The Balinese *Subak* as World Cultural Heritage: In the Context of Tourism[1]

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Abstract

"Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the *Subak* System as a Manifestation of the *Tri Hita Karana* Philosophy" was inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 2012. This paper discusses the Balinese *subak* as a world cultural heritage site in the context of cultural resources, cultural politics, and cultural tourism, comparing it with other world cultural heritage sites in East Asia. The paper also examines *subak* and agriculture from the viewpoint of village tourism, which has been developed in recent years as an alternative to mass tourism. In so doing, the paper aims to contribute to the discussion of complex cultural and agricultural processes in contemporary Bali. The paper concludes that making cultural heritage in the age of globalization is a dynamic process, involving local, national and global levels. What is important, then, is to create new meanings in the cultural landscape for a sustainable future.

Keyword: subak, world heritage, cultural resource, agriculture, globalization

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1. Introduction

"Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the *Subak* System as a Manifestation of the *Tri Hita Karana* Philosophy" was inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 2012. It consists of five rice terraces and their water temples, which include the Royal Water Temple of Pura Taman Ayun, the largest and most impressive architectural edifice of its type on the island. The *subak* system is considered to reflect the Hindu concept of *Tri Hita Karana.* The cultural landscape of the *subak* is thus a product of interaction between the realms of the spirit, the human world and nature in a long historical process over the past 2000 years linking Bali and India.[2]

This paper discusses the Balinese *subak* as a world cultural heritage site in the context of cultural resources, cultural politics, and cultural tourism, comparing it with other world cultural heritage sites in East Asia.[3] The paper also examines *subak* and agriculture from the viewpoint of village tourism, which has been developed in recent years as an alternative to mass tourism. In so doing, the paper aims to contribute to the discussion of complex cultural and agricultural processes in contemporary Bali.

2. The Concept of Cultural Resources

To discuss the *subak* system as a world cultural heritage site, let us start with an examination of the concept of "cultural resources." When we talk about resources, we usually assume that we are referring to "natural resources" such as energy or forests. However, nowadays the word "resources" is actually used more widely, to cover not only natural resources, but also socio-cultural resources – such as human resources, educational

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2   UNESCO: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1194

3   In discussing the Balinese *subak* as a world cultural heritage site, I have used parts of my former works (Yamashita 2007, 2009a: Ch.4, 2009b, 2010) in a revised form.

resources, tourism resources, and so on.

As for the concept of resource, I follow Erich Zimmerman (1931) who pointed out that "resources become." From this perspective, a cultural resource is something that *becomes*, and not something that already exists. In this context, culture can be seen as a set of symbolic resources that are consciously reworked and manipulated for social, economic and political purposes under certain historical conditions. Culture should therefore be understood as undergoing a dynamic process of shaping and reshaping in history, rather than something with an unchanging essence. The question, then, is: in what ways does culture become a resource?

The Japanese Association for the Study of Cultural Resources (*Bunka Shigen Gakkai)* defines cultural resources as follows: "Cultural resources (*bunka shigen*) are important in helping us understand a society and its culture better at a particular time. They include tangible and intangible materials that cannot be kept in museums, such as historical buildings, urban landscapes, traditional art performances, and festivals. Unfortunately, many such cultural resources are not used very well. We should make the best use of these resources for present as well as for future society. The study of cultural resources explores a new field of the utilization of cultural resources in developing human culture and scientific research."[4]

Consequently, cultural resources are defined as valuable cultural products that can be utilized. This is similar to concepts such as "cultural properties" (*bunka zai*) and "cultural heritage" (*bunka isan*). In Japan, a cultural property protection law (*bunka zai hogo ho*) was enacted in 1950, about fifty years earlier than the UNESCO proclamation of intangible cultural

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4   Bunka Shigen Gakkai (Association for the Study of Cultural Resources): http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/CR/acr/   Original is Japanese. The quoted part is a rough translation of mine.

heritage in 2001.[5] The cultural properties in the law cover not only high culture such as the arts, music and literature, but also cultural materials (*minzoku shiryo*). This is a broader definition of culture that encompasses both the tangible (*yukei*) and the intangible (*mukei*): examples of cultural materials range from food, clothing, and housing practices to religious beliefs and community festivals.

The concept of culture adopted here is a combination of the German *Kultur*, which is based on a value system, and the anthropologist Edward Tylor's view of culture as a way of life. The revision of Japan's cultural property protection law in 1975 put the emphasis on the preservation of cultural properties, protecting them from industrialization, urbanization, and development. However, this changed from "preservation" to "utilization" when the law was revised again in the early 1990s. In this revision, the concept of cultural property became closer to that of cultural resources, with an emphasis on their utilization (Iwamoto 2004).

3. UNESCO's Conception of Culture

In discussing culture in an international context, it is necessary to refer to UNESCO's world heritage protection project. Based on the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage adopted by UNESCO in 1972, the project encourages the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage sites around the world that are considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. As of September 2012, 981 world heritage sites were listed, of which 759 were cultural heritage sites, 193 were natural heritage sites, and 26 combined with cultural and natural heritage.[6]

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5   The Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. From this background it is easy to understand that Japan had a leading role for issuing of Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2006 (Matsuura 2008: 59).

6   UNESCO World Heritage Centre: http://whc.unesco.org/

However, it was pointed out that UNESCO's world heritage might be "too biased towards the protection and representation of tangible, monumental vestiges of the past."[7] That is why there have been various attempts to introduce new concepts of "living heritage" such as "cultural landscapes" (1992) and "intangible cultural heritage" (adopted in 2003) (Matsuura 2008). As to "cultural landscapes," the World Heritage Committee defines them as "cultural properties [that] represent the 'combined works of nature and of man'…... They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal."[8]

However, from an anthropological point of view, any landscape may be regarded as "cultural," because it is the result of interaction between the natural environment and human activity. In order to become a world heritage site, a cultural landscape should have "outstanding universal value." This is further explained as "cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole."[9] What is at stake is therefore not the concept of cultural landscape in general but cultural landscapes with "outstanding universal value."

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7   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masterpieces_of_the_Oral_and_Intangible_Heritage_of_Humanity.

8   *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC. 12/01 July 2012). 45 http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide12-en.pdf.

9   *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC. 12/01 July 2012). 49 http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide12-en.pdf.

On the basis of this conceptualization of culture, the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) sees cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity (article 1) and the wellspring of creativity (article 7). It further promotes cultural pluralism/multiculturalism (article 2); serves as a factor of development (article 3); and is linked to human rights (article 4), cultural rights (article 5), and international solidarity (article 10, 11, and 12). It is a summary of UNESCO's politics of culture.[10]

4. The Concept of Culture Reviewed: The Modern Art-Culture System and Cultural Capital

The question then becomes: what does the term "culture" mean as used in the cultural resources and cultural heritage discourses? In anthropology, there is a long tradition of regarding culture as "a way of life," which goes back to Edward Tylor in the late 19th century (Tylor 1874 [1871]: 1). But culture, as used in "cultural resources," "cultural property," "cultural asset," and "cultural heritage," belongs to another category of culture – "high culture" or "art."[11] The question is, however, not to determine which definition of culture we should adopt, but rather how they relate to each other. For this purpose, it is useful to consider what James Clifford (1988: 222-226) has called the "modern art-culture system."

The modern art-culture system is the way in which cultural materials from the primitive world and folk societies become "art" on the one hand, or "cultural artifacts" on the other. Clifford depicts the system as having two dimensions, the authentic/non-authentic axis on the one hand, and the masterpiece/artifact axis on the other (Fig. 1).

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10 UNESCO: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf.

11 According to Raymond Williams (1983: 90), this usage of culture developed in the late 19th and early 20th century as the independent and abstract noun to describe the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity, and is now the most widely used.
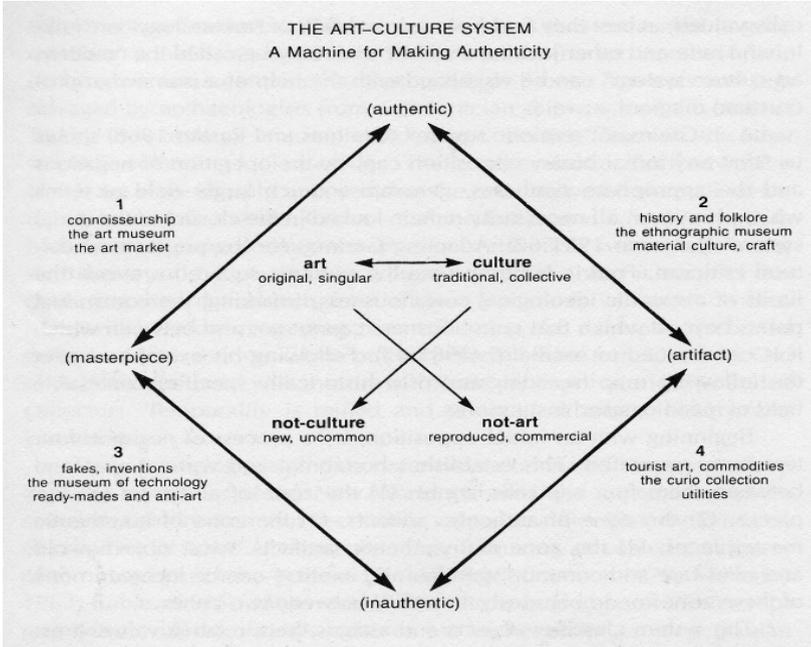
Fig.1: The Modern Art-Culture System (Clifford 1988: 224)

For instance, Zone 1 in this system is the area for "authentic masterpieces," original, outstanding paintings by the likes of Cezanne or Picasso, classified as "art" and kept in the art museum. Zone 2 is for "authentic artifacts" such as tools and traditional crafts used in collective life, which are usually classified as "culture" and kept in the ethnographic museum. Zone 3 is for "inauthentic masterpieces" fakes and inventions that are produced individually but usually considered as inauthentic because they are copies or pastiches of real masterpieces. Zone 4 is for artifacts such as tourist art, commodities that are mass-produced and sold commercially.

This classification of cultural objects, however, is not static. For example, there is often a movement from ethnographic "culture" (Zone 2) to fine "art" (Zone 1), as is the case with tribal

objects located in art galleries.[12]   Conversely, art masterpieces (Zone 1) change places on the historical-cultural dimension (Zone 2), as is seen in the relocation of France's impressionist collection, which was moved from the Jeu de Pume to the new Museum of the Nineteenth Century at the Gare d'Orsay. Movement also occurs between the lower and upper halves of the system. Commodities in Zone 4 enter Zone 2 by becoming rare period pieces like old green glass Coke bottles. Much current non-Western work migrates from the category of "tourist art" to "creative art."   For example, Haitian "primitive" painting, which is commercial and of relatively recent origin, has moved into the art-culture circuit. In this way, the art-culture system shows us the dynamic relationship between art and culture in the modern era. Here, the anthropological definition of culture and the artistic definition of culture are not necessarily opposed, but are related to each other in a dynamic way through modern historical and economic processes.

In order to examine the dynamic relationship between art and culture, and between cultural value and economic value, it is also useful to refer to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital." Bourdieu introduced the notion of capital into his sociology, because "the social world is accumulated history" (Bourdieu 1986: 241). He distinguishes three forms of capital: *economic capital*, *cultural capital*, and *social capital* (Ibid.: 243).   Using the term "cultural capital," Bourdieu discussed how a certain social class accumulates cultural capital and reproduced over the generations in French society.

He further distinguishes three forms of cultural capital: (1) cultural capital embodied in *habitus* such as knowledge, taste, sensibility, skill, and disposition; (2) cultural capital objectified in material forms such as arts, books, tools, and crafts; and

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12 Other examples might be folk pottery from the utilitarian crafts to high art such as British folk art or Japanese *Mingei* movement. They might actually include Japanese woodblock prints, the posters of Lautrec, or the relabeling of domestic objects like urinals or hat stands as art objects by Marcel Duchamp.

(3) cultural capital recognized institutionally such as licenses, degrees, and other qualifications. Of the three forms of cultural capital, (2) corresponds to Clifford's "authentic masterpiece" or "authentic artifact" in his modern art-culture system. On the other hand, (1) is the cultural capital, which is accumulated and embodied in the *habitus* of a certain social class. In Paris, for instance, middle class professionals drink wine and often visit art museums, while members of the working class drink cheaper alcohol and are more interested in football. (3) is particularly related to schools, education, and qualifications. In this scheme, social class, education, and the accumulation of cultural capital are correlated. Social class is thus reproduced not only economically but also culturally.

Interestingly Bourdieu sees culture in a dynamic way. He states: "Culture is not what one is but what one has, or, rather what one has become" (Bourdieu 1990: 211). On the basis of this dynamic view of culture, we can analyze the process by which things become cultural resources or cultural capital.

5. Locations in which Cultural Resources Become: Local, National and Global Perspectives

Having examined the concept of culture working behind the term "cultural resources," we now turn to the question of how culture becomes a resource. There are three fundamental locations in which this takes place: local, national, and global. The most basic location for making use of culture as a resource is everyday cultural practice in a particular local community with a particular natural and social environment in which one lives. To live is to cope with one's surroundings by making use of basic resources such as air, soil, water, and food. This is the basic mode of human subsistence. At the same time, humans also come to terms with their socio-cultural environment by making use of culture such as language and knowledge. In this sense, life is simply cultural resource management in a place

where one lives.

However, our social world today is not limited to a local community. As Gordon Mathews (2000: 6-11) discusses, there are two fundamental agents that regulate cultural production today: nation-state and global market. In modern nation-states, different forms of local and regional culture – such as language, literature, arts, dances and religion – have become resources that are mobilized in the formation and maintenance of a national culture, especially through school education. Here, culture evolves from a simple way of life to a complex high culture. At the same time, with the penetration of capitalism into the remotest corners of the world, culture has also become a commodity that is bought and sold in a global market.

Typical examples are music and food. Latin American *reggae* or Indonesian *gamelan* have become "world music" sold on CDs in the global market. In a global city, one can eat foods from all over the world, ranging from Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Thai, and Vietnamese, to American, French, Italian, Spanish, Mexican and many other cuisines. The "cultural industry," a term originally used by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno in 1947 in a negative connotation to describe mass cultural production such as film, music or television (Adorno 1990), has penetrated into almost every corner of daily life today. What Mathews call the "cultural supermarket" thus prevails around the world.

Anthropology, with its ethnographic method, usually focuses on the small life-world of a particular local community in which people live. Examining the cultural resources in this micro world, anthropology can make a unique contribution to the social science of resources. However, today there can be no micro society unrelated to the macro system of nation-state, global market, and international organizations. Therefore, we should examine cases in the "contact zone" between the micro- and the macro-systems in which a set of cultural resources are

innovated, manipulated and contested.

6. Cultural Tourism in Bali and Politics of World Heritage

Now, we will look at an example of cultural resources production in the context of tourism. The case I would like to examine here is that of Bali, Indonesia. Historically, Balinese tourism dates back to the 1920s when it was discovered as "the last paradise" by Western artists and scholars. Under such an outsider's "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990), Balinese traditional culture was re-created and even invented for Western audiences (Yamashita 2003: Ch.3).

After Indonesia's independence, the first five-year development plan began in 1969 under President Suharto's regime. Under this plan, tourism was seen as an important source of foreign currency earnings for Indonesia, and Bali was designated as the most important of Indonesia's international destinations. The Balinese provincial government adopted the policy of tourism development with a special emphasis on culture. Since then, Bali has developed successfully to the extent that Bali and tourism may be considered inseparable.

In this process of tourism development, Balinese traditional culture has become a cultural resource economically as well as politically for both the province of Bali and the Indonesian nation-state. Local culture has become part of the tourism industry in which "touristic culture" created in the context of tourism has emerged. Dance performances such as the *kecak* or *barong*, for example, have now become commercialized for touristic purposes (Yamashita 2003: Ch. 4 and 6). In this sense, Bali is regarded as a successful case of how to make use of local cultural resources in the field of tourism.

However, through this process, culture has become an "asset" or "cultural capital" which can be owned, managed and controlled by outsider money – be it Jakarta or international – beyond the reach of Balinese hands (Aditjondro 1995). Even the

Hindu religion, the emblem of current Balinese identity, has been commercialized by outsider money, exemplified by the Garuda Wisnu Project launched in 1993 and the Bali Nirwana Resort project in Tanah Lot (Couteau 2003: 54). Cultural tourism started so that the Balinese could control their own culture, but as a result of its practice their culture has started moving beyond their control. This is the paradox that Balinese cultural tourism faces today.

The dilemma of cultural tourism has come to the fore in heritage tourism, particularly with regard to UNESCO's world heritage sites. Indonesia had seven world heritage sites, including the Borobudur and Prambanan temple compounds in Java. Bali, however, did not have any world heritage sites, although there was a heated debate in the 1990s and 2000s over the possible nomination of the Besakih Temple, the most important Hindu temple in Bali, as a UNESCO world heritage site.[13]

According to Darma Putra and Hitchcock (2005: 230), proposals to nominate Besakih as a world heritage site emerged on three occasions. The first of these was 1990. At that time, the Hindu Council *Parisada* rejected the proposal, objecting to the term *warisan* (heritage) because it seemed to imply that the people had to abandon Besakih. They did not want Besakih to be treated like Borobudur where ritual activities had been regulated from outside.[14] Two years later in 1992, controversy resurged when the national government issued a law on heritage conservation (*cagar budaya*) that would make it possible for Besakih and other temples to be listed as national heritage sites. This time again the Hindu Intellectual Forum persuaded the government not to include Besakih in either national heritage or world heritage. Despite these two rejections,

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13 I have discussed this topic in other place as well (Yamashita 2009a: Ch. 4).

14 However, this was based on a misunderstanding, as there are examples of what are sometimes called "living" world heritage sites.

a third proposal appeared in 2001. This time, I Gde Ardika, the then Minister of Culture and Tourism who was Balinese, played an important role. This new initiative stemmed from an international conference on cultural heritage conservation in Bali in 2000. Prior to the conference, a feasibility study was undertaken for drafting a proposal to nominate other sites, namely Taman Ayun Temple and the Jatiluwih rice terraces. But, after a heated debate, the nomination of Besakih was halted again.

An important reason for Balinese Hindus' reluctance in accepting Besakih as a national or a world heritage site was that they would have to hand over the protection and conservation of their temples not only to the world community but also to the Indonesian state, in which Muslims constitute a majority. Furthermore, under the post-Suharto regime since 1998, the resistance may relate to structural changes in Indonesia, with the devolution of power from the center to the periphery and greater regional autonomy. This has accelerated the complex identity politics within many parts of Indonesia, including Bali.

In 2008 the Indonesian government proposed the inclusion of "Cultural Landscape of Bali Province" as a world heritage site at the World Heritage Committee meeting held in Quebec City, Canada. In this proposal, three "cluster sites" were listed for world heritage recognition, excluding Besakih: (1) the Jatiluwih rice terraces, traditional villages in the Tabanan region together with their surrounding rice terraces; (2) Taman Ayun, the island's main temple complex; and (3) a group of eight temples along the Pakerisan River valley. As mentioned in the previous section, the concept of "cultural landscapes" was first introduced at the 1992 World Heritage Committee meeting. As the combined works of man and nature, these sites express the longstanding and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment, while revealing the Hindu-Balinese

cosmological concept of *Tri Hita Karana* – the interlinking of god, human beings and the natural environment.[15] However, the proposal was not adopted but postponed pending further revision.

In 2012, the "Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the *Subak* System as a Manifestation of the *Tri Hita Karana* Philosophy," a revised version of 2008 proposal, was finally inscribed in the World Heritage List. We should congratulate Bali on gaining world heritage status as the result of the long processes of local, national and international cultural debates. However, we should also be careful of how we manage world cultural heritage sites, especially in cases that are related to tourism.

7. World Heritage Tourism: Old Town of Lijiang, China, and Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama, Japan

World heritage status has recently become significant in cultural and heritage tourism. When a destination is listed as a world heritage site with "outstanding touristic value" the expectation is that visitor numbers will increase. However, the expected economic benefit from increased tourism does not necessarily materialize, nor does it coincide with benefit to the local community.

As an example, "Old Town of Lijiang" in Yunnan Province, China, was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1997. UNESCO explains that it "has retained a historic townscape of high quality and authenticity. Its architecture is noteworthy for the blending of elements from several cultures that have come together over many centuries. Lijiang also possesses an ancient water-supply system of great complexity and ingenuity that still functions effectively today."[16]

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15 UNESCO World Heritage Centre: http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5100/.

16 Unesco World Heritage Centre http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/811.

According to the Tourism Board of Lijiang City, 1.06 million tourists visited the Old Town in 1996, one year before the world heritage designation, which rose to 4.33 million in 2007.[17] In the ten years after world heritage designation, therefore, visitors increased four times. Most of them are Chinese domestic tourists. In July 2008, when I visited it, the Old Town's narrow streets were crowded with tourists. The economic gain to the Old Town of Lijiang in 2007 amounted 4.7 billion yuan. In term of tourism development, the Old Town seems quite successful, and the effects of world heritage branding considerable.

Fig. 2: Old Town of Lijiang

17 The number of visitors in 2012 amounted to 15.99 million. The Tourism Board of Lijiang City: http://www.stats.yn.gov.cn/canton_model17/newsview. aspx?id=2136701.

Fig. 3: A Tourist Street in the Old Town

However, there is also criticism. For instance, Takayoshi Yamamura and others (2007) criticize the effects of world heritage designation from the viewpoint of Lijiang's local community. They maintain, "Lijiang does not need world heritage." Through the increase in the number of tourists, the river water, which had supported the lives of the local people, is now polluted. Traditional Naxi houses in the Old Town have been transformed into souvenir shops, restaurants or guesthouses. The Naxi people who lived in the Old Town have moved out, and Han Chinese have moved in to run the shops. As of 2007, Naxi residents ran only 98 of 379 guesthouses in the Old Town, while 281 were run by non-Naxi, mostly Han Chinese. One could say that the Old Town of Lijiang today exists for the tourists rather than the Naxi.

UNESCO has also commented on the "state of conservation" of the Old Town of Lijiang: "In brief, the property is now surrounded by some commercial projects which are intended to 'enhance' the beauty of the old town but actually

damage the property. For instance, the water system in Shuhe has been deteriorating since the introduction of the tourism development project. Meanwhile, the surrounding environment of the property has been compromised. In this respect, tourism development projects and rapid commercialization at the property may have negative impact on the social structure, ethnic *Naxi* culture and heritage values."[18] The World Heritage Committee requested the State Party (the national CCP) to review the current comprehensive management plan of the site.

Another example is taken from Japan: "Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama," which are described as follows: "Located in a mountainous region that was cut off from the rest of the world for a long period of time, these villages with their Gassho ("praying hands")-style houses subsisted on the cultivation of mulberry trees and the rearing of silkworms. The large houses with their steeply pitched thatched roofs are the only examples of their kind in Japan. Despite economic upheavals, the villages of Ogimachi, Ainokura and Suganuma are outstanding examples of a traditional way of life perfectly adapted to the environment and people's social and economic circumstances."[19]

18 UNESCO World Heritage Centre, State of Conservation: Old Town of Lijiang (2007): http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/1076.

19 UNESCO World Heritage Centre: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/734.

Fig.4: Ogimachi Village, Shirakawa-go

Fig.5: *Gassho*-style Houses

Shirakawa-go with a population of 1,920 people is located in Gifu Prefecture, Central Japan. Forests cover 96 percent of village land. It is a snow country, which led to the invention of the unique *gassho*-style houses to avoid heavy snow on the

roof. The Ogimachi area is particularly known for such houses. Shirakawa-go, together with the adjacent village of Gokayama, was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1995.

The National Ecotourism Conference of Japan was held in Shirakawa-go, March 2-4, 2007, with the theme, "Toward the Realization of Sustainable Tourism." The background of the conference was the dilemma experienced by Shirakawa-go after the world heritage designation. Mr. Hisashi Taniguchi, the village mayor, commented that visitors to Shirakawa-go had doubled compared with the period before the world heritage designation, but many of the tourists came by car and stayed in the village for only 45 minutes. They came just to look at the houses and buy small souvenirs without staying overnight. There was very little economic gain for the village. What they brought in was just the emissions from the cars! Financially, the village is supported by the property tax on the hydroelectric dam owned by Kansai Electronic Power Company that is located in the upper reaches of the Shogawa River. The irony is that the hydroelectric dam, a symbol of modern development, protects the historic village.

In a panel at the ecotourism conference, participants discussed ways of solving Shirakawa-go's current tourism problems. Two proposals were suggested. One was that one should create appropriate tourism for the development of Shirakawa-go, as the aim of tourism industry is to educate tourists as well. The other is that the tourism should be for the benefit – defined as happiness and harmony – of the local community. To achieve happiness and harmony, a village population of 1,920 people does not need mass tourism. What it needs are responsible tourists who can contribute towards the maintenance of a sustainable "historic village" way of life.

The UNESCO world heritage program involves cultural politics at the global, national and local community levels. Therefore, world heritage designation becomes an essentially

political question: who will make use of a heritage for whom, and with what purpose (cf. Harrison and Hitchcock eds. 2005)? It is clear that world heritage designation should be used primarily for the benefit of the local communities where world heritage sites are located, contributing to their happiness. Within this context, the following section discusses village or community-based tourism.

8. Village Tourism in Bali

Until the 1980s Balinese tourism was confined to the southern part of the island, but in recent years it has spread to all parts of Bali. The acceleration of tourism development has also awakened concerns about sustainable development in Bali. The international Bali Sustainable Development Project (BSDP), a collaborative venture between the Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, Canada, and Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, with assistance from Udayana University in Bali, was carried out from 1989 to 1994. The project aimed to formulate a sustainable development strategy for the unique environment of Bali under pressure from a rapidly expanding tourism industry. The project produced a book (Martopo and Mitchell eds. 1995), which emphasized traditional Balinese culture as the foundation of sustainable community planning and development in response to emerging issues of tourism and regional growth (Ringer 1997: 485).

In this regard, village tourism focusing on traditional Balinese culture may offer an exemplary model for sustainable tourism. To explore this possibility, a research team based at Gadjah Mada University carried out research towards a master plan for Balinese tourism in this new era (Universitas Gadjah Mada 1992: 1). This research resulted in a proposal for a type of tourist village called *desa wisata terpadu*, or "integrated tourist village." These tourist villages are not villages created

for tourist use, but ordinary "traditional" villages that present their "living cultures" to tourists.

Three villages were selected for a pilot project: Jatiluwih in Tabanan regency, Sebatu in Gianyar regency, and Penglipuran in Bangli regency. Each of these three villages has its own local color: Jatiluwih has beautiful rice terraces; Sebatu is a craft village famous for wood curving; and Penglipuran preserves the "traditional" village in the layout of the houses.[20] I have previously discussed the case of Penglipuran based on my 1995 research (Yamashita 2003: Ch.8). At that time Penglipuran village was classified as *desa tertinggal*, "a village left behind." For this reason, the Bangli regency government planned to place the village at the forefront of present-day development by turning it into an "integrated tourist village." Tourism in Penglipuran was thus an exercise in village development, allowing it to adapt to the new age while conserving the traditional culture. Even though development was carried out under government leadership, it actively involved the local people as well. Entry tickets for the village and car park were an important source of income, 60 percent of which went to Bangli regency, and 40 percent to Penglipuran. Therefore, this was a model of community-based tourism as well.

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20 The selling point of village tourism is "traditional Balinese culture" but one should note here this is not simply tradition which has been unconsciously transmitted from long ago, but is rather being manipulated and recreated within the contemporary economic, social, and cultural context. In fact the current appearance of Penglipuran is the result of repairs made for a planned visit by the then President Suharto in 1991, though the visit never took place.

Fig. 6: Penglipuran Village Tourism

This pattern of regional development based on the participation of the residents is related to the theme of *daerah otonomie*, regional autonomy, which has been promoted under the post-Suharto regime in parallel with the devolution of various functions of central government to the regions. Furthermore, after the Kuta bombing in October 2002, a revision of development strategy was proposed to balance the uneven development in Balinese tourism and (1) promote greater equity in the distribution of the benefit of tourism; (2) develop an environment supportive of investment; (3) support other sectors, to mitigate against the inherent risks of the tourism sector; and (4) create effective rural development politics that could benefit those not benefiting directly from tourism (UNDP/World Bank 2003:66 cited in Picard 2009: 112). Interestingly, the bombing was taken by the Balinese "as a warning that something must be out of balance in Bali, that all was not well on the island of the gods" (Picard 2009: 99).

In recent years, village tourism in Bali has focused on community-based ecotourism. Importantly, tourism of this

kind is often promoted by NGOs (Warren 2005, Byczek 2011). Hiroi Iwahara, who conducted a fieldwork in Kiadan, Pelaga Village in northern Badung regency, reported on community-based tourism, focusing on coffee firms. Tourism here is run by the Kiadan Village Tourism Promotion Board (about twenty members) which is in turn related to the JED (Jarigan Erowisata Desa [Village Ecoturism Network]) established in 2002 and supported by the local NGO Yayasan Wisnu (Visnu Foundation) and the national foundation, Yayasan Kehati (The Indonesian Biodiversity Foundation). In 2011, 325 tourists visited the village. One quarter of them were domestic, while three quarters were international. Since 2012, Kiadan Village tourism has been integrated with the community-based tourism promotion program of Badung regency (Iwahara 2012). It is still only running on a small scale, but it is growing.

9. "Cosmetic Agriculturalism" in Shiroyone Senmaida, Japan

Lastly, I would like to look at the case of Shiroyone Senmaida, Japan. The Shiroyone Senmaida site consists of rice terraces located in Shiroyone, a town in Wajima City, Ishikawa Prefecture. Senmaida means "thousands of rice fields." It consists of many terraced rice fields on the side of a cliff projecting into the sea.

Fig.7: Shiroyone Senmaida

According to Akira Kikuchi (2007), Shoroyone Senmaida has attracted attention especially after UNESCO's introduction of the concept of "cultural landscape" in 1992 and the inclusion of the rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras in the World Heritage List in 1995. The Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs set up a committee for the protection, management and use of cultural landscapes in 2000, involving agriculture, forestry and fisheries. In 2004 the concept of cultural landscape was included in the revised cultural property protection law. Rice terraces are now regarded as cultural landscapes rather than agricultural sites for producing rice.

Another factor behind the rice terraces boom in Japan has been the promotion by the World Trade Organization (WHO) of "agricultural liberalization" since the GATT Uruguay round since 1986, which moved Japanese agricultural policy in cultural and environmental directions, emphasizing the cultural aspect of rice terraces. The first "rice terrace summit" was held in 1995 at Yusuhara Town, Kochi Prefecture, supported by the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF), to discuss who should protect rice terraces. In 1999, a list of "One Hundred Japanese Rice Terraces" was selected by MAFF. In 2000, MAFF began to provide grants for rice terrace cultivators. Through this process, the rice terraces of Shiroyone became an example of "Japan's original landscape," part of the beauty of Japan to be preserved for the future.[21]

Against this background, Kikuchi discusses the case of Shiroyone Senmaida as an object of cultural politics. The cultural aspects of rice terraces have been emphasized: rituals for planting, *mushiokuri* ("extermination of harmful insects"), rice terrace weeding, and harvest. In addition, *aenokoto*, a traditional ritual welcoming the rice field deity and a famous cultural event in this region, was inscribed in UNESCO's list of intangible cultural heritage in 2010. Agriculture has thus

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21 Shiroyone Senmaida: http://semmaida.kuronowish.com/.

become a series of cultural events, what Kikuchi has called "cosmetic agriculturalism" to pun on the term "cosmetic multiculturalism" by Tessa Maris-Suzuki (2002).

In Japan by 2010, the agriculture population had decreased to 2.6 million, less than 3 percent of the total population. Furthermore, the average age of the agriculture workforce was 65.8 years old. Japan's food self-sufficiency ratio is only 40 percent.[22] These figures indicate that Japanese agriculture could become extinct unless Japan develops new forms of agriculture on the basis of new ideas. Japan is therefore seeking an alternative form of agriculture in the age of "reflexive modernization" (Beck et al. 2005). The "cosmetic agriculturalism" observed in Shiroyone Senmaida reflects the predicament of Japanese agriculture today.

10. Cultural Heritage in the Globalized World

Let us go back to Bali, where agriculture was the most important industry since ancient times. However, the share of the agricultural sector (including forestry and fisheries) in Bali's total economy fell from 66.7 percent in 1971 to 35.3 percent in 2004, while the share of commerce, hotels, restaurants, and other service sectors increased from 18.8 percent in 1971 to 36.4 percent in 2004 (Nagano 2007: 170). Wet rice fields in Bali shrank from 98,830 hectares in 1985 to 82,053 hectares in 2004 (Nagano Ibid.: 167). Agriculture in Bali is shrinking, though not as much as in Japan. Instead, tourism has become the main industry in Bali today. This is the background to the inclusion of the Balinese *subak* as part of the world cultural heritage. However, the *subak* is not what it used to be. It has changed, and will be changing.

The question is then how to adjust these changes to the UNESCO concept of the preservation of the world cultural

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22 Nogyo no genjo to kadai (The current status and problems in Japanese Agricu-
ture): http://www2s.biglobe.ne.jp/~kobayasi/aguri/nougyou.html.

heritage. In the current global cultural flow (Appadurai 2000), we are no longer able to maintain the old conception of culture, which is characterized by bounded entities with their own sets of values and practices. Rather, we should see culture as "an active process of meaning making" (Wright 1998). Cultural heritage is contested and negotiated in the interplay of local, national and global spaces.

In such global culturescapes, UNESCO's adherence to the old fashioned concept of "bounded culture" in defining cultural heritage is problematic (Wright 1998, Eriksen 2001). On the basis of this old idea of culture, UNESCO sees current globalization rather negatively and as a threat to "cultural heritage" and "cultural diversity" (Matsuura 2008: 33). UNESCO emphasizes the "preservation" of cultural tradition. In reality, however, culture like people travels. Culture is thus always – and has always been, even before the current phase of globalization[23] – in the process of deterritorialization and hybridization.

There may be then no "pure" cultural tradition anywhere on the globe. Therefore, we need a more dynamic concept of culture to understand the translocal cultural processes in which cultural heritage is actually embedded. There is also an organizational problem. UNESCO is an international organ of the United Nations, based on a nation-states regime. However, in the globalized world it is not nationalism but rather *transnationalism* that has become the driving force in the formation of a new order in the global system.

The central issue of world cultural heritage, given the interplay of local, national and global interests is, as was mentioned, who will make use of a heritage site for whom, and for what purpose. What is important in this cultural heritage governance is "position-taking" (Bourdieu 1993). As this paper

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23 I put the adjective words "current phase" in front of globalization, since I regard globalization as a long historical process not limited to the present stage of globalization since the late 1980s (cf. Robertson 1992: Ch.3).

has argued, priority should be given to local agents in cultural resources management. Cultural resources should be utilized primarily for local benefit. National and international agents should only be collaborators in the exploitation of cultural resources, not the main beneficiaries.

11. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to stress again that a cultural resource is not something that exists passively but instead something that is actively formed. Culture is consciously reworked and manipulated for social, economic and political purposes under particular historical conditions. The making of cultural heritage in the age of globalization is a dynamic process, involving local, national and global levels. It is part of "an active process of meaning making" (Wright Ibid.) in the contemporary globalized world. This is also the case in the cultural landscape of the Balinese *subak* as a world heritage site. What is important, then, is to create new meanings in the cultural landscape for a sustainable future.

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