

The Place-Attachment of Balinese Young Adults An Exploration of Meaning of Everyday-Life-Places in a Globalizing World

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*The picture on the front page is made by a Balinese photographer, newspaper journalist, and a novel writer, **Iwan Darmawan**. It depicts some parts of the Ngayah activities, a path of devotion to gods as an active voluntarism carried out by village members, by working together as one community in preparing religious ceremonies. In this study, the picture is interpreted as a symbol of struggle of Balinese youth between the affinity of Balinese cultural-tradition and globalization & second-modernity process, the latter is perceived as a contemporary cultural force.*

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Ad maiorem Dei gloriam...
For the greater glory of god...

Acknowledgement

Writing this thesis has urged me to discern more about my life: In which part of the world I would like to spend my whole life, by whom I would like to be surrounded, what kind of cultural values I want to embrace in my everyday-life, and what kind of emotions I would like to feel each time I wake up every morning. Being far from my home country and loved ones truly made me thinking thoroughly about the importance of places in one's life, especially in my own life. As expressed eloquently by Heidegger, "Being human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place". However, more than the journey itself to find the answers of these existential questions, I am sincerely grateful for the people who have helped and supported me so I am able to complete my study punctually. Also for those who are crossing my roads, who give me valuable opportunities to learn so much about being human, with all my shortcomings, mistakes, transgressions.

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the implication of the globalization and modernity process upon the Balinese young adult's attachment to places, through their perspectives about the meaningful and important places in their everyday-life. In this research, it is argued that through the development of tourism industry in Bali, which represents the globalization and modernity process in opening access of Bali to a wider world, the modern notion of organizing places is appeared. Further, this disruption is assumed to influence the way of Balinese young adults give meaning to their day-to-day-places and how they attach to such places. This eruption of indigenous Balinese conceptions of places is assumed to render to the cumulative alteration of Balinese individual ways of life nowadays.

Relating to Balinese-Hindu psycho-cosmic concept, Balinese ways of life is embedded in their rich living agricultural tradition, in which they perceive territorial principles and practices are attached to the belief about cosmological nature, which is invisible forces (Picard, 1996). Hence in this sense, it is argued that when their connection to places is altered, their ways of life are also transformed. In this case, it is relevant to argue that the understanding of contemporary Balinese's connection to places -which in this research is explored in terms of place-attachment -will facilitate our further understanding on how Balinese ways of life are shaped by the globalisation and modernity process as a cultural force.

This research employs a grounded theory approach and various qualitative data collection methods, namely: Photo-elicitation, semi-structured interviews, and participatory-observation are conducted to gain access to Balinese young adult's perception about what kind of places they consider meaningful/important in their everyday-life. These mix-methods of collecting data is adopted because in this study, place-attachment is considered as a complex phenomena that can be understood best when it is approached with a variety or a combination of research methods. Moreover, referring to Cele's argument (2006) that different methods will produce different kinds of knowledge in experiencing places, thereby it is expected that the use of creative and multi-method approach in examining Balineses young adult's daily life and their concrete engagement in experiencing places will sufficiently reflect different facets of their place-attachment. Twelve research participants ranged between ages 18-35 years old are involved in this research. They are comprised of two groups-areas: six people from Kuta and the rest from Ubud. The decision to choose Kuta and Ubud as the research areas are based on the assumption that the differences in their historical backgrounds and place-characteristics as touristic destinations will contribute to the diversity of responses of the respondents. Moreover, it is assumed that how the globalisation and modernity are embodied in Kuta and Ubud is different. In Kuta, globalisation and modernity process is manifested through night and city life, while in Ubud through Balinese art and traditions. Thereby, it is expected that this difference will give useful insights on how each research area shapes the responses of (related) respondents. Moreover, it is assumed that how the globalisation and modernity are embodied in Kuta and Ubud is different. In Kuta, globalisation and modernity process is manifested through night and city life, while in Ubud through Balinese art and traditions. Thereby, it is expected that this difference will give useful insights on how each research area shapes the responses of (related) respondents.

Within the context of Bali's tourism's industry, it is believed that Balinese young adults are likely to experiencing 'Bali-in-two worlds' situations each day, when the local

and global forces, tradition and modernity are lived side by side. It is within this dynamic and transient context that Balinese young adult's place-attachment and their prevalent conceptualization of places are explored. On the first level of analysis, the empirical findings will be analyzed by employing Gustafson's model of place-meaning, which encompasses three interrelated categories: the Self, the Others, and the Environment. Thus, within these three poles, the exploration of meaning of places derived from Balinese young adults will be situated and their place-attachment will be analyzed. On the second level of analysis, the place-meaning assigned by the respondents above will be used to identify or categorize the five important places of Balinese young adults into two categories: 'Place-of-refuge' and 'Place-of-ambivalent-feelings'. This division aims to explore how they are dealing with the tension between traditional ways and modern approach in contextualizing and experiencing places. As such, characteristics of places that strengthen or revitalize Balinese's place-attachment could be revealed, and the transformation of Balinese individual ways of life could be discerned.

The empirical findings suggest that the place-attachments of Balinese are strongly shaped by the Balinese cultural traditions and Hindu religious values that permeate into their everyday-life. In particular, associating place as a dynamic process and susceptible arena for change in the context of globalisation and modernity, for Balinese place is seemingly a terrain of struggles between individual subjectivities and cultural collective forces.

Keywords: *Bali, culture, globalisation, modernity, place-attachment, young people.*

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

Balinese young adults are experiencing “Bali-in-two-worlds”¹ every day, where local and global forces, tradition and modernity, fixity and mobility are lived side by side (Ramseyer & Panji Tisna, 2003). In this dynamic and transient context, I explore the emotional bonds of Balinese young adults to their everyday-life-places. This research explores how globalization and modernity disrupt the Balinese traditional conceptualization of places, and how this disruption influences the perception of Balinese youth of meaningful everyday-life-places. In order to explore these questions, I draw on writings by Giddens (1991) on globalisation and modernity and Gustafson on place-attachment. Prior to the data analysis, the local context and broader issues which are related to the Balinese traditional concepts of places, globalisation and modernity process in Bali will be discussed. In doing so, the relevance and importance for questioning the Balinese young adults’ contemporary conceptualization and attachment to place could be understood.

1.2. *Globalisation and Modernity in the Balinese Context*

In recent years, globalization and modernity have become more salient in Balinese everyday-life as people have begun to struggle with the dilemmas and contradiction inflicted by the tourism industry. As the ‘milk-cow’ of the province of Indonesia, under the period of both the Soekarno and Soeharto’s presidency, Bali’s image as a paradise had served the economic interest of the Indonesian state (MacRae, 1997). According to the Bali Statistics Board, the amount of foreign tourists who came to Bali during November 2009 is approximately 185.000 people (BPS Provinsi Bali, 2009). This comprises a significant

¹ “Bali in two worlds”, this sentence is taken from the title of a book by Ramseyer & Tisna (2001), which is used in that book to describe the current phenomenon of many Balinese who live in the intersection between global and local forces, fixity and mobility, modernity and Balinese traditions.

increase about 6.7 percent compared with November 2008. During the second quarter semester in 2009, the economy aspect of Bali has experienced a significant growth, that is 5.9 percent increase compared with the first three-semester of 2009. All are primarily caused by the growth of Bali's tourism industry (BPS Provinsi Bali, 2009). Under such condition, it is not surprising if the presence and amount of foreign tourists –mainly from Australia and Europe (BPS Provinsi Bali, 2011) has profoundly impacted the ways in which locals begins to see their own culture. As Picard argues, “touristic culture” has become thoroughly internalized by Balinese, paradoxically contributing to a reification of that which is defined as authentically Balinese, while at the same time becoming “an integral part of a process of cultural invention” (1996:199).

In the context of Bali, globalisation is conceptualized as cultural dynamism, in which the flows of goods, ideologies, values, life styles, and so on are imposed by the West to the rest parts of the world (Hannerz, 1991). In this case, globalisation has lifted (Balinese) culture from its context of place (Giddens, 1991). While modernity is signified by industrialization process that affects most other dimensions of society – for instance, it direct us to occupational specialization, rising educational levels, rising income levels, and eventually unexpected or surprising changes, such as changes in gender roles, attitudes to authorities and sexual norms, or transforming traditional family system (Ingelhart & Baker, 2000). Thus, putting these in the broader context, modernity has affected Balinese young adults by offering both risk and opportunities in their life-style and daily-choices. Although these endless choices offered might be uncontrollable and often felt as overwhelmed, Giddens (1991) believes that we are not passive being, or merely an object that cannot do anything about what we accept from or experience in this world. As Giddens (1991) argues, “No matter how local and specific the setting of action, we contribute to and encourage social influences that are global in their consequences and implications” (Giddens, 1991:2). In this respect, modernity is perceived as a prominent process that occurs in the day-to-day-life of Balinese young adults who live particularly in touristic areas. This assumption is purported by a Balinese intellectual and architect, I Nyoman Gelebet, in the context of his critique of the famous study of “Balinese Character” by anthropologists Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead (1942) who claimed that the, “Balinese will become the foremost global people of Indonesia because of their openness and creativity” (Gelebet in Rubinstein & Connor, 1999: 4). However, aligned with Giddens’ argument above,

Hannerz (1991) asserts that Bali culture as the peripheral culture does not passively accept the Western culture as the central culture. Rather, the Western culture is customized, interpreted, and appropriated according to Balinese cultural disposition and understanding (Liebes & Katz, 1990). Nevertheless, the lives of most Balinese are still dominated by Balinese tradition.

In addition, modernity also has affected Balinese in their relations with built environment (Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001). As a result of the growth of the tourism industry, the Balinese traditional principles of organizing places have been disrupted or at least in part, entirely neglected. The mapping of places then becomes so free and unrestrained, mainly based on the distance in units of meters or within a certain radius and location of high and low buildings around a temple. This ‘muddling’ of boundaries has been spurred by different actors. On one hand, investor haven been building hotels, villas, and restaurants at prime locations, often by bribing authorities. On the other hand, many local Balinese land owners have succumbed to the temptation of ‘fast’ money to be obtained by selling their lands, or because they could not afford to pay the increasing land’s taxes due to the rise in property values. At the same time, many locals do not have the knowledge and skill to manage the enormous money they acquired from selling their lands. Therefore, they became rich at first but often end up in poverty nonetheless (Subadra, 2008). For example in 2008 a villa was built within the ‘sacred radius’ from the temple of Uluwatu. Although seven other villas had been built around the temple prior to this, the latest violation of *Tri Mandala*² principle had evoked a protest from the Parisada Hindu Darma, the highest religious Hindu organization in Indonesia. Their protest aimed to critique the ways in which the villas’ developer gained legal permission from local government to build the villa (Parisada, 2008). Thereby, in this research it is argued that the Bali’s tourism industry, which represents the globalization and modernity process in opening access of

² *Tri Mandala* concept is essentially about the sharing of location based on location, function and level of purity. It is inspired by the *Tri Hita Karana* principle. According to the concept, a temple is divided into three main sections, namely: the side links, links middle, and innards. Any building which is located in each of these places? First, *Jaba sisi* (outer courtyard) is the outermost part of a temple area. In this place is usually found parking area, kitchen, and a place to prepare offerings. Second, *Jaba tengah* (middle courtyard) is the center of the temple. In this section a hall for art performance and a meeting place are located. Third, *Jeroan* (inner courtyard) is the holiest part of the temple because it is a place of worship of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva (Subadra, 2008).

Bali to a wider world, has disrupted the Balinese traditional conceptualization of organizing spaces. Further, it is assumed that this disruption will influence the way of Balinese young adults give meaning to their everyday-life-places and how they attach to such places. Together with the development of Bali tourism industry, the disruption of traditional Balinese principles of organizing places appeared to be influenced by the modern principles of spatial planning and architecture which emphasize effectiveness, efficiency, and physical pleasure. In addition, due to the development of urban areas, which often ignores the limitation of land provision, the increasing of mobility and transportation, and the raising-up of economic competition in Bali, it is seemed more and more difficult for Balinese to 'stick' to the traditional Balinese concepts of place-making (Danes in Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001). In this way, it is argued that the contemporary Balinese's place-attachment will contribute to the transformation of Balinese individual ways of life today. For example, nowadays many Balinese appeared to be 'confused' in giving meaning to their land: land as something sacred due to cultural and religious meaning assigned to it, or land as something highly valuable economically. Within Bali culture, land and rice-field play important role. It is where *Dewi Sri*, the goddess of fertility resides. Many religious ceremonies held for celebrating each stage of the rice planting process (Suasta in Remseyer and Tisna, 2001). Moreover, in the context of *hukum adat* or customary law, land is used to fulfill the needs of a community as a whole. Thereby, land plays an important role to build and strengthen the relationship between the whole members of a community. In this respect, for Balinese land brings symbolic, philosophical, social and spiritual meaning (Suartika, 2001). However, the development of Bali tourism industry has altered the traditional orientation toward the land by many Balinese from cultural, social, and spiritual to merely economic orientation. In a larger scale, for example, thousand of hectares of rice fields have changed into roads, shops, hotels, and real estate. Fishermen villages became urban villages. Farmers and fishermen moved to big cities as Kuta, Ubud, and Denpasar to work at hotels and other tourism ventures, usually in low position, due to having no bargaining power (Agung Mas in Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001). In sum, all of this shows how the changes of Balinese connections to spaces have brought cumulative changes and long-term consequences into Balinese everyday-life. Thus, the understanding on this transformation in a larger context is considered crucial to understand the importance of land within Bali culture. However, to comprehend how modernity

process has disrupted Balinese traditional principles of organizing places, it is relevant to learn about the Balinese principles of place-making itself.

1.3. Understanding the Disruption of Balinese Place-Making Principles: The Stretching-out of Balinese Social Relations and Activities

As an ethnic group, the Balinese still maintain their tradition strongly, including the basic, ideal concepts of organizing spaces. They profoundly believe that it is necessary to organize places according to the belief of cosmological nature, which primarily aims to create and maintain a balance between *sekala* (tangible) and *niskala* (intangible) forces. These forces are in the state of *rwa bhineda* or complementarity, rather than opposites. Therefore, neither one of them is considered good or bad, or better than the other, instead, the harmony or balance between these two forces is considered as essential in life.

For Balinese, every object is the manifestation of these two forces through the existence of the Hindu Gods. Thus, the harmonious interaction between these two forces and the Gods will give life to an inanimate object. In this respect, the concept of living is projected onto built environment, such as a house compound, a temple, a settlement, streets, a graveyard, etc. Likewise the 'function' of living beings, these inanimate objects will help in maintaining the balance of *sekala* (tangible) and *niskala* (intangible) forces. Furthermore, for Balinese it is essential to maintain the harmonious equilibrium between human and God (*Parahyangan*), between people and society (*Pawongan*), and between human and environment (*Palemahan*). This profound concept is called *Tri Hita Karana* which means "three sources for harmony of life" (Stiftel & Watson, 2007: 160). Thereby, *Tri Hita Karana* encourages human adaptation to their physical surrounding or environment by regulating human behavior. The surrounding adaptation strategy aims to reach and maintain the harmonious balance of *sekala* and *niskala* forces; compatibility and harmony between human beings and their fellows, between human being with the environment or nature, and between human being and God (Wardi, 2001:73). As the consequence, places such as, houses, market, cemetery, cross-road, *banjar* (community centre), temple, *puri* (palace), and so on should be built according to this principle. The application of Balinese traditional spatial organization is illustrated by Putu, (male, 50 years old, a Balinese priest)³

³ Putu is a key informant in this research. He is a Balinese priest or *Jero mangku* of a village in Bali. For every village in Bali, a *jero mangku* is chosen to lead various religious ceremonies, responsible

The decision to focus on the impact of internal migration on young people is motivated by the fact that much research has been done on the disadvantages of migration upon older rural people. It is only in recent work that the specific impacts of migration upon children, young people, and adults and their responses to these changes have attracted considerable attention (Alston, 2004). Thus, in this study it is argued that the understanding of Balinese rural youth migration is needed to gain thorough understanding about the broader set of cultural values, norms, and expectations which may be transmitted among generations or across geographical rural areas in Bali. "For instance, a concept of *pampatan agung* (great cross-road) is important within Bali's culture. This concept is believed as the meeting point of all forces of *bhurloka* (the world of gods), *swahloka* (the world of demons) and *bwahloka* (the world of human beings). It is always located in the centre of a village. In its four corner there are the temple, a palace (*puri*), a meeting place (*wantilan*), and a market (*pasar*)...". This is only an example of how Balinese incorporating their Balinese-Hindu psycho-cosmic conception into the principles of place-making. As such, any places in Bali can be defined according to its relative positions to other places and these principles of organizing places become the landmark or identity makers of cities and settlements (rural and urban settlements)⁴ in Bali (Samadhi, 2000).

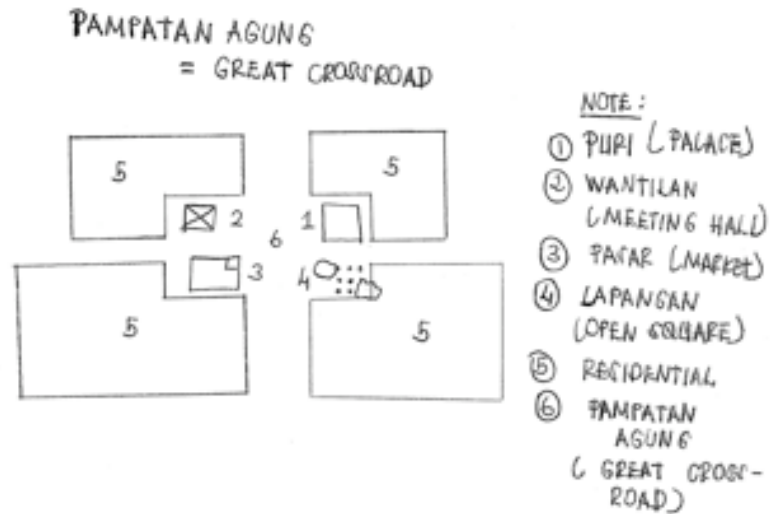
to taking care of three temples (*Tri Kahyangan*) of the customary village he leads, and to give consultation to his fellow villagers (Murni, 2004).

⁴ *Desa* in Bali is more properly translated as settlement rather than village, which implies a rural settlement, because *desa* as a conceptual unit could be found both in rural and urban areas. The *desa adat* or customary village (Geertz, 1980) is a Balinese territorial unit which could be found throughout Bali, thus not only in rural areas (Samadhi, 2000).

Figure 1.1.

Pampatan Agung

A typical centre in major *desa adat* (customary village) in Bali



From this example, it can be concluded that Balinese perceive places in a traditional way, that is as a specific, familiar and enclosed space, dominated by the presence or localized activity. This view about places is culturally produced and has been embodied in various ways of organizing any places, either in private or public spaces, such as house and *sanggah* (prayer place at home), temple, market, cemetery, streets, meeting place, and so on. Eventually, these traditional Balinese conceptions of place are eroded by the influence of globalization and modernity (Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001; Subadra, 2008). This transformation is more evident when it is perceived in terms of “activity space”⁵ of Balinese. Consequently, the social relations which form social space have become increasingly stretched out, and boundaries of places are far more opened that they have been in the past (Massey & Jess, 1995). Phenomenon of tourism, as Cater (1995) points out, experiencing this constant stretching of the distances which its boundaries being pushed ever outwards. Imagining daily-activities of Balinese young adults nowadays, their every day live shows these worldwide connections: At home, they watch Hollywood movies, going to school with Korean or Japanese motorbike, eating Kentucky Fried Chicken for lunch, bring Nokia cell phone when they go to a temple, held a religious ceremony at a

⁵ The activity space of something is the spatial network of links and activities, of spatial connection and of location, within which a particular agent operates (Massey & Jess, eds, 1995).

beach while being watched by foreign tourist in bikini, speaking English, Japanese, or German at a hotel or spa where they work, or watching the football World Cup in *Banjar*, a place for community activities (Soethama, 2006). This is only a few examples of how individual Balinese young adult's activities-space grows in size, in the variety or multiplicity of types of places, also in the interconnections that link these places. This openness of place, according to Massey (1991), may afflict ignorance toward the uniqueness of place, particularly place as a source of identity. Yet at the same time, it creates a 'global sense of place', a feeling that we are connected to the world as a unified entity (Massey, 1991). Thereby, in this situation where all places seem to become a part of global 'melting-pot' (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007), local and global forces, tradition and modernity, fixity and mobility are lived side by side, when the Balinese traditional principles of place are disrupted and challenged by the modern concepts of place, it is considered crucial to questioning how Balinese young adults attach and give meaning to important places in their everyday-life. Therefore, in this research the main question proposed is:

“How do Balinese young adults experience and give meaning to their everyday-life-places?”

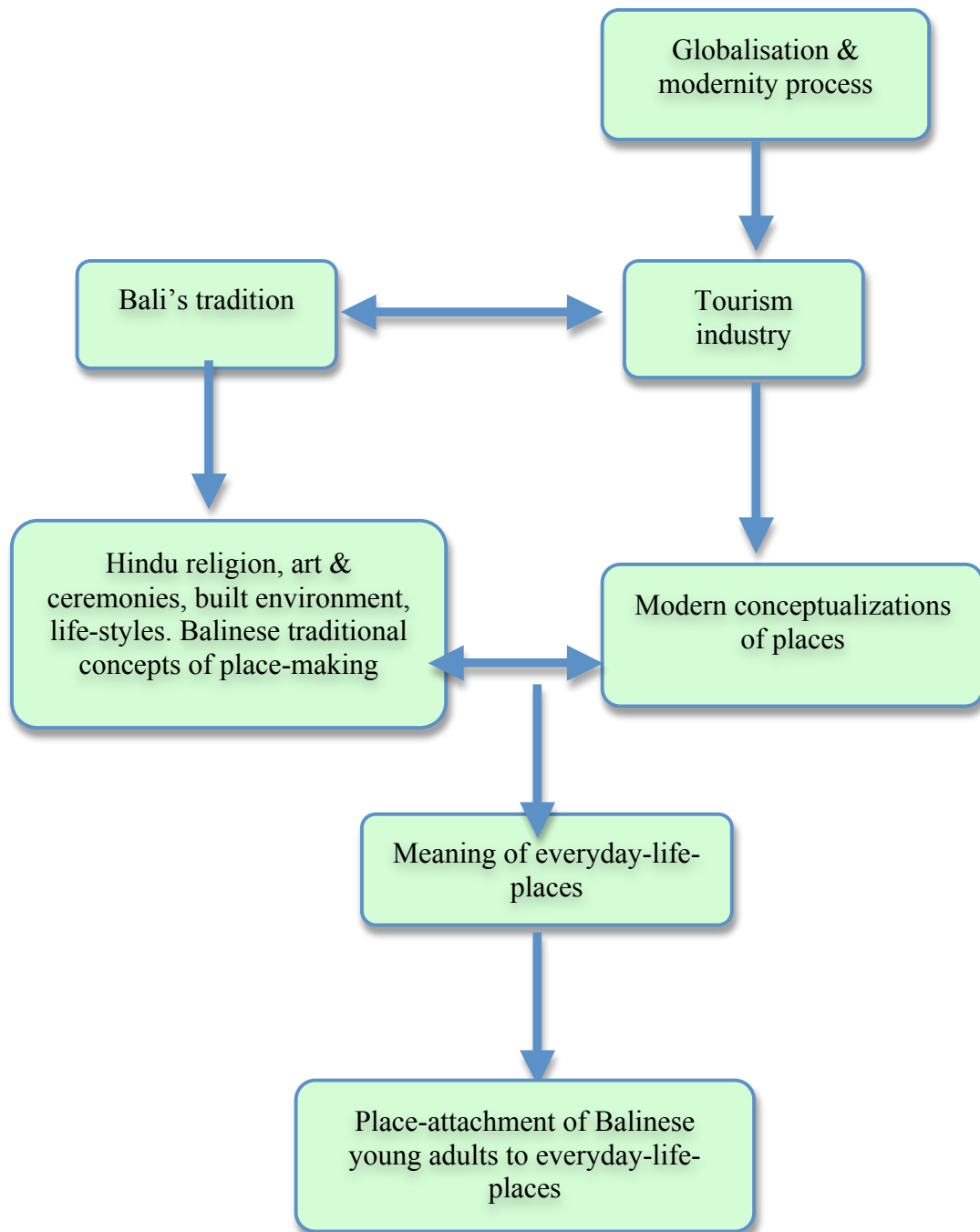
In order to answer this question, it is necessary to answer a sub-question which is expected to add specificity and detail to the general context. It focuses on cognitive, emotion, and behavioral aspects of Balinese young adults in experiencing places:

- 1) *In the context of globalisation and modernity, what are meaningful/important places in the everyday-life of Balinese?*

What kind of strategies can be detected in how Balinese young adults are dealing with the tension between traditional ways and modern approach in conceptualizing and experiencing places? Recognizing place as a factor that plays a major role in Balinese culture, and remembering how Balinese ways of life is embedded in their rich living agricultural culture (Picard, 1996), this thesis argues that when Balinese's connection to places is altered, their connection to their cultural-tradition is also transformed. In this way, I believe it is relevant to argue that the understanding on the changes of Balinese's connection to places, which in this case is explored

in terms of place-attachment to everyday-life-places, will facilitate further understanding on Balinese's connection to their cultural tradition today. This is the importance of the research, seeing it from wider context of Bali.

Figure 1.2. Conceptual Model



Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction: Place-Attachment, Globalisation, and Modernity

In order to explore and analyze the emotional bound of Balinese young adults to places, I draw on Gustafson (2001) typology of place-meanings which consist of three categories, i.e. Self, Others, and Environment. Since the geographical focus of this thesis is Bali, it is important to point out the Western bias present in Gustafson's typology. Therefore, in its application to the context of Bali, the local or indigenous concepts of place-making i.e. the Balinese traditional conceptualization of organizing places needs to be taken into consideration. As such, this research may contribute to something valuable in refining the typology of cultural aspects of place-attachment theory proposed for example by Low (1992).

2.2. Literature Review

Research on place-people relationship is growing. In particular, research on place-attachment, place identity, meaning of place, and sense of place have (almost) created a distinct 'genre in social sciences' (Lewicka, 2010: 4). As a part of this, scientific endeavors have scrutinized place-attachment in relation to contemporary processes such as mobility, changing culture, globalisation, and modernity also are not new at all (Gustafson, 2006; Laczko, 2005; Grief, 2009). Much of the research discusses the relation between places at different geographical scales, for example, the relation between people and their village or city, their neighborhood and even their nation (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Kaltenborn, 1997; Gustafson, 2001). In relation with place-conceptualization, many research predominantly concerns with the opposition between classical concept of place as a bounded, authentic, singular, fixed, and unproblematic in identity (Massey, 1994; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977) against modern approach to place which perceives place as a meeting point or melting pot of various identity, borderless and interconnected space (Harvey, 1996; Milligan, 1998; Masey, 2004), and heterogen versus homogenous places in terms of the loss of cultural uniqueness (Putnam, 2007; Stolle, Soroka, and Johnston, 2008; Leigh, 2006). However, much of the research highlights differences in place-people relations at

the individual level, rather than focusing on social and cultural aspects of place attachment (Lewicka, 2010). Moreover, much research on place-attachment is also 'age blind'. A few studies address ways in which young people are connected with places. For example, Abbot-Chapman and Robertson (2009) explore adolescent's favorite places in terms of private and public places; Pretty, Chipuer, and Bramston (2003) compare the sense of place between adolescents and adults in two rural Australian towns; White and Green (2001) investigate the influence of social network and place-attachment on young people's access to training and employment opportunities; Chow and Healey (2008) scrutinize the transitional phase of young people from home to the university. In general, all these studies stipulate that there are psychological aspects of young people which are considered important in making young people feel they belong to particular places. As such, there is a growing interest in research on place attachment of young people that is concerned with various arenas and crucial stage in their life-course. This notion is supported by Stedman (2003) who states that existing research in place-attachment has been more about the significance of place rather than its meaning ("how much" rather than "what").

2.3. The Concept of Place-Attachment

The phenomenon of place-attachment is a universal phenomenon (Pries, 1999; Eade, 1997) since every experience we have must take place somewhere, as way of 'being-in-the-world' (Heidegger, 1962)⁶. This concept of place-attachment is useful to understand unique experiences-in-place and our evolving self because it embraces a myriad of experiences, setting, relationship and meaning of places.

In place-people relations, affective personal bonds or emotional relationships are often experienced through long-term involvement and in the on-going interaction with surroundings. Thus, these affective bonds may grow into attachment to a place, which may produce new meanings over time (Manzo, 2005).

⁶ 'Being' implies the impact of place on identity, as 'being' is an ontological structure that phenomenologist often build upon. To be human, according to Heidegger is to be immersed and embedded in physical and tangible day to day world. It is our duty to examine our 'world' and to live our life according to our "authentic" individual potentiality. Once we realize who we are, we have solid understanding about our day to day experiences (Heidegger, 1962).

As a concept, place-attachment is complex and multifaceted. It has been explored and discussed by scholars from various backgrounds such as, family studies (Van der Klis & Karsten, 2009), psychology (Giuliani, 2003; Gustafson, 2006), geography (Lalli, 1992; Manzo & Perkins, 2006), social ecology (Perkins, Brown, Taylor, 1996; Bott, Cantill, Myers, 2003) and gerontology (Rowles, 1990; Ponzetti, 2003). All propose a different framework to understand this phenomenon (Low and Altman, 1992). For example, phenomenologist often emphasize the unique feelings and bonds people have with places, while anthropologists often focus on cultural attachment and shared meanings of mythical and imagined places. Thereby, they emphasize place-bonds with genealogical past, collective memories, collective narrative, and participation in community (Low, 1992; Pellow, 1987; Hummon, 1992 in Altman & Low, 1992). Psychologists are more concerned with the interrelation between affective ties to home during childhood and with adults creation of dwelling (Chawla & Marcus in Altman & Low, 1992), while environmentalists believe that people-place bonds can be created through the environment and other relevant aspects, such as technology, limitations and opportunities provided by our environment (Riley & Hufford in Altman & Low, 1992).

Due to the variety of ways which concept of place-attachment has been applied, it is a challenge to choose the best definition or to integrate different perspectives and approaches to the notion of place-attachment. However, reviewing the various conceptualization of place-attachment, it has been concluded that the central aspect of place-attachment in various analysis are affecting, emotion, or feelings (Altman & Low, 1992). Table 2.1 aims to give an overview of different psychological dimensions of place-attachment highlighted by different scholars:

Table 2.1. Various definitions of place-attachment and its dimensions

Definition	Author	Dimension
<i>“The emotional connection formed by an individual to a place due to the meaning given to the site as a function of its role as a setting for experience...depending upon importance and the valence of life experiences associated with a given place, attachment to it may be strong or weak, positive or negative, narrow, wide, or diffuse”</i>	Rubinstein & Parmelee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotion (positive or negative) • Meanings of places • Influenced by life experiences
<i>“Attachment refers to the cognitive and emotionally linkage of an individual to a</i>	Altman & Low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive & emotional linkages

<i>particular setting or environment</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual ties to environment
<i>“Place attachment involves positively experienced bonds, sometimes occurring without awareness, that are developed over time from the behavioral, affective, and cognitive ties between individuals and/or groups and their socio-physical environment”</i>	Brown & Perkins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behavior bond • Affection bond • Cognition bond with physical & social surroundings • Individual & community relation with places
<i>“Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual’s and group’s understanding of and relation to the environment”</i>	Altman & Low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared emotion/affection within one’s culture • Individual & community relations with places
<i>“ To be attached to certain of our surroundings is to make them a part of our extended self...possessions involve the extended self only when the basis for attachment is emotional rather than simply functional”</i>	Belk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of one’s identity • Emotional bonds to place • Attachment based on one’s ownership to places

Table 2.1 above indicates that it is difficult to separate emotion from the cognitive and behavioral. Emotional ties to places appear to imply cognitive and behavioral reactions to our immediate environment. Thereby, in this thesis it is argued that the three aspects are interrelated and each of them is equally important in relations to place. Drawing on various concepts of place-attachment by different scholars above, I describe my working definition of place-attachment for this study below:

- *The dimension of the attachment:* emotion, cognition, behavior or interplay between the three in reference to places.
- *The nature of the attachment:* positive, negative, ambivalent emotions (mixture between positive and negative feelings), and symbolical relations (between people and land, for example through kinship, genealogical relationships, pilgrimage, and so on).
- If places comprise of both physical and social aspects (Massey & Jess, 1995; Giddens in Ina & Rosaldo, 2008), thus, *the object of attachment* could be:

physical environment and social relations.

- *The subject or 'actor' of attachment:* individual and group/community, meaning place-attachment can be experienced either as individual or collective attachment to places. At the group level, attachment tends to be comprised of symbolic meanings of places that are shared among the members (Low, 1992).

Place-attachment can be viewed in terms of place-meaning. The meaning assigned to places appears to trigger emotional bonds and manifested in cognition, such as belief, judgments, attitudes, and so on (Casakin & Kreitler, 2008). In this study, place-attachment is measured in terms of meaning by employing Gustafson's typology of Self, Others, and Behavior so the choices and decisions to choose important places in respondent's daily-life can be understood. Moreover, place-attachment is considered to occur when place-people interaction is accompanied by significant meaning (Milligan, 1998). According to Gustafson (2001), the category of 'Self' signifies roots and continuity. In a broader sense, self refers to personal aspect of place and expressed in terms of life-path (memories and experiences), emotion, activities, and a source of identification (Gustafson, 2001). This category is strongly associated with emotion and meaning that we give to place. For example, in Gustafson's study, many respondents associated their place of residence with security and sense of home (Gustafson, 2001).

The category of "Others" primarily encompasses social characteristics of place. In this sense, we give meaning to place because of relationship with other people and based on how we perceive their trait-characteristics and behavior toward us. This category often expressed as stereotype about others, or in the form of comparison between "Us" and "Them" or "Here" and "There". Thus, often we make an association of a place based on classification of the inhabitants. For example, immigrant suburb and non-immigrant one (Gustafson, 2001).

The category of "Environment" refers to physical aspects of place including symbolical, historical, institutional, and geographical environment. In this sense, place is associated with distinctive features and events that frequently occur there. In addition, place could be considered meaningful when it provides opportunities and chances to participate into some activities or when we become part of community or institution. Likewise, constraining situation and place that holding us back to do something are also

considered part of this category. The other feature of this category is localization, that is physical distance from one place to another (Gustafson, 2001).

2.4. The Cultural Aspect of Place-Attachment

In the midst of personal and experiential framework of place-attachment, the broader cultural context is often abandoned. Reviewing the works of different authors, only a few scholars have attempted to understand place-attachment in its appropriate cultural context and try to 'translate' its physical and social aspects from cultural perspectives of people who develop the attachment. For example, Low (1992) has specified cultural aspects of place-attachment in formulating six symbolic linkages between people and land. He also identifies different process that creates them. According to Low (1992), culture can link people to places through shared values, historical narratives, genealogical relationships, and so on. Subsumed to the cultural aspects of place-attachment are religious values and activities. Thus, place-attachment may be religion based. For instance, Mazumdar & Mazumdar (2004) argue that religion can play an important role in fostering people's attachment to places. They examine in details design, structure, and aesthetics of sacred places from various religions. Another scholar, Moore (2000) investigates the experiential aspect of place-attachment to home by exploring its meaning in various cultural and historical contexts. In this way, the conceptualization of home is broadened and home is examined from more a 'holistic' perspectives. If the same 'logic' is employed when analyzing place-attachment i.e. paying attention to cultural perspectives, the concept of place-attachment itself may be both broadened and deepened and "explicate the nature of affections and cognitions that characterize psychological bonds, linkages, ties, and so forth to places" (Giuliani & Fieldman, 1993: 272). Thereby, in this study it is argued that the Bali's cultural aspects of place-attachment are important to be explored. For that purpose, below the general concepts of cultural aspects of place-attachment by Low (1992) will be discussed and exemplified in the context of Bali.

According to Low (1992), the cultural aspects of place attachment refers to the ways in which linkages with geographical space are developed through one's genealogical past in a location, the exchange of land (including owning, inheriting, maintaining legal rights over land), collective experiences of believing in place (for example religious, spiritual, or mythological), participation in pilgrimage and celebratory events in a location, and in

narrative forms, such as storytelling and place-naming. Through these social systems, culture provides a set of standards for what are considered as ‘good’ and ‘bad’ places (Corcoran, 2002). This means that the whole community may share the same attachment to particular places rather than entirely depends on individual attachment, which is developed through one’s personal experiences with a place (Altman & Low, 2002). As stated by Riley, “the imagined landscape has more meaning, power, and importance in the role of the human experience than landscape experienced concretely” (Riley, 1992: 20), thus attachment to place not only involves individual personal and emotional experiences but also individual’s community and cultural beliefs. In addition, Low & Altman (1992) argue that cultural aspect of place-attachment may take form in symbolic meanings inherited from tradition, shared memories, and shared experiences. Through these shared meanings, people are enabled to develop stronger emotional bonds in their current relationships and experiences, which they will perceive as meaningful ones. In this way, it is expected that places can strengthen attachment between people and their culture (Low and Altman, 1992). The typology of cultural place attachment proposed by Low (1992) could be categorized into three groups:

Table 2.2.

Cultural Aspects of Place-attachment		
The Social Dimension	The Material Dimension	The Ideological Dimension
Genealogical place-attachment: family ties, kinship, community involvement	Loss/destruction place-attachment: natural disaster, resettlement, and urban development.	Cosmological place-attachment: myth about the worlds/landscape, religious concepts, metaphors, symbols.
	Economic place-attachment: ownership of land	Pilgrimage place-attachment: pilgrimage to sacred places.
		Narratives place-attachment: myth, family stories, place-naming, language, political account.

These categories are not mutually exclusive. Thereby, this means that a place can fall into more than one category, with some categories more outstanding than the others. As it is

more difficult to put a place into one category only, yet a place can be described in terms of all categories (Low & Altman, 1992: 167). Below each category will be discussed in detailed.

1. The Social Dimension

Genealogical place-attachment. The bond between people and land can be shaped through historical identification with place, family, or community. Place attachment is usually developed in rural areas, where tradition is preserved, and relationship between villagers and their village has been built for quite long time. The embodiment of this type of place-attachment could take the form in language, rituals/ceremonies, such as traditional harvesting festival, the importance of place name, how history is revealed through landscape, jokes, songs, poetry, and principles for organizing families (Low & Altman, 1992). In Bali's cultural context, place-attachment is primarily created through childhood house where deified ancestors reside. It also created through customary-village where a Balinese is genealogically 'rooted'. Thereby, important religious ceremonies should be held in one's customary-village⁷.

2. The Material Dimension

Loss or destruction of place-attachment. When genealogical place-attachment is collapsed, it creates another place-attachment based on the loss or destruction of places. The loss makes people realize the taken-for-grantedness of the provision of places. In other, the shock reminds us about what has been lost or destructed (Brown & Perkins in Low & Altman, 1992). Whatever the forms of destruction, whether it is caused by exile, disaster, resettlement, or urban development, the psychological reactions which evoked are the same, namely bereavement, mourning, and grieving. Often, after the destruction, the desire for 'continuity of place' is expressed in the resident's reluctance to move to a new place. This sense of place-continuity that helps us to comprehend the future (Marris in Low & Altman, 1992) and past understandings and continuity of meanings are essential to help us to re-adapt to everyday-life (Smith in Low & Altman, 1992).

⁷ Customary village is a demarcated region in which the people living within the region have rather more genealogical ties with one another than they do with people in adjacent regions (Geertz, 1959).

Economic Place-attachment. This type of place-attachment is created through the ownership of land or by working in a place for a certain period of time. Ownership of land does not only connect people to their land, but also gives people access to political participation and citizenship. The logic is when someone has a land, she/ he has a 'place' in society, which implies a right to participate in political activities (Low & Altman, 1992). For instance, within Bali's customary law, when someone is given a land by his/her village, in return he/she is obliged to provide voluntary physical labor or to provide material goods such as, coconut, oil, palm leaves, banana leaves, and eggs for the sake of community needs. This shows that there is economic give and take between the owner of the land and his/her village. Thereby, someone could feel to belong or attach to a place by owning a piece of land. In this sense, for Balinese land does not only have economic value but at the same time brings symbolic meaning and plays an important role in strengthening one's bond with his/her community or place. In addition, it implies individual commitment to his/her community, which 'obliges' Balinese regularly visit their customary-village.

3. Ideological Dimension

Cosmology place-attachment. This type of place-attachment concerns religious, moral and mythological aspect of place-attachment. It refers to "a culture's religious and mythological conceptions of the world and the structural correspondence of these ideas with the landscape" (Low, 1992: 170). From this perspective, land or place is often considered sacred because it is perceived as the representation of the cosmos or universe, as the physical setting of the actual relationship between human beings with the cosmos, and the home of humans, ancestors, and gods. This type of place-attachment is usually accompanied by genealogical and narrative place-attachment. Higher places like, valleys, hills, mountains are often believed as sacred and imbued with metaphors, myths, symbols, meanings, social organizations, and architectonic order (Low, 1992). For example, within Bali's culture, a house symbolizes three parts of the human body respectively: head, body and feet. The roof symbolizes head, wall and pillar symbolize human body or trunk, and floor and foundation of the house symbolizes human feet. Thus, the pattern of a house, the scale, and its direction are linked Bali's cultural ideas to balance and harmonious relationship between human life, environment, and gods (Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001).

Pilgrimage place-attachment. This type of place-attachment is closely related with cosmological place-attachment due to the idea of place symbolizes religious and spiritual connotations or meanings. This kind of pilgrimage is often imbued with moral teachings, rules of conducts and philosophical knowing. Usually the emotional reactions raised as a result of visiting sacred places are transient yet intense because the visit can be a once-in-the-lifetime goal. Thereby, it may change one's life course to a whole different direction (Low and Altman, 1992). At least, as Low (1992) argues, pilgrimage can give us opportunity to experience new environment and new rhythm of life although for a while. Thus, it creates identification with a place that has special meaning (Low and Altman, 1992). In the context of Bali's culture, a pilgrimage is usually carried out to a far-away temple, bathing pool, mountain, and sea. It aims to 'clean' one self from sin, misfortunes, bad luck, and other spiritual impurities and obstacles. The harshness of a journey to reach such sacred places symbolizes one's sincere effort and intention to purify him/herself. The pilgrimage attachment to a temple is usually determined by: First, genealogical relations of a Balinese, whether a temple had been visited by his/her deified ancestors for many years; thus it becomes an 'external' family temple which should be visited regularly on important religious days or ceremonies. Second, historical and narratives aspects, whether a temple is believed as a sacred place due to its history and symbols within Bali-Hindu narratives. For instance, Besakih temple is believed as one of the most sacred temple in Bali because it is one of the oldest, biggest temples, and located on the sacred mountain of mount Agung. It is believed that Besakih temple symbolizes the structure of universe (George, 1998).

Narrative place-attachment. It usually takes forms in myth, family stories, and political accounts. Also, it may take form as moral lessons that learned from pilgrimage activities. It is functioned as a bond between people and their land through genealogical linkage, which is communicated through story telling, place-naming, and language (Low and Altman, 1992). Sometimes the stories symbolize what kind of behavior, which is acceptable or not in a society. More than moral instructions, narratives could play a role as a foundation or guidance to interpret landscape or daily-life experiences. For example, many Balinese believe that pilgrimage to sacred places is perceived as a 'sacred journey' or *Tirta Yatra* because in this journey, one attempts to purify him/herself so he could be united

to god. From the water and land which are sacred due to the purification by the prayers of holy people, a pilgrim could obtain extraordinary power and spiritual blessings. In particular, by doing a pilgrimage to natural places, such as mountain, sea, valley, and doing sacred religious rituals, one's life is expected to be renewed (Sax, 1991). In this way, people and land are actively engaged and inseparable through narrative.

2.5. The Essence of Balinese Indigenous Concepts of Organizing Places

As already elaborated a bit on the introduction section, Balinese people have their own conceptions of organizing spaces which are based on Hinduism conception. Within these traditional narratives of place-making, there are particular interrelated concepts that may not evidently related to the notion of place-attachment. In another words, not all the concepts clearly reinforce Balinese's attachment to places. Therefore, in this research, it will be discussed the Balinese conceptions of places which are considered 'applicable' in facilitating Balinese young adult's attachment to their day-to-day places. Also, it will be discussed the psychological dimensions that underlie those cultural concepts presented.

2.5.1. Tri Hita Karana: the Harmonious Balance between Human Beings, Environment and Gods

The empirical findings show that home and external temple are the most meaningful places for Balinese. Thus, this fact implies that *desa adat* or customary-village as a place where Balinese young adults and their ancestors have dwelled for many generations, is also significant place for them. The empirical findings reveal that bounded genealogical and community obligations endowed by *desa adat* are one of the underlying reasons of Balinese to visit their customary-village regularly (in the case of Mirna, Shanti, Ngurah, Pande, Putu, Ketut, Ngurah, and Wayan). In this respect, Balinese are attached to their home and customary village due to social-cultural obligations and social-sanctions they will acquire for not fulfilling such obligations. These social-cultural obligations are closely associated with the primary Balinese concept of organizing spaces, *Tri Hita Karana*. This concept emphasizes the harmonious balance between the relationship of human beings and gods, human beings and environment, and among human being themselves. The embodiment of this concept can be clearly observed in Balinese housing compounds and *desa adat* settlement in terms of spatial zoning and element classifications. In terms of spatial zoning, *desa adat* settlement is divided into three main areas: (1) sacred places or

parahyangan (2) settlement areas or *pawongan* and (3) supporting utilities or *palemahan*. In terms of element classifications, sacred places or *parahyangan* is indicated in terms of three temples (*Tri Kahyangan*): the most sacred temple or *pura desa* is located in the highest place, for divine inspiration. The second temple, *pura puseh* is located at the centre of *desa adat*, where life and trade are concentrated; thus, it is considered being a neutral area. The third temple, *pura dalem* is always located in the southern part or downstream of *desa adat*, closed to the cemetery; thus, it is believed being the most profane part. Overall, the three temples (*Tri Kahyangan*) symbolize the relationship between human beings and Gods (Suardana, 2007), while settlement areas or *pawongan* take the form in human beings as the dwellers of *desa adat*. This represents the relationship among human beings. *Palemahan* or supporting utilities area takes the form in built settlement, such as a market place, open place, palace, cemetery, and others, and represents the relationship between human beings and their environment (Samadhi, 2000). Furthermore, the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* could be applied to a micro scale, which is in the structure of each housing compound: house yard as *palemahan*, house dwellers as *pawongan*, and family temple as *parahyangan*. The implementation of *Tri Hita Karana* is also closely related to the religious ceremonies dedicated to the Gods (*Dewa Yadnya*), to deified ancestors (*Pitra Yadnya*), to Hindu priest (*Rsi Yadnya*), to the cycle of life (*Manusa Yadnya*), and finally to demons (*Bhuta Yadnya*) (Geriya, 2008). Thus, for honoring these 'actors', Balinese should fulfill their social-cultural obligations in terms of religious ceremonies, which are usually held in their home and customary village (*desa adat*). In this context, it is critical for Balinese to maintain the harmonious balance between the world of deities or Gods (*Swah Loka*), the world of human beings (*bhuwah loka*), and the world of demons (*Bhur Loka*). Translated to the contemporary context of place-making and design, these three main aspects can be perceived as God(s), human beings, and the environment. Thus, it is vital for Balinese to attain this balance because it is the basis for achieving prosperity and welfare, also to make the entire world works in harmony as well. Otherwise, when the balance is distorted or collapse, it means misfortune, illness, and disaster are on its way (Samadhi, 2000).

Psychologically, the Balinese conceptions of organizing spaces encourage the attachment process by fulfilling individual necessities and collective concerns at the same time. In this respect, the participation of Balinese young adults as members of *desa adat* and the quest for personal business are inseparable. Through individual active involvement

in the communities or *desa adat* activities, a Balinese ensures that in each stage of life— gestation, birth, maturation, death, and back to nature - his/her social rights will be fulfilled by the members or *desa adat*. Thus, this give-and-take philosophy prominently reinforces the attachment process of Balinese young adults to their home and customary-village. As one of the research participants says, “Who wants to be deserted when you die? Balinese people are so afraid to be abandoned when they die. If a person is not actively involved in your community, your dead body may be left on the street, and no one will prepare a proper *Ngaben* (cremation ceremony) for you”.

Figure 2.1.
The Balinese Concept of Organizing Places
Tri Hita Karana applied in Balinese
desa adat (customary-village)

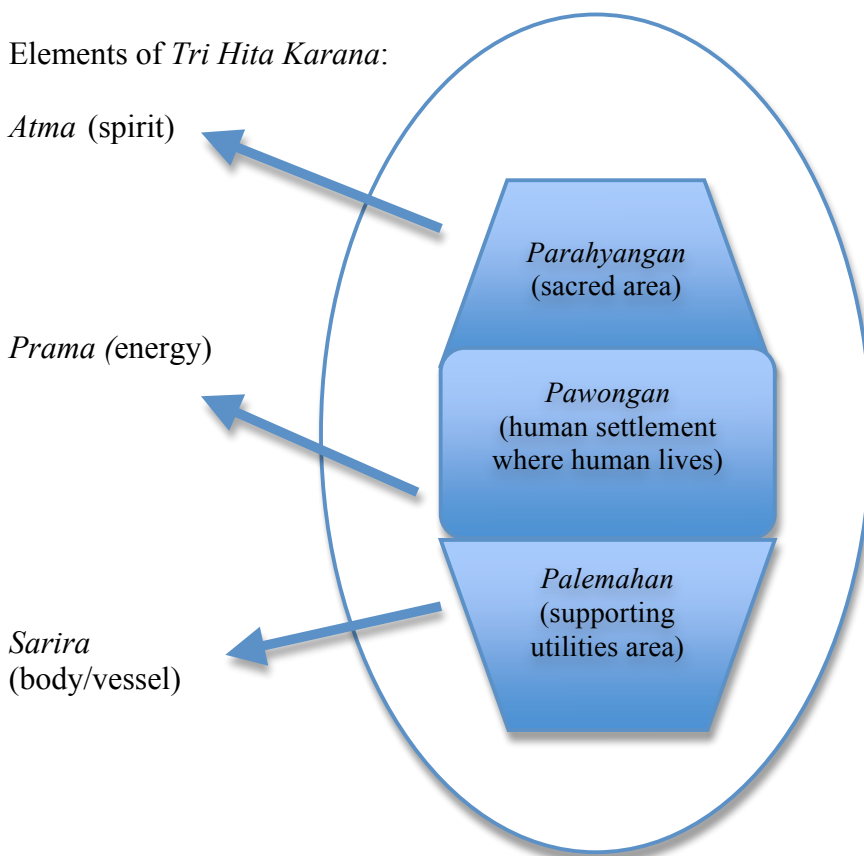
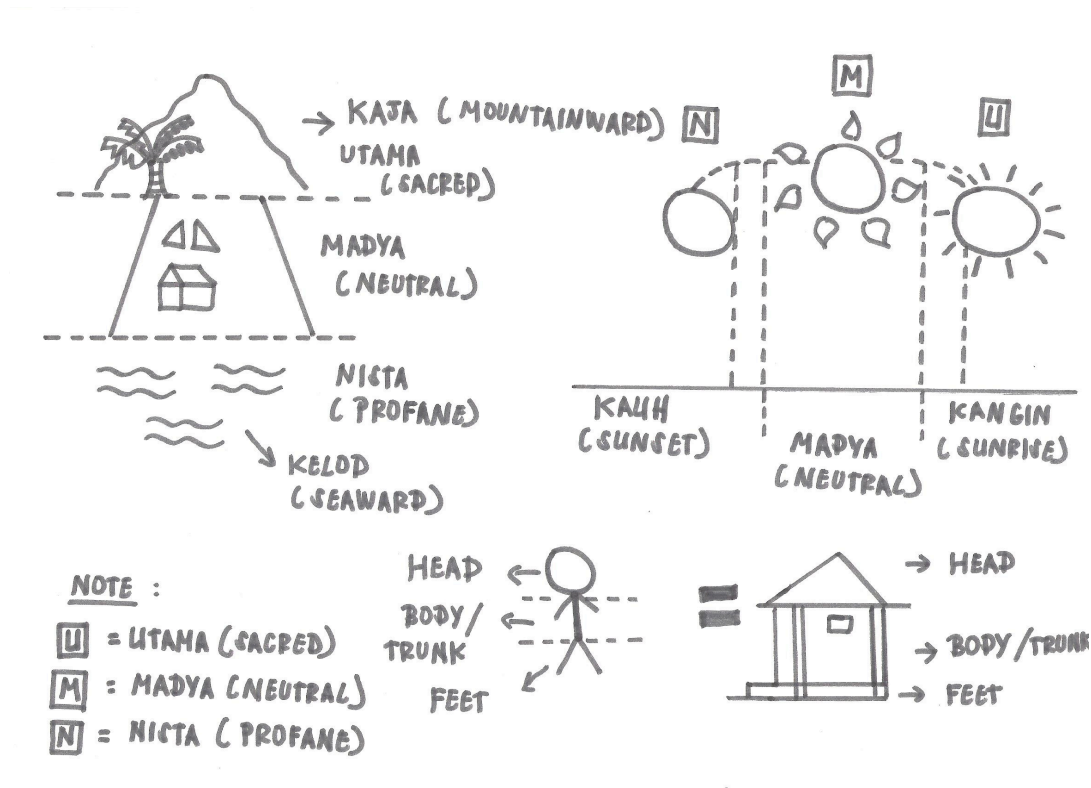


Figure 2.2.

Tri Angga principle⁸

Symbolically spatial unit applied to human body, house, and customary village (*desa adat*)



Subsumed within the principle of *Tri Hita Karana* is another important concept, *Tri Angga*, which divides space or zone vertically into three main parts: *utama* (sacred, upstream), *madya* (neutral, middle), and *nista* (downstream). *Tri Angga* can be employed in the human body, house and building structures, and town planning. Thus, it can be concluded that the spatial principle of *Tri Hita Karana* structures place horizontally, while *Tri Angga* organizes space vertically. Both concepts emphasize the harmonious balance between micro-cosmos (human being), macro-cosmos (environment), and the creator (gods). In this respect, it is clear that traditional Balinese religious conceptions about the world are embodied into spatial organizations and functions, either in a private place, such as home or public place, such as external temple. Thus, in this study it is argued that these traditional Balinese principles of organizing places are disrupted by globalisation and modernity forces. Then, the question now

⁸ The picture of 'Tri Angga Principle' is made by the author. Inspired by Samadhi (2001) and Danes in Ramseyer & Tisna (2001).

is how does the disruption influence Balinese young adult's attachment to their everyday-life-places? To answer this question, their meaningful everyday-life-places will be categorized into two groups of places: Places-of-refuge and places-of-ambivalent-feelings. In this study, it is argued that places that primarily apply or support the realization of Balinese traditional concepts of organizing places tend to create positive emotions within Balinese young adults, rather than places that employ modern concepts of place. Thereby, to identify what place that can be subsumed to these two categories I employ the notion of three dimensional aspects of place-attachment by Scannel & Gifford (2010.) They argue that that place-attachment is a multidimensional concept consists of person, psychological process, and place dimension. The first dimension concerns with the 'actor', the second dimension is the psychological process, and the third dimension is the object of attachment. In this study, to analyze which places are 'place-of-refuge' and 'place-of-ambivalent-feelings', the psychological process of place attachment will be employed on the respondent's place-experiences. Thereby, a place which evoke harmonious relationship between emotion, cognitive, and behavioral aspects of the respondents will be categorized as a 'place-of-refuge' and a place which evoke dissonance/dis-harmonious relationship between those three aspects will be categorized as a 'place-of-ambivalent-feelings'. Adopting general psychology theory on the structure of the human psyche, Scannell and Gifford (2010) conceptualize the operational definition of psychological process as emotion, cognition, and behavior. In terms of emotion, place-attachment is represented by an array of affects, either it is negative, positive, or both. While cognitively, individual can relate to place in terms of familiarity, self-definition (using place as a source of self-identification), belief, knowledge, and schema about the place or one self that facilitate his/her attachment to place. Finally, in terms of behavior, place-attachment is manifested through action: as an act to maintain closeness to a place, place reconstruction, and relocation to similar places.

Chapter 3

Methodological Approach

3.1. Introduction: From Theory to Practice

In this section, I will introduce the research setting, methodology, and data analysis. First, I will discuss the research setting of Bali in general, emphasizing the Balinese-Hindu cultural-tradition as it provides an important context for place-attachment of Balinese youth. Subsequently, I describe the research settings of Kuta and Ubud, as well as their suitability as research locations. In the methodology section, I introduce the respondents and their recruitment, as well as the method of data collection, namely: participatory-observation, photo-elicitation, and semi-structured interview. Finally, the (modified) grounded theory approach to analyzing data will be discussed.

3.2. The Research Setting: Bali, The Hindu Island of Indonesia

Bali is a small island in Indonesia located between island of Java and Lombok. It is approximately 5, 600 km in the area, and at 2005 had approximately 3,5 million people of a population (Data Statistik Indonesia, 2005). In the centre of Bali, there is a chain of mountains that divide this island into two main parts. At the north of Bali which is characterized by narrow alluvial plain of valleys and mountains, and south of Bali which consists of vast and flat areas, watered by shallow, north-south flowing rivers (Pemerintah Provinsi Bali, 2005). The densest and largest city is Denpasar, the capital of Bali. Its population is around 300,000, and it is located near the southern coast. Other important cities around Denpasar are Kuta (the south of Denpasar) for its beach resort and Ubud (the north of Denpasar) which is well-known as the arts and cultural centre of Bali. Both Kuta and Ubud receive the highest number of tourists, that is around 240 thousand people in September 2010 (Pemerintah Provinsi Bali, 2010).

The Balinese are predominantly Hindu, although Indonesia's population is predominantly Muslim. On its foundation of Hindu religion, the uniqueness of Balinese's culture resides. Their so identity rests on their Hindu-Bali religion that embodied in every aspect of their every-day-life, taking the form in genealogical relationships with their gods,

their ancestors, and their lands, in particular is their relationship with the customary-village or *desa adat* (Samadhi, 2000). Those relationships are preserved through religious ceremonies which are held regularly at temples. For this prominent feature of Balinese culture, Geertz (1980) called Bali as a “theatre state”, emphasizing such spectacular religious ceremonies/ rituals as public displays or spectacles, which connecting Balinese earthly business with the order of the cosmos itself (MacRae, 2005). Under Soeharto’s government, (1966-1998) Bali is exploited as the national’s centre of tourism in order to encourage foreign capital. The high expectation toward tourism industry to improve Balinese’s quality of life had ruined Balinese faith to agricultural ways of life, including their connections to place or land are disrupted (Ramseyer & Tisna, 2000). Thus, the development of the tourist industry has forced the multifaceted shift of both land and labor from agricultural tourism to tourism-based industry (MacRae, 1999).

Figure 3.1. Map of Bali⁹



⁹ Source: <http://www.streetdirectory.co.id>

3.2.1. Why Kuta and Ubud?

Data collection and preliminary analysis took place in Kuta and Ubud, Bali, Indonesia, from May to July 2010. As study areas, these two places offer different nuances in how globalization and modernity are embodied: In Kuta, global and modern values are spread over through night-life and ‘hippies’ life-style, while in Ubud are through natural landscapes, traditional Balinese ways of life, and artistic-cultural activities (Picard, 2006). Thus, in Kuta the tourism-industry tends to reinforce modern and globalized life-styles and values, while in Ubud the tourism industry tends to support Balinese cultural-tradition. Therefore, these distinct situations in the two study areas are considered aligned with the context of this research: Bali’s tourism industry which represents the global and modern in opening access to a wider world, thus exposing Balinese youth to experiencing “Bali-in-two worlds’ situation each day, when the local and global forces, tradition and modernity are lived side by side. Therefore, based on these key differences of place-characteristics, it is assumed that they will contribute to the diversity of responses between two groups of respondents.

3.2.1.1. Kuta, the City of Leisure for Backpackers

Kuta is administratively a district (*kecamatan*) and subdistrict/village (*kelurahan*) in southern Bali, Indonesia. Once, it was a fishing village and eventually became one of the first towns on Bali to see substantial tourist development, and as a beach resort remains one of Indonesia's major tourist destinations (see figure 3.2). Now Kuta is the center of an extensive tourist-oriented urban area that has merged with the neighboring towns, such as Legian and Seminyak which are located in the northern part of Kuta. These two towns are somewhat quieter suburb areas with mostly cottage-style accommodations, where many of the expats live (Suryadinata, Arifin & Ananta, 2003). In particular, Kuta is well-known as a place for backpacker tourists due to the cheap accommodation, the beauty of the Kuta’s beach, and ease to get illegal drugs (Picard, 2006). The tourists who come to Kuta are usually young people, mostly come from Australia. They enjoy the Kuta’s beach for surfing activities and for able to stay in Bali for longer periods with cheap accommodation. While the local tourists are mainly come from Java island and Balinese families who like to go to Kuta during the weekend to do shopping, seeing sunset, or having dinner at the Kuta’s

beach (see figure 3.3). The growth of the tourism industry in Kuta has attracted many young people from Bali and other parts of Indonesia to come and work there. Usually they work at the hotel, spa, restaurant, boutique, or having their own enterprise. Some of them do illegal business such as, being gigolo, prostitutes, or selling drugs. For those who are less fortunate, they work as peddler or street vendor along the Kuta's beach. Furthermore, most of the hotels in Kuta are owned by non-Balinese, also the 90% of companies that involved in Bali's tourism industry. As the consequence, the Balinese who have land and business in Kuta long time ago, nowadays they tend to lease their land or shops to foreigners or businessmen from Jakarta, rather than they run their own shops or companies (Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001). Furthermore, due to the growth of the tourism industry in Bali, the price of land in Kuta is increasing every year, that is around 3000 US dollar per m². Hence, Kuta is still overwhelmed with mall, boutiques, restaurant, hotel, café, discotheque, and resort (Picard, 2006). For Balinese, the image of Kuta is tending to be negative. As illustrated by Tambunan, one of the respondents, "Kuta is as a centre of vicious, destructive, sinful activities. For many Balineses, Kuta is a place which has the least character of Balinese culture, a place that has tainted the paradise image of Bali". This negative perception is seemingly associated with the traditional Balinese principles of organizing culture. This culture believes that places that are located in low land or near the sea is considered a digression toward a more profane or less sacred directions. However, many Kuta's residents still believe that they have succeeded in preserving the traditional Balinese cultural-traditions, their Hindu values, and normative Balinese life style (Picard, 2006). Amid the modern banality of Kuta's strip and multiplier effects of tourism, each day young Balinese women put floral offerings to their gods in front of every doorway. On the sacred day of *Nyepi*, the entire island is shuts down. On feast days, processions of women and men in their Hindu white carrying flowers and fruits and chanting prayers from the holy *Wedha* still delighting foreign onlookers.

Figure 3.2. Kuta's beach



Figure 3.3. Kuta's shopping square



3.2.1.2. Ubud, the Centre of Art and Culture

Ubud is a traditional village which is located 26 km from the capital city of Denpasar. Geographically, Ubud consist of two different areas: flat area and hilly area. It is located 250 meter from the sea level, thereby Ubud has cooler weather than Kuta, that is around 26-28' Celcius (Sukawati, 2004). Nowadays, Ubud's population is around 30.000 people (World Gazetteer, 2010), therefore, it is getting more difficult to categorize Ubud either as a village or as a small town.

Different with Kuta which is mostly consisted of hotels, restaurants, and coastal resorts, Ubud is abounding with rice fields, settlement neighborhood and art galleries or

museums. It's mainly attractive for tourists because of its image as a village of art and as a place where tourist could still see the authentic Balinese culture. Thus, the image of Ubud is promising for tourists about "the real Bali village" (Picard, 2006: 120). Ubud is divided into three main villages: the village of painter, the village of silver craftsman, and the village of sculptor. The inhabitants of Ubud work as a farmer and artist, although nowadays they are more and more of them who work as entrepreneurs due to the growth of the tourism industry. During the colonial period (1800-1942), Ubud was a centre of puri, (Balinese kingdom or a place where the noble live). The money acquired from tourists who came to Ubud was usually used by the nobles of Ubud to fund the religious ceremonies they should carry out (Picard, 2006). Thereby, from this fact it is assumed that tourism in Ubud supports the preservation of Balinese art and tradition. As illustrated by Gede, one of the respondents, "In Ubud, there are still many Balinese kings and nobles; thus, they feel more responsible to preserve their Balinese cultural traditions such as religious ceremonies and art performances. They became like impresarios..."¹⁰.

Figure 3.4. A main street in Ubud



Figure 3.5. Rice terrace in Ubud



(Source: www.hgtv.com)

Thereby, opposite from Kuta whose visitors are searching for nightlife, surfing, and shopping activities, tourists who come to Ubud are cultural tourists. Generally, they come to Ubud to see the ancient Balinese tradition, enjoy the nature, and learn how to paint, dance, sculpt, or playing traditional music instruments. Hence, in Ubud we could find easily art shops, art museum or galleries, bungalow or home-stay located near the rice field, and art centres (Picard 2006). As described once again by Gede, one of the respondents, “The hotels in Ubud are also much smaller than ones in Kuta; usually they are consisted of maximum 20 rooms. Mostly these hotels are owned by Balinese entrepreneurs, who are the nobles from Ubud, rather than foreign businessmen as usually the case in Kuta”¹¹. By the local government of Bali, Ubud is called “the warehouse of art” and introduced as a good example of successful cultural tourism (Picard, 2006: 127).

¹¹Based on interview with Iwan Darmawan, a Balinese journalist of Bali Post news paper and a novel writer titled “Ayu Manda”. The interview was taken on June, 15th 2010.

For Balinese themselves, Ubud is seen as the opposite of Kuta and as the best representation of Bali's image in the world. This perception is associated with Balinese Hindu belief *Tri Mandala*, the micro and macrocosmic principles of organizing places. According to this principle, Ubud is located in a higher place of the island or *Kaja* while Kuta is in a lower place or *Kelod* (Picard, 2006). Thus, for Balinese this implicitly indicates that Ubud is located in a more holy place than Kuta. Thereby, based on this interpretation it is understood why for Balinese Ubud is viewed as a place that possesses much more positive qualities than Kuta. While for tourist in general, Ubud is seen as a more prestigious tourist destination due to the authentic cultural-art activities that Ubud could offer (Sukawati, 2004).

3.3. The Research Participants

This research is considered as a pilot-study of a larger research on Balinese study, particularly on the articulations of Bali's tradition in the context of modernity. As already explained in the proceeding section, research on Balinese issues are focused on Balinese character, customs, and art (Bateson & Mead, 1942; Belo, 1960; Covarrubias, 1999; Geertz, 1981; Jensen & Suryani, 1992; Lansing, 1994, 2006; Ramseyer, 1987; Suryani & Jensen, 1993). However, in recent years, there is a shift of preoccupation or interest among scholars of Balinese studies from "exotic" aspects of Bali's culture to a process of transformation that links the island to Indonesia and the world beyond (Connor & Rubbinstein, 1999: 2). Therefore, acknowledging globalisation and modernity as the research context, this study is considered as part of the 'shift'. Nevertheless, within the Balinese study, this research attempts to give a new direction by focusing on the relationship between Balinese and places seeing from 'within' or from Balinese perspective, which emphasizes the ordinary aspects of Bali's cultural-tradition. To my knowledge, has not been realized yet nor has any other research that would relate Balinese to theoretical dimensions of place-attachment. Therefore, this study also could be viewed as an explanatory research which aims to investigate the (new) phenomena of place-attachment within Balinese cultural context, without proposing any explicit expectations yet. As Babbie (2010) points out that exploratory research is used when problems are in a preliminary stage or when the topic of the issue is new. Therefore, in this case Balinese's relation to everyday-life-places is viewed as a new issue within Balinese studies, which its

feasibility to be a more extensive study should be tested first. Corollary, it is argued that exploratory research is useful to involve a fairly broad group of respondents rather than engaged with those who have similar characteristics. By expecting maximum variation of respondents, both unique and diverse 'cases' that emerge due to adapting in different condition could be included. Subsequently, identification of common patterns across various situations could be generated. This logic is aligned with the explorative nature of this study.

As I would like to study how globalisation and modernity shaping Balinese's young adults place-attachment, I intent to have research participants with following characteristics: (1) Have been live in Kuta and Ubud for at least half of his/her life in order to minimize issues of cultural differences. While there are many cultures and norms are expressed within touristic areas such as Bali, it is likely that young adults who were raised in Bali might share some similar cultural expectations about places; (2) Ranged from the ages of 18-35 years old. The decision to choose this range of age is based on the issue typically faced at this life of stage. According to Horwitz and Tognoli, young people at this stage are "considering the importance ...of becoming more at home in the world" Horwitz & Tognoli, 1982: 337). Also, this range of age maximizes the possibility of becoming autonomous and has made some conscious choices in where they live (Horwitz & Tognoli, 1982). In addition, in this stage there is a strong urge within young adults to have marital relationship and family (Erikson in Santrock, 2008). Thereby, it implies that in this stage, young adults will think more seriously about places in where they want to 'settle-down' and having a more stabile life; (3) it is required that they work outside of their residence at least part-time in order to ensure that they had adequate opportunities to engage in places outside of the residence. The latter characteristic is particularly important for female respondent. As it may already know that Indonesia's culture in general adopts patriarchal social system, based on my direct-observation during the three months fieldwork, I assume that Bali's culture also adopts the same social system. However, some Balinese scholars argue that within Balinese culture women are treated somewhat equally with men (Branson & Miller, 1988; Mehra & Ezim, 1998; Ottino, 1995). As Belo (1949) states that in Balinese perception, a new baby is not differentiated as male and female entity, but like god, it is viewed as a union of male and female. Later, at adolescence, there is a clear division of the sexes which symbolizes the complementariness and interchangeability of

male and female. Furthermore, Geertz & Geertz (1975) also describe this clear gender separation in terms of labour division in agriculture, childcare, cooking, art and religious performance. Yet at the same time, he claims that “division of social role or spheres of activity according to sex is blurred and weak” (Geertz & Geertz, 1975: 56). Thus, these scholars point out it is common to see Balinese men take care of their children whilst women engage in manual labour on the road. However, in my point of view Bali’s culture is strongly gendered and patriarchal referring to the patrilineal kinship system, patrilocal residence after marriage, inheritance custom under which women inherits almost nothing, the practice of polygamy, and restriction of women mobility outside home especially at night (Ramseyer & Tisna, 2001; Barth, 1993). As illustrated by Ketut, one of the female respondents, “As a mother and a wife, every day I take care of my children, washing clothes, cooking, preparing banten (daily offerings to gods), and sometimes helping my husband at his warung (a small shop selling daily necessities). However, as Balinese woman I am proud that I am allowed to work outside of the home (at a hotel in Ubud) thus, able to help my husband as the bread-winner...Because of Bali’s tradition is so strong, once they (Balinese women) married, they usually become a full-time housewife”.

Overall, the respondents are consisted of 12 people chosen through strategic-non-representative sampling to obtain a wide range of variation in the responses through the strategic consideration variables or factors expected to produce variation in the phenomenon being studied, and not to draw a statistically representative sample (Trost, 1986). In particular, I use snow-ball sampling which defined by Morgan as “using an initial set of data sources as the basis for locating additional data sources” (Morgan in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 413). Therefore, in the first stage of my research I identified Balinese young adults who fulfil the characteristics explained above and asked them to recommend others who may meet the criteria. In the recruitment process, gender, age, educational/professional background, place of residence, and life-background are considered important in the sampling process, as these factors are assumed to differing experiences with places. In addition, although exploring gender differences is not the main objective in this research, I intent to pay attention to the differences between Balinese women and men in giving meaning to places by having the same amount of female and male research participants. Thus, in this research each group area consists of 3 female and 3 male respondents.

3.3.1. The Life-Settings of Research Participants

In this study, the life path of research participants are explored and assumed will contribute to the variation of place-experiences and place-meanings they have. Thus, it is argued that the diverse aspect of life-settings of the research participants is a crucial aspect that shapes Balinese's place-attachment as it is now. This argument is supported by Gustafson (2001), Giuliani and Feldman (1993) who consider life-setting as a crucial factor that will produce differences in experiencing places. However, not all life-experiences are considered relevant with place-experiences. Thereby, first it will be introduced the general personal backgrounds of the research participants. Afterward, their most important and relevant experiences or life-situations which are believed valuable for the analysis will be revealed. In addition, for the sake of confidentiality, the real names of the research participants will not be revealed. Instead they are replaced with other names which are deliberately made for the research purpose.

The Personal Background of Research Participants

Table 3.1.

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Work	Marital Status	How many times ever moved in Bali	Live in...
Mirna	Female	21	Balinese	Secretary at a church	single	4	Kerobokan, Kuta
Maria	Female	30	Javanese	Secretary at a local coffee company	married	3	Kerobokan, Kuta
Tambunan	Male	32	Bataknese	Film maker	single	3	Kuta
Gede	Male	35	Balinese	Journalist	single	0	Kuta
Shanti	Female	27	Balinese	Secretary at handicraft company	single	0	Kuta
Martin	Male	33	Balinese	Life guard	single	3	Kuta
Ngurah	Male	30	Balinese	Gardener	single	3	Ubud
Wayan	Male	28	Balinese	Gardener	married	0	Ubud
Putu	Male	32	Balinese	Housekeeper at a hotel	married	0	Ubud
Pande	Female	20	Balinese	Student, teacher at a kindergarten	single	0	Ubud
Ketut	Female	27	Balinese	Housekeeper at a hotel	married	0	Ubud
Astuti	Female	25	Balinese	Housekeeper at a hotel	Single	0	Ubud

3.3.2. The Life-Situations of Kuta's Research Participants

Mirna. A 21 years old Balinese woman, who works as a secretary at a Christian church. She and her family was Hindu but they have converted to Christianity since 20 years ago. She had been moved several times within Bali because of her father work. She values her house now as "gift" from god and views the struggle and "history" to have her house now as things that make it priceless.

Maria. A 30 years old Javanese Christian woman, who had already married and has a 5 years old daughter. She had been raised in Bali since she was a child and now works as a secretary at a small, local coffee company. In Bali, she had been moved several times due to work related issues. Her parents were divorced when she was a child, and during those times she lived interchangeably at her mother's house and her father's. However, she considered her father house as her home, and her mother house as a place "to play" and to "pass the night".

Tambunan. A 32 years old Batakese man, who has been raised half of his life in Bali. He works as a film maker, and views Kuta as a "strategic" place for his work and a suitable place to stimulate his creativity that is essential for his work. During his childhood, Tambunan often moved to another places due to his father works. Today, he views his particular childhood experiences have contributed to his ability to adapt easily to new places. Likewise Martin, Tambunan believes in Christianity but he also believes in Hindu religious values, such as reincarnation, karma, and seven dimensions of spirituality.

Shanti. A 27 years old single Balinese woman, who works as a secretary at a local handicraft company. During her childhood, she had moved several times within Bali due to her father work issues. She is the youngest in her family, and her father had passed away several yeas ago, while her mother is still alive until now.

Gede. A 35 years old Balinese-Hindu man, who works as a journalist at a local newspaper and a novel writer. He has never moved out from Kuta and he mainly concerns with the negative impacts of Bali's tourism industry upon Balinese culture.

Martin. A 33 years old Balinese man, who works as a lifeguard at Kuta's beach. Raised in an artistic family (his grandfather was a Balinese dance, actor, and a beach life guard as well), and have been moved out several times within Bali. He considers sea as an important part of his life since he was childhood until now because his home is always located near the sea and he often spent his time as a child played in a sea. Though he believes in Christianity, likewise Tambunan, Martin is highly influenced by Bali-Hindu religion. Thus, he believes in Hindu religious values, such as reincarnation and karma.

3.3.3. The Life-Situations of Ubud's Research Participants

Ngurah. A 30 years old single Balinese-Hindu man, who works as a gardener at an art gallery in Ubud. He has been living in Ubud since he was born and never move out from Ubud ever since. He comes from a peasant family, thereby one of his favorite childhood places is a rice field. Not surprisingly, for Ngurah plant and nature are crucial aspects that can make a place as meaningful/important.

Wayan. A 28 years old Balinese-Hindu man, who works as a gardener in the same place with Ngurah. He is married and at the time this study is conducted, he was expecting his first soon. Likewise Ngurah, Wayan also comes from a peasant family but compared with Ngurah, he tends to view his childhood as painful or bitter. Thereby, although he loves plants and nature, he sees them with unpleasant memories and feelings. Now, Ngurah lives with his family in a big house, consisted of 15 other families. He is grateful to have a place as a home, however, as he views rice field with mixed feelings, Ngurah thinks that his house now is not a decent enough to live at. He has been living in Ubud since he was born and never moved out to another place in Bali.

Putu. A 32 years Balinese-Hindu man, works as a housekeeper at a hotel in Ubud. Besides his works in a hotel, he also a painter and a sculptor. He learned these artistic skills from his grandfather and father. Putu and his family now live in Ubud. He has been living here since he was born and never been moved out of Ubud since he was born.

Pande. A 20 years old woman, who is still studying to be a teacher. Besides studying, Pande is working as a kindergarten teacher in Ubud. Explicitly in my interview with her, Pande admitted that she loves children so much. Thereby, no wonder she enjoys her work

as a teacher. Also, she is a member of the youth organization in her village. As many other Balinese girls, Pande had learned how to dance traditional Balinese dances since she was a child. Thereby, in her spare time, Putu often performs as a dancer with her friends at the community center of her village. This dancing activity is carried out either for religious or tourism purpose. Pande was born in Ubud and lives there ever since. She never lives in another city in Bali but Ubud.

Astuti. A 25 years Balinese-Hindu woman who works at a housekeeper at a hotel in Ubud. Similar with Putu, Astuti has been living in Ubud since she was born, and never been lives in another place in Bali. During her childhood, Astuti lived more often at her grandmother's house. This activity is stopped once she started going to school. Thereby, her grandmother's house is one of meaningful place in her life.

Ketut. A 27 years old Balinese-Hindu woman, who works as a front-officer at a hotel in Ubud. Likewise Putu and Astuti, Ketut has been living in Ubud since she was born and never moves from there ever since. Ketut does not intent to live Ubud because her parents and relatives live there. Even when she had not married, she had planned to find a husband from Ubud, so she could live near her parents and able to taking care of them. Now Ketut lives in Ubud with her husband and children. As a working Balinese woman, she is proud to be able to work and support his husband financially.

3.4. The Data Collection Methods

In this research, the phenomena of being studied, that is place-attachment of Balinese young adults, can be understand best when approached by a variety or a combination of research methods. Thereby, this research employs three qualitative methods, namely: participatory-observation, photo-elicitation, and semi-structured interviews. By doing so, the researcher is allowed to identify, explore, and understand the emotional, perception, and behavioral dimensions of Balinese young adults in experiencing everyday-life-places. Thus, it will strengthen the research findings and data interpretations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). As follows, I will discuss each method in turn.

Participatory Observation. When conducting participant-observation, I adopted a role an observer-as-participant. Therefore, in my fieldwork, I was trying to engage as much as

possible in my research participant's daily activities. In this study, the method is operationalized by following the daily-life of twelve research participants during three months of fieldwork. There are six persons from Ubud and the other six are from Kuta, and each of group-area consists of three females and three males. For each of them, I followed their every-day-life around three days. Thereby, in total the participatory-observation is conducted around 36 days or 5 weeks, since the second week of May until the beginning of June.

During my participant observation, I primarily observed the characteristics of places where the research participants involved, how they get access to such places, the emotions they expressed, their recurrent interactions with significant others, their involvement with their immediate community, and cultural events in which the research participants involved, such as religious ceremonies and daily praying rituals. By observing and involving in different social situations, such as home, temples, *banjar* (community centre), work places, café, beach, and so on, I was able to develop familiarity with the cultural milieu of the research participants and gain an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which participants live. By observing different social situations and engaging in various arenas of Balinese every-day-life-places, I would like to explore the questions of place-meaning and attachment ascribed by Balinese young adults, as Spradley (1980) argues that through three elements of social situation which are actor, activity, and arena, a researcher could understand the social and cultural meaning.

Moreover, through participant-observation I had a chance to establish a face-to-face relationship with them, being there with them to learn about the meaning of everyday-life-places and cultural concepts that influence their attachment to these places. Guided by these cultural understandings, I attempted to discern the importance of such places for the research participants, and the subtleties of their emotion, cognitive, and behavioral responses within the framework of people-place interactions.

During participant-observation, data are recorded in forms of field-notes, which are written soon after a period of field-encounters. On field-notes, I wrote about my daily experiences, feelings, description of places I have visited, conversations that I heard, questions, pre-conceptions, surprises, and everything that attracted my attention or stroke me. All of these then become a personal text for me to refer to and analyze. Thus, from personal, direct experiences and the field-notes, I could acquire data which I could not

gain from interviews, such as description or 'visuality' of places, situations, interactions, and particularly a process of social situations, for example, how the respondents practice their daily praying ceremonies, going to the temple to celebrate Galungan and Kuningan, spending time with families, and others. In sum, these data eventually develop my understanding about the meaning of places of the respondents, the context of their everyday-life-experiences, and they way they experience places. In this respect, notes are invaluable sources of data and prompts for further reflections (Hay, 2005: 203). Below I put one of my field-notes as an example (see Box 3.1).

The results of the observation provide a basis for developing interview questions. Therefore, I can discuss and clarify directly my 'puzzlements' to the respondents and compare the data acquired from the participant-observation with the ones from the interviews. In this way, the dialectic aspect of a grounded theory research is enhanced (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

BOX 3.1. Example of field-notes

June, 16th 2010, Monkey Forest, Ubud, around 15.00.

Today afternoon, I followed Pande to a temple in Monkey Forest, Ubud. Monkey forest is a very famous touristic place in Ubud, but I never know before there is a temple there, until Pande asked me to go there with her. On the way to Monkey Forest, Pande told me that the temple is an important place for her, because there she usually prays to god to ask guidance, to express her gratefulness if her wishes are granted and when there are special religious ceremonies, such as *odalan*, *purnama* (full-moon), *tilem* (dead moon), or simply to meet her friends there.

I think to go to a special place such as temple, Pande should wear a rather, special dress to show the formality and importance of this activity (but I should ask about this later to her). Today, she wears a dark brown Balinese sarong, a white *kebaya*, with a pink waistband. Regarding how I dressed-up, Pande doesn't explicitly ask me to dress-up like her. But I guessed, I should wear a similar dress to show that I respect her custom and to make me feel as "insider" as well. So, I also wore my Balinese dress. Pande seemed surprised to see me dressed-up completely like a Balinese. She smiles and says, "Oh you also have a Balinese dress? How come?". I answer, "My sister is married with a Balinese man, so a few weeks ago they have a ceremony at their family's temple, and in order to attend that event, I went to a tailor and made this dress"....

Photo Elicitation. In this research, I used photography to evoke different kind of information which could not be achieved through other methods of collecting data, such as interviews and observation (Rose, 2007), or in other words photos can evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than words (Berger, 1992). Through informal conversations with the research participants, I felt that it is somewhat difficult for them to talk about places. I assume it is either because they rarely think consciously about places, especially about the meaning and importance of places, or because it is more difficult for them to talk or describe about places without actually seeing them. Thus, since this research primarily concerns about places, I believe that images or 'visuality' can help research participants to 'sharpen' their memories and to reduce the areas of misunderstanding. This assumption is aligned with the argument of several scholars who utilized photography in their research, that photographs can give research participants a mean to reflect on aspects of their lives that they may usually give little thought to (Blinn & Harris, 1991; Holliday, 2004; Latham, 2003). Hence, photographs are used by social scientist because they can evoke three things: information, affect, and reflection (Rose, 2007: 238). Photographs are also good in capturing the 'texture' and feelings of places (Rose, 2007: 247). Thus, it helps me to make sense of a certain kind of data that would have been difficult to interpret without them.

In practice, the advantages of using photo-elicitation are: (1) It is easily made rather than video, for example (2) It overcomes the fatigue and boredom of repetition of conventional interview (Collier, 1967: 858). Thus, it elicits more relaxed and enjoyable interviews both for me as the interviewer and the interviewee (3) Photographs are precise records of material reality (Collier, 1967: 5), thus it is valuable in its precision in providing data for analysis (4) Photographs can encode enormous amount of information in a single presentation (Grady, 2004: 20). Thereby, in this study, it triggered richer data about respondent's relationships with significant others, housing condition, cultural values, and personal problems (5) Photo-elicitation can contribute in enhancing rapport and facilitate communication between me and the research participants. Thus, I expect that it can 'smooth' my interaction with them in another time and place. While the disadvantages of photo-elicitations are (1) Though it is easily made, often it takes more time for the research participants to make photographs, particularly for places which are far away from their home. Thereby, compared with conventional interviews, photo-elicitation is time consuming because it demands more time before and during interview (2) The interview

following photo-elicitation can be very intense and emotional for the interviewee. Thus, they tend to tell much more information which are not relevant with the questions (3) To have meaningful and 'flowing' interview, to a certain degree the photographs need to be good. Without good images, it is more difficult for me to see and understand the link between the photographs and the interviewee's explanations. For instance, one of the interviewee took a blurred picture of a valley she considers important, and explained to me about the soothing and relaxing atmosphere of that place. But, it did not evoke clear and common reflection/understanding as she revealed to me (4) It is more difficult to transcribe the interview of photo-elicitation rather than conventional interview. To re-interpret the photographs after the interview required good recollection.

Photo-elicitation in practice

Introduction: asking Inform-consent and explaining the process. On the first stage of photo-elicitation, I have initial interviews with the research participants individually. The objectives of this initial interview is to build rapport with the research participants, to explain about the objectives of the research, what kind of questions I would like to ask in the subsequent interview with them, what they will face during the whole process of collecting data (I explained to them about every stage of photo-elicitation process), to ask whether they are willing to participate in this research process, what I would do with the data once it has been collected, particularly for analysis and publishing purposes (for example, using the pictures they have taken on my research paper, quoting what they have said interviews). After asking all these important questions, and if they are agreed to involve in this process until the end -because some of them were not willing to involve after I have explained the whole process - I asked whether they have a still camera or not. If they do not have, then I would provide them with a disposable camera. In this case, all the twelve research participants have their own pocket camera.

During the first meeting, I gave them following instruction: "Please take pictures of places, which may include people or objects in the photos, that you consider special, meaningful or important in your daily live. You can take as many photos as you want. After you take photos, please write down when and where the photos are taken, what the photos are about, and what kind of feelings and thought that evoked by the photos". For

completing these activities, they were given one week. Once the photos were developed by me, the follow-up interview is scheduled.

After I have explained the instruction to research participants, normally they asked me several questions, such as: what kind of photos I expect them to take, how many photos I need, and what I mean by meaningful. Regarding the last question, in order to be more understandable I often replace the word “meaningful” with “special”, or “important”. Or I told them, the term “meaningful” may be interpreted subjectively. In this way, seemingly, the research participants are less confused. The period between the introduction and follow-up interviews is varied, from 7 to 14 days. The reasons they gave me for the delays are generally around these themes: being busy at work, resolving family issues, and completing their obligation of religious ceremonies.

Follow-up interview. The second stage of photo-elicitation methods is to do the follow-up interview based on photos that already developed. In this stage, we would discuss the photos in detail. This stage is the most important, according to Rose (2007), because researcher will gain clarity and deeper understanding about how research participants interpret and give meaning to the photos. In other words, the follow-up interviews may give detailed information about how research participants see the world because “It allows them to reflect on things that they may do not usually think about” (Rose, 2007: 242). Moreover, interview is useful to gain different kind of data which could not be acquired through other methods, such as participant-observation (Hay, 2005). In this case, I used the interview to (1) Investigate motivation behind the complex behavior I have observed through participant-observation (2) to scrutinize diversity of place-meaning and place-experiences of research participants (3) to check my pre-assumptions and tentative conclusions that I made through participant-observation and (4) to allow research participants to reflect upon their experiences. Both the introduction and follow-up interviews were usually carried out at places that were accessible for both the participants and me, and most importantly in places where they feel comfortable and familiar with. Therefore, it was the participants who most often chose the meeting places to have the follow-up interviews. Eight respondents decided to meet in their work places, and the other four decided to meet at a café or a restaurant where they use to socialize with their friends.

Each interview lasted for one hour to two and all were recorded with an audio recording device. The permission to record the interview was asked before the interview was started.

Although the follow-up interview is based on the photos taken by the research participants, in advance I have constructed a list of questions as a reminder of the issues I had intended to discuss. Thereby, I was allowed to re-direct the flow of the interview when it started to be stranded. Moreover, this kind of semi-structured interview is employed because it gives me a ‘sense of direction’ due to the interview guide, but still allow me to explore emergent themes and ideas. The interviews questions was constructed based on the theory of place-attachment by Gustafson, therefore it focuses on three aspects: self, others, and environments. It also explored the life-path/settings of the research participants, thereby during the interview I aimed to elaborate the connection between the respondent’s life, the historical, social context and process in which their lives unfold¹. Although, according to Giel and Elder, life-events and roles do not necessarily proceed in a given sequence but rather as the sum total of our actual experiences, during the follow-up interview, I followed the life-stories of participants step-by-step in terms of people-place relationships. For instance, I asked them about different places where they have lived, why they moved-out from such places, how did they feel when they had to leave that places, how did they see it now, and so on. Thereby, I could gain a clear understanding or insights about how different life-experiences linked to each other and contribute in shaping their attachment to the current everyday-life-places they consider meaningful/important.

Table 3.2.

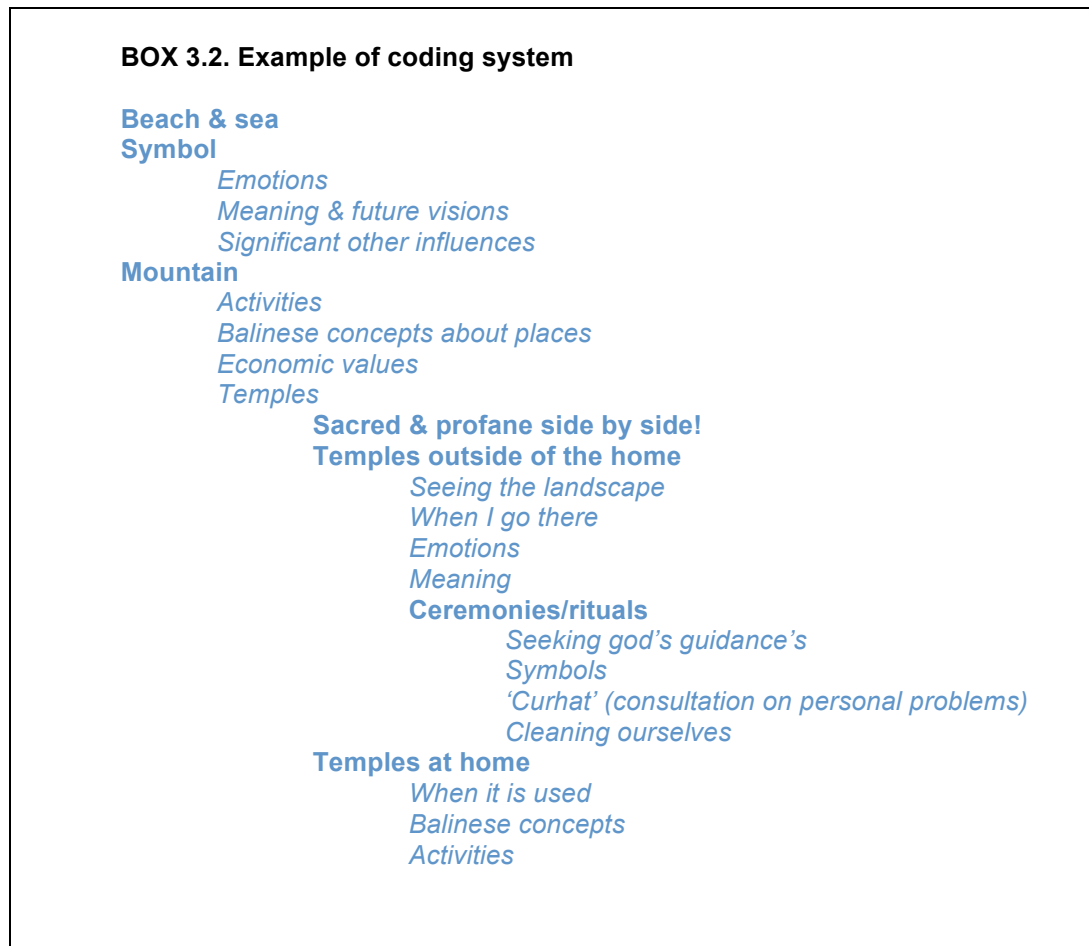
Method	Types of data	Forms of data-recorded	Challenges
Participatory observation	Contextual understanding of everyday-life, physical characteristics of places, feelings of places, people-place interaction, behavior, emotions, involvement in a community, re-current contact with people, cultural events, access to places, perspectives of ‘insider’	Field-notes	Sensitivity of researcher when she/he has to be more as observer or more as participant; building good rapport with research participant; how researcher situates her/himself as an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider
Photo-elicitation	Personal memories of places, people, events, reflection of everyday-life,	Photographs, verbal data	Time consuming; respondent tends to give more
Photo-elicitation	Personal memories of places, people, events, reflection of everyday-life, meaning/importance of places, emotions, (elusive) description of place-	Photographs, verbal data 57	Time consuming; respondent tends to give more information thus, the interview might be stranded; to take

Semi-structured interview	Attitude, motivation, personal background, impressions, comparison of place-experiences, understanding of cultural concepts & norms, opinion, experiences, reflection, confirmation of interviewer's pre-assumptions, emotions,	Verbatim	Difficulties in talking about places; need more time & patience to elaborate the respondents life-histories; encouraging respondents who are not talkative to talk; encouraging self-reflection.
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3.5. Data Analysis Procedure

Modified grounded-theory. In this study, I adopt a modified grounded-theory approach in analyzing the data. As it may already know that the basic idea of grounded-theory approach is to generate theory or concepts that explain human behavior by looking systematically at (mostly) qualitative data, such as interview transcripts, field-notes, and others (Strauss, 1987). In this process, in order to construct relationships among the different elements of key features of phenomena, coding or categorization is a very important step to do. Glasses and Strauss describe categories as “conceptual elements of theory” (Glasser & Strauss, 1967: 36), which emerged initially from a close engagement with data. Thus, the main role of category is to describe phenomena through classification of data (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). However, I have to say that in this research the grounded-theory is modified because although during the coding process I drawn codes or categories based on theme/issues that emerged from the data, nevertheless in the final stage of the coding process, I refined the “emerging codes” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007) into three theoretical-categories of self, others, and environment, referring to the place-attachment theory by Gustafson (2001). In this sense, the recognition of categories is theoretically informed and preconceptions in terms of literature on place-attachment are unavoidable. Nevertheless, I could not argue that my categories are not grounded in the data at all. The other thing that I consider contributing in the modification of grounded-theory approach in this study is the saturation of data. According to Glasser and Strauss (1967) that a researcher may stop collecting data when emerging categories and researcher’s understanding of phenomena are saturated. For example, additional interviews resulted so little new information, thus more interviews would be a waste of time (Schutt, 2004: 299). In my case, due to the limited of time of the fieldwork itself, which is only 3 months, I cannot claim that I have fully saturated data. Thereby, I believe that more interview and

observation would no doubt resulted in richer description of Balinese's place-attachment to their everyday-life-places.



Steps in data analysis. The interview transcripts were analyzed using the “open coding” and “in-vivo coding” techniques which are typical of grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006). In the beginning, concepts which are considered important, stand-outs, or revealing interesting data are explored and categorized. A list of conceptual labels is developed based on the implicit ideas of the research participant's responses and based on the actual words used by the research participants during the interviews (in the case of in-vivo coding). Subsequently, responses of each research participants are analyzed across the other participants in order to find a pattern of the respondent's responses and to explore relationships between the codes (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). After the coding process is completed, memo for each category and each research participants are made. On this

memo, field-work memories, theoretical framework, spontaneous feelings, thought, 'hunches', assumptions, and any relevant responses of the researcher are written down. Then, by comparing memos, the relationships between concepts are explored and structured. Finally, the memos are sorted in order to examine the relationships between essential concepts and to generate a meaningful structure as a whole. As Charmaz and Bryant argue, "Memos are the analytical locations where researchers are most fully presents, where they find their own voices, and where they give themselves permission to formulate ideas, to play with them..." (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007: 247). In this study, the sorting activity is completed by creating a figure that describes the relationship between three main components of place-attachment of Gustafson: self, others, and environment, and by mapping the crucial concepts between these three dimensions. This stage, according to Strauss and Corbin is essential because it "...creating new connections between the various categories, resulting in new conceptualization of the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 97). All of these activities are accomplished by using the Max QDA, a computer software for qualitative data analysis which is developed based on grounded theory approach.

BOX 3.3. Example of memo

For this respondent, W, I think I have to pay attention to the impact of his economic situation on his attachment to his home and hometown. Compared to N, his financial situation is more or less the same I guess, but on my interview with him, I felt he is more pessimistic about his life, due to his limited economic situation. Several times he mentioned explicitly about it, for instance when I asked him whether he has a place to be alone or retreat when he has a problem in his life, he replied, " I don't have a place to think about my problems, whether I have a a problem or not, I have to keep working, so I can earn money for my family...". In another time during the interview, when I asked him about his home, he explicitly said, "The most important thing I have a house as a shelter..." So, I think W really aware about his financial limitation and this influences his mobility to move to another place, or to have a house. Because when I asked him whether he wants to have a house with better condition (because several times he complaints about his house that is too small and not in very good condition, such leaking roof, etc), he said he would love to but he would like to move to another place which still in the same 'banjar area' as he has now, so he doesn't need to pay a new banjar's fee. Again, it is all about money for him! I think my hunch about the influence of his financial situation is confirmed when I asked him what is the most pleasant experience for him in life, he says, "When all my life necessity are fulfilled..."

3.6. Doing Research with Balinese Young Adults: Positionality and Reflectivity on Knowledge Production

In the following part, I will discuss about how I position myself in my relations with the respondents. This issue encompasses: First, my statuses that enable me to enter the fieldwork-areas and the challenges I faced during the fieldwork regarding the statuses. Second, how I built the rapport with the respondents during and after the fieldwork. Third, photography as embedded method of data-collection. All of these are important aspects which are significant in shaping the knowledge production of this study.

3.6.1. Positionality: Challenges and Opportunities

I entered Bali both as a researcher and as a tourist. These statuses enable me to see Bali not only from a tourism perspective but also from the perspective of the 'insiders'. In this research, 'insider' is accomplished partly because I am an Indonesian researcher who do a research at 'home' (read: in my own country), thereby I may be considered as an indigenous researcher¹². The other way to understand the Balinese perspective is by participating in various social situations/ arenas, either it is a private arena, such as home, family temple, or a public arena, such as external temple, and *banjar* (community centre). However, my status as a tourist and non-Balinese researcher situated me as an 'outsider' position, which undeniably give me an advantage, that is people make more effort to clearly explain Balinese cultural events, concepts, and feelings.

As a tourist and a researcher in the same time, I could acquire access to touristic places quite easy, such as beaches, restaurant, discotheque, traditional market, art galleries, even temples. Regarding temple, there is a hindrance regarding my status as non-Balinese and non-Hindu. When there was a religious ceremony and I was not with the respondents in the same time, I was not allowed to enter a temple, thereby I had to wait until the ceremony was completed or go to the temple with my respondents. Moreover, as an Indonesian but non-Balinese and non-Hindu, my knowledge about Balinese-Hindu concepts, such as *odalan*, *purnama* (full moon), *bulan mati* (death moon) is lacking. Thereby, through my direct-observation in such various social situations, I wrote down my questions and puzzlement on the field-notes, then asking about it to the respondents in interviews and informal conversations. However, to partly understand the Balinese

¹² Barret (2009) defines indigenous anthropologist as a third world anthropologists who do fieldwork in their own country/societies.

respondent's point of view, I tried to dress-up like them, particularly during religious ceremonies. For instance, when they invited me to go to an external temple, I was wearing traditional Balinese dress. In this way, I gained the feelings to be native which help me to interpret the data. This notion resonates with Berger and Luckmann's (1991) idea about objectivation that argue human expressivity is normally made through face-to-face, bodily manner. It is an important part of human every-day-life because "Embodied knowledge allow for the storage and accumulation of meaning and experiences..." (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 37). Thus, in this respect I interpret that by dressing-up and behaving like a Balinese, I could understand how they see the world and give meaning to reality, particularly to places they view as important in their everyday-life. In addition, dressing-up like a native gave me more access to various social arenas, especially to the temple and other Balinese sacred places: I was allowed to join them praying, asking blessing from the Hindu priest, or taking a bath in a temple's pond. For this kind of activities, which I assumed only inclusively held for Hindu-Balinese, I explicitly inform the local authority (such as, the priest, the temple organizer, etc) that I was a researcher, who is not Balinese and not Hindu. Thereby, it was up to them to allow me to involve in the ceremonies or not. However, most of the time I was allowed to engage with the religious ceremonies without any difficulties. As a culture that has been well researched in general, I assume Balinese is familiar with the presence of researchers in their cultural events. Thus, there were situations when my attempt to be unobtrusive was failed and had to explicitly declare my status as a researcher.

3.6.2. Reflexivity: Building Rapport with the Respondents

Doing participant-observation research makes me realize the importance of establishing good relationships or rapport with the respondents. As some participatory observation practitioners point out that "attitudes and behavior of a researcher will highly influence the relationship formed with research participants and the outcomes achieved" (Hay, 2005: 210). Thereby, in this study, I situate myself both as an Indonesian but non-Balinese researcher, which I assume allow me to have some 'reasonable distance' to analyze the data more clearly and more questions on the meaning of Balinese cultural concepts. Yet as a friend I am closed and 'equal' enough to establish co-learning situations with the respondents. The latter is made possible particularly because I am a young adult

as the respondents themselves. Acknowledging the similar psychological development as young adults, I feel it is easier to understand their 'logic', interest, and personal problems, and to use the same 'language' and ways of communicating. Through formal and informal meetings, engage in religious celebrations and ceremonies, helping respondents in their daily-life activities, and showing photographs during the fieldwork help me in establishing rapport with the respondents. Regarding the latter, I found that showing photographs to the respondents, taken by them, or me can provide me feedback on the images, gaining more relevant but unthinkable information while forging good rapport with the respondents and other members of 'community'. This is particularly useful at the early stage of fieldwork. Taking the photographs with a digital camera appear to speed up the process of establishing rapport, allowing the respondents to gain insights about what I was doing as a researcher and particularly to gain their trust and interest. Doing participant-observation also provides me opportunities to make friends and building rapport with my research participants in a more natural way, at a setting or context which is already part of their everyday-life. Although it is time-consuming, but the growing rapport between me and the respondents have made the data-collection process easier and quicker. However, it is not necessarily mean that my friendships with them do not bring any ethical issues. As they have provided me with a lot of time, energy, and attention to engage with my research, I believe I have to show my thankfulness for their participation. The dilemma is how to show the respondents my appreciation in terms of reward without evoking undue influence so the reward will be viewed as a trade for their participation. Thereby, in the introduction stage I did not inform the respondents about my intention to give them reward. By doing so, I assume their involvement in my research is voluntarily and not as a response to the reward itself. It is important to note that the reward does not function as a motivator to recruit or sustain respondent's participation, but more as an expression of appreciation for their voluntary participation and compensation for the effort expended, time and energy spent as a research participant (Grant & Sugarman, 2004). Thus, the reward is given in the final stage of the research and not in the form of money, but things that related to their interest and hobby at that moment, such as book, ticket to a cinema, food, or toys (for the child of a participant).

Another issue that is prominent in the data-collection process is to probe questions about places. Often the research participants had no answers or did not know how to

communicate their feelings or thought about meaningful places in their life. This is aligned with Relph's argument that states, "The essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as centers of human existence..." (Relph in Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983:60).

3.6.3. Photography: Embedded Method of Data-collection

Before I went to the field, I had planned to use creative-multi methods for collecting data, those are semi-structured interviews, observation, photo-elicitation, and filming. In this study, it is argued that each of these methods produce different data that will enrich the data and give a deeper understanding of the phenomena being studied because the perception of research participants are explored from different angles and in different contexts (Denzin, 2005). However, during the fieldwork there were only three methods, which were feasible to carry out by the research participants due to their restricted time and the 'embedded-ness' of the methods in their every day-life, namely: semi-structured interview, participant-observation, and photo-elicitation. Referring to Rose's argument that visibility is considered as one of the main feature of modern society (Rose, 2007), I assumed that filming or videography would be relevant with the context of modernity of Balinese everyday-life. However, during my fieldwork many research participants felt not ready to use videography for capturing their daily activities, feelings, and thought. The reason they mentioned is because they did not have time to do the filming or they were not familiar using the equipment. Thereby, seeing this I establish my interpretation by referring to Rose's argument, "...Though visibility is considered as one of the main feature of modern society, we need to pay attention to the fact whether this visual culture is embedded or not to the particular cultural practices of the society we studied" (Rose, 2007: 100). I conclude that videography is not a suitable method to collecting data in this research because it has not been embedded in the respondent's everyday-life. Accordingly, I decided not to use videography for collecting data.

3.7. Ethical Issues

As qualitative methods, there are three particular ethical issues which would be addressed in this study, there are informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality (Tisdall, Davis, & Gallagher: 2009). Each issue is related to the whole process of this research. In

this study, consent is reached through verbal agreement with the research participants, rather than with written signature, acknowledging that in the beginning it takes time to develop trust, while written agreement is considered more formal and 'serious'. Thus, from the respondent's perspective I assume it is less 'scary' if the consent is agreed verbally rather than through written statement. Since the beginning, the research participants are informed about the nature, purpose, and consequences of the research through verbal discussion. They gave their consent voluntarily and verbally, and they could withdraw from this research in any stage.

BOX 3.4. Points of agreement in the (verbal) inform-consent procedure

1. An explanation of the objectives of the research, the expected duration of respondent 's participation, and the stages or procedure to be followed.
2. A description of any reasonably risk or discomfort to the respondent.
3. A description of any reasonably advantages to the respondent.
4. An explanation to which extent confidentiality of records identifying the respondents will be maintained.
5. A statement that participation is voluntarily, and the respondent can discontinue participation anytime.
6. A statement that respondent will not be asked for money or any material things before, during, and after the research is completed. Regarding food, accomodation, transportation, and communication of the researcher, it will be the responsibility of the researcher.
7. A statement that research data gained from the respondent will not be used for other purpose except for the research and its publication alone.
8. A statement that after the research is completed, each respondent will get a copy of the written research master thesis.

Furthermore, as the principle of anonymity is that individual participants should not be identifiable in research outputs (Tisdall, Davis & Gallagher: 2009), subsequently in this study confidentiality is achieved by omitting the research participant's names and

replacing with pseudonyms. This was conveyed to the research participants during my interviews with them. In addition, the issue of confidentiality is actualized by informing the research participants that I will ask their permission first if other people ask me to pass on their individual data. All research participants have approved this agreement and this was also recorded. During the interviews, every research participant gave his/her consent to record conversations and later to transcribe and read the interviews-transcriptions by me alone as the researcher. They also gave their consent, so I could have the photos they had taken and reveal it in the written thesis. In general, I consider there are no particular sensitive issues appeared that could make this research ethically problematic.

In conclusion, to know how to handle research ethical issues properly, I have learned that as a researcher I should not only pay attention to common problems in doing a grounded theory research, but also to be aware with the cultural norms (of where the research is conducted) and its pragmatic flexibility (e.g the verbal informed consent). As inspirations on research ethics may come from qualitative methodology books, it should be also come from the fieldwork-experiences itself.

Chapter 4

EMPIRICAL DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction: From Place-Meaning to Place-Attachment of Balinese Young Adults

Empirically, there are several places that stand out and viewed by all of the research participants as places which they consider important, special, and have particular meaning in their everyday-life, those are: home (including family temple at home), work place, temple outside of the house (external temple), and natural landscapes, such as mountain, beach and sea, lake, and rice field, and leisure places such as, café and restaurant. Thereby, the first part of the analysis will focus to the meaning assigned by the research participants to these places in the context of their daily-life, why they are meaningful/special, in the other words how is the attribution of place-meaning occur. Thus, it aims to answer the first research sub-question: *What are meaningful/important places in the everyday-life of Balinese?*

On the second part, the prominent place-meanings will be highlighted from the Balinese traditional principles of organizing places and the modern conceptions of places which respectively evoke positive emotions and ambivalent/conflicting feelings. Thereby, by exploring which places are considered place-of-refuge and place-of-ambivalent-feelings by the respondents, this second stage of analysis aims to answer the second research sub-question: *How do Balinese deal with the tension between traditional ways and modern approach in conceptualizing and experiencing places?* Further, the place-attachment of Balinese young adults will be situated back to globalisation and modernity as the research context.

4.2. The Place-Attachment of Balinese Young Adults: The Dynamics of Self, Others, and Environment Dimensions

In the analysis of this study, the meaning of important daily-places mentioned above will be analyzed by the typology of Gustafson (2001) on place-attachment, which could be grouped into three prominent categories: the Self, the Others, and the Environment. Nevertheless, since each category is not mutually exclusive and could be overlapped with two other categories, thereby the place-meanings given by Balinese young adults could be

situated in-between or in relationship with other categories: the Self-Others, Self-Environment, Others-Environment, and Self-Others-Environment (Gustafson, 2001). This notion resonates with Massey's argument that "Places are not isolated, but they should always regarded in relation to the outside world" (Massey, 1994: 155). Therefore, it is important to note that although in this study each of the dimension will be mentioned as one category or aspect, but in fact they are always connected to each other. In our findings it appears that not every important places addressed above has all dimensions of the Self, Others, and Environment. Arguably, it is because that each respondent does not assign the same meaning to a place and neither the same places mean the same for everybody.

In the following part, we will mapping and discussing the underlying meanings of the five important places of Balinese young adults. Based on the mapping of spontaneous and implicit place-meanings, I expect to explore what kind of experiences or aspects of Balinese's everyday-life that influence their attachment to such places. In this study, the analysis will focus to places that have "attachment-potential" rather than focusing on how much they attach to such places. Subsequently, within this places-framework the range of feelings toward these places would be revealed. This approach of analysis is considered important by Droseltis and Vignolis (2010), who criticized the overemphasis on people rather than places in studying place-attachment.

4.3. The Mapping of Everyday-life Place-Meanings of Balinese Young Adults

There are five key places which are considered meaningful/important by respondents, namely: home (including family temple at home), work places, temple outside of the house (external temple), natural landscapes, such as mountain, beach and sea, lake, and rice field, and leisure places. In the following part, the meaning of those places in Balinese everyday-life will be situated in three poles of Self, Others, and Environment proposed by Gustafson (2001). It is important to note that quoted word is taken from the transcribed interview which often used as *in-vivo coding* during the process of analysis. While the direct quotation is used to demonstrate the diverse perspectives of the respondents, and to show a theme or issue that is needed to be 'heard' more loudly so it can be contrasted with other experiences/opinions of different respondents.

4.3.1. The SELF: the Personal Aspects of Place

From the data analysis, the “self” theme appeared to be primarily characterized by several dimensions: privacy and solitude, familiarity and contrast/change, ownership/possession, memories, spirituality, continuity and repeated interaction. Although each dimension is not mutually exclusive, seemingly a particular dimension is more closely associated with another kind of dimension, for instance, familiarity is more closely related with change rather than with spirituality. Thus, they are written as a pair of dimension rather than two separate dimensions. In addition, a dimension also can imply another dimension, thus there is somewhat a sub-dimension. For example, memories can imply continuity and familiarity. Thereby, there is no dimension of self that can stand alone.

4.3.1.1. Privacy and Solitude

For many respondents, home, places with natural landscapes, and worship house are considered as suitable places to be alone and reflecting on their personal struggles. Regarding the first, the respondents view that home could offer a complete privacy for being oneself while thinking deeper and mourning upon one’s problems, without worried for being disturbed or feelings ashamed to cry in front of others. Thus, this implies that a good place to be solitude should offer familiarity (with the place and objects surround it) and freedom to be oneself. For instance, Mirna (female, 21 years old) feels that home is the best place to retreat and to discern on her personal problems:

“If want to be left alone, I will just stay at my room at home. I will contemplate about my problems, praying or crying. So, I just enter my room, and lock the door, no one can disturb me. Before I will tell my mom that I don’t want to be disturbed, I just want to be alone. Then I will stay at my room, crying, talking to god about my problems, or write it down. The point is I can unload what is in my heart. So, if I want to cry out loud, or do something I don’t need to be worried what others will think about me. If I cry at places outside my home, people can get me wrong. Also my parents won’t be worried and think that I will do something bad or stupid...”

Several research participants also consider places with natural landscapes as an appropriate place to be alone, to reflect and thinking deeper about their life and struggles. In the case of Mirna, Shanti, Pande, and Maria, they choose beach as a retreat place. By seeing waves, sea, and skies, they feel “relaxed”, “comfort”, “calm”, or “fresh”. In particular, by seeing the vastness of sea and skies, they feel “freed”. Thus, these cases

imply the notion that natural landscapes can afflict memories and imagination of the respondents, particularly when they have strong emotional connection to such natural places. Moreover, this kind of natural place is suitable for a retreat because it enables Balinese young adults to be alone while observing the nature in the same time. These findings supported by the findings of Abbot-Chapman (2006) who argue that young people tend to be drawn by quiet and green retreats, where they can feel relaxed and escape from the noisy and crowded places. Mirna also perceives her church as her “second home” (Mirna, female, 21st years old) because she uses to run and ‘retreat’ to her church when she faces problems in her life:

“The church is very special for me. It likes my second home. If I am sad or I have problems, I will come here and pray. And I feel my faith is growing here, I learn how to forgive others...the church has very special meaning for me. Everywhere I go, I will never able to forget this church”.

This finding indicates that a place is appreciate by Balinese young adults as a good place to be solitude and to understand their life-struggles when the environment of this location allow them to have peace of mind, acceptance, and understanding from their significant others in difficult situations. Thereby, in this case Balinese’s relationship with significant others (which associated with particular place) is another crucial dimension that influences them to choose a place as a place to retreat or not. Thus, for Balinese young adults a place is meaningful when it can provide opportunities for privacy, introspection, and self-reflection.

4.3.1.2. Familiarity and Change/Contrast

A place can be considered essential by the Balinese when it is associated with the issue of familiarity, in terms of activities they generally carry-out in that place, either by themselves or together with other family members. For instance, Maria (female, 30 years old) considers her small rented room as her house because she does almost “everything” in her room:

“Everything is happened there. So, it is not important whether the place is big or small. It is a home for me because I do all my activities there”.

Thereby, in this sense familiarity implies the importance of temporal dimension. Through a process and repeated interaction, a place could gain a particular meaning over time. This

notion has been supported in the research findings of Tuan (1974) and Relph (1976) which reveal that a space is experienced as a place through long-term involvement in particular location. Furthermore, familiarity is also implies similarity. Thus, a place can be meaningful because of the activities which carried out there are similar with the activities carried out in another places. This is experienced by Maria who likes and enjoys to work at her current office, because of the activities she performs there are very much alike with the ones that she usually does at home. In the other words, Maria feels the “sense of home” when she works at her office and this is what makes that place special for her. This finding supports Gustafson’s argument which argues that a place often become important when it is associated with particular important activities (Gustafson, 2001).

The contrast between two places in terms of different activities and environmental atmosphere also can make a place meaningful. This is particularly occurring for working arena and leisure places. Pande (female 20 years old), for example, she likes to go to a mall with her girl friends simply to do a “window shopping” or to buy “girly stuffs” after she completes studying at her campus. Likewise Pande, Shanti (female, 27 years old) often visits a mall in order to refresh herself after working a whole day long:

“I like to go to a mall once a week after I complete my work. Looking around and see other people make feel fresh to work again”

Thus, for Balinese young adults, the contrast aspects between working and leisure places, such as discretionary use of time, freedom of choice, and intrinsic satisfaction may turn out to be the key factors that make leisure places as important.

4.3.1.3. Ownership/Possession

A place may become a meaningful simply because one owns it. In other words, a place is considered essential by the respondents because it is cherished as a personal possession or ownership. In this sense, according to Rubinstein and Parmelee (1987 in Altman & Low, 1992:154), at the individual level cherished possessions may be viewed as reminders of one’s personal identity in terms of valuable relationships, unforgettable memories, life achievements, and past experiences. In the case of Maria (female, 30 years old), she associates her ownership to the house with the freedom to do whatever she wants to do in her own house. Thereby, for Maria a home becomes a reminder of her own freedom and independency to do things as a young adult:

“I feel most comfort and free when I do my activities at home. And because it is my home, so I can do whatever I want to. I don’t need to be worried about what others think about me when I am at home. Thereby, I feel more enjoy to do things there, rather than outside of home”.

4.3.1.4. Memories

A place often becomes a very precious place because of the unforgettable bitter-sweet memories. These memories and emotions afflicted by the place and objects surround it creates a sense of history for Balinese young adults. Thereby, it makes a place irreplaceable and irretrievable for them. This notion is explicitly admitted by Mirna, a Balinese single woman who values her house due to the struggle her family had been through to own the house, also because the bitter-sweet memories she has there:

“My home is very special for me. Even it is small, but I have a lot of memories with that house.....me and my family feels so grateful to have our house now, remembering the struggle and difficulties we had to own the house. So we decided that we will never ever sell the house. It belongs to us as a family...We have so much memories with that house. We have been through good and bad times together in that house. That is why we will never ever able to forget it”

Thereby, for Balinese young adults, a place may become meaningful when important events or “milestone moments” are experienced or associated with a place. This notion resonates with Abbot –Chapman’s argument (2006) which states that experiencing and creating memories of place is necessary in order to link past and present of one’s personal experiences with their sense of identity. This notion is exemplified by Maria about her memories at the church as the place where she met her husband for the first time. Thus, every time Maria visits that church, she feels grateful for the family she has now, and realizing more about her role as a mother and a wife. Thus, Maria’s case demonstrates that places can gain meaning even through one significant, pivotal moment.

The empirical findings also indicate that many respondents have memories with places that have natural landscapes, particularly as the “bridges to the past” (Manzo, 2005: 78). Several research participants associate beach, sea, and rice field with their childhood memories, either they are sweet or bitter memories. As explained by Wayan (male, 28 years old), a rice field often reminds him with his rather painful childhood memories, when he had to help his parents every day to work at their rice field. This activity is perceived by

Wayan as “obligation” which he could not avoid because of his parents financial situation. Thereby, every time he sees a rice field now, Wayan remembers his childhood struggles as painful experiences. Opposite from Wayan, Ngurah (male, 30 years old) views rice field as a reminder of his happy childhood memories, where he could play with his friends, helping his parents planting the rice, and enjoying the everyday-natural-landscape:

“When I was a child, I liked to go to my rice field. I brought some rice from home to the rice field and ate it together with my parents at a small opened hut. Often because of the soothing breeze, I feel asleep. I was also chatting with friends or just doing nothing there. My rice field is vast, and I could see people planting rice...Also at that time, I wanted to learn how to be a farmer like my parents. I was dreaming that one day I will sell rice, that is why I needed to know how to planting rice...”

In Wayan’s case, when Balinese essentially dislike places in their past, discontinuity is an important and preferable theme. In such cases, as Manzo points out, “New places that marked better changes or situations become particularly important” (Manzo, 2005: 78).

4.3.1.5. Spirituality

The aspect of spirituality particularly related with temples and work places. For all Balinese-Hindu respondents, temple becomes an important place because it is a place to pray for “asking gods’ s guidance, help, blesses, and protection” (Ketut, female, 27 years old, married), to “tell gods about what is in my heart”, and to “clean myself from bad things and misfortunes” (Gede, male, 35 years old). In the case of Wayan, his family temple is a “starting place” for all his daily activities. Every morning, he prays and asks blessing from his ancestors for his routines at his family temple. Thus, in these cases we learn that a place often becomes meaningful when it becomes a source of spiritual blessings, thus can evoke the feelings of security, relief, and peaceful. While for Christian Balinese, church is also considered important because of the similar reasons. For instance, Maria feels that in her church, she could tell god almost everything, particularly about her struggles in life.

Regarding work places, it is still considered important -although the respondents do not really like their work- if they view their work from spiritual perspective. This is indicated in the cases of Mirna (female, 21 years old) and Martin (male, 33 years old): Mirna views her work as a “destiny”, while Martin perceives his as a “calling”. In both cases, they believe that their current works are “god’s will” (Mirna) or “karma” (Martin).

From their experiences we can learn that people's religious values may shape Balinese perception about the importance of places.

4.3.1.6. *Continuity and Past-Long-term Interaction*

Another aspect of the "self" dimension which makes a place meaningful are continuity and past-long-term interaction. For instance, Wayan, a 28 years old Balinese man who works as a gardener at an art museum in Ubud points out that he loves his work place now because it reminds him with one of his favorite childhood places, that is rice field. The physical characteristics of his current work place now, such as the soft breeze, the quietness, and the greenery landscape he encounters everyday afflict the feeling of happiness that he felt when he was a boy. Thereby, Wayan enjoys doing his work now and feels secured with his work place. According to Manzo (2005), this kind of experience can give us the feeling of stability, as if we have a place as an 'anchor' in this changing world. I believe this is what Wayan has experiences with his work places. In particular, Wayan's case confirms the finding of Manzo (2005) which reveals that one's experiences with childhood places often influence her/his perception on current places she/he has now. Especially are childhood-places that threat our sense of security and comfort (Manzo, 2005:80). This is exactly what is encountered in Wayan's case. For Wayan, rice field also brings back painful memories about his childhood, when he has to work most of the time helping his peasant father planting and harvesting rice. These bitter-sweet memories of Wayan upon rice fields show us that in some cases, meaning can be created through the combination of positive and negative experiences.

4.3.2. *The OTHERS: the Social Aspects of Place*

The primary dimensions of the "others" category are: relationships with significant others, inclusion and exclusion, and cultural norms. For Balinese young adults, family and friends are considered as the most important people in their daily-life. This might be influenced by their socio-psychological development as young adults. For the respondents who have not married, peer becomes important due to their need to socialize and to be accepted. The fulfillment of these needs are considered important because it gives them opportunities to resolve their own self-identity and to develop intimate and committed relationship with other people (Erikson in Santrock, 2008). While family becomes a highest

priority for the respondents who have married (Maria, Wayan, Putu, Ketut). This can be explained from Erikson's psycho-social development of young adults by Erikson (1987), which argues that in the period of young adults (18-40 years old) achieving relationship with family or mating partner is the main concern. Thus, healthy adults, according to Erikson, will be primarily motivated to pursue the mutual relationship of physical and emotional interaction, support, love, comfort, and trust that lead to mating and child rearing. Thus, it is not surprising that for many respondents dating, mating, and loving relationships with family are essential. Thus, relationships with significant others appear to be the most dominant theme in the Other category. In addition, the findings suggest that age and marital status play an important role in experiencing place in terms of social relations and physical characteristics. For instance, the single respondents are seemingly more mobile and like to go to far-away places compared with those who have married. This might be explained due to localization issues (e.g. physical distance between home and leisure places) and practicality in traveling together as a family.

4.3.2.1. Significant Others

As argued by Gustafson (Gustafson, 2001), a place can be meaningful because of our relationships that we have developed with others over time. Aligned with his argument, many research participants view their house as an indispensable place because it enables them to gather, interact, and do various daily activities together with their significant others (parents, children, brothers, sisters, spouse, relatives). This phenomenon is prominent particularly for the female research participants who have already married and have children. They tend to identify their house with the family's life. For instance, Ketut, a Balinese woman who works as a housekeeper at a hotel in Ubud says,

"I love my home, because I was born there. Especially because there live my parents and my family....My home is my family, and my family is everything to me"

For younger and single respondents such as Pande, (female, 20 years old) worship house (in this case is temple) is also a place to meet and socialize with her friends who are also the members of the youth organization in which she involves with. Likewise Pande, Maria views her church as a special place because in this place she feels loved and accepted by her 'church-friends', *"I feel I have brothers and sisters who I have never own in my life"*,

Maria said. Thereby, whether a place enables Balinese young adults to build good relationships with her peer is a crucial aspect to make a place meaningful. This theme also implies togetherness with significant others. Several respondents emphasize that doing activities together with friends and family are precious. In the case of Mirna, for instance, she and her family use to go to Brawa's beach on the weekend in order to have "family time" together:

"We use to go to Brawa's beach on the weekend. We eat, playing games or just enjoying the nature....By sitting at the sea shore, watching the waves and the palm green trees with my family, I feel more relax and happy comparing if I am at home with them...I wish I can feel the same feelings when I get back home..."

Therefore, through Mirna' case it shows that place can be significant through respondent's connection and togetherness with their significant others. Without their presence, a place can become less meaningful or important. Thus, other people can help create a place, either literally and psychologically (Manzo, 2005).

4.3.2.2. Inclusion and Exclusion

As have described in Maria and Pande's cases above, establishing a good relationship with friends can make one feels accepted and loved, thereby she/he attaches to a place that associated with such relationship. For Maria (female, 30 years old), her relationship with her friends is essential, thus it determines the meaning of the church for her. When Maria's friends are not longer there, the meaning of the church is also changed. It becomes "a very holy and formal place, less fun and humane as before", states Maria. Thus, her case implies a theme of inclusion and exclusion, which in this case means the respondents feel accepted and included as members of a community at place they consider important. Thus, it encourages her to fully participate in the social life of her church. Based on these feelings, Maria and Pande determine who is part of their circle of friends and who are not. In addition, their cases imply that strong affective bonds and individual commitment to peer-groups could make a place significant. Thus, this finding indicates how the presence and emotional bonds with others can have a considerable impact on place-meaning.

4.3.2.3. Cultural Norms

Cultural values or tradition could influence one's perception about the importance of his/her work place. This is showed in the case of Ketut (female, 27 years old) who views her work place as important:

"I feel proud as a working woman. Not many Balinese women choose to work outside home because they have to fulfill their obligations as house wife, and a member of community in preparing religious ceremonies. But in the midst of my activities as a mother, a wife, and a member of community, I still can help my husband earning money..."

Ketut compares her situation with many Balinese women's who cannot work outside of the house due to Bali's tradition that demands them to be a complete housewife once they have married. Thereby, Ketut's experience reveals that a place can be meaningful because it is used as a source of self-identification and as a symbol of change or rebellion toward cultural norms. Therefore, in case such Ketut's, attachment to place is particularly shaped by cultural norms which are strongly associated with one's identity (in case of Ketut are: being a Balinese woman, a wife and a mother). In such cases, one's attachment to place is tending to be shaped by normative social expectations (social opportunities and restraints). This is aligned with Burley's argument (2007), that physical aspect of place has meaning only because it has been socially construed.

4.3.3. The ENVIRONMENT: the Physical Aspects of Place

In this category, opportunities and restraints of environmental features, access to nature, localization, symbolic and historical aspects of place are the main dimensions that mediated place-attachment due to the "environmental" dimension. Empirical findings indicate that physical aspects of place tend to be in 'symbiotic relationship' with social aspects of place, particularly closely associated with significant others. This finding resonates with Gieryn (2000) and Gustafson's (2006) argument that physical aspects of a place is usually treated as a container of social processes, rather than an independent dimension.

4.3.3.1. Opportunities and Restraints

Attachment to places could not only be translated into positive feelings, but also into negative feelings and the mixed between these two emotions (Altman & Low, 1992).

The negative affective bonds and bitter-sweet emotions are also experienced by several research participants, particularly by those who are constrained by physical characteristics of their houses. As exemplified in Wayan's case (male, 28 years old) who works as a gardener at an art museum in Ubud, his story illustrates how the lacking of privacy at his home urges him to have a bigger house. However, due to his limited financial situation Wayan cannot realize his wish. On the other hand, he feels lucky to live at his house now because it is near with his parents house, thereby he could often visit and looking after them. Thereby, Wayan's case underscores the significance of others in experiencing places, even the physical environment of a place is less than ideal.

A place also can give specific constraints for the Balinese in terms of the atmosphere of a neighborhood. In the case of Tambunan (male, 32 years old), creativity is essential for his work as a film maker. But the "dull", "unexcited", and "always the same" situations of his neighborhood are not conducive for stimulating his creativity. However, his home is easy to be reached, thus it gives him more opportunities to meet friends and people with various cultural background. Thereby, Tambunan's case demonstrates that although one has ambivalence feelings toward a place, but as long as that place can provide opportunities which are perceived as essential, then she/he will attach to that place for better and worse.

Empirical findings indicate that opportunities are not only perceived in terms of material things, such as additional source of financial income (Shanti , 27 years old), but also non-material things, such as opportunities to learn new skills and to have spiritual experiences (Martin, male, 33 years old). For Martin, the harsh physical environment of the sea 'forces' him to be spiritually depended on god's protection. The sea often reminds him about how precious life is. This notion is eloquently expressed by him:

"As a life guard, I have to keep depending on god, because every day I don't know what will happen to me.....(silence for a while)...on one hand I know god protects me, but on the other hand I know I have to rely on myself, that it is only me who can do the job, no one else can do this job for me. So I should have a balance. Yes, the power of balance..."

Thereby, Martin's case demonstrates that not only safety has a critical impact on our relationship with places, but threat and feeling unsafe imposed by the environment can make us anchor to a place and give us opportunities to learn valuable lessons.

4.3.3.2. Access to Nature

Another prominent factor that makes a place is experienced as one of the favorite places for Balinese young adult is access to the natural landscape. Natural features such as, flowing river, trees, green rice fields, and water fall in overall create a “soothing” and “relaxing” atmosphere (Ngurah, male, 30 years old). In the case of Ngurah, this natural landscape makes his home as a place to retreat, as a ‘sanctuary’ that allows him to “recharge” his energy and to make him “refresh” after tiredly working. This finding is confirmed with works of Manzo (2005) who argues that nature is essential element of physical environment to foster solitude, privacy, and introspection.

For mountain, sea, and beach, these particular natural landscapes are strongly associated with spiritual meanings. Many research participants discuss these places as places where they can perform religious ceremonies. Within Balinese cultural-tradition context, sea and beach symbolize a lower world, which profane and less sacred things reside, while a mountain symbolizes an upper world and associated with everything that is good, sacred, and pure (Samadhi 2000). Thereby, for these three particular natural landscapes (sea, beach, mountain), within the context of Balinese cultural-tradition, their importance are associated with its physical features and location (e.g. mountain is more sacred than beach, because it is located in highland) and they are shaded with symbolic religious meanings. Thus, because of the close association between natural landscape and religious meaning and activities, it is not surprising that for Balinese access to natural landscape is strongly influence their attachment to nature.

4.3.3.3. Localization

A place can be important and becomes part of young people’s everyday-life because of the localization, whether it is near or distant in comparison with other places (Gusfason, 2001). In this study, I encounter similar phenomena in the cases of Shanti, Mirna, Pande, and Maria. For an example, Maria’s experience would be illustrated: During weekend, holidays, or when there is a special occasion such as birthday, Maria and her family often go to the Kuta’s beach to do some “cheap but pleasant” leisure activities, such as picnic and canoeing. Sometimes Maria meets some of her girl friends who also come with their husbands and children. The main reason Maria chooses Kuta’s beach because it is near to her house, therefore she does not need to spend much money and time for the

transportation. Due to the nearness, it is also easier for Maria to bring her 5 years old daughter. Thus, from Maria's case we learn that localization is a crucial criteria to choose which place can be visited for having quality time with significant others, or to simply socialize with acquaintances. In particular, localization is the main consideration to determine which places will be visited by Balinese who have already a nuclear family. In other words, practicality to reach a place is considered important by Balinese young adults in order to perceive a place as meaningful.

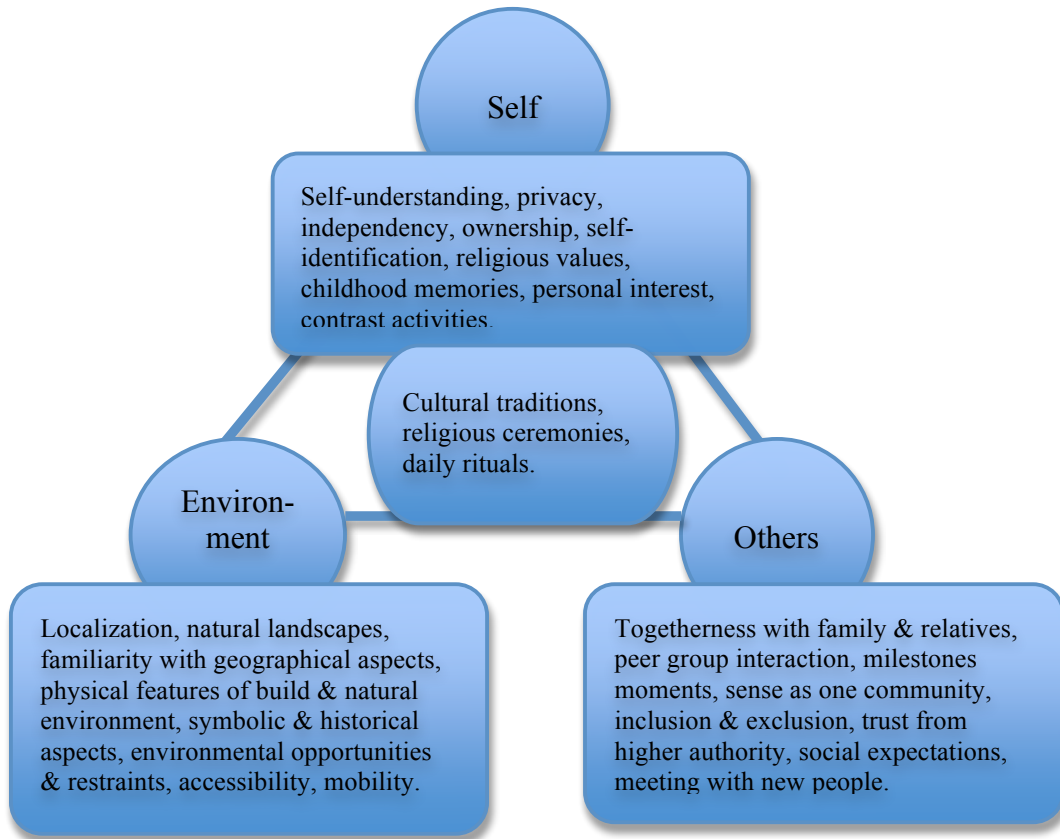
4.3.3.4 Historical and Social Aspects of Place

Many research participants often visit a temple which is believed as the biggest and oldest temple in Bali, such as the Besakih's temple. They also visit this temple because they believe it is the centre of all the temples in Bali. Thereby, physical features, historical and symbolic aspects of places are the crucial dimensions which influence people to view a place as valuable and important (Gustafson, 2001). This is experienced by Ngurah (male, 30th years old) and Gede (male, 35th years old) who often visit particular temples because of these reasons:

"I often visit Besakih temple to ask god's guidance and protection, and to clean my self from bad luck and sin. I choose Besakih temple because it is the centre of all temples in Bali. It is one of the oldest and the biggest one. So, I think it is important temple to be visited..."

Not less important is a family temple which is located at home. It is often considered meaningful because it is a place where one was 'born' and has the first religious ceremony as a child. The importance of family temple due to this reason is expressed by Putu (male, 32 years old) and Wayan (male, 28 years old). Their stories demonstrate that symbolic and historical aspects of places are substantial to encourage Balinese to view a place as meaningful or not. Back to the cultural aspects of place-attachment proposed by Low (1992), it can be concluded that in Putu and Wayan's cases, the social and ideological aspects of places are the most prominent dimensions in shaping Balinese's place-attachment. In particular, they are fulfilled through family and kinship ties, religious and mythological conceptions about places, pilgrimage activities to temples, and myth associated with sacred places. Thus, it is evident that for Balinese shared memories and shared experiences are utilized to develop shared place-meanings, and eventually create collective attachment to places.

Figure 4.1. The mapping of place-meanings of Balinese young adults on Gustafson’s triangle of Self, Others, and Environment



4.4. Traditional VS Modern Concepts of Place

In this second stage of analysis, the place-meaning assigned by the respondents above will be used to identify or categorize the five important places of Balinese young adults into two categories: 'Place-of-refuge' and 'Place-of-ambivalent-feelings'. This division aims to explore how they are dealing with the tension between traditional ways and modern approach in contextualizing and experiencing places. It is argued that places that primarily apply or support the realization of Balinese traditional concepts of organizing places will tend to create positive emotions within Balinese young adults rather than places that employ modern concepts of place.

4.4.1. Place-of-Refuge VS Place-of-Ambivalent Feelings

Place-of-refuge is place that predominantly evokes positive feelings, such as feelings of safe, pride, peaceful, contentment, relaxed, cognitively facilitates the construction of positive place-meaning, and encourages someone to maintain physical closeness with a place. While place-of-ambivalent feelings is place that evoke mixed feelings of negative and positive emotions, such as feeling grateful to have a house yet view it as an inconvenient because it is too small. Thereby, it is in dissonance or in conflicting interaction with one's thought and behavior. It is important to note that it is not easy or simple to categorize which places –among home, worship places, natural places, work places, and leisure places- can be classified as place-of-refuge and place-of-ambivalent feelings due to the dynamic interaction between emotion, cognition, and behavior of the respondents. Thereby, I would like to use the three dimensional framework of place-attachment by Scannel & Gifford (2010) in the process of identification of these two place-categories.

4.4.1.1 Place of Refuge: Home and Worship House

From the place-meanings assigned by the respondents, it is revealed that home and worship houses are places that tend to evoke positive emotions. All respondents point out that they love their home because it is such a 'shelter' to live, to gather and to do activities as a family. Home is also used as a place to retreat, to be solitude so they can reflect about their personal problems without having any disturbance and judgment from others who do not know them. Thus, for the respondents home implies acceptance and understanding from significant others in difficult time. Since within Balinese cultural context, home is inherited from many generations and perceived as a place where the deified ancestors abide, thereby most of Balinese respondents were born and spent their childhood in their 'childhood house'. Empirical findings show that all the Balinese respondents experience their childhood house as significant place. They think it is "precious" because of memories of the 'milestones' moments with their significant others, and especially due to the struggle of their ancestors to have and keep it. For celebrating 'milestones' moments, such as when one is born, becomes an adult, getting married, and so on, Balinese held particular religious ceremonies at home and its temple. Thereby, home becomes important due to its historical, social, and symbolic aspects. This finding demonstrates that place-attachment to

home encompasses emotional aspect in terms of positive feelings, cognitive aspect in terms of personal memories, meaning, and traditional Balinese conceptions about home, and behavioral aspect in terms of action to maintain closeness to home indicated by length of residence, ownership, plans to stay, or visiting it regularly.

Likewise house, worship house is often perceived as a “second home” (Mirna and Maria’s case). Many respondents give meaning to temple or church as a place to pray for “asking gods guidance, help, blesses, and protection” (Ketut, female, 27 years old), to “tell gods about what is in my heart”, and to “clean myself from bad things and misfortunes” (Gede, male, 35 years old). Thereby, worship house becomes important because it is a place where Balinese can meet gods, ancestors, and friends. It evokes feelings of “relief”, “secured”, and “peaceful” within the respondents. Memories also plays a crucial role to make worship house meaningful in terms of personal ‘milestones’ moment, such as a place where Maria met her husband for the first time. Thereby, sometimes it needs only one significant, pivotal moment to make a place meaningful. In terms of behavior, worship house is used to held various religious ceremonies, to be solitude and reflect on one’s personal problems, to socialize with friends, and to do pilgrimage and gain spiritual blessings. The latter is often associated with physical features and symbolic meanings of a temple. For instance, Ngurah (male, 30 years old) and Gede (male, 35 years old) visit Besakih temple because they believe it is the biggest and the oldest temple, thus the most important temple in Bali to be visited. While the importance of worship house due to historic and symbolic aspects of place is exemplified through experiences of Putu (male, 32 years old) and Wayan (male, 28 years old) who perceive their family temple as meaningful because “it is a place where my children were ‘born’ and had first religious ceremony as a child”. Overall, all the respondents have positive emotions toward worship house and they view it as an essential place in their life. Thereby, they are urged to maintain closeness to such places by owning a temple at home or visiting specific external temple regularly. Thus, for the respondents worship house creates harmonious interaction their between emotion, cognition, and behavior.

Seeing how these two places are physically organized or structured, indeed they are built according to the traditional Balinese principles of organizing places. The shaping elements of these two places reinforce *Tri Hita Karana* and *Tri Angga* principles, thereby they convey specific cultural and religious meanings about balance interaction between

man, environment, and god/universe. Familiar myth and religious symbols are also encoded into the built elements such that the respondents are kept reminded to the Balinese cultural ideologies and religious narratives about the harmonious relations between *bhuwana alit* (microcosm or human being) and *bhuwana agung* (macrocosm or environment/universe). Primarily, they are expressed through built landscape, such as icons, walls, ponds, plants, and its spatial relations (see appendix 2 for the visual description), and through behavior in terms of religious rituals/ceremonies. Employing the social dimension of place-attachment, at home and worship house, Balinese young adults tend to interact with their family and friends who are predominantly Balinese. As exemplified by many respondents, “I love my home because it is a place I can gather with my family” (Mirna, female, 21 years old), “I do most of my activities at home with my family” (Maria, female, 30 years old), “My family is my life, thereby home is everything to me. At home, I feel ‘settled’ with my family” (Ketut, female, 27 years old). Regarding the worship house, although it is a public space where Balinese young adults are allowed to interact with people with various backgrounds, for many respondents worship house is a sort of ‘private’ place, where they feel inclusively belong to “temple friends” (Pande, female, 20 years old) or “church friends” (Maria, female, 30 years old). Therefore, it is concluded that both physical and social features of home and worship house encourage Balinese young adults to fulfill their cultural norms, religious values, and community obligations.

4.4.1.2. Place-of-Ambivalent-Feelings: Work Places, Nature, and Leisure Places

These three important places are subsumed into the category of place-of-ambivalent-feelings because the respondents experience dissonance or conflicting interaction between their emotion, cognition, and behavior. For instance, Martin, a 33 years old man who works as a life-guard at Kuta’s beach often feels afraid and threatened by the harshness of Kuta’s sea. However, he claims that “the difficult and uncertainty of my working environment ‘forces’ me to entirely depends on god’s protection. Thereby, I think my job is precious because it makes me appreciate life more and more everyday”. Thus, Martin keeps doing his works and values beach and sea as important places in his daily life although often he experiences conflicting relations between his feelings and his thought. Similar experience regarding leisure place is encountered by Wayan, a 28 years old man

who works as a gardener at an art museum in Ubud. Wayan states that he loves his work place now because it reminds him with one of his favorite childhood places, that is rice field. The physical characteristics of his current work place, such as the soft breeze, the quietness, and the greenery landscape he encounters everyday makes him feel more relax in doing his work. However, in the same time rice fields also evoke negative emotions for Wayan because it brings back painful memories about his childhood, when he had to work very hard as a child in helping his peasant parents planting and harvesting rice. As the consequence of this bitter-sweet memories, Wayan often feels ambivalent feelings every time he sees a rice field, "I feel happy and sad in the same time. I am happy because I love plans and the natural features of rice field since I was a child, but also I feel sad to remember how difficult my childhood was. No time to play, only working and working in my rice field". Another example of ambivalent feelings in experiencing place is occur to Mirna, a 21 years old woman Christian Balinese. For her the customary village in Singaraja is an important place where she can meet her close relatives from her father side. However, due to the different faith between her and her relatives, Mirna often feels reluctant to visit her village. She thinks that the relatives do not treat Mirna and her family well because of their different faith as Christians, "They talked behind us because we are Christian. I feel they do not respect us and think we are not exist at all". In this case, Mirna experiences approach-avoidance conflict¹³ in her attachment to her village. She loves to visit her village but the consequence pushes her again for not doing it.

Based on above examples, it is revealed that Balinese young adults can feel ambivalent feelings toward a place when: First, physical features of an environment perceived as threatening yet it gives valuable experiences for personal growth. Second, when a place threatens our sense of security and comfort through its social aspect, but in the same time has pleasant physical features. These cases are aligned with works by Manzo (2005) in his explanation that one can experience a place as significant but it is not necessarily mean the emotional bond is positive. In addition, these cases demonstrate that

¹³ In an approach-avoidance conflict, a person experiences tension due being simultaneously attracted to and repulsed by the same goal. It occurs when one goal contains both positive and negative characteristics. When the goal is far away, both positive and negative feelings about the goal are less strong; however, as s/he approaches the goal, a person's feelings about the negative characteristics arise, and s/he avoids getting too close to achieving the goal (McGraw, 2001).

place-attachment can be mainly directed toward physical features of a place, rather than toward social bonds which are symbolized or represented by that place.

Based on my direct observation on the respondent's work places (hotel, church, café, school, house, and so on), leisure places, and places with nature, I found that they are not built or organized according to the Balinese place-manipulating principles. Instead, they have only most important units, such as *sanggah* (family temple) and *bale dangin* (a pavilion where religious ceremonies are carried out), or at least they are built in appropriate directions according to the Balinese principles of organizing places. It appears that these places are primarily built and organized based on maximum efficiency of land principle. Thereby, it highly emphasizes the functions of a building or compound, rather than its philosophical and cultural meaning. Seeing this fact from the broader context of Bali, this may occur because of land provision in Bali is getting more and more limited due to the vast development of tourism infrastructures. In addition, through the development of hotels in Bali, a modern conception of ideal place is introduced. As a consequence, Balinese started to adopt the modern principles of places to their house and other buildings around them. Presumably, when the modern-Western principles of designing and organizing places are 'blindly' applied in a different culture, psychological dissonance will occur within Balinese. The physical features of many Balinese work and leisure places are no longer 'match' with their cultural identity and daily activities. Moreover, Balinese social relations are increasingly stretched out across time and place. Their local values and practices are in the intersection with various cultural values and practices. This situation tends to create ambivalent emotions in their attachment to such 'open', borderless places. In this study, they appear as work places, leisure places, and places with nature.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction: The Everyday-life Place-Experiences of Balinese Young Adults

In this section, I would like to shift the focus from the place-meaning and place-attachment of Balinese young adults to the context in which this study is constructed, those are globalisation and modernity process which is represented by the development of Bali's tourism industry. Within this dynamic context, the five meaningful places explained above will be scrutinized so the features of those places which give rise to such meanings could be derived. Particularly, by putting back the place-attachment of Balinese young adults to its embedded context of globalization and modernity process, it is expected that this study could suggest some insights on how this contemporary context influences Balinese's attempt shaping Balinese young adult's relations to places and constructing their ways of life today.

5.2. Discussion

The empirical findings suggest that there are five particular places which are considered meaningful or important by Balinese young adults, namely: home (including family temple at home), external temple, natural places, work place, and leisure places such as café, bar, mall, and restaurant. From these distinctive places, a range of various place-experiences, both positive and negative, are encountered. In addition, there are places which create conflicting feelings, "bitter-sweet" emotions. Such places often create ambivalent feelings, which are still valued for the experience gained, memories with significant others, and genealogical aspect of family relations. Looking across the respondent's stories, it is revealed that home and its family temple as private and personal places (borrowing Relph's term, 1976: 36) are still considered by Balinese young adults as the most meaningful and significant place in their everyday-life. In this private place, which set apart Balinese young adults from public world, the face-to-face interaction with significant others, deified ancestors, and invisible gods/goddess are perceived as extremely important. Since each home of Balinese is 'unique' and special in terms of individual subjective memories, spiritual meaning, and genealogical family history, then the Balinese

traditional concepts of place as a bounded entity with its unique identity and historical continuity, as a cozy place of rest and defense against the dangerous and 'alien' outsiders (Milligan, 1998) are still maintained and reinforced. Thus, in the context of home arena, the time and space distancing (Giddens in Inda and Rosaldo, 2008) is less likely to occur. In this way, Balinese young adults are still 'rooted' into their home arena.

Conversely with home environment and family temple, temple outside the home (external-temple) is situated in the intersection between local and global¹⁴, open and close places¹⁵ (Massey, 2004; Harvey, 1996). On the one hand, for Balinese young adults external-temple is the embodiment of local and close spaces because of the prominent traditional settings of cultural and religious Hindu-Balinese ambient, where interpersonal and community activities are taking place. This 'inclusive' place tends to create more personal organization, the feeling of belongingness as one community, and the sense of rootedness to 'local soil' (Gergen, 1991: 285). On the other hand, it is also evident that in the context of Bali's tourism industry, external-temple is an opened and global space, where Balinese cultural tradition in terms of religious ceremonies and the physical features of temple are commodified predominantly for touristic purpose. Thereby, through the presence and various cultural values of Balinese and the tourists, external-temple becomes a meeting place of people from all over the world, inviting multiculturalism, and "breaking down the protective framework of small community" (Giddens, 1991: 33). In this way, Balinese's social interactions are stretching-out across place and time, their bonds to community are getting loose and, their sense of belonging is likely grounded not only to one culture or community, but expanding to others culture.

Likewise with external-temple, natural places, work place, and leisure places are obviously in the 'crossroads' between local and global spaces. Places such as coffee company, art centre, hotel, mall, sea, mountain, and film production house clearly demonstrate the blended of these two features in forms of stretching social interactions, diverse cultural values, dis-embeddedness of original cultural context, and transformation of authentic cultural ideas. Within the context of tourism industry, such local spaces are transformed into global spaces through massive consumption. This is evident primarily in

¹⁴ Global sense of place', a feeling that we are connected to the world as a unified entity (Massey, 1991).

¹⁵ Open place is conceptualized by Milligan as an 'open crossroads', a meeting place rather than an enclave of rest, a location with 'interactive potential', inviting diversity and multiculturalism (Milligan, 1998).

the context of natural places and leisure places. For many Balinese young adults, mountain, sea, beach, and lake are primarily sacred places, as explicitly mentioned by Putu, Gede, and Ketut. They are places where gods/goddess and evil reside, where sacred religious ceremonies are performed to clean one self from bad luck, sin, and misfortunes. In the same time these global-heterogen spaces are visited by tourists who tend to view and consume such places simply as touristic objects. Indeed, their motivation and attitude to 'consume' such places are less likely to be the same with the native's. Thus, from these findings it can be argued that the motivation underlying the act of consuming places is an important aspect that can turn a place as a local or global, homogen or heterogen places.

Referring to Urry's argument (1996) which states that through increasing mobility and freedom of leisure created by modern life, places are transformed into consuming places, thereby the process of de-territorialization and re-territorialization (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008) in these places are in constant dialogue: bonds to local places and culture are loosening and new meaning and activities are re-inserted. However, the presence of tourism industry does not merely allow Balinese young adults to 'loosen-up' themselves from their closed-tight community and cultural-tradition. Instead it may encourage them to preserve their authentic Balinese culture itself. As in the case of Pande, a kindergarten teacher who is also a Balinese dancer that periodically dancing in her *banjar* (community centre) for the sake of tourist. In this context, a process of "stage authenticity" may or may not occur (MacCannel, 1976). If stage authenticity is the case, compelled by tourist's desire to experience the authentic Balinese culture, Pande and her friends may performing 'invented' Balinese dances. Thereby, in the context of intercultural processes on cultures and individual, it is argued that global and local forces are closely interacting in the everyday-life of Balinese young adults. Consequently, it may influence Balinese culture in terms of hybridization of culture (Giddens in Inda & Rosaldo, 2008), and through their 'local-action', Balinese young adults also contribute to social involvement that are global in their consequences and implications.

Primarily, within these particular places (work places, natural places, and leisure places) industrialization engagement which is the heart of modernity process is apparently articulated. Take the example of Shanti 's daily life: she works in a small, local handicraft company which produces jewelry to be sold to tourist; she goes to a mall to socialize with her friends and she goes to a touristic beach to be solitude. In some ways, such places offer

risk and opportunities for Balinese young adults: opportunities to learn new skills and expand their horizon (Maria's case), to meet new people with various cultural background and explore absolutely new ideas (Ketut's case), risks to belong to and identify with 'bad' community or group (Martin's case), risk to choose an incompatible life-style (Tambunan's case), and so on. Within these borderless, unbounded places Balinese young adults are facing an immeasurable array of choices every day. Thus, within this sea of choices, they should choose what type of places they actually prefer and establish emotional bonds with.

However, based on the meaningful places chosen by Balinese young adults and seeing what kind of activities they likely to perform in those places, it shows that cultural-traditions and religious aspects strongly permeate and shape their everyday-life. From home with its family temple, external temple, natural places which are physically and symbolically believed as sacred places, all are imbued with tradition and religious meanings. Even in the context of work places, which are seemingly less related with Balinese tradition and spirituality, are interpreted by several respondents as places which are "meant to be", their "destiny" and "karma" (in the cases of Tambunan, Martin, Putu, Ketut, and Mirna). Therefore, these findings demonstrate that Balinese's attachment to places are strongly shaped by collective experiences and shared meaning within Balinese community. Through daily ceremonies at home, owning and inheriting land or houses, pilgrimage to external temples, narratives of religious values and tradition assigned to natural places and some to work places, Balinese create stronger emotional bonds with such places.

The empirical findings also clearly indicate that for Balinese young adults most often places become meaningful through long-term engagement, either through frequent visits or by perceiving it as a historical environment and local traditions. Thereby, these findings continually confirm Gustafson's argument that a meaningful place appears as the result of a process (Gustafson, 2001: 13). Associated place as a dynamic process and susceptible arena for change in the context of globalisation and modernity, for Balinese place is seemingly a terrain of struggles between individual subjectivities and cultural collective forces.

5.3. Conclusion

The analysis on place-meaning and place-attachment of Balinese young adults shows that there are particular places which are perceived as meaningful/important in their everyday-life, those are: home, temples, natural landscapes, work places, and leisure places (beach, sea, lake, rice field, mountain). These places become meaningful/important for them because they have certain kind of characteristics which could be categorized into three aspects of the Self, the Others, and the Environment dimensions by Gustafson (2001). Those characteristics are:

- **Self:** Places that can provide opportunities for privacy, self-introspection, and self-understanding; Places that can allow them to be themselves and explore who they are; Places which can be used as a source of self-identification. Meaning, places that can be used to construct and show their unique identity therefore enable them to distinguishing themselves from other people; Places that can give them opportunities to activate their religious values; Places which are associated with happy or painful childhood memories; Places where they can actualize their personal-interest; And places that allow them to do contrasting activities, such as working and swimming in the sea.
- **Others:** Places that can provide opportunities to be together with families; Places which enable Balinese to socialize with their friends; Places where 'milestones' moments occur; Places that can create a sense of one community; Places that allow Balinese to choose their own circle of friends; Place where they can gain trust from higher authority; Places where they can fulfill social expectations; And places that give them opportunities to meet new people.
- **Environment:** Places which are easy to be reach or quite near from their homes or work places; Places with natural landscapes; Places where they feel familiar with geographically; Places which their location, built and natural environment are associated with Bali-Hindu religious values; Places that provide material and non-material opportunities; Places that give environmental restraints; Places that are shaded with symbolic, cultural, and

historical aspects; Places which are easy to be accessed; And finally places that give Balinese high mobility.

Among these meaningful places, home and its family temple are perceived by Balinese as the most meaningful and significant places in their everyday-life, particularly as place-of-refuge because they evoke positive feelings, such as feelings of safe, pride, peaceful, contentment, relaxed, cognitively facilitates the construction of positive place-meaning, and encourages them to maintain physical closeness with these places. Thus, for the respondents home and worship house create harmonious interaction between their emotion, cognition, and behavior. Seeing from physical structures of these two places, in fact they are built according to the traditional Balinese principles of organizing places. Furthermore, it is found that both physical and social features of home and worship house encourage Balinese young adults to fulfill their cultural norms, religious values, and community obligations. In addition, Balinese young adults tend to perceive both home and perceive house as private and personal spaces. Therefore, Balinese are still rooted into their home.

While work places, nature, and leisure places are considered as place-of-ambivalent-feelings by Balinese young adults because in these places they experience dissonance or conflicting interaction between their emotion, cognition, and behavior. It is revealed that Balinese young adults can feel ambivalent feelings toward a place when physical features of an environment perceived as threatening yet it gives valuable experiences for personal growth and when it can threat our sense of security and comfort through its social aspect, but in the same time still has pleasant physical features. In fact, these places are not built or organized according to the Balinese place-manipulating principles. Apparently, these places are built and organized based on maximum efficiency of land principle. Thereby, it highly emphasizes the functions of a building or compound, rather than its philosophical and cultural meaning. In addition, natural places, work places, and leisure places evidently they are in the 'crossroads' between local and global spaces in terms of stretching social interactions, diverse cultural values, and dis-embeddedness from original cultural context.

Empirical findings also reveal that Balinese's attachment to their everyday-life-places are pervasively shaped by collective experiences and shared meaning within Balinese

community. Through the cultural aspects of place attachment, such as daily ceremonies at home, owning and inheriting land or houses, pilgrimage to external temples, narratives of religious values and tradition, Balinese young adults develop stronger emotional bonds with such places. In this sense, the predominant activities of Balinese young adults, viewed as their responses to the interplay of local and global forces are centered around Hindu-Bali religious and cultural-traditional activities. However, it is evident that in the practice, the arena where religious and cultural tradition are organized, are also arenas where touristic activities are performed. Therefore, in this respect it is important to take into account the motivation of individual Balinese underlying their day to day activities. In addition, seeing the meaningful everyday-life-places of Balinese in terms of cultural flows (Hannerz, 1992), it is relevant to conclude that such places tend to increase cultural connection and accelerate cultural complexity. Consequently, the challenge of heterogeneity of cultural meanings and practices become a 'natural' part of Balinese's daily life today. Consequently, they should face the construction of new place-meaning system and re-negotiate shared Balinese cultural values with their individual subjectivities. In this respect, the Balinese traditional conceptualizations of places they have adopted so far are challenged. Even though Balinese still tend to conceptualize places in traditional ways, they are started to view places as borderless and interconnected spaces. Thus, Balinese young adults assign various meaning to a place and use it for multiple different activities in the same time.

To make a place meaningful/important and to develop emotional attachment to a place, most often Balinese young adults interact with place through long-term engagement, either through frequent visits or by perceiving it as a place that are imbued with historical narratives and local traditions. By recognizing places as a dynamic process and susceptible arena for change, for Balinese young adults places are seemingly a terrain of struggles between their individual subjectivities and cultural collective forces.

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