KU LEUVEN

FACULTY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Temporal Rupture

An ethnographic exploration of conflicting temporalities in contemporary Bali

FENGYU LIN

R0647224

Masters' thesis submitted to obtain the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Noel B. Salazar

Second reader: Prof. Dr. Filip De Boeck

Academic year 2018-2019

Word count: 19136

Abstract

The thesis investigates the conflicting perceptions of time in connection with the coexistence of multiple temporal regimes and the embeddedness of the tourism economy in contemporary Bali. In my research, I introduce the notion of "temporal rupture" to describe the experiential phenomena of bodily and mental disruptions as a consequence of the clashing value systems and sentiments between different meanings of time and work. The global tourism economy has imposed a new set of temporal organization and values on the Balinese population with their increasing engagement in a capitalist economy. This ethnographic study is an inquiry into the perception and an individual's subjective experience of time as perceived stress factors which are detrimental to one's physical and mental health, and might potentially lead to mental disorders. Among the Balinese rural migrant workers and villagers in peripheral regions, the syndromes of disruption resulting from this temporal conflict are the most salient. The ethnographic data and interview scripts were gathered during my two months of ethnographic fieldwork in three different villages in Bangli and Karangasem regencies of Bali in 2017 and 2019. By disentangling the interrelation of temporality and the economy of capitalism, these embodied disruptions reveal the existing social inequalities in Bali.

Keywords: *Bali, temporality, tourism economy, inequality, identity, capitalism, stress study, mental health*

Preface and Acknowledgement

I first came to Bali in 2016. I remember clearly that a thrust of business and crowdedness caught my attention and challenged my senses when I set my foot in Ngurah Rai Airport. That day, I arrived at midnight and was trying to navigate through the pile of tourists, tour agents and private drivers. Someone came to a halt in front of me as I tried to grab a taxi. As a total novice visitor in Bali, I did not give him a doubt but got on his "cab". It was not a decent car to be honest, as I would expect how a taxi should be like. Because I was already late for the check-in time of the guesthouse I had reserved, all I had in mind was to hurry to the place I wanted to be at. It took the guy a complete 15 minutes to start his engine with several failed trials. I started getting in a state and thinking maybe I was in a fraud service.

Nevertheless, all I wanted was to be transported to the guesthouse, which was less than five kilometers away from the airport. I reconfirmed the destination and the address with the driver who had convinced me at first that he knew exactly where it was. We drove through some alleyways for another ten minutes. We ended up in a dead-end, and clearly, he could not find the place. Yet he told me it was just behind the wall in the front, and asked me to get my luggage and get off the car. Having believed him, I stepped off. Soon I realized there is no way I could pass through the dead-end when approaching closer. As I was going to get the driver, he backed his car as fast as he could, ignoring my knocks on the window, he made off. I was ditched in the middle of nowhere in the middle of the night.

Despite the awful first night in Bali, thanks to my friend Blake[1] who I caught up with the next day, we headed to Tingkadbatu where I was introduced to Pekak Bagus and Dedi Nyoman, long-term friends of his. It was then I started to build close friendships with all my interlocutors in the village Tingkadbatu. Due to these contacts, Bali has since become a second home of mine. Not only have they made me feel warmly welcomed, they have treated me as part of their family ever since the first day. I have always been awe-struck by the multitudinous possibilities I have encountered everywhere in the island. Not simply because of the artistry or theatrical ability of the Balinese social life, but also due to the natural hospitality and sincerity from the people I have come across. The spirits and positivity of the Balinese people out-shine the struggles and miserable conditions they have been dealt.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend, Blake, who took me to explore the beauty of Bali. Not only did Blake introduce me to the life of my interlocutors, he helped me as an interpreter during my fieldwork. Without his support and help, I would not be able to have the chance to follow the study as close as it could.

I particularly wish to express my appreciation to Pekak Bagus, Dedi Nyoman, Surata Wayan, their families and all the villagers I came across in Tingkadbatu and Sibetan for their unconditional acceptance and welcoming of me as friend and family. With the close bond we have built, Bali has acquired a meaningful position in my life. Thus, this

[1] In Tingkadbatu, Blake always referred himself by his middle name, Alan. Because all the time when he introduced himself with the name "Blake", the villagers would shock and laugh, saying "Hitam, Nama tidak bagus!", which literally means "Black!! Not a good name!"

thesis I dedicate to the friendship that contributed to it and my special relationship with this lovely place.

For valuable help in the development of my research subject I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Noel B. Salazar for the critical and guiding comments, and Professor Jeroen Cuvelier for sharing his experience in relevant fields and providing helpful insight into my research.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Alain Lachâtre, for his support and love throughout the process.

The development of subject and arguments in this thesis (including partial excerpts) is primarily based on the previously submitted paper under the title "Ruptured Perception of Time in Contemporary Bali: A Case Study in Rural Bangli Regency" for the course of Research Seminar in January 2018.

Illustrations

Figures

Maps

Table of Content

Part One

Prologue

Map 1. Bali Island.

Map 2. Location of field sites and major towns.

To invoke another culture now is to locate it in a time and space contemporaneous with our own, and thus to see it as part of our world, rather than as a mirror or alternative to ourselves, arising from a totally alien origin.

George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers (1995:19)

Introduction: Bali in A Glance

Known for being a living museum characterized with its particular Balinese Hindu culture, Bali has by now proved to be a productive field for anthropological and tourism studies. The Bali Island, being one of the most popular holiday destinations in the Indonesian archipelago, is famous for the tropical landscape, its hospitable people and the arrestingly vibrant religious rituals. This stereotypical image pretty much summed up my limited understanding of Bali Island before I began my research.

For a long time, thousands of vacationers, adventurers and scholars worldwide have been attracted to get a taste of the "exoticness" of Bali. With the massive flow of visitors into the island, tourism in Bali has not only brought in economic revenue and a wide variety of employment possibilities but also bolstered its popularity in the global tourism market. Ever since the opening of the new international terminal in November 2013, Ngurah Rai Airport has been running at its full capacity. With a population of 4 million in the island, in 2018, the number of foreign tourists received was estimated over 6 million (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2019a). In many ways, this does not only suggest the economic importance of the tourist industry in Bali, but also shows how the density and intensity of tourist-local encounters have increased more than ever.

Over recent decades, substantial socio-economic changes have made themselves felt. Veiled with Balinese-Hindu religion, the island of Bali is believed to be a tropical paradise place where local people live in harmony with the spiritual forces and natural environment free from

contamination of modernization. But with the process of globalization, it is often assumed that participation in tourism industry is a way to improve the quality of life and the well-being of Balinese people. Nonetheless the expansion of the tourist circuit does not always bring positive effects, especially on those peripheral parts of this island (Howe, 2009; Picard, 1996; Vickers, 1989).

My thesis sets out an investigation concerned with the distressing experiences of time disruption and economic inequality. By disentangling the interrelation of temporality and a capitalism economy, these embodied disruptions reveal the existing social inequalities in Bali (Elliott et al, 2017). The ethnographic data and interview scripts were gathered during my two months ethnographic fieldwork in three different villages of Bangli and Karangasem Regency in Bali Province in 2017 and 2019.

This ethnographic study is an inquiry into the perception and an individual's subjective experience of time as perceived stress factors which are detrimental to one's physical and mental health, and might potentially lead to mental disorders. Among the Balinese rural migrant workers and villagers in peripheral regions, the syndromes of disruption resulting from this temporal conflict are the most salient. The empirical data shows how the dissociated temporal systems and representations brought by the encounter with "the global other" manifest themselves in the physical, psychological and socio-cultural domains of everyday experience. In my thesis, I submit the notion of "temporal rupture" to describe the ruptured subjective experience of temporality generated from the clashing value systems and different time-reckoning systems. This does not only pose challenges to rural communities materially and financially, but also creates psychological debris by the

mental stresses regarding the burden of rituals among rural-to-urban migrant workers in tourism sectors.

In much of anthropological literature, it has been suggested that not only does the Balinese perception of time dominate how rituals and ceremonies are organized, but also informs their construction of personhood and social norms. Drawing on Geertz's theoretical analysis of Balinese time and personhood, I submit that, nowadays under the influence of global capitalism, Balinese people are experiencing a disrupted sense of time, which forces them to re-conceptualize their identities and social interactions.

In **Part One**, I establish the context of my fieldwork condition and the methodology I deployed throughout the course of investigation. I review some anthropological literature that serves as the theoretical foundation of my thesis. I then specify important research questions and hypothesis I take aim at investigating and answering in my research.

Part Two discusses two ethnographic cases of physical fatigue and tensions of stress when confronting with conflicting schedules of work and ritual. I start with an ethnographic description of the *ngaben* (the cremation ceremony) at Tingkadbatu village in Bangli Regency of Bali. In this section, I focus on the embodied experience of time disruption by presenting case study of two Balinese migrant workers. Following I present my firsthand experience of disrupted bodily rhythm during my

participation with villagers of Demulih in the ceremony of "*ngenteg linggih*" at Kerobokan temple in Singaraja[2].

In **Part Three**, the focus shifts to the affective influence of time disruption on the meaning and sentiments. I examine how urban tourism comes to engender anxiety, mental distraction, persistent stress among rural migrant workers. The ethnographic study was conducted in Demulih in Bangli Regency and Sibetan in Karangasem Regency in East Bali. The observation of these tensions consequently leads me to the examination of the interconnected dynamics between the ruptured temporal experiences and broader socio-cultural transitions in Balinese society, which I will turn to in **Part Four**.

Emphasizing on the growing ambivalent attitude toward Balinese Hindu practices and the tourist development, **Part Four** turns to the exploration of how existing social inequalities and work precarity unconsciously shape the Balinese subjectivity of being a non-modern subject, and how the rupture of temporal identification and their everyday experiences add to their emotional stress. I do this by showing how the subjectivity formed by the cultural exchange in the tourism industry brings this about.

I conclude my research findings in **Part Five** and I will discuss the anthropological implications of my case and the direction for future research.

---

[2] Kerobokan is often referred to the town in Badung Regency, where the infamous Kerobokan Prison is located. However, the Kerobokan village I visited indicates the one in the subdistrict Sawan of Buleleng Regency, close to Singaraja.

Methodology

Research Questions

By acknowledging the multiplicity of temporal frameworks existing in Bali, the objective of this research is to illuminate the experiential impacts of conflicting temporality by asking the following questions:

1. How does the temporal rupture manifest itself in the everyday lives of Bali?
2. What are the potential corporeal and psychological impacts of tourism on local communities?
3. How does the unequal development of the economy and infrastructure create vulnerable groups to the impact of the temporal rupture?
4. How do the encompassing temporal experiences and changing social environment affect the perception of well-being?

Research Methods

Multi-sited Ethnography

The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted mostly in two regencies in Bali, Bangli Regency and Karangasem Regency. I became acquainted with the two families in *desa adat/pakraman* (customary village) Tingkadbatu three years ago when I first visited Bali. The village Tingkadbatu, lies at the central part of the island, next to the Bangli town. The second site was Sibetan village at the west side of the Karangasem Regency, where my interlocutor Surata Wayan was married. The third place was Demulih in the district of Susut on the west part of the Bangli Regency.

Bangli Regency, the only landlocked regency that covers the central-north portion of the island, borders Badung and Gianyar regencies, the two most developed parts of Bali in terms of the infrastructure needed to support tourism[3]. With its geographic advantages, Bangli has gradually received and benefited from the increasing number of tourists who seek to get away from tourist-saturated urban areas.

Karangasem Regency, on the other hand, with its occupation of the east coastline, has not received much tourist attention and a majority of inland villages remains comparatively quiet and infrastructurally marginalized, apart from some seaside towns. With the comparative lack of tourist landmarks, local governments have been trying to develop other forms of tourism, such as agritourism. For instance, in Sibetan village where I conducted my fieldwork, local governments with their recent approved regulation of tourism development has been promoting agritourism and farm fieldtrip in eastern Bali (Bachtiar et al, 2016).

According to Bali Provincial Statistics Agency, Bangli and Karangasem are the only two out of eight regencies in Bali which their Human Development Index rankings remain medium status[4]. However, Bangli and Karangasem are at the same time

---

[3] Ubud, a town in Gianyar Regency which is in the vicinity of Bangli Regency, has been one of the successfully developed tourist-favorite spots for its celebration of artisan and traditional performance in the royal palace. In less than a decade, Ubud has seen drastic changes in terms of hospitality infrastructures.

[4] Despite the Human Development Index (HDI) of Bali was recorded the fifth nationally, the rate of growth was the last among other provinces. Statistics shows that, in terms of life expectancy, Bangli and Karangasem are the two areas with the lowest score during the period of 2017-2018. With regard to school life expectancy, Bangli was continually recorded with the lowest school achievements of only 12.31 years in the period of 2016-2018. The district with the lowest average income of 2018 is Karangasem, which reached 10.05 million Rupiah (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2019b).

the two regencies which have the highest growth rate for the past eight years, albeit the most fluctuating compared to the other regencies (See *Fig 1.*) (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2019b). With their defining spatial locations and the ever-expanding tourist circuit, Bangli and Karangasem have seen gradual changes over recent years with each regency governments' effort to establish their own foundation of the tourism industry, rendering these sites interesting for my anthropological inquiry.

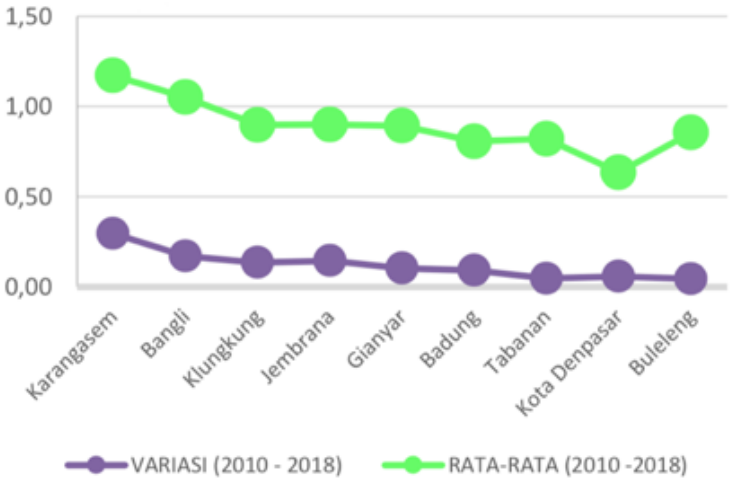

Fig 1. Chart of the development of Human Development Index over the past eight years in each districts and Denpasar city.[5]

Participant Observation

Participant observation was predominantly conducted during the communal affairs such as the preparatory phases of major events, and by attending the events themselves. With the help of my interlocutors, I was able to quickly immerse myself into the village life. During my fieldwork, I encountered several

[5] Adapted from *Perkembangan Triwulanan Ekonomi Bali Triwulan I 2019* (pp.55) by Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. 2019. Denpasar: BPS Provinsi Bali.

important events, such as the Balinese New Year (*nyepi*), the cremation ceremony (*ngaben*) of my interlocutors' family in their villages, and the wedding of my interlocutors' relatives. Because of local regulation, I had to report to police office before I was able to stay in the villages, whereas I did not opt for a guesthouse or hotel.

During my stay in the villages, I followed the life routine of my interlocutors and their families in villages. While I stayed at their compound, I learned and helped to make ritual offerings or taking care of kids when their mothers were busy.

Data collection

This ethnographic research was conducted in a qualitative way. The central means of data collecting was through the informal conversation, coupled with semi-structured interviews and fieldnotes that had traced the everyday work routines of my interlocutors, and also the major and minor festivals and ceremonies that occurred in the field sites. To preserve anonymity and confidentiality, the names of my interlocutors in this thesis are pseudonyms.

When being away from the fields, online chatting was also deployed to follow up their lives and incident occurred to my interlocutors. The interview questions were derived from the theoretical proposition of "temporal rupture" - the experiences of clashing time, time pressure, and pressure of social and communal responsibility and legitimization of religious identity based on the everyday experiences of my interlocutors. The idea about "temporal rupture" also resonates with my own experiences in the field. The empirical data partially include my reflection and conversations with my interlocutors who shared with similar feelings and experiences during the participation of events.

Data Analysis

The process of theorization started with my reflexive accounts of my participation in the ceremony of *ngaben* for my interlocutors' father in Tingkadbatu. It was the feelings of both social and emotional disruption I shared with my acquaintance who accompanied me during the first-phase of my fieldwork initialized the ensuing investigations and research questions.

Methodological Pitfall

Medical and psychological conditions have been the major research focus in this thesis. Nevertheless, due to the lack of professional and medical equipment, the measurement of stress and distress appear to be difficult to assess in a quantitative way. During my fieldwork, I visited the government-funded psychiatric hospital in Bangli Regency twice in search for professional assistance. The personnel in the hospital had informed me that for the purpose of research, I would have to submit my background information and research proposal to the governmental segment. Although I had submitted the documents they asked, by the time I received their reply, I was no longer in the field. The second pitfall has been the issue of language. Although during my fieldwork, my interlocuters had been available help when I was in need of interpretation, majority of the interviews were conducted in English. In addition to the translatability of Balinese language to English, the language barrier might impede the local richness of descriptive and linguistic lexicons.

Literature and Theoretical Framework

Not only is time a physical element we experience, it is also a cultural construct which serves as a reference for the organization of our social activities. Time constitutes our subjective experiences and sentiments about ourselves and the social environment we are living in. Our understanding and conceptualization of time present our worldview.

Time in Anthropology Scrutinization

The variability of perception of time across cultures has long been a fascinating subject in social science. In anthropology, in particular, emphasis has been on the socio-cultural constructions of time and local forms of time-reckoning (Evans-Pritchard, 1939; Fabian, 1983; Geertz, 1973; Leach, 1961; Malinowski, 1927); on the coexisting of multiple modes of temporal reckoning (Eickelman, 1977). However, anthropological investigation on time and temporality has long been criticized for its essentialization of cultural otherness and its built-in dualist dichotomies (Munn, 1992).

With the process of globalization and expansion of capitalism, the so-called "modern time" or "technical time" which run by clock time and labor division often signifies progress and advancement with its quantitative orientation. Time has essentially become a ubiquitous measuring unit of efficiency and progress. The prevalence of such homogenization of temporal concept appears to be a challenge for contemporary social scientists, as anthropologist Janet Hoskins states,

> [T]he study of variation in the notions of time and the modes of time-reckoning is facing increasingly difficulties in the modern world on finding communities whose original temporalities have not been influenced by comparison with the ubiquitous Western calendar".
>
> (Hoskins, 1997:339)

However, rather than being a universal mode of living and experience, the conception of modern time needs to be understood as a historical product and cultural invention that renders our "organization of social life by shifting the emphasis of everyday living and working patterns from variable rhythms to invariant ones which, in turn, created a tension", as Barbara Adam puts (Adam, 1995; Thompson, 1967). The rationalization does not come without consequence but with social and cultural tensions. The tensions might entail social disruptions (Hoskin, 1997), shift of power relations (Burman, 1981), lifestyle changes, conflicting work rhythms (Cooper, 1992), personal and communal disintegrations, and psychological impacts on well-being (Christie & Halpern, 1990; Hallowell, 1995).

Reconsidering Clifford Geertz

Writing about the Island of Bali, American anthropologist Clifford Geertz describes Balinese conception of time as fundamentally "de-temporalized and punctuated. In the essay "Person, Time and Conduct in Bali" (1973), Geertz elaborates the interrelated relationship between the concept of time, personhood and social interactions. Referencing to Bateson's description, Geertz posits that Balinese characters and society are steady and immune to change, Balinese time is punctual and relatively motionless, and their social life is characterized by an "absence of climax" (1973:379, 401). It has brought up a heated debate over the quality of

time (See Bloch, 1977; Howe, 1981). Despite the colonial images that had occupied Geertz interpretation, Geertz's work pinpoints the social cognitive aspect of temporality which contributed to the medical and psychological anthropological literature.

Nevertheless, the social consequence of the coexistence of a multitude of temporalities in the age of globalization remains an understudied subject in most literature on Bali. I argue that the existing distinctions that dichotomize modern time and traditional time are essentially a Eurocentric product which flattens the philosophical importance and the phenomenological experience of time's passage into the singular mode of time-reckoning we often take for granted. In accord with Geertz's 'cultural triangle of forces' formulation, I consider that time, as a social convention, does not only reveal how our social activities and lives are organized, but also constitutes different levels of sentiment and the contents of people's identity with regard to their well-being.

There is no society living with a singular temporal scheme since temporal experiences are variously defined and understood. Nature informs us the solar and lunar cycles. Our social activities and cultural practices inform us our identity and social relations. Cultural practices, as Alfred I. Hallowell posits, in any given society, provide some basic orientations for its members to reference as they act out their social role either dependently or interdependently. These orientations allow the generation and maintenance of self-continuity in relation to past, present and future. The temporal orientation, according to Hallowell, manifests in the naming of days which is a necessary condition for self-orientation in time, and certainly in Bali the complex calendric system plays a vital orientation for people

situating themselves in accordance to their temporal scheme and ensuring their wellbeing (Hallowell, 1937, 1955).

The term "temporality" that I utilize in my thesis encompasses both the subjective experiences of time's passage and the ideological abstracts of times, which allows me to measure the inequality generated by the sovereignty of global capitalism.

Balinese Conception of Reality and Time

To understand how time and temporal experience influence on the well-being for Balinese, it is important to know the conceptualization of reality in Balinese-Hindu philosophy. Bali has been claimed to be a ritually dense society. In Balinese-Hindu belief, ancestors are seen as linkages between different temporal junctures. The devotion of time and spirit into preparations of offering-making and participation of rituals reflects the importance of ancestor worship in Balinese everyday life. Ancestors do not only serve as a link between the living and the past, which allow Balinese to assert a place and define their social positions. Ancestors are also the guarantors of harmony and through their support and protection, ancestors ensure a harmonious present. Finally, as the source of fertility, ancestors assure the future of Balinese people and traditions.

One of the most illustrative examples of Balinese appreciation for the ancestor-hood is their philosophical conceptualization of reality. According to Balinese-Hindu belief, people identify five levels of reality (*tattwa*): *brahma* (god of creation), *atma* (soul or spirit), *karma* (deed or reciprocity), *samsara* (reincarnation) and *moksa* (the possibility

of unity with the divine)[6]. The hierarchical conception that positions ancestor-hood at the highest-level manifests itself in Balinese everyday rituals. Balinese-Hindus believe that only through accomplishing all levels of reality, is one able to maintain the bodily and mental wellness, as a promise of a better afterlife. Moreover, one can only fulfill their deity through conducting ritual practices on a daily basis.

Balinese logics of health and well-being are based on this particular cosmological belief and the achievement of a state of balance. By recognizing the sublimity and eminence of ancestral relationship in Balinese Hindu life, I argue that the participation in ritual activities discursively influences on Balinese sense of well-being and self-continuity. Meanwhile, experiences of misfortune and illness are epitomes of the imbalance and a state of spiritual disturbance.

Balinese ritualistic routines are fundamentally determined and organized according to their local calendar systems. The complexity of Balinese calendrical systems has been depicted

---

6 *Brahma* refers to the Balinese-Hindu belief towards their ancestors who gives them indications in the lives. For Balinese-Hindi people, *brahma* has the highest priority of everything. People must continuously give the best to their ancestors, and Balinese-Hindi does it through performing rituals. Through rituals they get the effect on their body, like a medium, so ancestors can come together with them. It is their *atma* that their ancestors want. *Karma* comes from their behaviors. If they behave improperly, they do wrong towards their ancestors, and people may lose their way in the future. Ancestors may be angry. Balinese have to determine their karma to have a good future or reincarnation. *Samsara* means the reincarnation, where *karma* leads them to. Balinese people believe that if they do bad things to people, it will reflect upon their incarnation. They may be inflicted with physical shortcomings, or their birth becomes burdensome to other people. Finally, *moksa* is referred as the belief in happiness and towards to unity of the divine. Because they have honored all four levels in rituals, they may have success in their interpersonal relationships, having rich spiritual life, and the good relationship with family and ancestors (Nettheim, 2011).

and analyzed extensively by many scholars (Eiseman, 1989:172-192; Geertz, 1973; Lansing, 1995:28-31). A key aspect is that daily rituals provide Balinese people with temporal relations to their ancestors who provide guidance and positive forces through their everyday life. These temporal flow and forces through the participation of rituals allow Balinese to claim themselves and behave in accordance with the cultural frameworks. It is clear that the sense of time is structurally associated with interpersonal interaction. Time, in Balinese Hindu philosophical understanding, is intrinsically cultural but at the same time essentially natural. Such understanding of time derives from both the routinely ritual practices and the phenomenological experience of religious ritual.

However, sentiments and substances attached to ritual calendars, the time-keeping systems intrinsically derived from the ancestral heritage, and ritual actions that revolved around it, are also to a large extent culturally constructed and not immune to changes.

Tourism and Capitalism in Bali

Global tourism, with its close association with the expansion of capitalism, as Raoul Bianchi remarks, "is overwhelmingly made up of a variety of private enterprise, small and large, driven by the pursuit of profit." And Raoul Bianchi claims that:

> These struggles for better pay and conditions, against unlawful dismissal and in defense of trade union rights, can be seen against the growth of the structural power of capital in the global tourism and related industries, thus subjecting diverse elements of the 'tourism' workforce to the discipline of the global market.
>
> (Bianchi, 2011:18)

Tourism development gives rise to new forms of economic structure and institutions as well as the idea of advancement and accumulation of capital. With the escalating number of visitors from foreign lands, the hospitality business in the southern coastal areas is fiercely competitive, with the pressure to satisfy the tourists' demands.

Balinese villages outside the tourist circuit have long been marginalized subjects from the centralized development of tourism. As a result of the autonomy policy and the paucity of adequate infrastructures, a majority of rural villages do not enjoy the benefit brought by the tourist economy (Picard, 1997). On the one hand, rural migrants who work in the urban centers and have extensive contact with foreign tourists and cultures becomes unsettled and anxious about their cultural identity that comes into conflict with their aspiration for "modernity". As the "tourist" epitomizes a cosmopolitan "other" who bears a distinctive worldview and temporal constructs that come to clash with the Balinese', rural migrant workers and communities with their exposure to them, may come to feel a sense of disruption by the dichotomy of "tradition" and "modernity". What has emerged are different values of time and new forms of embodied experience of time, as Balinese engage with tourists and encounter foreign "others".

On the other hand, tourist jobs require the employees to adjust themselves to the capitalist form of temporal framework, that values the axiom of "time is money". It could be said that this abstract temporal understanding serves as the underlying scheme of capitalism which prevails as a ubiquitous measure of value. Time becomes something commodifiable, measurable and a social mechanism of regulating our existence and feelings which we are not conscious of.

In line with the recently renewed interest in time as a precious commodity, which has often been obscured by post-industrial model of temporality, my thesis is an attempt to consider the disruption brought by "western modernity", the disjunction of the globalization of tourism (Appadurai, 1990). The "temporal rupture" I present is a collection of dialectic phenomena and symptoms of dissonance resulting from an intensified vulnerability to multiple temporal values and ways of organizing lives. The conditions of being situated in conflicting temporal frameworks are regarded as societal and cultural factors which would contribute to personal disorientation as illustrated by the growing evidence of lifestyle crises and syndromes of distress. Chronic suffering from daily stress, physical fatigue and social frustration may cause psychological discomfort and consequently lead to mental disorders.

Contextualizing Temporal Rupture

The existence of multiple calendar systems is an undeniable condition in Bali. Materially, Balinese does possess two different kinds of calendar systems other than Gregorian one[7]. When it comes to theorizing the temporal rupture, however, I have refrained from essentializing or traditionalizing Balinese temporal knowledge, or dichotomizing the qualities between linearity and cyclicity. Rather, I focus on material and psychical imprints of the multitude of time on the Balinese people in regards to the open-door policy for tourist development since 1970s (Picard, 1997). I seek to explore the emotional and

[7] Nowadays, three types of calendars are in use in Bali society: *pawulon* (the Javanese-Balinese, which consists of 210 days that consists of 30 seven-day weeks. It is widely used to determine ritual and holidays, temple anniversaries and good and bad day for events), *saka* (the Hindu-Balinese lunar calendar, used to determine cycle of festivals), and Gregorian calendar.

psychological tensions that my Balinese interlocuters have been experiencing nowadays.

With the history of colonization, the ensuing political unrest and the process of tourist expansion in full swing, a "progressive" idea of time and "modern" forms of time-reckoning have been introduced throughout the establishments of Western institutions and tourist infrastructure. The intensified encounters with "stranger" tourists, who themselves come to represent a temporal matrix and different forms of lifestyle, have created paradoxical influences on local communities. Balinese continue to be informed by certain cultural expectations defined by coercive political powers. Nevertheless, as I argue in my research that the shifting socioeconomic environment has challenged several aspects of Balinese life and some Balinese have started questioning the authenticity of "Balinese culture". In the following section, I use the term "temporal rupture" as a theoretical standpoint to contextualize the socio-cultural disruption and heath crisis experienced by my interlocutors.

Hypothesis

What is the temporal rupture that I am referring to in this case? I consider the notion as an indication of perceptible physical and mental forms of disturbance and anxiety pertaining to the time pressure and ambivalent feelings about the conflicting frameworks of time-reckoning and sentiments about time. I posit the following as the manifestation of the temporal rupture in contemporary Bali:

1. The experience of physical fatigue and burnout related to ritual and working time.

2. A feeling of anxiety over conflicting events and the feeling of shame for the absence from ceremony that affects the work performance.
3. On the level of subjectivity, the sense of self as being a non-modern subject, a process of differentiation and boundary-making between local and the tourists.
4. Disruptions to the Balinese Hindu philosophical reality that consequently entail the unbalance and bring negative effects on their sense of well-being.
5. Ambivalent feelings about the tradition and the associated lifestyle transitions.

My thesis of the temporal rupture is built on two main arguments: first, I refer to the temporal rupture as the conflicts from the coexistence of two Balinese traditional calendars with the Gregorian one, which is adopted by most of the countries in the world and constitutive to the global economic development. The rupture signals a sense of detachment which produces the disorientation and the stresses on individual level. Secondly, with the flood of foreign tourists and cultural attachments that come with them, the meanings and emotions attached to concepts such as work, holidays and certain anniversaries are under radical change. Meanwhile tourist development in Bali continues to build its economic basis on the highly traditionalized and elaborated forms of religious rituals and ethnic arts, aside from the natural scenery, and constantly creates tourists as examples of modernity and the Balinese as their non-modern counterparts.

Although tourists, with their diverse purposes of travelling and their differing countries of origin, cannot hardly be seen as a singular entity, they represent themselves with a distinct status of class, economic privilege and cosmopolitan worldview. Tourists carry with them their own temporal sentiment and meanings. More specifically, the idea of

temporal rupture indicates the phenomena of a disrupted sense of being in time or living in a social world that could potentially jeopardize the well-being or health to the subject concerned. It also points to the rupture of ordinary life and everyday existence. Not just literally, pressure on not having enough time or the loss of time, but as a metaphor of being situated in a different perception of time, which I attribute to what I saw as high stress and a constant state of fatigue experienced by my interlocutors. In addition to the corporeal aspect, some interlocutors also stated the difficulty of focusing on work while thinking about the rituals happening back to the village.

While their persistent experience of economic degradation and exposure to the cosmopolitan worldview presented by tourists initiates an aspiration and desire for many Balinese to live like the tourists, most Balinese acknowledge that they can achieve ultimate happiness and well-being only through the celebration of their cultural traditions.

From a theoretical standpoint, the notion does not only signify the tension of temporal discoordination, but it also emphasizes the growing ambivalent attitude and sentiments of Balinese people towards their customary traditions, cultural practices, tourists, and their living conditions. It describes the very dilemmatic circumstance that occurs when the Balinese idealization of modernization and their socio-cultural reality come to clash one another.

By revealing the temporal specificity of tourist development, an exploration of the ruptured sense of time shared by my interlocutors allows me to assess how their experiences of infrastructural inequality afflict rural Balinese communities not only on the material level, but also on the corporeal and affective level. The quest is to go beyond the anthropological

dichotomy between the linearity and cyclicity of time. Rather, through the exploration and discussion of the dynamic relationship between various temporal sentiments, I hope to highlight the internalized subjective experiences and their responses towards the externalized temporalities.

Part Two

Body and Rhythm

The Ceremony of *Ngaben*

In July 2017, I joined Pekak Bagus and his family in Tingkadbatu the day preceding the actual cremation to be carried out. For several weeks, villagers in Tingkadbatu had been in the middle of preparing the *ngaben* coming up which they had been waiting for four years. In the *banjar* Tingkadbatu, grown men were sticking chunks of chicken meat through bamboo skewer and grilling them to make *sate*, while some other sitting moulding clay pots for installing burned ashes after cremation. A number of village women were sitting at the backyard crafting ritual offerings, while in the kitchen, some were responsible for cooking *Balinese* coffee and serving cakes of various sorts to every member at work keep their spirits up.

The entire ceremony of *ngaben* entails a series of process that could last up to 20 days, with minor and major events. In most Balinese villages, the ritual of *ngaben*, in general, remains a communal affair as it is a big-budget business, and only a minority of people from wealth family or high caste could afford to carry out a private ritual of cremation right after the family member passed away. Pekak Bagus told me that the next morning, on the day of *puncak karya ngaben* (which literally means the summit of cremation ceremony), villagers would go to the cemetery and excavate the bones and remains of the dead, and perform purification ritual before they would be officially cremated.

The next morning, I woke to the noise of unsettled animals at the back yard. It was 5 A.M. before the sun even came out. Still foggy from sleep I got myself ready and stumbled to the cemetery. The graveyard, which was located next to the village temple, an open space appeared to be a temporary site where

bodies were buried. As soon as I arrived at the cemetery, what caught my attention immediately was a scene of chaos when all the villagers were scampering around the cemetery with shovels and baskets of offerings, digging hard down to the ground accompanied by the priest's chanting which was amplified through the speakers. Up to that point I thought I had come to an archaeological site.

It was a difficult process to follow as the villagers were themselves unsure about what to do next until they were directed to. After the remains of the deceased were dug out, washed thoroughly with holy water, wrapped in white cotton blankets, and finally loaded with some brand-new unworn clothes in the coffins which were made exquisitely of paper with delicate decoration, villagers scattered to a small sewer to clean up themselves and return home for breakfast before the appropriate time for cremation to be announced.

…

Still a couple hours before the cremation procession to be carried out, Pekak Bagus and some of his families, appearing to be sleep-deprived that morning went for a short nap before lunch was prepared. Taking a rest seemed to be a challenging task when no exact ritual time was communicated and fully depended on the priest's announcement. In case of missing the beginning of cremation, I went straight to the cemetery right after lunch. Upon my arrival, the pavilion of the temple was already packed with villagers awaiting the ritual under the shadow avoiding to get torched by the heat.

Two hours later, more and more villagers came to gather at the cemetery and prepared the flame torches to be used for cremation. When priest announced the beginning of cremation, a giant gas flame torch was installed into the first coffin and with the hissing sound of gas getting louder, the

coffin started to blaze from inside. The violent crackling sound of the burning coffins symphonized with the gamelan music from the corner of the cemetery. All the villagers gazed in awe at the blazing coffins from where the rising ashy smoke gradually diffused and veiled the sky with the stench of gasoline permeated in the air. Many young people had their mobile phone in video recording mode filming the scene of spectacle as they were on an excursion.

After the burned remains cooled down, the ashes were collected and poured into clay pots after series of chanting and praying. With every single coffin was cremated and ashes were collected in pots, villagers carrying the pots piled with offerings, marched uniformly towards the creek which was about 2 kilometres from the cemetery to distribute all the offerings into the stream which would eventually leads to the estuary into the ocean.

As soon as the distribution finished, the *incinerated* remains of the ever-existed bodily forms of the deceased and their souls were prepared to be installed in the house temples. Villagers stumbled back along the same hill route back to their houses, and it was already the night. Pekak Bagus and his families, including myself, were so worn out after twelve-hour marathon of procession, passed out right after the dinner, unconsciously until the next day when Pekak Bagus and his wife needed to return to Kuta for their work until three days later when tooth-filing ceremony would be carried out.

…

The cremation ceremony held in *desa adat* Tingkadbatu was the first official ritual event I encountered in my field research. The *ngaben* epitomizes the superior position of ancestors in Balinese worldview. The form and style of *ngaben* vary from village to village, and the scale and the quantity of

offerings that goes into it would depend on the financial condition of each village *banjar* and the caste of the deceased[8]. In the majority of cases, the *ngaben* would be carried out every three to four years in the rural areas. Some other preliminary requirement might be met before a *ngaben* to be carried out, such as the toll of deaths. In Tingkadbatu, for instance, the ceremony of *ngaben* I participated in 2017 included a total twenty-seven of deceased from the past four years, including Pekak Bagus's father and it had been four years since last ceremony of cremation[9].

The *ngaben* has been one of the renowned rituals for tourists by virtue of its theatricality and festivity, and the grandeur and volume of adornments and offerings consumed to mark out the social status[10]. For many families and communities in the remote parts of Bali, the organization of the *ngaben* could cost a fortune and it often requires years to acquire

---

[8] The caste plays an important role. For instance, the well-known bull-sarcophagus shaped coffin (called *lembu)* for people of the highest caste was visually absent in the collective cremation ceremony of villages I was present. Instead, modest forms of coffin or shape were present in many of those village, based on the caste. For Balinese Hindus, the ability to give the most extravagant and grandiose ritual of funeral for their family member represent their respect towards the deceased and the better afterlife they would receive.

[9] The day after the actual cremation was carried out, we were grievously informed that a brother of Pekak Bagus's uncle had passed away that evening after the cremation. As a special occasion, instead of waiting years until the next *ngaben*, villagers decided to carry out the cremation individually in the following days.

[10] Seen as the pride and spectacle, in some villages close to the tourist circuit, participants of *ngaben* during the preparation of cremation would vigorously invite any curious visitors to join them because for some the presence of rare visitors also signals the reputation of the deceased. Visitors would be welcomed to put on sarong and be guided into the temple, and invited to follow their march to the cemetery to witness the spectacular processes of cremation.

enough funding based on the local official rule, and frequently, families may go into debt for carrying out the *ngaben*. Nonetheless, people still feel a sense of familial responsibility to ensure the completion of it.

Acknowledging the religious significance of ancestral relationships in Balinese Hindu life, I contend that the participation in ritual activities has both direct and indirect influences on the Balinese sense and conceptualization of well-being and self-continuity in the living world. However, the financial pressures and communal responsibilities that one has to bear could have negative effects on their emotive and mental states. With the overwhelming ritual preparations that demand a significant amount human effort of the village, participants may be exposed to certain physical and temporal tensions that consequently impede the wellness of individual or the integrity of community.

Ritual Density

The splendor of Balinese Hindu ritual ceremonies has been frequently appraised and celebrated by many tourists and artists for decades. It would not be difficult, for those who have spent some quality time in Bali, to realize how ritually dense Balinese lives are. However, the ritual density and obligation might also become the contributive factors of psychological illness and physical discomfort. In his ethnographic film, *Ritual Burden* (Lemelson, 2011), American anthropologist Robert Lemelson documented and showcased a "hidden side" of such collective responsibility. Conjoined with familial obligation, financial difficulty and personal struggles, the duty of fulfilling cultural requirements could conceivably become a root of stress stimuli that provokes behavioral and emotional disturbance.

Lemelson uses the term "ritual slavery" to depict the heavy burden Balinese-Hindu rituals have become. This is defined by the specific heaviness of Balinese-Hindu rituals that have led to an increase in cases of distress. This has been observed among many Balinese-Hindu communities. Lemelson and Tucker, argue that:

> [U]nderstanding the required physical labor, time, spiritual and emotional investment, and monetary resources required to make offerings and fulfill family obligations combined with the overdetermined significance of ritual in Balinese family and community life, makes it clearer how ceremonies may become not just culturally elaborated festivities, but also culturally marked stressors that might strain pre-existing vulnerabilities or precipitate an illness episode.
>
> (Lemelson & Tucker, 2017:164)

Fig 2. Offering making with Pekak Bagus's mother (fourth from the left), Surata Wayan's mother (on the right) and village women, Tingkadbatu.

The ceremony of cremation in Bali is not simply a one-day event, but in the majority of cases, the entire schedule would involve one-week or two temporal stretches. And during that period of time, a series of events would be organized accordingly and frequently the *banjar* would require a heavy work force to prepare and set things up. The ceremony of cremation often comes in clash with the peak season of vacation. It was under the convergence of auspicious time period in Balinese calendars and summer holiday in most Euro-American countries that provide a rich context of exploring the conflicting temporalities.

According to my interlocutors, most appropriate and auspicious dates for carrying out the ceremony of *ngaben* regularly coincides with the *temporada alta* of summer holiday between July and August when thousands of tourist flood into the island. The dates would be settled down few months early, usually depending on the decision of every village priests and the conditions of each village. In the following section, I provide case studies I encountered and observed during my participation of the *ngaben*, focusing on the Pekak Bagus, Ani Wayan and other participant villagers in Tingkadbatu, showing how "time" comes to be the primary source of stress in the globalized cash economy for those who work in the tourist industry.

Conflicting Temporalities

At the time Pekak Bagus was working as a tour guide in Nusa Dua area in the southern Bali. Because of the peak tourist season, there was high demand of shift labor with jam-packed schedule. With his responsibility of preparing his father's *ngaben*, during the period, he had to travel back and forth between work and village. Despite Pekak Bagus did not literally state his exhaustion or any syndromes that signify his experience of stress, he expressed his frustration of the finance and the stress of carrying out the *ngaben* for his father. While collective religious ceremonies, especially in many Balinese villages, are often taken as a way to alleviate the financial burden on individual families and community, the responsibilities could as well become a stressful situation for the members of community. Especially when a participant who struggles of working more and saving money for the future events while there is communal responsibility to fulfill, the experience of time could become so intense and colliding, which not only would play havoc with bodily condition, but might also lead to frustration and mental tension. Those day I saw Pekak Bagus when he returned to Tingkadbatu from work, I got the impression that he was in a state of losing his strength and laughter every once in a while, because of the incremental pressure of work and ritual.

Fig 3. Village men preparing *sate* in the *banjar*, Tingkadbatu.

Fig 4. Excavating remains of the deceased in the morning on the day of cremation, Tingkadbatu.

Fig 5. The climax of the *ngaben*: cremation process in the cemetery, Tingkadbatu.

Fig.6. Family members of the deceased praying in the cemetery, Tingkadbatu.

Fig 7. Villagers carrying ashes and offerings, waiting for the procession to the nearby creek, Tingkadbatu.

The ceremony of *ngaben* is not the only ritual event whose occurring comes to intersect with the peak holiday season in Gregorian calendars. As mentioned, July and August are the time when many auspicious dates in Balinese calendars happen. In Tingkadbatu village, the ceremony of *mepandes* (tooth-filing ceremony) is usually held together with the *ngaben* for the auspicious purpose. Three days after the ceremony of cremation was held, villagers in Tingkadbatu were gathering together at the banjar for the following "*mepandes*". In the *banjar*, mattresses were set waiting for those who would undergo their tooth-filing. A grand purification ritual ensued at night after the *mepandes* was performed. It was like a village gathering and feast. The *banjar* was transformed into a grand stage surrounded with offerings towering with delicately made dough figures. Kids dressed up in costumes and performed the dance that aims to please the high spirits. Actors and actresses were invited from Bangli to perform dramas. The entire yard of the *banjar* was packed with villagers,

sitting to watch attentively and laughing. The air was a mixture of cigarette smoke and incense with a group of men sitting behind the scene and women either resting or lying backstage. As I was moving around trying to find a spot, Ani Wayan waved at me and gestured a vacancy next to her and her daughter. We sat together and waiting for the start of praying. Ani Wayan introduced her daughter to me, and we had a little chat while we were waiting for the priest to come.

The packed and dense schedules of communal rituals pose great pressure on the participants who work afar, particularly when the vast amount of work comes to clash with ceremonial schedule. The most salient and explicitly articulated case of such physical demands and tension was shown by Ani Wayan. She is Pekak Bagus's auntie, who was born also in Tingkadbatu village. She is married and living in the mountainous Kintamani region. She has worked as a trekking and mountain guide in Mount Batur, which locates at north part of Bangli Regency. The conversation with Ani Wayan evinces signs of physical exhaustion stimulated by the strenuous process of ritual attending and anxiety of her work (personal communication, July 20, 2017).

Ani Wayan: Lin, I hope you enjoy the ceremony. It is very long, but it is like a festival, right?

Fengyu Lin: Yeah, it is different from my country. And so much needed to be prepared.

Ani Wayan: Yeah, it is a lot of work. I have to travel back and forth from Kintamani all the time. With my work, I am (being) stressed.

Fengyu Lin: Are you alright, Ani? You look exhausted.

Ani Wayan: Yes, I am very tired, Lin. It has been a long day. I did not get enough sleep last night.

Fengyu Lin: The ceremony is going to last long tonight?

Ani Wayan: Yes, it would be late. Balinese ceremonies are always long.

Fengyu Lin: Maybe you could get some rest tomorrow.
Ani Wayan: Well, no, I can't. Tomorrow morning, I have to go back to Kintamani early for work, there is a group of people signed up for trekking. I wish I could sleep now. I feel really tired and fatigued, Lin.

As Ani Wayan responded, the priest approached chanting and sprinkling the holy water over us, which refreshing all my senses and washed away the heavy smoke in the air. After we prayed a few more times, we waited for the crowd to disband and loosen up congestion. We moved to the side, and Ani Wayan sat on the ground, drenched with sweat and with her face turning pale, and with the corners of her month dropping to her chin, looking wretched. We leaned against the wall and took a rest.

Fig 8. Ani Wayan at the *banjar* during the ceremony of tooth-filing, Tingkadbatu.

Fig 9. In the *banjar*, villagers waiting for the beginning of tooth-filing ritual, Tingkadbatu.

Fig 10. Villagers enjoying the drama and dance performance at the night festival ensuing the ritual of tooth-filing in *banjar,* Tingkadbatu.

Her daughter asked if I was okay, and let out a sigh, "the rituals are always long in Bali, and my mom has not had good sleep recently. She said with an apologetical attitude (personal communication, July 20, 2017):

> "If you are tired, you and Alan can go back to the house anytime, because it is going last until midnight tonight. We will not stay too long, because my mom needs to work tomorrow morning. There are people going for a trekking, and they have to leave before the sun dawn."

With her daughter's confirmation, Ani Wayan had experienced constant tiredness and burnout because of the combined pressures of ritual work and her job. Nonetheless, she was not the only one in experiencing the state of fatigue as the lengthy events unfolded. In the middle of the night event in the *banjar*, many participants already collapsed drowsily against each other at the back of compound. Many women and kids were sound asleep on the floor despite the loudness of drama and laughter. A few hours later when the dance temporarily come to an end, I excused myself and went back to the room which Pekak Bagus's wife had prepared in advance for my stay, and let myself drop onto the bed with the words of Ani Wayan lingering at the back of my mind for a while.

…

The following year, I stumbled upon Ani Wayan when I was taking a walk in the village. She, with her hair dripping wet and a soapy smell, stopped her motorbike and said hi to me. Seeing her carrying a large plastic bag stuffed with clothes, I joked if she had gone to shop in the town. She grinned and then let out a sign, "I was taking those clothes to the river down from Tingkadbatu to wash them, because in my village in Kintamani, there is no running water and I

have to ride an hour to get here". At first, I was baffled, but then realized that in the mountainous region of Kintamani, the infrastructure and natural resources are comparatively absent, and Ani Wayan exemplified the everyday hecticness that some villagers in the remote hill parts might experience. She then spoke about how her business had gone bad recently and asked whether I wanted to do trekking at Mount Batur (personal communication, February 21, 2019):

> My business is not going well these days. And I have been stressed and tired, Lin. Maybe you could help with my business. If you want to trek to Mount Batur, that would help me get some income. You can call me when you want to, I will be happy to do it.

In Ani Wayan's circumstance, the protracted process of praying and waiting, together with the pressure of her work schedule, had caused physical tension for her. Not only had Ani Wayan was suffering from physical fatigue, she also experienced self-reported syndromes of stress, such as insomnia and persistent headache. These bodily and mental tensions are frequently deteriorated in accompany with the heavy labor of offering preparation and the schedule of ritual ceremonies.

Besides, the need of travelling between villages had also given rise to the tension of tempo rhythms which worsen the stress syndromes. In the short exchange with her, Ani Wayan accentuated her concern and frustration of the declining situation of business and her financial condition, which I reckon as stimuli that deteriorate her bodily and emotional well-being. With the pressure of economic recession scaling up, such conditions would inevitably

develop into the outburst of bodily infliction and mental strain in the long term.

Our bodies have been the most pronounced indicator of our reception of changes in the environment, where multiple sentiments and rhythms inscribed to. The cases shown above underline the embodied impacts of clashing schedule of ritual and work at corporeal and psychological levels. The following case illustrates my participation of long-hour ritual celebration of *ngenteg linggih*, which highlights the potential stressor of temporal protraction and the risk it entails.

Bodily Rhythms: Firsthand Experience

Ngenteg linggih

The "*ngenteg linggih"* literally means "the celebration of the home where spirits of ancestors were installed", a ceremonial occasion that celebrates the birthday of the temple where the ancestors of a village originated and settled. According to Kadek Agus, the owner of the guesthouse where I stayed in Demulih village, the ancestors of Demulih villagers were originally from the village Kerobokan near Singaraja, in the northern part of Bali, and decades ago, their ancestors migrated to the region of Susut and settled where Demulih is nowadays. Twice a year, Demulih villagers would travel to Kerobokan village to initiate, celebrate and worship their ancestral temple that is associated with their genealogy. The night before *ngenteg linggih,* Kadek Agus mentioned that they would be leaving the next afternoon to a village in Singaraja, and knowing my interest in attending ceremonies, he asked me and

Thea, a volunteering yoga instructor from Germany for Kadek Agus at the time, if we would like to join because the ceremony would last overnight, which meant we would have a sleepover in the temple and return till the next morning. After pinning down the location and route, we decided that we would ride the scooters to Gianyar in the afternoon to join Kadek Agus after his work in hospital, and Kadek Agus would drive us to Singaraja, about three hours drive.

Kadek Agus started his own guesthouse in the August of 2018. After he inherited the hill land from his family, Kadek Agus decided to transform it into a guesthouse and a studio where he offers yoga lessons for the locals. In addition to the guesthouse, he also owns an optician store in Bangli town, which is about 5 kilometers away from his home. However, Kadek Agus's main occupation is a nurse in the general hospital in Gianyar city. With a lot of work already on his plate, his wife and daughter also help out the chores of the guesthouse. When I first arrived the guesthouse, he was at work in Gianyar. Instead, his 20-year-old nephew, Lanank Bagus, helped me the check-in and cleaning. After the death of his mother, Lanank's family had suffered from financial problems while he was studying in high school. Kadek Agus helped him pay off his tuition. After finishing school, he came to Kadek Agus's guesthouse to work. Lanank's father and mother-in-law were also hired to build new houses for Kadek Agus's guesthouse.

Fig 11. Inside the temple, villagers from Demulih resting at the backstage while dance performance was staging, Kerobokan.

Fig 12. Women taking care of their kids and resting inside the temple, Kerobokan.

Fig 13. The dance performance for the *ngenteg linggih*, Kerobokan.

Physical Fatigue Revisited

According to Kadek Agus, 3000 people from other villages who share the same ancestral origin with them would be at presence for the temple birthday. After finishing our praying, dances performance and drama ensued. Since it would be an overnight festival, many villagers who were fair tuckered out, either rested half asleep, or lay down on the floor to sleep backstage. A family with five kids was sitting next to me. The husband and four of the kids organized themselves parallelly and laid asleep on the floor, while the mother was holding the youngest baby with her arms wrapped around him to put the baby to sleep. Despite the chanting amplified by the speaker and the laughing and music of gamelan which filled in the temple, they remained sound asleep.

Many people enjoyed the festival while others with their mind and sight completely adrift. Their eyes looked as if they had gone on a wander afar, unfocused. Their expressions were with a look of sullenness, as if the festivity had long slipped away. Regardless of their drowsiness, villagers remained in the *banjar*. It was already past midnight, and the performance was still on. It was a tiring day, I thought, after an entire day of labor, travel and participation of ceremonies.

Eventually, Thea was the first among us two defeated by the drowsiness. She lay down and fell asleep on the floor along with the villagers. I suggested to her that maybe we should go rest in the car instead. So, we got the key from Kadek Agus and went to the car. It was almost 2 A.M. The drama was still loudly going on. We tried to squeeze ourselves in order to find a comfortable position to sleep in. However, the music could not be unheard even from a distance.

Not long after, we were woken up by the knocking on the side window of the car. It was Kadek Agus trying to wake us up. The festival had finished, I thought, and I checked the time, it was 5 A.M. We budged away from the front seat so that Kadek Agus and Ketut could get in. They said they had been trying to find Lanank Bagus for about half an hour, but could not find him. Kadek Agus said he was probably sleeping somewhere in somebody's home and told us not to worry about him. Kadek Agus continued, "he could go back to Demulih with other villagers when he wakes up." Kadek Agus started the engine and we drove back to Gianyar.

I literally passed out and slept all the way to Gianyar town, along with a feel of nausea due to the car and exhaust on

winding road. When we reached the hospital, it was eight o'clock in the morning and the air was already scorched by the sun. Since I had lost Lanank Bagus who could give me a ride back to Demulih, I had to take the scooter on my own. I put on the helmet and had Thea checked the shortest route to avoid morning traffic. It frightened me immediately after we just hit on the road about ten minutes, I had gone so inattentive that I could not brake in time, and I bumped into the rear end of Thea's scooter. It was just a horrible hour of riding a scooter after not getting enough sleep and still suffering from a hangover-like headache. After we got back to the guesthouse with success, I shut down and went completely unconscious, until Thea woke me up for the dinner.

…

It was the most energy-depleting experience I have ever had throughout my field work. The long-distance journey and the lengthy procession of rituals and festivals had not only been a physical challenge for me, but unconsciously the feeling of being displaced in my temporal rhythm had also been stressful and highly mentally charged. Technically, I do not share the same amount of sentiment the villagers do towards the festival and the temple. The festival and the hours of participation were not engraved in my bodily rhythm and not part of my social convention; they in fact clashed with my inner value of time. It signified a feeling of being out of sync as a tourist and an outsider.

However, the fatigue and mental exhaustion of villager participants could hardly go undiscerned. In the occasions I have depicted above, I consistently noticed that many villagers endured the bodily exhaustion and somnolence during their participation of festivals. Despite us not sharing

the same patterns of socio-cultural conventions, the experiences of fatigue were very much shared. The experiences of long-term physical sufferings and highly mentally charged events could significantly engender psychological problems and mental burdens, even though there is the belief that participation of ritual is meant to enhance and sustain the well-being.

In many situations, I have observed the physical tensions and serious bodily fatigue among many ceremony participants. Especially when ritual dates come to intersect with working schedule, the pressure and stress that participants experience would worsen their mental stability. From my firsthand experience, not only such tensions would subject the participants to a high-pressured temporal rhythm, but also engender inattentiveness that might put one's safety at risk when one has to travel back with vehicle or go straight to work the ensuing day after being staying up late.

Part Three

Meaning and Emotion

Meanings

"Makarya kadulurin antuk canang."

It is an old Balinese well-known saying which could be roughly translated as, according to Surata Wayan, "start ceremony by doing offering[11]". (*Ma*)*karya* is the Balinese word for both work and ritual work. This saying, thus, depicts the strong correlation of the concept of work with the ritual practice for Balinese Hindus. The amount of time and effort that Balinese Hindus devote to rituals, as I witnessed by peeking into the preparation process of ritual offerings, is not only massively complicated but also involves various elaborate mannerisms and forms of practices as to manifest the cosmological system of Balinese Hinduism.

The commitment of labor and time that goes into the preparations of offering-making reflects a source of emotive affection that provokes the reciprocal values of ancestor and communal relationship. In his elaboration of Balinese ceremony, Fred Eiseman states that

> A BALINESE VILLAGE IS VERY MUCH A LIVING ORGANISM. Its many temples and its inhabitants must be fed a regular series of ceremonies, just as a human being must consume food, in order to keep the negative, impure forces of destruction in balance with the positive, holy, pure forces of construction. Balinese Hindu philosophy conceives of the universe, and all within it, as an equilibrium between good and bad forces. Neither can be eliminated, but ugly things can occur when nothing is done to maintain balance so that the negative influences get the

[11] The word *canang* refers to the typical offering tray in the shape of a square made of young coconut leaf, where variety of elements filled in the tray symbolizing the food for the spirits. (See fig 15.) (Howe, 1981)

> upper hand. Religious ceremonies maintain the balance. The lovely offerings that you see are for the positive forces, but just as much effort and attention is given to their negative counterparts, though the is not apparent to the casual visitor.
>
> (Eiseman, 1989:256; Capitalized by author)

The meaning of employment and work are not always the same in different cultural settings; thus, the sentiments attached to these concepts are never homogenous. For instance, a "full day" for Balinese Hindus often refers to the auspicious day when important rituals would be conducted and a "empty day" indicates the counterpart (Geertz, 1973:394). In the following section, I explore the meaning of ritual waiting and ritual works as potential emotional triggers. Following the exploration, I turn to examine how the involvement with tourist economy may become a disruptive force on the construction of these meaning and emotion.

Waiting and Sacrificing

> *You might think it is wasting a lot of time for nothing, but for us, the Balinese, it does not mean we are wasting time waiting outside around the temple for praying, because waiting here is also a kind of sacrifice…, like, sacrificing our time for our god, to not just catch up with people and friends but show the god that we are offering our time to show our gratitude.*
>
> Brata Nyoman, personal communication, February 26, 2019

Buda-Wage[12]

In Balinese ritual ceremony, no precise starting time of the ritual can be given or communicated until the event unfolded. "Being kept waiting, I noticed over and over again, appears to be common in most Balinese rituals", Blake once shared to me. More particularly, for communal rituals, high priests are the ones who have the knowledge and authority on deciding the right timing for a ritual to be initiated. Those priests are in control of the process of rituals. Each stage in ritual consists ample waiting time before initiation. In the temporal understanding of Balinese Hindu, the waiting period is not an empty, meaningless or boring wasted moment. Rather "being made to wait" is seen as an emotive process of dedicating one's time for the highest spirit, according to my interlocutors.

During my participation of *Buda-wage*, in *kelurahan* (subdistrict) Bebalang in Bangli region, I met Brata Nyoman while other villagers from Demulih were waiting at the outskirts of the temple before the precedent village to finish

[12] *Buda-Wage* is one of four festivities when the the *pancawara* (five-day week) and the *saptawara* (seven-day week) in *Pawukon* calendar coincide. *Buda* means Wednesday in the seven-day week, and *wage* is the fourth day of the five-day week).

their turn. Brata Nyoman, who was in his forties, comes from the west side of Demulih village. He is a freelance driver, who occasionally works for hotels as shuttle chauffeur and tour guide in Kuta. His other jobs are wood craftsman and constructor back in Demulih. We sat along the draining sewer which encircled the wall of the temple having a conversation while I was having a bite-size dinner. Despite the small size of the village, Lanank had never met Brata Nyoman until that evening. I explained to him my purpose and my research in Bali and what I would expect to see. Brata Nyoman nodded vigorously, staring fixedly at me in my eyes and starting to explain the ceremony for the night.

Speaking of the waiting time reminded me my previous experience during the ceremony of *ngaben* in Tingkadbatu village. As far as I could remember the interval of waiting on the day of cremation stretched over two hours, villagers were all sitting cross-legged across the open yard of the temple. Some were hiding under the shadow. With the striking heat and unbearable humidity in July, the waiting was a draining process when one feels scorched by the blazing sun, and as I had observed and experienced myself in many occasions, it was a process that heightens the bodily and mental tension.

However, Brata Nyoman held a different opinion. Before the start of *Buda-wage* ritual, after waiting for an hour, I asked him if he felt tired from waiting. He grinned at me and gave me the answer as quoted at the beginning of this section. He said that despite that the waiting process could sometimes be boring and tedious, it is a process of showing respect to the god. He continued:

> Indeed, for people who work the entire day and have to run back to join the ceremony, it could be exhausting. But to think

> the other way, if you see you are 'sacrificing' your time for a good reason, your life will be balanced and you will feel better.

Yet, it was precisely his belief that waiting embodies a form of sacrifice that have both added weight to a sense of obligation, and at the same time consolidated his anxiety and shame when he failed to join the ceremony.

Fig 14. Young men of Demulih village playing cards and smoking while waiting for the ceremony of Buda-Wage outside the temple, Bebalang, Bangli.

Anxiety, Shame and Distraction

The following conversation I had with Brata Nyoman suggests that being absent from communal ceremonies might be a cause of anxiety and a feeling of shame for not being able to contribute to one's community (personal communication, February 26, 2019):

Fengyu Lin: Did you find it difficult when you have to work if there was ceremony in the village?
Brata Nyoman: Yeah. It has become difficult, especially nowadays, to work and also help the community.
Fengyu Lin: How did it influence you?
Brata Nyoman: Sometimes I would get a call from clients to pick them up, so I would miss the ceremony or community work. And that would distract me.
Fengyu Lin: Why would it distract you?
Brata Nyoman: When I work, I would always have the ceremony in my mind. When I don't attend to the rituals, I would feel out of balance. Because you understand that it's important for Balinese to find the balance in our lives.
Fengyu Lin: How would you feel when you don't find the balance?
Brata Nyoman: You see, our community is important to me and our identity. And when I couldn't help my community to prepare ceremony, I would feel guilty and worried that people might talk bad behind me. In Balinese religion, we're always looking for the balance. We value both good things and bad ones in our life.

Because his close bond and a sense of responsibility towards the community, the fact of being not able to attend or help the preparation of ceremony occupied Brata Nyoman's mind. In his case, not only does his absence from the village ceremony caused frustration and a feeling of guilt for not being able to fulfilling his obligation, it had also become a distraction that influenced his work performance. Brata

Nyoman values the meaning of wellness as the achievement of equilibrium between both "good" and "bad" forces in the world and the fulfillment of obligation as a descendent. And, as he pointed out, for Balinese, the attendance of ritual and ceremony represents one's devotion and effort for the ancestors and gods, by which spiritual equilibrium could be achieved. It is precisely for this reason that the participation of rituals may become a social stressor for the absentees when the experience of frustration and anxiety comes to threaten the identity and deteriorate individual wellness with their failure to do so.

For many who travel back and forth between their work in the city and the rituals back in the village, the experiences of poor traffic and hours of traveling are the strong stimuli for mental pressure and physical fatigue, especially when one has to rush back and forth. Time constraints and clashing schedules are definitely crucial factors that engender the situations. It is not uncommon when work comes to conflict with day of ritual as I have illustrated earlier. Many rural migrant workers have been on the horns of a dilemma when they have to sacrifice one of them to succeed at the other.

A Case of Suffering Distress

The severity of mental disruption when one tries to coordinate two clashing temporal frameworks can also result in syndromes of distress and other mental illness. Apart from getting distracted and apprehensive, the habitual experiences of stresses that one has to carry could to a great extent jeopardize the mental state and psychological wellness. A middle-aged lady in an adjacent village Karang Suung Kaja once shared her personal story about suffering from depression. She told me that she used to work as a cleaning lady in hotels at Kuta for many years. Several years ago, she

was diagnosed with depression. After a discussion with her husband, she made a decision to quit her job and moved back to the village with her mother-in-law. She said (anonymous, personal communication, July 28, 2017),

> When I worked at the hotel, it was a stressful environment. And the managers were very demanding on time and I couldn't take holidays when I wanted. I had got stressful at the time. I could not sleep and I got panic frequently when there were a lot of guests. And a couple years ago, when I was told by the doctor that I had been suffering from depression. My husband and I decided to move back to his village so that I could have treatment and recover myself.

The lady continued,

> I feel better now. It is quieter and more peaceful here. Life pace is slower, I don't feel stressed about time, like when I was working. Living in the city is very difficult for me. Although I am not working at this moment, only my husband works, I could help with the making of offerings in the village and my husband has been very supportive with my situation.

The case of the woman's suffering from mental distress exemplifies the disparate living styles and temporal organizations between rural-peripheral and urban areas and how the experience of culture clash gives rise to daily stress and psychological illness, which I will turn to in the later chapter.

Emotion Production

Surata Wayan was born in the village Tingkadbatu and she is also a relative to the family of Pekak Bagus. Surata Wayan was in her early thirties and married to Made Panjer, who comes from the village Sibetan in the eastern part of Bali. They two work at the same private villa house in Legian area on the west coast, living at the housing provided by their boss with their two kids, Eva (12) and David (5)[13].

The first time I met Surata Wayan was during the ceremony of *ngaben* in Tingkadbatu. In the pavilion while people were waiting around before the ritual to start, we had a conversation. Having worked in the hospitality industry for many years, Surata Wayan speaks fluent English with an Australian accent which comes from her long interaction with her boss. She was the first Balinese woman I had ever met who speaks eloquently and is very opinionated and critical about Balinese religion and social condition.

Before my second field trip to Bali in 2019, Surata Wayan invited to come join her family for the *nyepi* in Sibetan village. We communicated when she would return to the villager and I would meet her at her mother-in-law's. Two days before the *nyepi*, she drove 2 hours from Legian to Sibetan after her boss headed to the airport and returned to

[13] The name of "David" was given by Surata Wayan's Australian boss, which became the middle name of her son. Surata Wayan in a text message mentioned: […] my boss loves David, she insists I name him David so we just call him that, his full name is David Narayana, so the last is very Balinese! So there we don't forget our culture (text message, June 14, 2018).

Australia. During the afternoon, after Surata Wayan returned to Sibetan, she took a short break before heading to the temple for praying.

Surata Wayan likes to get well-dressed when she attends the rituals. She enjoys handcrafting and beading the lace blouses with some modern touches for herself and her daughter. When it was time to go, she pulled out the pair of high heels she enjoys wearing, putting on makeup, dressed herself with a yellow *kebaya* (the traditional lace blouse) embroidered with shining-gold beads and finished by wrapping the *batik kamben* (also known as *sarong* in Indonesian) in a brighter yellow hue around her waist. She put on her heels and cracked a smile while showing off. We were off to the temple.

The prayer did not take long, so we walked through the vendors and grabbed some fruit ices. After we returned to the house, while I was sitting aside cooling myself down with ices, she joined her mother-in-law to prepare the offerings for the grand ritual the next day, called *ngerupuk*, a ceremony held one day before *nyepi*. Apparently looking tired out after her travel back to Sibetan, Surata Wayan, sitting on a stool facing the 50 something bamboo baskets ready to be filled, said that she did not know she had to prepare the offerings after coming back. She further said (personal communication, March 5, 2019):

> I am not so much into doing these but it is important for my mother-in-law. To her, the making of offerings is not simply a religious obligation. It gives her a sense of peace. I always admire her techniques and her fondness of making these offerings. It is a way to find a balance. My mother-in-law likes making them, so nowadays she does not work anymore, she would make the offerings and bring to the local markets to sell.

Surata Wayan went on,

> For me and most people living and working in the city, we do not have time to devote ourselves into making offerings. Most of the time I would just buy them from the markets, they are even better than the ones I made myself. But for my mother-in-law, it is important to her not just to make a living but because she also enjoys it.

There can be no doubt that for Surata Wayan's mother-in-law, the process of offering making, which can sometimes be called "*ngayah*"[14], incites particular emotive elements. In contrast to her mother-in-law, for Surata Wayan, as a result of her busy job and the dissimilar vibe in the urban centers, she gradually feels detached from affection of the practice of *ngayah*, in spite of the fact that it remains an obligation for her when she returned to her villages.

Surata Wayan once told me when we were at her parents' in Tingkadbatu. It was the day before her auntie's wedding and many of her relatives and villagers came together in a group to prepare food for the coming guests (personal communication, March 8, 2019).

> Even though I feel tired, I would have to go and help people preparing the food. Otherwise, people would think I am being lazy. It is especially exhausting when I bring David, you know. I have to keep eye on him and making food at the same time.

Surata Wayan's utterance shows that she was under the pressure of being absent in the scene when other women were helping the preparation. Despite her tiredness and the

---

[14] The term "*ngayah*" can be literally translated as "doing work without pay" or "contribute service", specifically indicating temple work. (See also Hatch, 2010)

need of babysitting her son, she insisted to go and do what she could. I went after her and told her she could leave her son with me, so she could focus herself on the work.

Fig 15. Surata Wayan helping her mother-in-law making offering *canang*, Sibetan.

Temporal (Im)mobility

"*Nyepi*": Time-out

Nyepi, known as the Balinese New Year's Day and the silent day, is the first day of the 10th lunar month based on *Saka* calendar, which usually falls on March in the Gregorian calendar. The renowned custom of Balinese New Year is that people are forbidden to walk out of their residence. The most common heard explanation is to prevent from the evil spirits by tricking them into thinking the towns are empty; however, version of history varies from village to village[15] (Eiseman, 1989:187). In addition to the closing of transport system, on the day of the *nyepi*, satellite, cable and terrestrial TV channels are temporarily unavailable. All the activities that might engage the outside world are literally forbidden. On *ngerupuk*, the eve of *nyepi*, the *ogoh-ogoh* (giant statues)[16] parades would be held all over the island.

On the evening after I finished the praying with Surata Wayan at Sibetan temple, she told me her husband and cousins were taking the kids to Bebandem village where the *ogoh-ogoh* parade would carry out. Since I had acquainted some of the vendors in Bebandem market, I went alone earlier to check out on them. They saved me a seat so that I could watch the parade to unfold. After waiting an hour or two, there was increasing

---

[15] Starting from the midnight of the New Year's Day for an entire twenty-four-hour period, all the activities go quiet. As a rule, tourists and visitors who lodge in either hotel or villa share the same limitation. Hotel staffs would stop any guests from going out or engaging outdoor activities except within the property itself. In the majority of cases, special or additional in-hotel services would be provided for guests during the *nyepi*. Major transport services are shut down on the day of the *nyepi,* such as Ngurah Rai Airport.

[16] *Ogoh-ogoh* are giant statues made of Styrofoam and paper to emblemize evil spirits, carried in procession on *ngerupuk* in the evening. In some villages, this customary practice is an obligation for members in the *banjar*.

number of people congregate on the roadside. In no time, the entire intersection in front of the market was encumbered with onlookers with local police officers standing on the shoulders of streets presiding over the traffic.

When time came to midnight after three hours of parade, there remained no sign of dispersal of the crowd. Without the Internet signals, I was afraid that Surata Wayan might be waiting for my return. I waited till the last *ogoh-ogoh* came into scene after another 20 minutes and with the help of the vendor, I passed through the crowd and reached to her house where parked my scooter. When I returned to her house, Surata Wayan was already asleep while her husband and cousins with other neighbors were sitting in the pavilion gambling. I went inside my bedroom and before hitting the hay, I sent a message to my family just to inform of my safety. Without paying much attention that my message failed to go through, I fell asleep right away.

It was until the next morning after I woke up, I found that my data connection did not work. I got freaked out and ran to Surata Wayan asking what happened. Hearing my story, she laughed but felt sorry for not telling me that in advance that starting two years ago, the government began cutting off the Internet and data on mobile networks on the day of *Nyepi*. She said (personal communication, March 7, 2019),

> Nyepi is the silent day. And it is supposed to be day when we can reconnect with our nature and our environment. I think even in hotels you could not get Internet. While it is for good purpose, it is quite inconvenient, is not it? Most of us become dependent on our phone and Internet. Although for me it is not a big problem, for many it would be unsettling to not having Internet.

While Surata Wayan commented unenthusiastically, she attempted to open the YouTube application on her mobile

phone and opened the YouTube videos that she had downloaded in advance for her 5-year-old son, a way of distracting him. She continued in a wry manner:

> Nyepi is the day of meditation, a way to connect to nature and doing nothing.

Surata Wayan was right on the spot. It could be an unsettling experience when one finds that the common way to engage the world and the environment goes off. For me, my anxiety did not come from the loss of entertainment or ways of time-killing. Rather it was the environmental uncertainty that had disquieted me.

Tradition and Modern Practicality

Gunung Agung (or Mount Agung), known as the sacred mountain where the Hindu gods reside, stands in the eastern central part of Bali Island. The periodic volcanic activities of Mount Agung have come to epitomize its sacredness even more. Mount Agung has been fairly active since August 2017 when a seismic activity was observed just a few days after I flew back to Belgium. In September 2017, when the risk level was at its highest point, 122,500 people were evacuated, and the vicinity of the volcano measured from 10 km was blocked off. When the news came out, I had been concerning about Surata Wayan and her family in Sibetan village, where is less than 15 kilometers from Gunung Agung. I kept checking on whether her village was okay. She told me that at the time they had sheltered some of the evacuated but in spite of the heavy fallen ashes, the village did not have direct damage from the volcanic eruption. But the anxiety had been going for a few months.

When I decided to take my trip in early 2019, after the invitation from Surata Wayan, knowing that I would be staying in somewhere less than 15 kilometers from Mount Agung, I had

been worried. I had been checking out the weekly report of any volcanic activities of Mount Agung online, worried about my safety. Even though, during my stay in Sibetan, I was sometimes told not to worry too much and Mount Agung was merely mildly active, each morning I would check up the page of the report to reassure myself there was no evacuation warning in the vicinity of village.

While I had been told that Mount Agung had been relatively quiet and should be safe, people still live under the anxiety of volcanic eruption[17]. Although the government's policy of cutting off Internet was for the purpose of religious conformity, it had actually left people around the risk zone disquieted when people could not track the volcanic activity. It consequently heightened the vulnerability of those who were at risk when religious conformity overrides the practicality and safety.

Slave in Time

Time has been one of the most demanding criteria and elements in the tourist industry. As I have mentioned, not only is tourism in Bali essentially about how particular temporal experiences are constructed and experienced, employees in tourism jobs are also subjected to the temporal domination of capitalism framework. The 24/7 around-the-clock mechanism introduces a new form of task arrangement and quantification on employees' schedules as well as indicates that the needs and wishes of tourists or guests' necessity need to be fulfilled at particular moments. The seasonality and the on-time services are the basic jobs that require an employee to calibrate him/herself.

---

[17] After I left Sibetan, I came across news reported that a few minor volcanic eruptions occured on the day of *nyepi*. And in the following months, Gunung Agung has been active.

Naturally, during the peak season of holiday and vacation, the working hours and days are often extended and it is also when workers are highly demanded in hotels, restaurants and bars. It makes it difficult for employees to take their days off for special occasions, even when one has important ceremony back in their home villages. A sense of conflict occurs because of the demands on their time to both maintain their rituals and sense of identity, against the demands of a Western capitalist economy that requires to fill up every free waking moment.

A sense of immobility has continued to exist through my fieldwork. As an example, Surata Wayan once complained bitterly about being unable to find a pretext to excuse herself from work to join her family on the *nyepi*: (personal communication, March 7, 2019):

> Last year I could not come back for *nyepi* because my boss was staying in the villa. And I could not leave her alone. She needed someone to take care of her. There were few accidents before when she fell in the bathroom or passed out, and that makes me concerned if I leave her there. So, when she is here, I could hardly take days off. Although, you see, she is a nice lady and she treats my family well, I sacrifice a lot for my work also.

She continued,

> I would like to go visit Lembongan on a holiday, maybe for a weekend or, with my kids. They would be happy to go on holiday. We haven't gone anywhere far because of my work and my boss. I wish I could have time to do. Maybe after a few months.

Judging from her tone of voice, it was not difficult to discern Surata Wayan's response was one of frustration which stemmed from being reluctantly tied up with her job. Her inability to take her children to go on holiday was a major determinant of

Surata Wayan's feeling of immobility. Work is essentially, for Surata Wayan, a way to sustain her family, make ends meet and provide what she could for her kids. But the stress was heightened with the feeling of being oppressed by the rhythm and schedule of her job, she gradually grew more resentful to the unfairness when she did not get her deserved right for her hard-working.

Alternatively stated, there is no question that the participation in tourism jobs has by far been the biggest factor in immobilizing employees who are often subjected to temporal deprivation and lack of legal protection. Due to their heavy reliance on the tourism economy and the promises of economic profit, many of the younger generation of rural Balinese often wish to engage in tourism jobs. To my surprise, a great proportion of younger people I encountered during my fieldwork, explicitly expressed their desire to study hospitality management and hopefully to work on the cruise ships or hotels in Australia or Jakarta. I often came across young boys at their early 20s expressively spoke of how amazing it would be to work on a cruise ship and see differences of the world[18].
However, workers of tourism industry are frequently subjected to the temporal organization of the tourism business that might be alien and peremptory. In contrast to the temporal and spatial fluidity of tourists, the feelings of immobilization and of

[18] The younger sister of Lanank Bagus who I came across in Demulih village was planning her internship in one of the tourist recreational centers in Taiwan when I met her. She was extremely excited when she shared how she wanted to work abroad because she did not want to stay in Bali. However, in my recent exchange with her after she flew to Taiwan for few weeks. She exhibited in her message a great discouragement on the difficulty of adapting to the fast life pace and the heavy work with long hours. In just less than a month, she had suffered from minor bodily discomfort and insomnia. With the language barrier and the extreme low pay, she was already worried about her ability to go back to Bali if she couldn't afford the ticket back.

being trapped have been pronounced increasingly among many of the working classes. These feelings to a great extent add to the experience of stress and pressure.

The very presence of tourists as a "modern-man-in-general" category and the proliferation of contacts between tourists and local communities have brought into their distinct set of temporal values and culturally distinct worldview. Such interactions involve a series of processes of social differentiation and reveal the power relations that sustain the distinction and difference of cultural sentiments. (Maccannell,1999) The tourist epitomizes a different regime of temporality, whose existence carries a set of different sentiments and meanings to the ideas of holiday and work. Constructed as cosmopolitans who dwell in a modern time and space, tourists' temporary presence and "being on-the-move" qualities construct a subjectivity as "being caught in time and place", a sense of immobility among many Balinese migrant workers, whose lives contrast with the fluidity of tourists.

With their encounters of conflicting worldviews, adding to the dire condition of living situations, comes to reconfigure certain images and rhetoric of many Balinese people about themselves.

There is a widening gap between tourist and rural areas in terms of demographic composition and living standards, which has increasingly produced vulnerable populations who are excluded from the economic development plans. Despite that the life quality of those rural migrant workers has improved in terms of economic condition, they are similarly subjected to unfavourable forms of social constrains and uneven distribution of temporal freedom, mobility and wealth. With the familial and communal burdens to bear, customary practices of Balinese Hindu subsequently turn out to be a common target for expressing their dissatisfaction and animosity of social

restraints. In the next chapter, I will discuss the constant dichotomy that many of my interlocutors articulated in terms of their identity and culture, which I see as a part of the temporal rupture at the unconscious level.

Fig 16. 'Ngerupuk', purification ceremony on the eve of *nyepi*, Sibetan.

Fig 17. View of Mount Agung from the house of Surata Wayan, Sibetan.

Part Four

Subjectivity

Subjectivity Rupture

Not only is tourism an economic penetration but also a cultural one. As global tourism is a part of cultural flow process, to a certain extent, it contributes to what Appadurai has termed "the production of locality" and "the production of local subjectivity" (Appadurai, 2013:62-63). It is crucial to acknowledge, however, the cultural production brought about by tourism is far from a unidirectional one. In this section, I delve into the issue of subjectivity and subjective experiences. The perception of self and the identity contributes to both the production and maintenance of well-being and mental health. In what follows, I discuss how living through the precarity at a time of economic and cultural change has subjected many migrant workers to stress and further deteriorates their wellness.

It is noted that tourism development in Bali has been constructing specific temporal experiences that project certain nostalgia of pastness and primitivism, and the images Bali have historically been crafted as "timeless" and "unchanged", as if Balinese people is living in a past (Howe, 2009). Such temporal politics of cultural representation in dichotomizing discourse of tourism has exerted influences on the subjective perception of Balinese cultural identity among many labors of tourism.

In evaluating the subjectivity, we can argue that Balinese has been constantly made aware of their cultural differences through their involvement and encounters with tourists and they hold a conflicting desire towards the idea of modernity. The boundaries of living in a different time-space continuum and dualities of cultural difference are continuously constituting

the unconscious level of the temporal rupture I refer to as a process of "temporal differentiation".

My interlocutors' expressions about their being a non-modern subject demonstrated how the historically shaped images of the Balinese people as traditional and unchanged come to shape their subjectivity through the experience of economic and political subordination. The Balinese as a collective ethnic group, have been trying to defend and define their existence in Indonesia, where the predominant religion is Islam, although the composition is fairly complex. In order to secure their spot in their country, Balinese government builds their power through the development of tourism.

Temporal Differentiation

> *We, Balinese, are unlike you and other tourists from modern countries. We still believe in the afterlife, our ancestors and our gods. Although we are not as rich as those people from the modern countries like France or America, we pursue our happiness through the participation of rituals and paying respect to our deities in our own way.*
>
> Brata Nyoman, personal communication
> February 26, 2019

In many occasions, the encounters with foreign tourists provoke the process of dichotomization implicitly. Tourism, as a means of distributing cultural worldviews, introduces different temporal and cultural sentiments to work and holiday which might be alien to the local communities. As I have mentioned, the historical development of cultural tourism in Bali often provokes the desire for a glimpse of the foregone past in the "modern" world of tourists. Such process of othering or "temporal differentiation", in fact, involves dynamic reasoning and emotion mechanism that "mutually impacts" the

construction of subjectivity and perception of one's identity. As Jenny Huberman succinctly puts,

> [S]ome tourists travel halfway around the world not necessarily to discover an authentic Other, but rather to have the Other discover and acknowledge them. That is, within such encounters, it is often the tourist's self that is pursued and cathected as the ultimate object of desire.
>
> (Huberman, 2012:6)

Coming into the field with the identity baggage as a tourist, I had been frequently dubbed modern, progressive and cosmopolitan. The articulation of the traditional essence of Balinese culture was pronounced among my interlocuters who assumed my modernity and desire of experiencing a culture belonging to the past.

The cultural distinctions between Balinese and the tourists had been pronounced in Brata Nyoman's telling and also among several conversations I had with my other interlocuters. The comment by Brata Nyoman at the beginning of this section has not only created emotive tension right away, but also exemplified the internalized consciousness of a dichotomy between the "modern" of tourists and the "antiquity" of Balinese and a sense of denial of "contemporaneity".

The temporal differentiation was also shown in a conversation thread from Surata Wayan. Before my set off on my second trip to Bali, while I was organizing my stay with Surata Wayan and her family in Sibetan for *Nyepi*, she constantly cautioned me that the living conditions in the village were not as modern as a hotel in Kuta, nor as

westernized. In her message thread said (text message, February, 14, 2019):

> You don't have any plan for silent day yet? It seems I'll be going home for *nyepi*, my boss will leave to Perth on the 5th, so I'll go home later that day or the next day. You are welcome to stay and spent Nyepi at my village if you would like or if you don't have other plans yet. […] if you like, it's just that my house is very humble, if that is alright with you, I have spare mattress and you can sleep in the living room, if you'd like too.

For many years, Surata Wayan has been working as a housemaid in private villas, and her current job has included employee accommodation. Living with her husband and her two kids in the city, Surata Wayan and her family have become accustomed to the lifestyle in the urban town and the "modern" facilities. In Bali, clean water and electricity supply remain limited or inaccessible to the majority of households in some countryside villages. In mountainous regions, health facilities and roads are almost visually absent. For households, the lack of basic amenities and the expenses of health care are usually the reason that many rural villages remain vulnerable to poor health. However, having lived in the city and been used to the benefit to easy access of warm water, Surata Wayan's husband would complain and refuse to take his shower without warm water. When they came back to the village, he would boil water and pour it into the bath tub before taking his shower.

The experiences of modern infrastructure and urban life in the city have increasingly changed people's life style preference and their capacity to endure a less convenient way of living. These changes in living preference, while at first sight might seem minor and trivial, exhibit people's desire for what they know as a way more comfortable to

living in the modern world. However, the prevailing situation of poor economy and living standards in villages often come to thwart their aspiration. The continuous frustration and inconsistency of quality of life between tourist region and rural villages might aggravate their anxiety and stress.

Arguably, the development of cultural tourism in Bali has long involved a process of drawing out the cultural binary from the western way of thinking progress/modernity versus the traditionality/primitivity in uncompromising ways. Particular ways of living and cultural practices, even cultural identities are transcribed into semiotic signs that have long been marketized and sold around the global tourism industry and media (Yamashita, 1994). The flock of tourists in the "culturally traditional" island contributes to the global distribution of a presumed modern subjectivity and progressive concept of time which is impacting the lives of local communities. Tourism does not only bring about a progressive and linear perception of time, what comes along with it is the increasing involvement and desire of Balinese people to "modernize". Such intensification of ambivalent encounters to a great extent exacerbates frustration with their living condition and the daily stress. Moreover, with the social differentiation, there has been growing resentment towards the mega-development of tourism (see also Hunt, 2018).

Doubts and Concerns

For many Balinese, the change of pace in life style and the acclimatization to the capitalist temporality with the presence of tourism and tourists have cast doubt on their customary ritual practices (Howe 2009). The following account by Surata Wayan goes to show the rising skepticism

among young Balinese on the practicality of religion and the significance of ceremonial rituals in contemporary times, especially among rural-urban migrants or those who work in tourism. Surata Wayan expressed (personal communication, March 6, 2019):

> You see, sometimes I would think that all the rituals are a bit too much. My boss used to joke that Balinese makes themselves poor because they spend too much on doing rituals. I sometimes feel that she is right. For example, every village has their own traditions and when I married here, I don't know all of them.

She pointed to the baskets that full of wrapped cakes.

> There are so many offerings we make or buy are actually only for symbolic purposes. We throw away most of them after ceremonies. Like into the river or we (will) burn them. I feel bad for our environment. Like those plastic packaging of the cakes and cookies, everything is packaged with plastic but they were not well managed and processed. It is becoming serious now in Bali.

Surata Wayan's detesting of the excessive offerings and the wastes the rituals produce projected her doubt toward the necessity and practicality of traditional rituals. Ecological degradation has been one of the issues of tourism development in Bali Island. Not only in urban areas the massive amount of trash produced by tourist facilities has been a major setback for tourism image, but also in rural regions, changing consumption preferences and a desire for Westernized products have worsened the issue of pollution and highlighted the lack of proper garbage management. As I have argued elsewhere (Lin, 2017):

> Illegal garbage dumping and the unavailability of proper infrastructural garbage management have caused environment pollution to rural highland Bali. At the same time, these issues reflect the social inequalities that persist in contemporary Bali.

During my participation in the *ngaben*, I also found that many villagers showed their preference for well-packaged food such as cake or cookies as their offerings. However, these offerings with plastic packaging were often dumped or burned during the procession, causing serious pollution in water sources where people use for bathing and washing. With such growing preference for "modern" products, the infrastructure in rural Balinese villages, in regards of coping with the waste, appears to be inadequate. The experience of living under these conditions does not only contribute to the increasing number of ill patients in rural regions, but similarly, might create cynicism and doubts toward their religion and government.

Ambivalent Attitude towards Existence

Facing such problems as overdevelopment of tourism, the perception towards the presence of tourists as a cultural and economic intrusion is turning negative among many communities. With the discontent of their current situation and the discrimination and deprivation in the tourist industry, many Balinese express an ambivalent attitude towards the tourists and the industry. In my conversation with Brata Nyoman, he stated (personal communication, February 26, 2019):

> Tourists coming to Bali always want to enjoy the cheap products and services. They complain a lot about the price and they bargain a lot. [...] Most tourists only want to access everything as cheap as possible. At the same time, they come to enjoy the temples that we built, and ceremonies that we prepared without giving anything back. They don't realize that we need to pay for everything they see. They could easily come and go free. The government does not support the maintenance of temples, they don't help us on the finance of ritual ceremonies. Everything needs money. So, some vendors would try to sell products to tourists for higher price because back to their villages, they have burdensome obligations, pay for the construction of new temples, the maintenance of old temples and also their families. It is difficult for most of us. Tourists they always

> complain about the prices, like for the taxi. Sometimes I would give them special prices if they are nice, but for me I also need to work hard to sustain my family and village. Tourists just do not realize it.

He continued in a scornful tone,

> Government does not provide any financial aid for our religion. Balinese people have to pay for the preparation of ritual, to the community banjar and for the living expenses. Tourists usually do not think about the temples and ceremonies that we need to pay ourselves to build and preserve them. They only see and think of the beautiful and cultural side of Balinese lives as if we are free without problems.

While he was contented to see that many tourists are making attempt to get to know and appreciate Balinese culture, Brata Nyoman also reckoned that majority of tourists do not realize and is unaware the great burden and baggage their cultural identity has to bear. He complained about some tourists do not respect Balinese culture and did not think people with "modern" western lifestyle is better cultivated. He said with a tone of sternness: "Even though we Balinese people living with penny wages or conditions which are not financially rich, people are generally more happy and well-tempered". He thought that "many tourists are ill-tempered and impatient", referring to tourists' presence in Balinese rituals and travel schedule."

Furthermore, from Brata Nyoman's utterance of his disgruntlement towards government policy and infrastructural inequality, we learn that Balinese Hindu religion, not only as a way of living but also as a primary economic resource for the provincial government, is closely tied up with politics and economy nowadays. His frustration

with religious obligation and the financial burden on maintaining the relevant infrastructures and religious events has led him to reckon that the sustenance of religion is a collective matter provincially, if not nationally. With the local autonomy policy, the gap of economic condition and living standard among different regions has led to the rising question and unsettlement about their belonging. While Balinese Hindus have been constitutive part of the Indonesian national government, their religious and ethnic identities are frequently detached from or overpowered the national identity as many rural Balinese Hindus are reluctant to identify themselves along with their Islamic government, in terms of policy and identity.

Brata Nyoman comes to emblemize a peculiar subjectivity that is growing among many Balinese people who engage in tourism, especially when facing exacerbated quality of life. The sentiment towards politics has been paradoxical in a sense that Balinese Hindu, as a nationally minority group, has been struggled to fight for their position in national arena. However, with the discourse of globalism and capitalism, surging individual-centered identities comes to dominate the socio-cultural sphere. The paradox has been the desire to "live contemporaneously" yet "in-a-distant-time". With the majority parts of Bali continue suffering from the economic hardship, ecological deterioration and infrastructural setback, many Balinese come to question whether their religious identity and practices can lead them to the possibility of a better economic prosperity.

Embeddedness of Tourism Economy

Job Precarity

The deep embeddedness of tourism economy in the cultural environment of Bali had manifested itself as the great social disruption after the bombing attacks in Kuta beach earlier in 2002 and 2005 consecutively. The attacks have not only killed hundreds of innocents, the ensuing social disruption has created massive unemployment and economic distress among a large number of workers with the declining numbers of tourists. The fear and the sense of insecurity arising after that have haunted and left many people scarred and traumatized. With the heavy dependence on the tourism industry, whether it is terrorist attacks or natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions have become a source of insecurity for Balinese not only because they believe that God is in a state of anger, but also because these events would jeopardize their financial state.

Under this condition, work and employment, especially in regards to the tourism industry, come to occupy one of the factors that impacts on the well-being of workers and their family. The state of feeling insecure of job and anxious of losing job and financial resources arise out of the uncontracted employment and the high-substitutability of tourism work (as well as casual jobs that hinge on the economic condition of the country), coupled with the temporal constraints which many workers are subjected to, would potentially become a source of stress.

Surata Wayan's brother shared his experiences the difficulties he met after the terrorist attack back in 2002 (Personal communication, February 28, 2019):

> Finding a job had been challenging at the time because there were less tourists coming to Bali and no hotels or business was hiring people. I had to stay in the village and doing some woodcraft job to sustain myself or help my parents doing the farming. Until few years ago, the government of Bangli Regency was hiring and I was lucky to get the job because it is so competitive since there was not much job opportunities.

The experience of a terrorist attack in 2002 has made Balinese realize that their island is not a safe, isolated harbor, but a part of interconnected world. With the economic meltdown at the time, along with the uneasiness with foreigners, the difficulty finding employment to secure one's source of income for those engaging in tourist job could be emotionally draining. The first time I met Pekak Bagus in 2016, he had to stop working because of an injury on his arm and leg. Without his source of income, he and his family were burdened with the heavy economic pressure with their project of building household temple and the necessary saving for the upcoming cremation ceremony of his father.

Back then, when we sat together at his house compound, Pekak Bagus had, although implicitly, called for the help for his finance. On top of his temporary physical disability and haunting pressure in his head, Pekak Bagus appeared depressed and fragile at the time. Despite engaging in several different jobs by the second time I met him in the village, the heaviness of finance continued to leave him mentally vulnerable. Such chronic experience of precarity and insecurity could fundamentally leave people in a state

of vulnerability and accumulatively would develop into state of depression.

Labor Inequality

On top of the very precarious state of job searching at a difficult time, one's experience of inequality and discrimination at work may have also been a trigger for stress. The uncertainty is increased by the highly substitutable nature in tourist jobs which are unprotected by labor contracts. There are many Balinese people who take casual work in the tourism industry, such as drivers and tour guides. Even people who work in villas or hotels, in many cases, are not provided any form of labor contract or legitimate working contract from their employers. Surata Wayan once expressed her discontent with the inequality she encountered in her job when we were spending the *nyepi* at her mother-in-law's compound (Surata Wayan, personal communication, March 7, 2019):

Surata Wayan: It is so good having such a day to relax and doing nothing.

Fengyu Lin: How has your work in the village been going recently?

Surata Wayan: It's going well. Right now, there is not much guests coming because it's low season, so I spend most of my time taking care of my boss lady. I have been worried about her because her health condition is not very well. So even if there is no guest, I have to stay with her unless she goes back to Australia to visit her children. That has kept me busy.

Fengyu Lin: Do you go back to Tingkadbatu to visit your parents often?

Surata Wayan: No, I guess it has been two months since I saw them last time. It's always hard to get away from work and also after I am married to Sibetan, I spent more

time with my mother-in-law if I were off work. I missed them a lot.

Fengyu Lin: How do you like your work and your boss?

Surata Wayan: Although my boss, she is a very nice lady and I appreciate that I could work for her while living with my family. Not every family has the chance to live with their kids. But because I work as a maid, I am like having to be on call for 24 hours while the driver only works when he is needed, but we earn the same amount of money, which to me is not fair at all.

Fengyu Lin: Have you had a discussion about it with your boss?

Surata Wayan: I'd once asked my boss about that, and she said because the driver decided to move out of the accommodation provided with his family and they needed more money. To me it does not make sense at all. Although I have tried to argue several times, but because there is not sign contracts on what kind of work I am obliged to do and how many hours I need to work every week, I feel like I have worked overtime always. It is sometimes very tiring and I would get angry about it.

The absence of legal contracts and protection of labor rights is not uncommon in Bali, particularly for those who engage in informal labor related to the tourist industry. It has been a common practice, for the purpose of tax evasion, that private companies, hotels or owners like Surata Wayan's Australian boss, would often bypass the legal contracts. The anxiety exhibited by Surata Wayan demonstrates that labor injustice remains an issue that continues to structure wider socio-economic inequality. Without legal contracts, many workers are subjected to prolonged working hours and their holidays cannot be guaranteed. In Surata Wayan's case, her resentment had also been the disproportionate payment between her and her colleague who works as chauffeur (personal communication, March 7, 2019):

> Although the chauffeur is a good man and friend of ours, and I do like him, he does not work much only when my boss or the guests need a ride or going out. However, I knew that he is paid as almost the same amount as me. You see the problem is, I am like working almost 24-hour every day because the guests they need to eat and be served all the time, I need to be on-call. Compare to me, he can rest maybe an entire day doing no work, but still get paid based on the hour. It is unfair to me when we both get almost the same pay. I couldn't speak about that to my boss explicitly, because she is a nice lady and she does help us a lot. But many times, I just don't feel it's right to me.

In spite of the extended working-hours and all these problems of unequal payment, it remained difficult for Surata Wayan to argue for her rights without the presence of contract or any legal written statement. Besides, in order to secure one's position and work, most people would endure the unprotected conditions rather than be unemployed since that would certainly add up more financial pressure overall.

There is the hidden face to the tourism industry which appears to be exploitative to the workers and I suspect that the condition worsens the daily stress and contributes to their psychological degeneracy. The inherent banality of ethnic difference and discrimination are constitutive the social forces that impact the health of rural Balinese. Not only does the experience of injustice have damaging impacts on bodily capacity, but also such a process constitutes a form of subjectivity of being exploited adding to the stress on their mental health.

A progressive and linear model of time does not only make itself felt, but also generates limited choices and the experience of unequal development. There is a growing desire for "modern forms of life" and a desire of being free from ritual

obligation. Joined with the axiom that time is money, the social friction is becoming pronounced. In the cities and tourist areas, Balinese Hindu religion has gradually become an empty vessel and largely reduced to performances of which its contents have become unfamiliar and irrelevant to many city-dwellers as well as younger generations. What is left are feelings of detachment and the overwhelming obligations. It highlights the unbalanced development and regional inequalities with regard to infrastructure and economic development.

Part Five

Epilogue

Conclusions

This thesis developed from a desire to probe the experiences of temporal disruptions by incorporating cognitive, phenomenological and historical perspectives. It can be argued with a great certainty that our everyday life is constructed through the plurality of temporal concepts and sentiments that we develop or are forced to adopt throughout the course of life. In the case of Bali, the perpetual expansion and establishment of tourism infrastructure continue to structurally produce groups that are vulnerable to the temporal friction and groups who are suffering from a declining living environment from the spread of new temporal articulations and organizations around work and everyday life.

Devoting one's self and time in conducting rituals is the major principle for Balinese to sustain their identity, pursue wellbeing and a better after life. However, I argue a dominant, market- oriented temporal framework brought by globalization, capitalism expansion and mass tourist industry undermines Balinese conception of realities. Changing perception of time affects the formation of well-being and destabilizes the role of traditional rituals.

Bali has come to a phase of acknowledging the interconnectedness of the global markets and social phenomena since the terrorist attacks of 2002 and the ensuing economic crisis. However, the more the Balinese people probe into the world, the more they would find the dilemma are situated in. Arguably, insecurity in terms of

self-identity in a changing society creates stress, irritation and anxiety.

The ethnographic cases expound the tangible and psychic impacts of the temporal transition. The physicality of time needs to be taken into serious consideration, as Barbara Adam submits: "how time is conceptualized [...] affects not merely social science praxis but our daily lives, our health and our relationship to birth and death" (Adam, 1995:58). The physical exhaustion and psychological stress suffered by my interlocutors illustrate a visible and tangible impact of the discordance of multiple temporalities and time pressure. It has constituted to part of an ongoing socio-cultural struggle by those who are marginalized and unprivileged. I hope that the ethnographic cases and empirical evidence presented here could come to term of those are marginalized policy-wise, suffered from impoverished infrastructure and living conditions, and are susceptible to the social disruptions brought by the heavily imposed global capitalist economy.

This being said, it is not my intended objective to generalize the conditions or situations of all Balinese migrant workers and rural villagers. What I have claimed throughout my thesis is to signify the tension and the very dilemmatic moment that many young Balinese is facing towards their customary traditions, cultural practices, economic situations, and their living conditions. Focusing on how people attune to the capitalist temporal framework allows me to look into the socio-cultural embeddedness of the tourism economy, and exposes the structural difficulties people are facing as they respond to disjunction on the everyday level.

Balinese and Mental illness

People who suffer from mental health issues or mental illness remain very much stigmatized in Balinese society. Mental illness is often seen as a form of madness and imbalance. In many instances, a traditional healer (*balian*) would be consulted by the family of the patient to carrying on purification rituals to resolve the illness. However, as the Balinese psychiatrist Luh Ketut Suryani has found, for decades, people with mental health issues in many rural Balinese villages are often socially alienated or avoided. In some extreme cases, patients might be locked up or restrained with handcuffs and chains for years when their health conditions do not seem to improve (See FHD, 2008).

During my stay in 2017, I encountered a scenario when a village woman, who was said to be "crazy" and "mad", approached the public, and people averted their eyes and shunned interactions with her. And when passing me, people would warn me gesturing at the woman and saying, "Don't talk to her. She is a crazy woman." All the more, kids would simply confront her and condemn her madness and make fun of her illness.

Not only was it a gut-wrenching scene to witness, it also showcased how mental illness, regardless of the recent effort to alleviate and change the social perception of it, continues to be socially shamed. Despite that the degree of illness of this woman seems a far cry from the depression and anxiety I have been describing, the story of this woman may indicate a general lack of understanding and sympathy for psychological issues. My interlocutors may assume their anxiety and frustration is merely a personal weakness or failure in the same way as the lack of sympathy for the woman I describe in this case. We must reckon with the

fear of being socially stigmatized and excluded as a potential worsening factor from the early stage of mental stress to a serious illness.

Although there has been growing literature on the subject of mental health and psychological illness in Bali, understanding the social stigma and inequalities, and pinpointing the socio-culturally defined factors of those suffering from mental disorders remain a critical task for future researchers.

Bibliography

[Internet Source]

FHD. (25 Oct 2008). The Dark Side of Paradise: Mental Illness in Bali [Video File]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/O-NWiCViXc0

Hatch, V. (11 April, 2010). What is the difference between 'ngayah' and 'ngo'opin'? [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.balimusicanddance.com/articles/what-is-the-difference-between-'ngayah'-and-'ngo'opin'.html

Hunt, P. (2018, February 27). Bali Fights Back. Retrieved from https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/bali-fights-back/

[Reference]

Abu-Shams, L., & González-Vázquez, A. (2014). Juxtaposing time: An anthropology of multiple temporalities in Morocco. *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans Et De La Mediterranee, 136*(136), 33-48.

Adam, B. (1995). *Timewatch: The social analysis of time*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2-3), 295-310.

Appadurai, A. (2013). *The future as cultural fact: Essays on the global condition.* London: Verso.

Bachtiar, A., Windia, W., & Astiti, W. (2016). Persepsi Masyarakat dan Strategi Pengembangan Agrowisata Salak di Desa Sibetan Kecamatan Bebandem Kabupaten Karangasem Bali. *JURNAL MANAJEMEN AGRIBISNIS*, 4(1). Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. (2019a). *Statistik Wisatawan Mancanegara ke Bali 2018.* Denpasar: BPS Provinsi Bali.

Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. (2019a). *Statistik Wisatawan Mancanegara ke Bali 2018.* Denpasar: BPS Provinsi Bali.

Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. (2019b). *Perkembangan Triwulanan Ekonomi Bali Triwulan I 2019*. Denpasar: BPS Provinsi Bali.

Bear, L. (2014). Doubt, conflict, mediation: The anthropology of modern time. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 20*(Supp.1), 3-30.

Bianchi (2011), Tourism, Capitalism and Marxist Political Economy in Mosedale, J. (2011). *Political economy of tourism*. London: Routledge.

Birth, K. (2008). The creation of coevalness and the danger of homochronism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 14*(1), 3-20.

Birth, K. (2017). *Time Blind*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Bloch, M. (I977). The past and the present in the present. *Man (N.S.), 12*, 278-92.

Bruner, E. (1991). Transformation of self in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 18*(2), 238-250.

Burbank, V. (2011). *Ethnography of stress: The Social Determinants of Health in Aboriginal Australia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burman, R. (1981). Time and Socioeconomic Change on Simbo, Solomon Islands. *Man, 16*(2), 251-267.

Carson, B., Dunbar, T., Chenhall, R. & Railie, R. (2007). *Social determinants of indigenous health. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.*

Castree, N. (2009). The Spatio-temporality of Capitalism. *Time & Society, 18*(1), 26-61.

Christie, L. & Halpern, J. M. (1990). Temporal constructs and Inuit mental health. *Social Science & Medicine, 30*(6), 739-749.

Connor, L. (1995). The Action of the Body on Society: Washing a Corpse in Bali. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1*(3), 537-559.

Connor, L., & Vickers, A. (2003). Crisis, citizenship, and cosmopolitanism: Living in a local and global risk society in Bali. *Indonesia*, (75), 153.

Cooper, F. (1992). Colonizing time: work rhythms and labor conflict in colonial Mombasa. In Dirks, N.B. (ed.), *Colonialism and culture*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press:209-45

Dressler, W. (2011). Chapter 6. Culture and the Stress Process. In Singer, M. & Erickson P. (ed.) (2011). *A Companion to Medical Anthropology* (pp. 119-134). Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Eickelman, D. (1977). Time in a Complex Society: A Moroccan Example. *Ethnology, 16*(1), 39-55.

Eiseman, F. B., Jr. (1990). *Bali Sekala and Niskala: Essays on religion, ritual, and art*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Elliott, S., Mckelvy, J., & Bowen, S. (2017). Marking time in ethnography: Uncovering temporal dispositions. *Ethnography, 18*(4), 556-576.

Evans-Pritchard, E. (1939). Nuer time-reckoning. *Africa, 12*(2), 189-216.

Fabian, J. (1983). *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia university press.

Fagertun, A. (2017). Labour in Paradise: Gender, Class and Social Mobility in the Informal Tourism Economy of Urban Bali, Indonesia. *The Journal of Development Studies, 53*(3), 331-345.

Garcia, Kristy L. (2016). Bali's Eclectic Image: A Touristic Island Paradise and A Prevalently Modern Nation. *Student Publications, 461*. Retrieved from https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/student_scholarship/461.

Geertz, C. (1973). Chapter 14. Person, Time and Conduct in Bali. In Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays* (pp. 360-411). London: Hutchinson.

Gell, A. (1992). *The anthropology of time: Cultural constructions of temporal maps and images.* Oxford: Berg.

Guyer, J. (2007). Prophecy and the near future: Thoughts on macroeconomic, evangelical, and punctuated time. *American Ethnologist, 34*(3), 409-421.

Hallowell, A. I. (1937). TEMPORAL ORIENTATION IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND IN A PRE-LITERATE SOCIETY. *American Anthropologist, 39*(4), 647-670.

Hallowell, A. I. (1955). *Culture and experience* (2nd print ed.). S.l: University of Pennsylvania press.

Hobart, M. (2000). Chapter 6. The missing subject: Balinese time and the elimination of history. In Hobart, M. (2000). *After culture: anthropology as radical metaphysical critique* (pp. 195-236). Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press.

Hope, W. (2009). Conflicting Temporalities: State, nation, economy and democracy under global capitalism. *Time & Society, 18*(1), 62-85.

Hoskins, J. (1997). *The play of time: Kodi perspectives on calendars, history, and exchange*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Howe, L. (1981). The Social Determination of Knowledge: Maurice Bloch and Balinese Time. *Man, 16*(2), 220-234.

Howe, L. (1984). Gods, people, spirits and witches: The Balinese system of person definition. *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia, 140*(2), 193-222.

Howe, L. (2009). *The changing world of Bali: Religion, society and tourism*. London: Routledge.

Huberman, J. (2012). *Ambivalent Encounters: Childhood, Tourism, and Social Change in Banaras, India.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Ida Bagus, M. (2010). Getting the monkey off your back: Women and the intensification of religious identities in post-bomb Bali, Indonesia. *Women's Studies International Forum, 33*(4), 402-411.

I Ketut Ardhana. (2011). Globalisme dan Multi-Versalisme: Beberapa Catatan tentang Dinamika Sosial Budaya di Bali. *Jurnal Kajian Bali, 1*(2), Jurnal Kajian Bali, 01 November 2011, Vol.1(2).

I Wayan Suyadnya. (2011). Securitization, Belonging and Politics of Belonging in Bali. *Jurnal Kajian Bali, 1*(1), Jurnal Kajian Bali, 01 June 2011, Vol.1(1).

James, W., Mills, David, & ASA conference Harare 2002. (2005). *The qualities of time: Anthropological approaches* (ASA monographs 41). Oxford: Berg.

King, Victor T., & Wilder, William D. (2003). *The modern anthropology of South-East Asia: An introduction*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Lansing, J. (1995). *The Balinese.* Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace college publ.

Lazarus, R. (1966). *Psychological stress and the coping process* (MacGraw-Hill series in psychology). New York (N.Y.): MacGraw-Hill.

Leach E. (1961). Two Essays Concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time. In Leach E. (ed.) (1961). *Rethinking Anthropology* (pp. 124-136). London: Athlone Press.

Lemelson, R. (Producer & Director). (2011). *Ritual burdens* [Motion picture]. Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources.

Lemelson, R., & Tucker, A. (2017). Chapter 3. The Lived Experience of Culture and Mental Illness in Indonesia. In Lemelson, R., & Tucker, A. (2017). *Afflictions: Steps Toward a Visual Psychological Anthropology* (pp. 49-70). Switzerland, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lemelson, R., & Tucker, A. (2017). Chapter 8. Ritual Burdens: Culturally Defined Stressors and Developmental Progressions. In Lemelson, R., & Tucker, A. (2017). *Afflictions: Steps Toward a Visual Psychological Anthropology* (pp. 157-176). Switzerland, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

LeVine, R. A. (ed.) (2010). *Psychological anthropology: A reader on self in culture*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lin, F. (2017). Garbage burden in the island of paradise: A Case Study in Bali. Unpublished manuscript, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Lyon, S. & Wells, C. (2012). *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

MacCannell, D. (1999). *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. London: University of California Press.

Malinowski, B. (1927). Lunar and Seasonal Calendar in the Trobriand Island. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 157*, 201-15

Marcus, G. E., & Myers, F. R. (1995). *The traffic in culture: Refiguring art and anthropology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Munn, N. (1992). The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 21*, 93-123.

Nakatani, A. (1997). Private or public?: Defining female roles in the Balinese ritual domain. *Southeast Asian Studies, 34*(4), 722-740.

Nettheim A. (2011). Tattwa are the words of the world: Balinese narratives and creative transformation, *Ph.D. Thesis*, University of New South Wales, Australia

Nordholt, H. (2000). Localizing modernity in colonial Bali during the 1930s. *Journal Of Southeast Asian Studies, 31*(1), 101.

Norum, R. & Mostafanezhad M. (2016). A chronopolitics of tourism. *Geoforum, 77*(C), 157-160.

Picard, M. (1996). *Bali: Cultural tourism and touristic culture*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.

Picard, M. & Wood, R. (1997). *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Rapport, N. (2018). Chapter 2. A sense of well-being: The anthropology of a first-person phenomenology. In Galvin, K. (ed.) (2018). *Routledge Handbook of Well-Being* (pp. 23-33). Oxon: Routledge

Reichle, N. (ed.) (2010). *Bali: Art, Ritual, Performance.* San Francisco: The Asian Art Museum.

Ringel, F. (2016). Beyond temporality: Notes on the anthropology of time from a shrinking fieldsite. *Anthropological Theory, 16*(4), 390-412.

Salazar, N. (2013). Imagineering Otherness: Anthropological legacies in tourism. *Anthropological Quarterly, 86*(3), 669-696.

Snipes, S., Thompson, A., O'Connor, B., Godina, K., & Ibarra, R. (2007). Anthropological and Psychological Merge: Design of a Stress Measure for Mexican Farmworkers. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 31(*3), 359-388.

Suryani, L. (1984). Culture and mental disorder: the case of bebainan in Bali. *Culture Medicine and Psychiatry, 8*(1), 95-113.

Thompson, E. (1967). Time, Work-discipline and Industrial Capitalism. *Past and Present, 38*, 56-97.

Urry, J. (1990). The 'consumption' of tourism. Sociology: *The Journal of the British Sociological Association, 24(*1), 23.

Vickers, A. (1989). *Bali, a paradise created*. Ringwood, Victoria, Australia: Penguin.

Wallace, A. (2005). The Consciousness of Time. *Anthropology of Consciousness, 16*(2), 1-15.

Warren, C. (1998). Mediating modernity in Bali. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 1*(1), 83-108.

Yamashita, S. (1994). Manipulating Ethnic Tradition: The Funeral Ceremony, Tourism, and Television among the Toraja of Sulawesi. *Indonesia, 58*, 69-82.