



# TRADITIONAL BALINESE HOUSE TRANSFORMATION IN TOURIST VILLAGES

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## Abstrak

Bali bersandar pada kebudayaan dalam menjaga posisinya sebagai sebuah destinasi wisata. Kebudayaan dalam konteks ini termasuk praktek-praktek terkait tradisi dan arsitektur. Sebagai salah satu wujud arsitektur, rumah tradisional Bali seringkali menjadi sasaran transformasi dalam rangka mengakomodasi bermacam-macam aktivitas kepariwisataan. Praktek-praktek yang seperti ini telah memodifikasi konteks, ruang-ruang di dalam rumah, serta pada akhirnya wujud rumah tinggal secara keseluruhan. Sehingga praktek-praktek keruangan tradisional yang didasari filosofi *Tri Hita Kharana* pada level domestik juga dipengaruhi. Fenomena ini memunculkan isu-isu yang mengusik terkait bagaimana keduanya bisa diwadahi dalam satu kesatuan keruangan rumah tinggal - yang merupakan fokus bahasan dari artikel ini. Adapun metode yang dipakai dalam menginvestigasi topik ini termasuk kajian terhadap bangunan-bangunan dan ruang-ruang dalam rumah tinggal, dan interview dengan para penghuni untuk menstudi bagaimana mereka telah mengakomodasi perubahan-perubahan yang ada.

Kata kunci: Kebudayaan, rumah tradisional Bali, transformasi

## Abstract

Bali relies on its culture to maintain its position as a tourist destination. This includes traditional practices as well as architecture. But the traditional Balinese house is frequently transformed in order to accommodate tourism activities. Such practices have modified the context, internal spaces and form of dwellings as a whole. Thus traditional domestic practices based on the philosophy of *Tri Hita Kharana* are also affected. This phenomenon raises the vexed issue as to how both can coexist within the same spatial envelope, which is the subject of this paper. The method of investigation includes an examination of buildings and spaces as well as interviews with occupants as to how they accommodate such change.

Keywords: culture, the traditional Balinese house, transformation

## Introduction

Bali is well known as a tourist destination regarded as a paradise in the world because of its nature and culture (Vickers 1989, Picard 1996). Bali accentuates its culture to attract tourists. However, tourism in Bali can be divided into two categories, namely “sun lust” and “wanderlust.” According to Gray (in Sharpley 1994), “sun lust” represents tourists motivated by the desire for rest, relaxation, and the three “s” namely: sun, sea, and sand.

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Some tourist destinations in Bali are in this category since they rely on their natural capital, such as beaches in Kuta and Sanur, the lake in Bedugul, and rice fields in Tabanan. The other term is “wanderlust” where tourists would like to travel and are interested in experiencing different peoples and cultures. Some destinations including Ubud, Kamasan, and Batubulan are in this category since they focus on their culture such as art performances. In this latter category, there are two major divisions in which cultural experiences are marketed to tourists. The first is “tours of living culture”. This model consists of guided groups that venture out to see cultural forms in their natural setting: religious shrines, markets, ceremonies, etc. These events are not staged for tourists, but the presence of tourists may alter them in subtle ways. The other model is related to cultural experiences that are also marketed to tourists through “staged productions.” These include artisans working, chefs cooking, dance and theatre performances (Wood 1980).

Balinese culture, inspired by Balinese Hindu belief and expressed by performing socio-cultural activities in the village and in the traditional Balinese house, has become attractive to tourists where the number has increased significantly from 24,340 in 1970 to 2,576,142 in 2010 (BPS Bali 2011) and has stimulated people to gain economic benefit from tourists. The people utilize their cultural assets including the traditional Balinese house by constructing new structures in the house for tourist facilities. New structures have appeared adjacent to or by demolished the existing pavilions that used to be places for performing domestic and socio-cultural activities. These new structures have changed not only the forms and spaces but also behaviour including household daily activities, social relationship, and religious activities. In this process, the house undergoes the process of continual transformation that is parallel with the development of modernity of the culture in the communities (Lim and Beng 1998). This process is influenced by many factors such as economic development, technology, urbanization and tourism (Logan in Askew and Logan 1994).

The transformed house represents serious problems facing tourist areas especially villages relying on the traditional potential to attract tourists. People have opportunities to obtain economic benefit from tourist activities in their houses. However, it is not uncommon for people to change many aspects of their traditions and identity. This phenomenon gives rise to a question about the continuity of these activities in the new settings. To identify such a state, the transformed traditional houses in four villages (Kuta, Sanur, Ubud and Kamasan) were recorded through a process of visual and contextual examination. From such investigation, this study then explores the transformation of social practices as a result of tourist activities in the house. Supported by the relevant literature the transformation was analysed using the descriptive analysing method. In this method, the physical settings were observed, measured and documented. Conversations with owners were essential to reconstruct their houses historical setting and contextualize the transformation process of rituals and social practices in the house.

The house is inspired by the *tri hita karana* philosophy where the people perform many socio-cultural activities to maintain harmonious relationship with God, other human beings, and the environment. This relationship forms the dominant writing on Bali’s architecture that has persistently addressed the building practices representing the congruence of a specific house form and socio-religious structure in a community. The belief that the ground belongs to God and ancestors inspired the socio-religious practices

influencing architectural practices in Balinese communities has been suggested in many studies of Bali such as those of Geertz and Geertz (1975), Covarrubias (1974) and Reuter (2002). Central to these is the re-interpretation of the traditions of Balinese inspiring social relationship and practices, kinship system in the houses, and dwelling architectural production.

A tradition was classically defined in the 1950's and 1960's, as static, with little differentiation, specialization, or innovation based on a traditional ruling elite. However, what is seen today is often a product of change and not a static phenomenon, undergoing a process of gradual transformation (Eisenstadt 1973). The interaction of people in a society with other cultures and the growth of social and cultural movements deeply influence the character of family life, religious belief and practice, and social structure (Gusfield, 1967). This is not only handing down but also being analysed based on certain criteria in a society through an adaptation process. In this process, the old might be adjusted so that it meets new conditions or the old is used for new purposes (Hobsbawm in Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The analysis process of accepting a tradition implies that it always changes over time. Its changes constitute a link between an invented present and imagined past where it is constantly being symbolically recreated and contested, as well as constantly being reformulated (Wood in Hitchcock and Parnwell 1993) or, according to Hoben and Hefner (1991), it always undergoes a process of renewal and modification. This aspect establishes the theoretical framework for the analysis of the transformation. Transformation is a way for the Balinese to fulfil the new demands of domestic, socio-cultural, and economic activities in the house where the house as a concept is not only constructed and used for its traditional functions, but also the additional functions namely tourist activities.

This transformation describes the history and evolution of the dynamic household lifestyle and identity (Ahmadi 2007) and presents the unfolding interaction of the people with an external force of tourists. In this interaction, some spaces are still maintained while some others are transformed or discarded. Considering this, the transformed house is in the process of reformulating the ideal traditional house. As a result, the implementation of the tradition that is usually performed undergoes obstacles. To analyze this phenomenon, *desa kala patra* concept enables an analysis of the way the people are able to follow their traditions within this new domestic setting. This concept teaches people that everything performed varies from one place to another (*desa*), from time to time (*kala*) and from one cultural pattern to another (*patra*) (Kaler 1983, Eiseman 1989, Ramseyer in Ramseyer and Tisna 2001). This concept pertains not only to geographical space and measurable time but also significant environmental and communal purposes based on Hindu religion teaching. This concept applies over time and involves an evaluation process of the Balinese culture having interacted with many others cultures such as China and India. Those external cultures are filtered, adjusted, and modified so that they fit the environmental conditions and Balinese beliefs and values. These are then integrated into the culture of the Balinese so that gradually they are approved and recognised as an origin culture (Pitana in Conrady and Buck 2010). By applying this concept, the Balinese culture presents its flexibility and adaptability where it can manage and absorb the other cultural elements without endangering its identity (Mantra 1993, Udayana University and Francilon 1975, Covarrubias 1974).

### **The Culture and Religious Significance in the Traditional Balinese House**

A house, which is inhabited and used by many different types of individuals, is not only a structure but also an institution. It is built to address a complex set of purposes and is greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs (Rapoport 1969, Oliver 1997). A house symbolically expresses its purposes and the characteristics of its inhabitants; it is influenced by a culture in a society (Howell in Sparkes and Howel 2003). Culture in many studies is acknowledged as an essential factor in creating a traditional house. A traditional house and a culture reflect an accumulation of interactions between people and nature in a society or a social group (YiWang 2008). They have a close relationship where a traditional house is created as a response of people to accommodate their domestic and socio-cultural activities. A traditional house is not just a physical structure but also a representation of a cultural expression and a cultural phenomenon related and developed to meet a specific need of the culture, social structure, custom, family system, traditional values and beliefs of the people (Kostof 1995, Rapoport 1969). They reflect an interaction between people and the nature in a social group or a society.

A traditional house is frequently created and handed down by the previous generation (Rapoport 1969, Kowaltowski, Watrin and Pina 2007). In the process of transmission, a traditional house is built, adjusted, and evaluated based on local wisdom and values. This is the result of collaboration of many people including makers and users over generations. They create a house to face many problems in their society and meet many determinant factors including natural and socio-cultural aspects that influence the form and spaces of a house to accommodate their activities (Rapoport 1969).

A house undergoes a process of transformation over time. In folk traditions, it is an unself-conscious physical form representing demands, values, desires, dreams, and passion of people in their environment with no designer, artist, or architect (Rapoport 1969) in which they, as suggested by Alexander (1979), only do precisely what they should to do to face their problem in their environment. All community members diffuse and concern the knowledge of building process and every aspect of their society so that in this tradition, everyone is able to construct their own dwelling (Redfield 1965). The process of dwelling construction changes when an artisan is involved in the construction process. It demonstrates that primitive architecture has transformed into vernacular architecture. In the vernacular, the owner is not just a consumer but still has an important role and actively participates in the design process. Builders are called in because they have more detailed knowledge of construction technologies and influences of the natural conditions in a building (Rapoport 1969). The builders are customarily from the communities and the process of building is learned by each successive generation (Oliver 1997). However, different challenges faced by many generations in order to address given problems and available recent technologies have caused modifications to the construction process. This process is more variable and different to those in primitive buildings. In a vernacular tradition, a few changes occur within the framework of a given common heritage and hierarchy of values. All members share them over generations as their traditions (Kowaltowski, Watrin and Pina 2007, Wang 1997).

In the process of reformulation of tradition including building a house, people try to maintain a harmonious relationship with natural resources and used them for particular

purposes. In Bali, for example, the people build a veranda in the traditional pavilion to overcome many kinds of tropical climate problem consisting of high humidity, plenty sun lighting, and wind (Trimarianto and Dudek 2011). Dependence on the environment causes the design of the traditional Balinese house to allocate enough space to maintain many kinds of activities. The backyard of the house is a place to keep and protect the environment through planting vegetation including coconuts, bananas, and bamboo and raising animals such as pigs, chicken, duck as well as cows. These functions provide many kinds of raw materials for food and offerings. This is an attempt by the people to maintain relationship with the environment. The Balinese also perform many ceremonial activities for animals (*tumpek andang*) and trees (*tumpek uduh* and *tumpek wariga*) in the backyard. Those are ceremonies dedicated to God for creating many kinds of animals and trees for human beings. Such ceremonies are a medium to maintain the relationship with God.

The relationship is also presented in the family temple by performing ceremonies related to God and ancestors. In addition, in the compound, where people usually perform daily routines and ceremonial activities especially related to the human life cycle, people maintain their relationship with other human beings. In these activities, people usually chat with other family members, relatives and neighbours. They also prepare ceremonies and are helped by community members. The three relationships are with God, human beings and the environment, known as the *tri hita karana* philosophy that inspires every activity of the Balinese including the design of traditional Balinese house (Eiseman 1989, Dalem in Dalem et al 2007, Pitana in Conrady and Buck 2010). Based on this philosophy, the house is divided in three parts that are *parhyangan*, *pawongan* and *palemahan*. The *parhyangan* is associated with the relationship with God, the *pawongan* represents the relationship with other human beings, and the *palemahan* represents the relationship with the environment so that every part of the house meets with the nature conditions and is able to accommodate the socio-cultural activities.

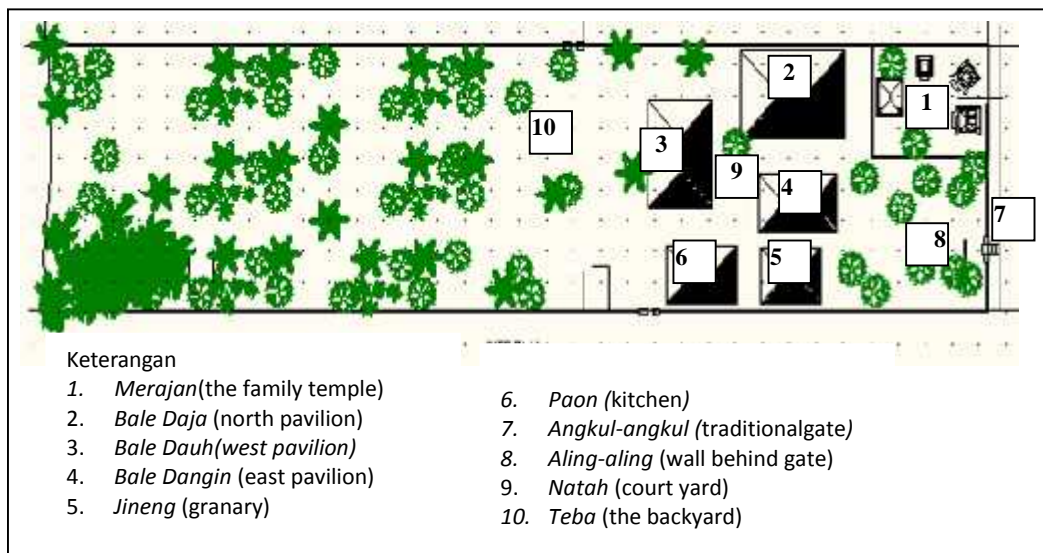
The *tri hita karana* philosophy then inspires other concepts related to the landscape of Bali from the universe physical division to the human physical division. As a part of universe, the landscape of Bali is divided into three parts called *tri loka*, the upper world for God (*swah loka*), the intermediate world for human beings (*bwah loka*) and the lower world for demons (*bhur loka*) (Meganada 1990, Hobart, Ramseyer and Leemann 1996, Eiseman 1989). The *tri loka* concept then bears the *tri angga* concept as a human physical division. Based on this concept, well known as the concept of the built environment and the traditional Balinese house, the world is divided into three traditional values namely *utama*, *madia* and *nista* or the head, the body and the feet. *Utama* or the head means high, lofty, or most sacred value, *madia* or the body means middle or neutral and *nista* or the feet means below or most profane value (Gelebet 1986, Meganada 1990, Hobart, Ramseyer and Leemann 1996, Eiseman 1989)

The abovementioned division configuration then bears the *sanga mandala* concept, which is the diagram of the traditional Balinese house. In this concept, the house is divided into nine zones (Budiharjo 1986). These represent the variety of the values from the most sacred value (*utamaning utama*), where the family temple is located, to the most profane value (*nistaning nista*), where the *paon* (kitchen) and pigsty is located. Based on its function, the other pavilions are located in the appropriate values. The *bale meten* (the northern pavilions) associated with ritual activities and sleeping area for the head of the

households or oldest people is located in the *utamaning madya* zone, the combination of the most sacred and the middle sacred zones. The *bale dauh* and *bale delod* related to the domestic activities are located in respectively the *madyaning nista* and the *nistaning madya* zones, the combination of the middle sacred and the most profane zone

### Examining the Traditional Balinese House: the Stage of Socio-Cultural Activities and the Influences of Tourism

The Balinese perform ceremonial activities in the house including a *sanggah/merajan* (the family temple, indicated ①), pavilions and the courtyard called *natah* (indicated ⑨). The *merajan* is a place for performing religious activities dedicated to God and ancestors. The *bale dangin* (indicated ④) is a place to perform ceremonial activities related to the human life cycle. The *bale daja* is used for *nyekeb*, the ritual for the isolation of people who will participate in the ceremony. This room is also utilized for other rituals such as *memadik*, the ritual when the groom's family officially proposes to the bride's family. The veranda is a place for supporting activities such as performing shadow puppetry called *wayang* related to ceremonies in the house.



**Figure 1.** Typical plan of the ideal traditional Balinese house

Many cultural activities including ceremonies for baby (Figure 2) and wedding (Figure 3) are regularly performed in the traditional house utilizing the pavilions and the *natah*. Some days before rituals, the traditional house is full of activities including offerings and feast preparations. The house is decorated and temporal buildings are built in the *natah* to support activities and place offerings. Family members, relatives and village members especially neighbours come to the house and do voluntarily work to prepare the ceremonies. On ceremonial days, they also come to help the owner and to witness rituals. These activities are part of Balinese cultural activities that motivate tourists to visit Bali (Prameswari 2005, Ardika 2007).

Tourist activities in many villages have influenced the villages and the traditional houses, many of which have been transformed to accommodate tourist activities (Sukawati 2004). Many facilities have been built in the traditional house. The houses, which were previously represented by the presence of traditional walls called *tembok penyengker*,

gates called *angkul-angkul* and spaces between walls and roads called *telajakan*, have now been transformed for tourist purposes, to be demonstrated in greater detail below.



**Figure 2.** One of rituals in a baby ceremony



**Figure 3.** One of rituals in a wedding ceremony

### The Transformation of the Traditional Balinese House: Adaptation for Tourist Needs

The traditional Balinese house is built based on the traditional rules called *asta kosala-kosali* and *asta bumi* (Gelebet 1986, Kagami 1988) in which the rules provide guidelines for the people and traditional architects called *undagi*. The house is built and adjusted based on the location, time and condition called *desa kala patra* concept. Based on this concept, the traditional house changes over time and is transmitted and handed down from the past to the present. In the transformation process, the original values are questioned and discarded or transmuted and modified by new values. This process shows that the traditional house is not a stable and passive thing, but it is active and changes over time (Lim and Beng, 1998).

The above mentioned transformation process has also occurred in the traditional Balinese house for many years, as demonstrated in the following examples. The *Loji* was an additional pavilion in the transformed traditional house that was built for guests. The *loji* deployed the modernist architectural idiom using plaster with cement and painted by white (Tan 1967, Achmadi 2007). The purpose of the *loji* was initially not for commercial purposes, but for guests (friends, relatives or others) visiting and staying for a short time. Along with other tourist activities in Bali, the *loji* became a place for owners to generate income from tourists. The increase in the number of tourists meant that the *loji* was not the only place for tourists in the house. They also stayed in pavilions modified for tourist facilities. In such facilities, the tourists have opportunities to interact intensively with the Balinese and are able to witness the real activities of the Balinese (Powel 1989).

The transformation phenomenon in the traditional Balinese house is an enormous phenomenon in the tourism era in Bali. Many traditional houses in tourist destinations in Bali have been transformed for tourist facilities. Recorded from visual documentation carried out in 2012, 69%, 61%, 31% and 13% traditional houses in respectively Kuta, Ubud, Sanur and Kamasan have been transformed for tourist facilities so that the houses are not only for traditional functions, but also for accommodating tourist activities (Putra, Lozanovska and Fuller 2013). People have incorporated many tourist facilities such as art shops, kiosks, restaurants, cafes, money changers, home-stays and other facilities into their homes. They have constructed new building in the backyard, near the existing

pavilions, and demolished existing pavilions and/or wall (*tembok penyengker*) and then built new structures. However, they still perform ceremonial activities in their house so that the house accommodates not just its traditional function, but also tourist activities.

The wall (*tembok penyengker*), the space between wall and road (*telajakan*), the traditional gate (*angkul-angkul*), the wall behind it (*aling-aling*) have experienced enormous transformation as part of the house (Figure 4). The *tembok penyengker* and the *angkul-angkul* are important parts presenting the architectural identity of the house. The *tembok penyengker* is a border and protection element and the *angkul-angkul* is the only gate to enter the house from the road. Both function to protect the occupants from both physical and spiritual negative effects. In the back of *angkul-angkul* lies *aling-aling*, the small wall in which, spiritually, is believed as a screening element protecting the house from negative spirits. (Covarrubias 1974).



**Figure 4.** The *tembok penyengker* (wall), *telajakan* (the space between wall and road) and *angkul-angkul* (the traditional gate) in the traditional house

In tourist villages, tourism development has stimulated people to become actively involved in this sector. To obtain economic benefit from tourist activities, people have transformed the wall and traditional gate into kiosk, art galleries and others facilities. The houses are then hidden behind the tourist facilities so that it is difficult to recognise them (Figure 5). This has changed the scenery of the settlement area in the village where the dwelling areas are now dominated by tourist facilities. Although some new structures are built in the front of the house, its traditional functions remain somewhat intact. Traditionally, these were a gathering place for the villagers during leisure time, including chatting and conducting cockfights. Currently, this is a place for people to chat while they wait for the tourists. Tourist facilities have changed the physical appearance of the house but it still function as a place to chat and gather with friends, family and other members of community. In this place, the people maintain a harmonious relationship with their neighbours and at the same time they run their home-based enterprise to obtain economic benefit from tourists (Figure 6 and 7).



Similarly, the presence of the *angkul-angkul* increasingly disappears. The transformation causes the *angkul-angkul* that was an important element in the front of the traditional house to become less important amongst the hegemony of tourist facilities (Figure 8 and 9). Facilities usually have a back door that is directly connected to the *natah*. This produces an alternative way for the people to enter the house without passing the *angkul-angkul* and *aling-aling* (Figure 10). This has caused an erosion of cultural functions of the *angkul-angkul* where the screening process of negative spirits when the people enter the house now vanishes. Some Balinese have changed their belief and accept the new value where the entrance is now not only the *angkul-angkul*, but also the back door of the facilities.



**Figure 5.** The tourist facilities dominate the scenery of the settlement area



**Figure 6.** The people chat in the front of a house Sanur



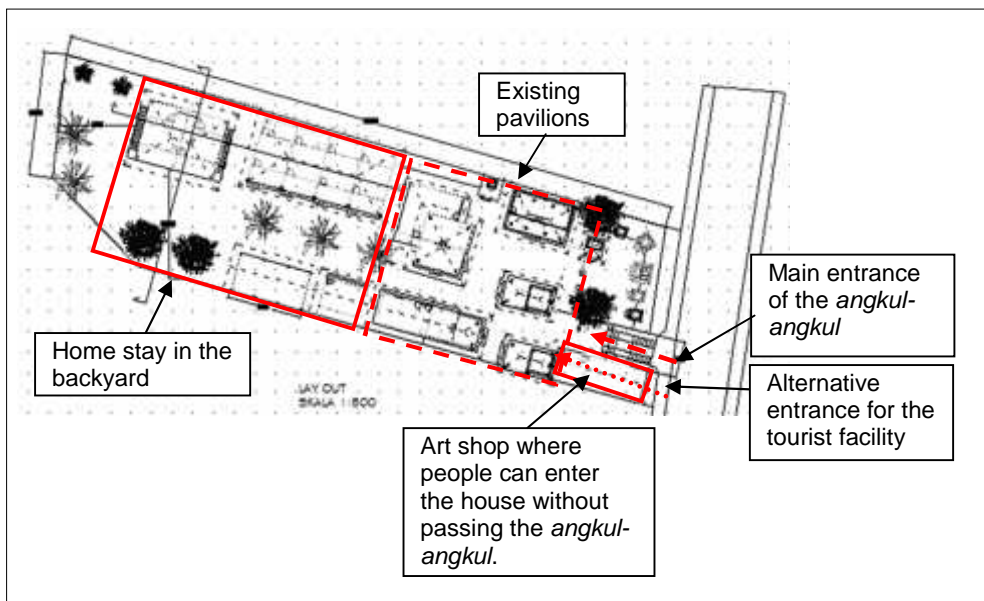
**Figure 7.** The people chat in the front of a house in Ubud



**Figure 8.** The *angkul-angkul* amongst the tourist facilities in Kuta



**Figure 9.** The *angkul-angkul* amongst the tourist facilities in Ubud



**Figure 10.** Transformation of traditional house plan to incorporate tourist functions.

The family temple is a place to maintain a harmonious relationship with God and the ancestors. In the transformation of family temple house, few have been relocated to the second, third or upper storey of the building or to other parts of the property to accommodate the demand of tourist. In order to obtain economic benefit, people are willing to reposition their family temples especially those located in the area with economic potential for tourist facilities (Figure 11). However, the shrines are still in the same setting. The Balinese still believe that the ground belongs to God (Goris in Swellengrebel 1984, Krause 1988). Hence, they still keep a special place for the owner of the world, God. The family temple based on the *tri hita karana* philosophy, remains a place to maintain harmonious relationship with God and ancestors where the people still perform rituals in the family temple.

The adjustment of the traditional house also occurs in the pavilions where people are willing to share their home for tourist activities. They use the space not only for domestic and ceremonial activities, but also for tourist activities. The *bale dangin* and the *bale daja* are an extension of the restaurants, art galleries, or home-stays. The pavilions and the *natah* that were places for maintaining a relationship with other human beings,

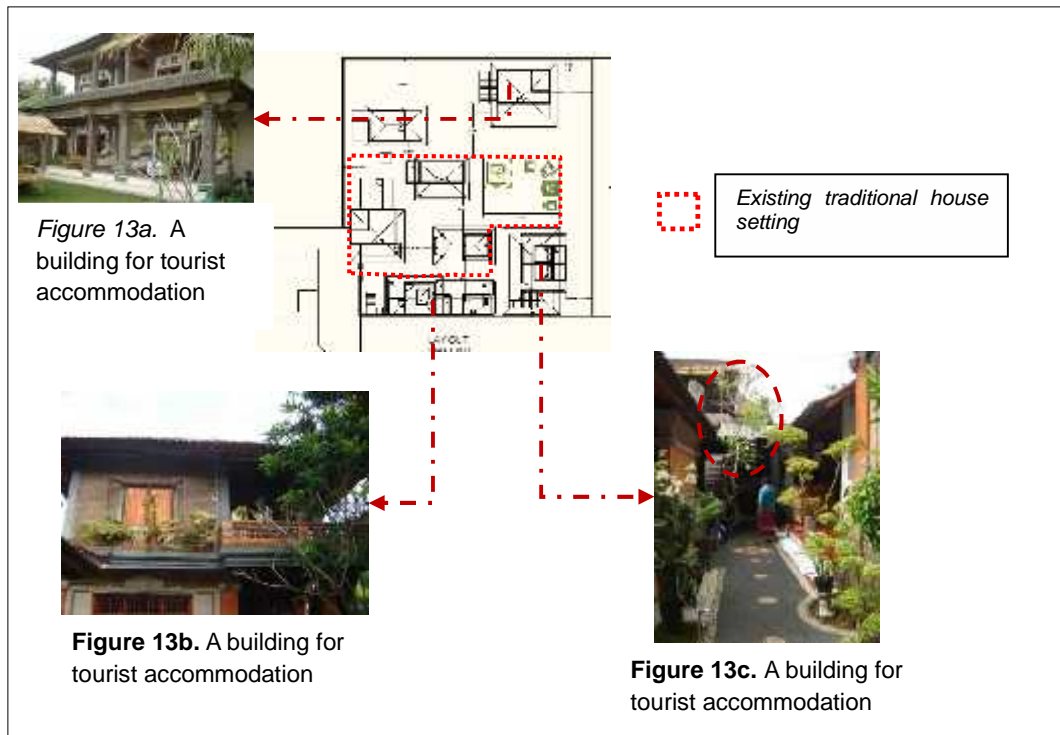
especially neighbours, nowadays have new participants, the tourists (Figure 12 and 13). The domestic and ceremonial activities performed in the house used to involve family members, relatives and the village members, but now also include tourists. Nowadays, the house is still a place for performing ceremonial and domestic activities but at the same time it becomes a place for tourist activities (Putra, Lozanovska and Fuller, 2013). The transformed *bale dangin*, for example, is still a place for rituals, but it also functions as a place for domestic or, sometimes, tourist activities. Such spaces have to be adapted so that they are able to accommodate the current demands of the occupants.



**Figure 11.** The family temple relocated to the second floor



**Figure 12.** The pavilions used for tourist facilities  
Source: Putra, Lozanovska and Fuller, 2013



**Figure 13.** A plan of the house transformed for tourist facility

The adaptation of Balinese tradition to accommodate tourist demand is a product of change and not a static phenomenon and undergoes a process of gradual transformation (Eisenstadt 1973). The interaction with tourists and the growth of social and cultural movements, as suggested by Gusfield (1967) deeply influences the character of family life, religious beliefs and practices. In this adaptation process, the Balinese utilize their culture not only for their, traditions, but also for tourists. Bali's economy, fundamentally altered by global tourism, has allocated culture monetary value not present in the traditional way of life (Mc Kean 1973). Tourism, according to Mc Kean, has stimulated the Balinese to pay attention to the tradition and art performance especially those that may become extinct so that cultural practices are still perform for their ritual values, as well as adapted versions for the tourist population. (Picard 1996). The changes are based with reference to an existing pattern, purpose, or habit.

The changes are not a simple linear process, but overall are more complex. In the process of transformation, the development process can be retraced into back to tradition. However, the processes could also involve minimalizing some aspects of the pattern or functions (Musial and Pleasants, 1972). This can be seen in the transformed house where most have no ideal *natah* and backyard as important places for performing and preparing rituals (Figure 14). As a result, some ceremonies are difficult to perform such as cremation (*ngaben*) and purification of the soul ceremony (*nyekah*). These are then performed in village facilities (*ngaben ngerit*). Hence the new physical configuration has caused an erosion of socio-cultural functions of the houses and produced new social practices in the Balinese villages.



**Figure 14.**The transformed *natah*

### Conclusion

The traditional Balinese house has been transformed over the time as an attempt of people to reformulate the physical configuration and the functions of the house. The presence of tourism influences this process. People reformulate their homes to adapt to new values in order to fulfil their lifestyle and tourist demands.

The identity of the house that used to be presented by the presence of *tembok penyengker* and *angkul-angkul*, is nowadays frequently presented by tourist facilities located in the front of the house. The *angkul-angkul* that used to be an only one entrance to enter the house nowadays has a competitor, the entrance for the tourist facility. This part of the house is most commonly transformed for tourist facilities. Furthermore, few family temples have been changed to fulfil the needs of tourists in an attempt to gain economical benefit while the pavilions and *natah* are shared among the domestic, socio-cultural, and touristic activities. The people of Bali especially in tourist villages have transformed all parts of their houses to adapt to new values in their life and have been willing to share their house for touristic activities. Based on the *tri hita karana* philosophy, where the home symbolised a harmony with God, the environment and other people, it now has a new economic purpose to address.

The above mentioned transformations are a media to reconfigure the physical forms so that they fit with the contemporary demands under the impact of the external force of tourism. This, as suggested by Dove (1988), is the process of substitute the old into the new to fulfil the recent desire of occupants. In the new configuration, Balinese people try to reformulate their traditions by adapting additional functions. By adapting these, the people not only are able to maintain the traditional function, but also obtain economic benefit. However, some rituals such as *ngaben* and *nyekah* in some transformed houses are no longer performed in the house but they are relocated to the village facilities. *Ngaben*, which was household affairs helped by the members of the village, now are seen as the village event, run by a committee formed, known as *ngaben ngerit*. The reformulation of rituals has produced a new type of social practice whereby the village

plays an important role as a central place, pulling people into revitalized rituals and traditions. All activities have produced a layered sense of traditions whereby religious festivals and social festivals have become intertwined (Lozanovska, 2011).

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