

Transformation of baliseering into *ajeg bali*: Comodification of bali in exotic tourism industry

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Abstract. This study aims to: (1) understand the commodity of the tourism industry on Baliseering and *Ajeg Bali* Program; (2) analyze the transformation that occurred in the commodification of Bali. The current research referred to Historical Method with the following steps: heuristics (data collection), source criticism (validity of data sources), interpretation (interpreting data into facts), and historiography (in a critical perspective). The results showed that there is a relationship between The Baliseering Program and *Ajeg Bali* Movement, namely there is a transformation of the *zeitgeist* to commercialize the exotic Balinese culture. The exotic culture of Bali was preserved as a cultural tourism commodity by the Dutch government, while in the post-colonial times Bali was totally commodified, not only its exotic culture but also land, customs, and religious system. The ideological conflicts among the Balinese people are continuously used as the background of this commodification of Bali. Continuous capitalism (mimicry) occupied a special position in these two movements. The discourse Baliseering and *Ajeg Bali* are seen as counterproductive discourse taking the account of *zeitgeist* and *cultuurgebudenheit* (the spirit of the times and the cultural ties of the times). However, as the investors and authorities have an interest on it, the tourism industry can be implemented and justified.

Keyword: *Baliseering; Ajeg Bali*; Cultural transformation.

1. Introduction

The promising potential of the Bali tourism industry prompted the Dutch colonial government to issue a Baliseering Policy. The policy aimed to preserve Bali, making it a living museum. To protect Bali from outside influences, the Dutch even canceled the plantation project on West Bali [1] and blocked the progress of the Balinese society, led by Balinese educated groups. The reformists were labeled as "red movement" with a communist ideology, which was a "ghost for western capitalism" at that time.

The idea of Baliseering was initiated by H. Te Flierhaar, a school supervisor in Klungkung. His article entitled "*De Aan passing het Inlandsche Onderwijs op Bali Aan de Eigen Sfeer*" published in 1931 in Batavia became the basis for the Baliseering Policy of the Dutch colonial government to promote Bali in order to attract tourists [2].

The history of Baliseering policy repeated itself marked by the emergence of the *Ajeg Bali* Movement in 2002[3]. This program is aimed at preserving Balinese culture. *Ajeg Bali* was

originally a form of resistance against terrorists who boomed Bali. It is interesting to note the transformation that occurred on the reemergence of Baliseering Policy on *Ajeg Bali* Program [4].

The writings about Bali are needed in this study, such as 'Bali' [5], 'Island of Bali' [6], 'Spell of Power: A History of Balinese Politics, 1650-1940' b'Bali: Culture Tourism and Tourism Culture' [8]. A Literary Mirror: Balinese Reflection on Modernity and Identity in The Twentieth Century and a collection of essays edited by Nyoman Darma Putra and I Gde Pitana Bali, in the National Character Building Process [9], Bali Tempo Doeloe [10], The Dark Side of the Island of the Gods: A History of Political Violence [11] [12]. Discussed the importance of the Baliseering Policy in providing the pondation for the development of Balinese cultural tourism. [12] examined "Baliseering Genealogy: Unraveling the Ideology of Colonial Education in North Bali and Its Implications in the Era of Globalization", Dissertation, Udayana University Denpasar. The writing explains materialistic, secular, and hegemonic ideologies included in Balinese structure and culture, found on the production of wall reliefs, placement of clocks in *Catus Pata* (center of the four junction road), existence vehicle reliefs at *Dalem Jagaraga* Temple, and naked Balinase female used as promotion tools.

Ajeg Bali according to [14] is a utopian power construction, non ideological and paradoxical. Unmistakably, *Ajeg Bali* has trigered conflicts caused by arrogance presented by the local security grup and *Pacelang* in Bali. *Ajeg Bali* is a responsive ideological construction that serves as a security wall against terrorist and foreign capital. Eventhough, the authorities continues to construct and promote touristic culture, not cultural tourism ([8], foreign investors still commits ideological violations that make Balinese people become foreigners in their own land.

Geria [15] explains cultural transformation as a cultural concept that opposes linear concept by looking at the continuity and discontinuity of culture that occurs. Structurally functional cultural dynamics occur in three cultural forms, namely: (1) ideas, thoughts, ideals, and norms; (2) Socio-cultural system; (3) Artifacts, in the form of existing objects. Transformation sees culture changes in form/structure, function and meaning, along with the times. The authorities and investors have an interest in preserving or revitalizing the old cultural system for thier own interests to maintain their existence.

Based on the above background, the purpose of this research is (1) understanding the idea of Baliseering Policy and the ideology of the *Ajeg Bali* Movement; (2) understanding the ideology transformation of the Baliseering Policy on the *Ajeg Bali* Movement.

2. Method

The study used a historical writing procedure, with the following steps: (a) Heuristics, the study begins with the search for sources, both contemporary and non-contemporary, such as documents, newspapers, bulletin, monthly magazines, artifacts, books, and photos in the time of the implementation of Baliseering Policy (1919-1942) [13]. (b) Source Criticism, the sources that were collected then read, criticized, legally tested, and compared, so that the source could be trusted. (c) Interpretation, interpreting the data into a discourse (cultural history facts). (d) Writing an article. The social science perspective applied is economics by examining the basic factors of the tourism industry during the Baliseering and *Ajeg Bali* era. As the event expnded from pre-independence to post-independence, the concept of mimicry, hybridization and oppression are included. Political economy theory and postcolonial criticism discussed by theorists, such as Gramsci, Edward Said, Gayatri Cakravorty Spivak, Frans Fanon, and Homi K. Bhabha were used in the analysis process.

Critical history methodology employed critical theory in building facts to produce critical postcolonial historical stories. It can be found on the work of Edward Said with his theory of Orientalism (1978). It can also be found on the view of Lubis (2006) that states the essence of sublimated culture and politics in the west-east dichotomy and the subordination of west to east, a plurality views is needed. Sipivak highlighted the oppressed subaltern women. Historical and social writings only place men and authorities as dominant voices. It requires counter cultur and bigger attention to gender in the globalization era [16]. Fanon highlighted the identity, race, and ethnicity, especially looking at the black race that psychologically was under tremendous pressure, as a result of being the object of suffering of the western domination [16]. Homi K. Bhabha with the concept of mimicry and hybridization explains the mix of post-colonial culture, especially in the analysis of cultural forms in the form of ideas, thoughts, cultural behavior, and remaining artifacts.

3. Result and Discussion

Caste Conflict a Gateway to Baliseering

Baliseering Policy introduced the ideology of Balinization through education, by adapting the Balinese culture to the education system. HIS School in Kelungkung changed its curriculum in 1930. The change was in drawing subject by recruiting "traditional teachers", graduated from teacher courses (MULO). The main policies of Baliseering were stated by Flierhaar (1931 on [13]): School building in Bali must be built according to Balinase style; Changing the form of drawing subject; Changing the form of singing subject; Collecting reading material for making books; Incorporate elements of Balinese dance into sports education [13].

The Baliseering Policy was also followed by blocking cristian missionaries, Lekkerkerker wrote about the opposition between the Zending and Western orientalisists in the *Tijdschrift Colonial*, related to the prohibition of Zending and Christian Missionaries [13], and oppresing modernist group by accusing them of being the "Red Movement, having a comonist ideology". The modernist group was said to threaten the great Balinase civilization on the justification that Bali was a remnant of 15th century Hindu civilization. This letter became the root of caste conflict in Bali, between *Triwangsa* (noble) group and the modern educated *Jaba* (lay people)

The conflict was marked by the publication of *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnyana* magazine. The *Bali Adnyana* magazine, first published on January 1st, 1924 [17] represented the idea of artodochism. I Gusti Tjarkatanaya, *triwangsa* key figure, argued that caste and the *Tirta* religion was originating from Java. The article prompted *Wangsa Jaba* to react because they were said damaging Balinese tradition. *Wangsa Jaba* responded by establishing the *Surya Kanta* Association publishing *Surya Kanta* Magazine. The key figures of the *Surya Kanta* were Ketut Sandi (official of Singaraja), Nengah Merta (teacher), Ketut Nasa (teacher). *Surya Kanta* Association and the *Surya Kanta* Magazine were established on November 1, 1925, [18].

The *Jaba* group aimed at empowering poor farmers because of market economy brought by western modernism, the rapid development of the population, and the spread of influenza virus. Some ideas of the educated elite that failed to spread were (1) fostering community economic awareness through cooperation and (2) spreading ideas of efficient *Pengabenan* ceremonies, especially the *Ngaben* tradition, [18].

The Dutch thought that the ideas of modernity unfavorable for their political interests. Caste conflict used to silence the *Jaba* wangsa group, the educated elite, and the idea of a national revival (Bhudi Utomo). Theoretically, both the conservative and the progressive groups have a

plausible basic argument. However, *Tri Wangsa Grup* prevailed because of the power behind the reproduction of truth [19].

Bali as the Tourism Industry: Commodification of Bali

The Dutch power orientation was to manipulate Bali into a "dollar machine" or "smokeless factory" for cultural tourism, while the effect was that Bali became a consumptive tourism culture (cf. [8]). To protect Bali from outside influences, the Dutch government issued a protective policy to block the influence of capitalism, nationalism, communism, and modernism, so that Bali remains untouched and it become living museum of traditional cultural with its primitive image. Politically, the Dutch government was isolating Bali from the nationalist movement from Java, developing anti-Javanese Islamic sentiment and Javanese influence to Bali which happened since the time great Kingdom of Mojopahit.

Preparations were also made by renovating the ancient temple, adding hegemonic reliefs in the most sacred temple such as reliefs of raping, airplanes, drinking beer, bicycles, etc. The Buddhist teachings that encourages self-controlled are omitted by showing exotic scenes at Dalem Sangsit Temple, Balingkan Bungkulan Temple, Beji Sangsit Temple, Maduwe Karang Temple Kubutambahan, and Segara Madu Jagaraga Temple [20]. Modern painting class was administered by the Pitamaha foundation under the guidance of Wolter Spisce and Arie Smith in Ubud. Its main objective was to prepare balinese artist to produce art works that can be sold to tourist. Classical painters were directed to modify their style to follow western style. Krause [5] printed hundreds of exotic picture about Bali (1920-1930s). Through KPM, Balinese culture such as Balinese dance, Balinese women with exposed breasts, traditional markets, cremation rituals, etc was introduces to western word.

Tourism industry factors greatly support the success of a tourism product, including: Bali with the concept of "*nyegara-gunung*" makes it rich in natural attraction and temples. The concept of "*nyegara-gunung*" is the basis of Balinese philosophy called the *rwabhineda* concept. It affects the land use in Bali. Land is divided into three areas, *hulu* or upper areas (mountains), *teben*/lower areas (sea), and middle (plains) area specifically build for housing (called *pawongan*). This concept is called *Trihita Karana*, which is three harmonious relationships to create happiness consisting of human relations with God, humans with humans, and humans with the natural environment[20].

The distribution of temples in Bali is also based on this concept. Major temples were in mountainous areas and on beaches (Public Temples). Meanwhile, large temples in the middle area (*Pawongan*) are for worshiping ancestral spirits, such as Dadia, Kawitan, Merajan Agung and Swagina temples[21]. *Subak* as a production unit in a subsistence economy also contributed in creating the beauty of Bali [22]. The speciality of Subak is creating beautiful, stunning rice terraces that demonstrate craftsmanship in constructing water dams, tunnel and waterways that stretch tens of kilometers. Foreigners see this rice terrace as a hanging garden, like a natural painting, with varying colors depending on what season the rice fields are seen. The beautiful scenery is supported by sophisticated culture, plowing the land using buffalo-pulled plow and traditional hoe, *nambah / numbeg, nengala, ngelampit, melasah, ngabut bulih*, backwards planting rice technique, catching the baby dragonflies (*nyeser*), *mekukung*, harvest rice with *ani-ani*, mutual cooperation of *mebleseng*, ritual of storing rice to the ricebarn.

Subak is a technician and manager in regulating water distribution and performing rituals related to the *subak* temple, *Ulun Swi*. The temple is related to the *buka* (dam) of the main water source. The subak organization existed in the 11th century, recorded in the Klungkung inscription, the Manukaya inscription, the Tengkulak inscription and the Bangli inscription. Subak is a Balinese supporting organization. Bali has three supporting pillars, namely Subak,

Traditional Village, and Kingdom (feudalism). Subak with its rice fields, water, and rituals, Traditional Village as the implementer of Balinese tradition and customs, and the kingdom as the center of civilization, are important for Balinese life as a whole[22].

The male Balinese are portrayed as lazy, heavy gambler, and dependent, especially to their spouse. In the spare time after planting rice, male Balinese would entertain themselves by *mebombong* (training fighting cock). Street cockfighting is called a *branangan* with a modest bet. Whereas cockfighting in the *Tajen* arena is carried out with clear norms, betting rules, the presence of *Tajen* official (*Saya*), *pakembar*, and *bebotoh*[23]. That is the image of male Balinese. Lazy, gambler, and dependent image was consciously constructed by Dutch government to create the ancient impression (living museum). Several photos of Balinese were used as a promotion tool to Europe. To Europeans, Balinese people look innocent and their eyes are exotic. Balinese also well know for their uniqueness, especially their dancing skills [24].

The Balinese artists produced amazing art works, dominated by classical arts such as *wayang* (puppet), masks, *barong* and other art works. Old Balinese did not commercialize their art work. They presented their work as an offering to their gods. Art works at old time were mainly used as temple or holy places accessories, holy water containers decoration, *pratima* (god idols) and other temple related items. The cultural factor is a capital asset of the cultural tourism. Balinese cultural tourism products are valuable items in the world tourism market. Exotic culture is the most interesting show because it is endemic in Bali. Baliseering introduced exotic cultural tourism, such as shrine, temple wall reliefs, as well as exotic Balinese nature and people.

Ajeg Bali: Post-Colonial Commodification of Bali

Balinese interpret *Ajeg Bali* as a return to the origin, pure and peaceful Bali. *Ajeg Bali* offers Balinese an answer to an empty modernization [25]. The construction of *Ajeg Bali* coincided with the inauguration of Media Bali TV. At that time, Governor Beratha conveyed the vision and mission of Bali TV, namely "Developing and Promoting Balinese Customs and Culture". Bali Boombing turned the job market hard for Balinese. Thus, Balinese had to fight in another sector, namely the informal sector business. Unfortunately, non-Balinese ethnic groups dominated the informal business sector. It created the image of insecure Bali. So, Bali needed protection in the context of Balinese history, customs and culture. It emerges in the form of *Pecalang* and self-formed security[26].

Viewed from the socio-cultural transformation, the core conflict is actually a conflict of economic interests, represented on the *Dangin Tukad* and *Dauh Tukad* discourse. The conflict transformation that has been constructed since the Baliseering policy is based on the construction of Java as a Balinese colonizer from Mojopahitization to Islamization re-emerged in the discourse of *Ajeg Bali*. *Pecalang* is Balinese traditional guard [26]. Other self-formed security also exist, such as: *Lakar Bali*, *Baladika*, *Pemuda Bali Bersatu (PBB)*, and newly formed is *Semeton Keris* a split from *Laskar Bali*. They often engaged in brawl over security service [27].

The weak character of the Balinese people is due to the influence of tourism culture, capitalism, and hedonistic materialism resulted in the idea of guarding Balinese ethnic identity, through education and Balinese culture. Nordholt [7] stated that the *Desa Pakraman* (traditional village) identified themselves as the last defender of the island of Bali. Thus, *Ajeg Bali* is synonymous to the *Desa Pakraman*. The *Ajeg Bali* movement transformatively brought *Desa Pakraman* to be dominative and hegemonic, which implies the emergence of disharmony in Balinese society psychologically, because the concept of *penyambrayaan* (family unit) is now marginalized [28].

Transformation of Baliseering to Ajeg Bali

Ajeg Bali raises ethnocentrism which produces stereotivism against other ethnicities. This indication arises in connection with the migrants and their further impact. Referring to Sukarna (2009: 10), further impacts occur due to instability of spatial supporting capacity, decreasing ecological quality, uncontrolled population, tighter competition, denser social spaces, pseudo-social interaction and integration, wide social autonomy and cultural differentiation. Degung Santikarma said that migrants were often positioned as trouble makers who threaten both Balinese and their cultural identity. The migrant are said to destroy "identity" because they come from different customs background, cultures and beliefs, while the Balinese are the guardians of tradition and the purity of Hinduistic cultural identity [29]. When criminal cases reported, the perpetrators were quickly labeled as *dauh tukad* or *dangin tukad* people (non-Balinese), a sign of "war-ready culture" (armament culture). This indication is a marker of dissociative social processes that are not accordance with the concept of multiculturalism. The competition that occurs is fight over economic resources between Balinese and foreign ethnic groups in Bali [30][31]. This strategy is not only intended to differentiate itself from the opposing parties, but also to foster social solidarity among Balinese. In order to reach associative interactions (preventing dissociative interactions), the idea of accommodation must be developed (called hybridization and mimicry by K. Bhabha, in [16]), so that no one loses personality.

There is a transformation of the spirit and culture of Baliseering Policy into *Ajeg Bali*, it is excessive ethnocentrism and ethnic stereotypes. The results of the study are summarized in the following table.

Table 4.1 Transformasion of *Baliseering* on *Ajeg Bali* Movement

No.	<i>Baliseering</i>	<i>Ajeg Bali</i>
1	Caste conflict was constructed to stop the educated modernity group.	Ethnicity is constructed to builds resilience and a sense of oppressed from other Ethnic " <i>Dauh Tukad</i> and <i>Dangin Tukad</i> ".
2	Capitalism turned exotic cultural as object of tourism industry and disguised as Baliseering (Conservation)	Capitalism is protected from terrorist threat, the protection of tourism objects as a product of the tourism industry.
3	Caused by the criticism of Dutch violence in Puputan-war in Bali (1906 Badung; 1908 Klungkng).	Triggered by Bali Bombings I and II (2002, 2005).
4.	Schools were used as a tool of Balinization (Picard 2006).	<i>Pecelang</i> and self-formed secutiry (Laskar Bali and Baladika) are a mean of protecting the safety of Bali.
5.	The actor was Dutch Colonial with Tourism bussines interests	The actors were Balinese, initiated by the Bali Post Media Group.

The Contra Productive Indication of the *Ajeg Bali*

Ajeg Bali raises two warning signs. First, the position of the *Desa Pakraman* based on Balinese culture and Hinduism is strengthening. *Desa Pakraman* has extensive authority, not only for custom and religious matter, but also security, people, and creating local regulation. Second, *Pacelang* has the right to make policies for migrants (minorities). Immigrants are accepting of all *Desa Pakraman* policies [29].

Hybridization and multicultural thinking are needed in developing the future of Balinese Cultural Tourism. Historically, Bali does not only have a Hindu background, but also Malay Austronesian, Islamic and Christian civilizations. By developing ideas of hybridization and multiculturalism, ethnic arrogance can be reduced in a country that based on The 1945 Constitution and *Pancasila* ideology as well as the agreement of the state founder. Historical

accident is common in the history of mankind, by learning from history, Indonesia will become great country [32].

4. Conclusion

The conclusions of this paper are as follow: Baliseering and *Ajeng Bali* hide the motive of commodification of Balinese culture; the ideology of Balinese culture preservation program is spread massively through political and educational policies, so that exotic cultural tourism can be accepted by Balinese; and both of the movements are constructing inter-regional, local and national conflicts. The suggestions that can be given are the factors of Balinese cultural tourism industry, such as Balinese nature, Balinese people and Balinese civilization (customs, *subak*, and Hinduism / Hinduism) must be preserved. The lost of these factors will lead to the death of Balinese cultural tourism, various parties related to the factors in tourism industry must understand that Balinese cultural tourism has been strengthened during the Baliseering era, so that they can learn from the Baliseering of the Dutch colonial era, and *Pacelang* should not construct inter-ethnic enmity but build inter-ethnic fraternity with the concept of *penyamabrayaan* (*Nyama Bali-Nyama Selam*).

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