" mentality. In this case, while there is full awareness of the unequal power dynamics as well as Bali's issues, there is a lack of self-reflection leading to unconscious reinforced images of Bali as "unprogressed" and "incapable" and therefore "inferior". Bali's issues need to be addressed through the balance of its image as a modern nation of equal status and that of a touristic island paradise.

#### **AWARENESS & LACK OF ACTION: ETHNOCENTRISM**

Lastly, there are those who are more in between the perspectives of Tyler and Ingrid concerning how they justify being in a culture with unequal power dynamics that lean in their favor. These individuals are aware of the unequal power dynamics but neither take full advantage of their power privilege for their own benefit nor use their power privilege to "give back" but rather are just present. For example, these following quotes from Elizabeth Gilbert's *Eat Pray Love* successfully illustrate her perspectives on the unequal power dynamics in Bali and her place within them. The quotes follow her in depth description of Bali's history of violence, discrimination, and oppression as seen through colonization, war, and the 1965-1966 mass murders carried out by the Indonesian government:

"In reality though, it turns out that Bali has had exactly as bloody and violent and oppressive a history as anywhere else on this earth where human beings have ever lived... So to gauze this island's history today in a dream of paradise is a bit insulting to its reality; its not like these people have spent the last millennium just sitting around smiling and singing happy songs... " (Gilbert 236-237).

"When the Indonesian Government decided to reinvent Bali for the international tourist market as 'The Island of the Gods', launching a massively successful campaign, darker elements of history were overlooked. And have remained overlooked since."

"Wait -- why did i come to Bali again? To search for the balance between worldly pleasure and spiritual devotion, right? Is this, indeed, the right setting for such a research? Do the Balinese truly inhabit that peaceful balance, more than anyone else in the world? I mean they look balanced, what with all the dancing and praying and feasting and beauty and smiling, but I don't know what's actually going on under there. The policemen really do wear flowers tucked behind their ears, but there's corruption all over the place in Bali, just like in the rest of Indonesia (as I found out firsthand the other day when I passed a uniformed man a few hundred bucks under-the-table cash to illegally extend my visa so I could stay in Bali for four months, after all). But whatever the Balinese need to do in order to hold their own balance (and make a living) is entirely up to them. What I'm here to do is work on my own equilibrium, and this still feels, at least for now, like a nourishing climate in which to do that. For now, all I know for certain is that I love the house I have rented and the people in Bali have been gracious to me without exception" (Gilbert 238).

Here, not only does Gilbert recognize the Dutch and Indonesian governments' role in promoting tourism as a way to "overlook" "darker elements of history", but she also questions her presence on the island as she begins to realize the unequal power dynamics at play as well as her status as an individual they cater to. Although she starts to understand that Bali's advertisement as an island paradise with happy smiling people is just an outward image promoted by government authorities, she also understands that Balinese are modern day people with modern day issues and ways of making a living. Despite this newfound recognition, Gilbert goes right back into her novel and main storyline of searching "for the balance between worldly pleasure and spiritual devotion" and ultimately does not act on her awareness of the unequal power dynamics. Gilbert does not take advantage of her privilege of being a foreigner in a way that presents Balinese as inferior, nor does she spend the majority of her time "giving back" to the community.

Unfortunately, although Gilbert is aware of the unequal power dynamics at play as well as Bali's past and present issues and conflicts, her choice to not act on them while continuing with her personal ambitions causes her in-depth knowledge of Bali's history to be blurred resulting in frustration. By failing to drop her preconceived western mentalities before coming to Ubud, Gilbert becomes frustrated with a Balinese woman after she attempts to "scam" Gilbert for more

money after already receiving thousands of U.S. dollars as a gift for a new house. From a western and therefore ethnocentric mindset, being tricked into giving money would rightfully be frustrating. But from a Balinese mindset, it is common, and even expected to attempt to acquire as much money as possible from a foreigner despite their reason for being there. As a result of this situation, Gilbert's image of Bali became hindered with that of frustration as her ethnocentric mentality got the way of understanding Balinese social culture involving tourism and foreigners. Having said this, I would also like to mention the fact that this incident as well as Gilbert's realization of Bali's violent history, which are so thoroughly illustrated in the novel, were completely left out of the Hollywood film. If Hollywood were to include "negative" elements of Bali's history and social culture, not only would Bali's image of an "island paradise" would be hindered, but foreigners would be forced to recognize Bali as a modern state with modern people who need to make a living. In other words, foreigners would be forced to reevaluate their image of Bali (as Gilbert did in her book) and therefore their commonly unconscious ethnocentric mentalities leading to stereotypes and associated with unequal power relations.

In similarity to Gilbert, both Sarah and Jade demonstrated a significant amount of awareness for the unequal power dynamics in Bali by mentioning not only how the tourist industry caters to foreigners therefore giving them status, but how most tourists are here because they could afford to by choice while the Balinese work to make a living. Although both individuals have extensive knowledge of many aspects of Bali such as its historical, religious, cultural, political, and environmental culture including its issues, they have chosen to take little part in it as they continue to focus on their own lives and careers. As a result of this, they are both treated like typical tourists by local Balinese as they are still asked if they need a taxi, massage, or paper fan while walking down the street despite their expat status. During my interview with Sarah, she mentioned that this treatment causes her to feel "like a walking ATM" and added that the majority of positive interactions she has had with Balinese are usually the shallow ones because "once you start to get really involved [with Balinese] most are just interested in money and they show it". In addition, Sarah stated, "I don't like to be friends with the [Balinese] guys I see regularly that are my age because all want is a 'white girl' and it creeps me out. I understand the historical implication of colonialism and western beauty standards but this is beyond that" (2016. in person.). In this case, Sarah demonstrates her frustration with the way Balinese perceive her in terms of wealth and social status as a foreigner. This frustration



with Balinese treating her as a tourist reflects her frustration with not only common popular techniques for making an income, but with common elements of social culture as well. While Sarah sees Bali as a modern and progressed state, her perspective on the unequal power dynamics is blurred, like Gilbert's, by her lack of understanding of Balinese social culture due to her masking American view of social culture. Vickers states that "most of the longer-term expats in these developments live in isolation from Balinese village communities, an isolation reinforced by the fact that, unlike earlier generations of foreign residents, knowledge of Indonesian, let alone Balinese, is rare" (Vickers 304).

While both Sarah and Jade have careers in Ubud, Sarah in the marketing business and Jade as a natural healer, they both chose to live in Ubud due to its advertisement as a spiritual center. Balinese spirituality is one of the diverse advertisements projected to tourists by Bali therefore contributing to its lack of focus on what the island's selling point is. Although both Sarah and Jade live in Bali, they are still living in a touristic town referred to as the "cultural center" of Bali with an emphasis on spirituality and art. In addition, Ubud contains one of the largest expat communities in Bali therefore separating them from the Balinese community even further. The irony in Sarah's statements lie in the notion that she is frustrated by the unequal power dynamics as she feels that she is being taken advantage of although she is the one that chooses to live in Bali and take part in the advertised spirituality Ubud has to offer. In addition, Jade, expressed significant frustration with Bali's corruption and her inability to work legally as a healer due to Indonesia's strict laws preventing foreigners to hold jobs (2016. in person). Although she continues to work, her frustration continues as Balinese do not sympathize with her or understand that she does not want to take part in the tourist aspect of Bali. Like Sarah, this frustration is ironic as she also does not want to be treated like a tourist despite her continuing choice to live in a tourist town and take tourist and other expat clients. She, and Sarah, recognize their privilege to be able to work in Bali in as well as their privilege as foreigners in a location that caters to them but still unconsciously maintain their ethnocentric mentalities when addressing Balinese social culture. Despite their recognition of the issues facing Bali, they do not act on them but rather focus on themselves and the issues facing them personally. Both Sarah and Jade are attempting to continue their own ideal lifestyle in a state that may be visually appealing to them as they chose to live here, but sometimes forget that while the culture is catered to them, it is catered to them with specific pre-determined agenda. While relationships

are sometimes formed between foreigners and Balinese, one must remember that it is rooted purpose is usually for personal economic interest, and therefore cannot judge Balinese attitudes for not fulfilling the foreign expectation. By choosing to live in Bali, one must completely erase any preconceived or ethnocentric mentalities they have concerning social relations in order to further see Bali as a nation of its own and not one that is purely catered to foreigners therefore contributing to Bali's realistic identity as a prevalently modern nation.

## **Conclusion**

Throughout the past few hundred years, globalization has brought us so many beneficial opportunities with one of them being tourism. The development of tourism has allowed individuals to escape problems at home, pursue a career, and be exposed to a different culture all while fulfilling their own desires and ambitions. While tourism has brought pleasure and happiness, ones must consider not only the role they play as a tourist, but how this industry that brings them such pleasure came about. As the world continues to grow smaller as media and technology bring us closer together, the necessity to know one's place, identity, and status in the world becomes increasingly significant. While many choose to overlook it, Europe's history of colonization, based on a mentality of superiority, led to and gave justification discrimination of multiple diverse cultures and lands. While Europe's acts of colonization are largely in the past, the effects of their actions can still be seen today through persisting, though commonly unconscious, stereotypes and their resulting issues.

In the case of Bali, violent acts of colonization produced one of the most extreme cases of oppression in which, after being viciously attacked and murdered by the Dutch, Balinese were forced to be prisoners on their own land while their suppression was inspected and studied by Europeans. The typical civilized Balinese way of life was viewed as so inferior to the Europeans that it was deemed as uncivilized to the point where Balinese were treated as not only animals, but as prehistoric artifacts in a museum. The domination over Balinese not only reinforced their highly satisfying status of superiority, but allowed them to degrade the "uncivilized creatures" even more by following through with and profiting off the image of a "living museum". Westerners from all over paved to get a glimpse of the "prehistoric artifacts" as the Balinese remained as prisoners on their own land meanwhile being portrayed as having a social status

equal to that of an endangered species. As the reality of Balinese as prisoners and victims of violent attacks would turn the paying visitors away, the oppression was "covered up" as seen through the construction of a hotel on top of a murder site; and thus began the overwhelmingly projected "cover up" of Bali through its image of an island paradise.

While the Dutch colonizers ultimately returned to their country leaving Bali to eventually turn tourism into a profit machine of their own through their persisting strength and intellect, their image is still that of a touristic island paradise. Although Balinese have persevered and risen up despite their violent past, their image to foreigners is still one largely based on degrading stereotypes concerning their "primitive" rituals or "traditional dances". For others, Balinese are not even included in Bali's image as its promotion has been taken over by beach resorts, nightclubs, and yoga retreats. In this case, the Balinese "primitive" stereotype has taken such form that the Balinese people have been forgotten altogether portraying them either as literally a people of the past, only heard of through conversation. Despite these stereotypes, Balinese are modern agents in their own lives as they not only professionals in the tourist industry, but are lawyers, doctors, teachers, politicians, scientists, and scholars. Despite Bali's status as a modern nation, foreign nations largely see them as "inferior" and "unintelligent" as a result of persisting colonial stereotypical mindsets which are even further reinforced by Bali's tourist image as an "island paradise". By being aware of these stereotypes, one can not only begin or continue to project the real identity of Balinese, but therefore work to shift Bali's public image away that of the "superior" foreigner to that of a nation of equal status. In doing so, Bali's foreign image of modern strength will begin to be reflected onto the nation its self therefore working to address its issues of environmental degradation, political corruption, and social disparities.

Although today it may not be holistically based on a "living museum", Bali's present image projected to foreigners is one that is still rooted in the necessity to "cover up" any negativity that may turn visitors away meant to maintain their successful economy and flow of income. While most Balinese in the tourist industry are so concerned with the increasing range of advertisements they need to uphold, it is up to the foreigner to recognize their role as those the Balinese are attempting to cater to and the image that role portrays to others. By recognizing Bali's colonial history, one can further reflect on their perspective of Bali and determine to what extent it has been influenced by colonial thought or portrayal. In doing so, one can work to adjust

their personal image of Bali and therefore begin to uncover Bali's holistic image of an island paradise with smiling faces and see further into its realistic image of a touristic culture as well as a modern state with agency. If Balinese are taken seriously as intelligent successful people with a discriminatory past, people, including foreign and Indonesian, will begin to recognize the resulting environmental, political, and social issues as effects of colonization and work to address them. As tourism remains the dominating outlet for Bali's foreign image, it is up to the foreigner to begin the movement to evolve Bali's image as solely an island paradise, to one of a modern progressed state complete with successful career outlets, competitive universities, a history of war, a thriving religion, and a touristic culture. While in this study I focus on the touristic image of Bali, there are a variety of pathways and connections that would be beneficial to explore further concerning stereotypes, unequal power dynamics, and present motivations for travel. In doing so, further references can be made concerning direct links to the causes of Bali's issues therefore allowing greater progression to be made involving their recognition and ultimate prevention.

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