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FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE HARMONIOUS CROSS-MARRIAGES BETWEEN THE BALINESE AND THE CHINESE IN BALI

*Ni Luh Sutjiati Beratha
*Ni Wayan Sukarini
*I Made Rajeg

ABSTRACT

Chinese and Balinese are two different ethnicities. Many Chinese people participate in the local Desa Pakraman in Bali which constitutes the social identity of the Balinese people. It can be assumed that the strong relations between the two are based on ethnic stereotypes, i.e. their subjective view about their ethnicity. This article discusses the stereotypes of both ethnic groups with regard to the occurrences of cross-marriages and togetherness of the two different ethnic groups in the Desa Pakraman in Bali. The results of the analysis indicate that ethnic stereotyping in relation to the cross-marriages and togetherness between Balinese and Chinese in the Desa Pakraman is based on certain views shaped by both of them. The views include consideration of physical features (beautiful, handsome), economic aspect, attitude, and social behaviour. In choosing a future husband or wife, they always have physical orientations, i.e. whether she is beautiful or he is handsome. However, if their physical orientations do not match, values of other aspects (economy, religion, and attitude) are taken into consideration so that cross-marriages between the two different ethnic groups takes place. It is interesting to note that in terms of their togetherness in the Desa Pakraman, both the Balinese and Chinese have certain reasons to preserve such a condition as part of their traditions inherited from their ancestors. They thought that although they belong to different ethnicities, they still feel that they belong to one ‘family’. This is quite possible because they are an advocate to Buddhism which has several similarities to the Balinese Hinduism which is the main religion of the majority of people in Bali.

Keywords: stereotypes, cross-marriage.

1. Introduction

The relations between the Chinese and Balinese people in Bali have for long been a conspicuous situation without problems, and even ones showing relative harmony. This condition is quite in accordance with the motto of Indonesia, i.e. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity) whereby laws have been established to put all citizens on equal footing. In fact, there are many crossed-marriages between the two ethnic groups and many Chinese people do become members of the local Desa Pakraman in Bali (Wirata, 2000; Ardika, 2006). Desa Pakraman is well known as the social identity of the Balinese. Of course, Chinese people have their own culture as a symbol of identity, as well. Therefore, it could be assumed that there should be various things that underlie the decision of a crossed-marriage between the Balinese and Chinese and for the Chinese to enter into the Desa Pakraman membership.

According to Koentjaraningrat (1982), there are some reasons behind the marriage between Balinese and Chinese and behind the Chinese participation as members of the Desa Pakraman. Ethnic stereotyping is a kind of subjective description of the Chinese by the Balinese and subjective description of the Balinese by the Chinese. Based on these allegations, the Chinese's view of the Balinese, and the Balinese's view of the Chinese, especially in the context of the crossed-marriages and togetherness in the Desa Pakraman are interesting to discuss.

With regard to marriage, Koentjaraningrat (1980: 90) states that it serves many functions both culturally and socially, namely that it 1) regulates sex, 2) gives protection to children born through the marriage, 3) meets the need of a friend's life, wealth, prestige, increased class, society, and 4) maintains good relations between
groups - a particular kind of group. Referring to this, then it is conceivable that people will not choose their partners at random, but under a full consideration and careful assessment, and hopefully still within the context of those functions of such marriages. If the various functions of marriage are examined in more detail, it can be predicted that the focus of attention in choosing a prospective wife/husband is primarily on physical aspects, the economy, social standing, and culture. In terms of its relation, the priority in the choice is as follows: the beauty or good looks, the economic ability, religion, social status, attitudes, and behaviour.

In the context of the participation of the Chinese as members of the Dosa Pakraman in the villages, there is a strong indication that Chinese and the Balinese share a common social interest, namely membership to the same Dosa Pakraman. Without such an interest, it is difficult to imagine that the Chinese will become such members because their participation will result in a number of obligations to fulfill materially and immaterially, money and good as well as service to the Dosa Pakraman. On the other hand, it is also hard to imagine that the Balinese accept the Chinese to become members of the Dosa Pakraman without seeing a good prospect in their participation. With regard to this, Susanto (1985:37-38), says that a group is formed because there are expectations on the part of the members, and one of human needs is the need to be psychologically secure through membership in the group, where they are considered to be 'refugee' and therefore must feel safe. Based on the theory developed by Anderson and Parker as discussed by Susanto (1985:52), a group is the unity of ecology that is formed due to the accumulation of people who occupy certain areas, for a long enough period and therefore share certain experience as a result of their integration through economic and social relations.

Based on those facts, this article would discuss two main points. First, the description of characteristics of the Balinese as stereotyped by the Chinese and of the typical Chinese characteristics as perceived by the Balinese, i.e. perception resulting from cross-marriages between the Balinese and Chinese. Second, the description of the characteristics of the Balinese as stereotyped by the Chinese and of the typical Chinese characteristics perceived by the Balinese which contributes to their willingness to be members of the same Dosa Pakraman.

2. Results and Discussion
The results of this study indicate that historically, cross-marriage between the Chinese and the Balinese and their common participation in the Dosa Pakraman have occurred since ancient times. Among the Chinese found in this study, none is full-blooded Chinese, all being half-blood Chinese. The phenomenon can only be explained in terms of the history of the Chinese community in Bali.

2.1 Cross-Marriages between the Balinese and the Chinese
Based on the information collected from the informant, there are five factors affecting the cross-marriage between the Balinese and Chinese. The factors are: 1) physical factors (beauty and good looks), 2) socioeconomic, 3) religion, 4) basic attitudes, and 5) social solidarity. The factors are taken into consideration when choosing a future husband and/or wife between the Balinese and Chinese. It should be noted that among these five factors, the physical and economic ones are given relatively more weight in the assessment process in the framework of decision making for mixed marriages. However, if the value of the physical and socio-economic of one party is considered less commensurate with the determined value, the value of other factors are used as a compensation. For example, one party subjectively considers the value of good looking higher than the other aspects. Thus, the decision is made for performing a mixed marriage based on relative cumulative values achieved during the assessment. Instances of various version of these mixed marriages are given below.

2.1.1. A Less Beautiful Balinese Woman Married by A Charming Chinese Man
A Chinese man aged 50 years, olive skin tone, tall and sturdy who did not graduate from high school, working as a trader and his religion is Buddhism married a 38-year old Balinese woman with brown skin, relatively short, graduated from senior high school, working as a trader and her religion is Hinduism. Scar from her physical characteristics of that Balinese woman who becomes his wife is relatively less beautiful.

In reality, the mixed marriage was based on the assessment and consideration of several things. The Chinese man was willing to marry the Balinese woman that is considered less commensurate with his good look because...
he is a widower with two children, while the Balinese woman was willing to marry him because the man is handsome, i.e. more than the assessed value of hers. In addition, they have similar professions. The man is working in various fields of economy both as employee and the owner of a company and the woman is a trader. After the marriage, they both run the economic enterprises of the wife. This is clearly a reflection of the husband’s attitudes and behaviors that signal the social solidarity of his wife.

In addition, there is a degree of similarity between Buddhism and Hinduism which serve as an important background of the cross-marriage. Such a married couple feels that Buddhists and Hindus perform religious rituals in a very similar way, both Buddhists and Hindus believe in ancestor worship. Therefore, the existing difference between the two religions is not a hindrance but rather a driving force for their marriage. Both Balinese and Chinese hold the philosophy of life of the local genius known as saglik, sagulk, paras paros saranaya, salungung subayantaka that reflects solidarity and tolerance. The expressions are strongly in accordance with the Buddhist doctrine of Tat Twamas ‘that you are’. ‘You’ in this case can be taken to mean ‘you’ and ‘I’, i.e. the inclusive ‘we’, the listener and the speaker. The idea of ‘that you are’ bring an understanding of “if you hurt that it means, you hurt yourself”. Therefore, “love that in order to love yourself”. This philosophy underlies the basic attitude of the Balinese and ensures the Chinese to feel secure living together with the Balinese rather than with other ethnic groups. It also makes the communication between the Balinese and Chinese runs smoothly. In addition, both the Balinese and the Chinese believe in Ahimsa ‘non-violence’. The essence of this teaching is harmonized and peace in life. The strong imetus to the domain of religion also supports the assumption that there is no problem in the case of the Buddha and Hindu in consuming a certain food. For example, both do not abstain in consuming pork and all types of food.

2.1.2. A Less Handsome Chinese Man Married with A Balinese Beautiful Woman

The Balinese woman aged 41 years who was graduated from high school is a Hindu, working as a businesswoman. She sells various kinds of clothes on the land of her husband’s family. The man who is a 48-year-old, the husband also graduated from high school, and now has a regular job. He is Buddhist, the physical posture of this woman seems to fill her own assessment by saying that she is very beautiful and even claimed herself as an angel descent from Giri Putri Cave located on the island of Nusa Penida, an island which is part of the Klungkung regency. The husband also admitted, and even stated, that his wife’s ability is so much better than his, but he could not specify concretely the benefits she carries to their married life.

During courtship, this woman had got no job yet and claimed that she was very secluded, her activities being restricted by all members of the family. While the man who became her boy friend, (now her husband) worked as a daily worker in a fishing boat. This woman claimed that she would marry the man who was much older than her (closest to 7 years older than her) for the reason that the man has large tactics of land around the port of Padangbai. That area is considered to have a high selling price and is highly suitable as a place to open the trading centre. He further said that he loved her deeply and he even dared to face the tough challenge from her family who threatened him with a weapon and indeed was hit by the prospective in laws because he was discovered when being together in one place with her. He admitted that he was ready to die if another man married his beautiful dream woman. This means that she wanted to marry the man mainly because of economic factors and the true attitude inherent in the man.

Associated with religious affiliation, both the man and the woman stated that there is no significant problem, especially when the wife had converted from Hinduism to Buddhism. As mentioned before, in practice there are similarities between Hinduism and Buddhism, both being of the same faith in terms of ancestor worship. For example: when they worship, the media for praying consist of flowers, food and incense. The prayers are conducted at the morning, afternoon, and evening, all directed to the ancestors. The Chinese do the worship at their Konco, and the Balinese do it at their family Shriines (or Sanggah Kemulan). Both Konco and Sanggah Kemulan are the Shriines for the manifestation of the ancestors of both Chinese and Balinese. In fact, now, the wife confessed she usually performs rituals according to Buddhist tradition prevailing in the husband’s family, though she also prays at various temples, both in the village where they live now and outside the village. The Balinese and Chinese people pray everywhere because of the philosophy of Niyapi Wyapaka, which means that ‘God is all present’. It is interesting to note when she admitted that every full moon she meditated at Giri
Putri temple which is located at Ciri Putri Cave. Upon this, the husband and all the family members never worried about it, because there are similarities between Hinduism and Buddhism.

2.1.3. The Marriage of A Wealthy Chinese Woman with A Less Wealthy Balinese Man
A Chinese woman in the eyes of a Balinese man is of high positive value due to the work ethic being held, namely being industrious and resilient. This perception is expressed by an informant from Canggu Village. As a descendant of an aristocratic family, he thinks that marriage with an own royal relative will only cause homogeneity. This will generate such a character lacking in creativity and tenacity. These considerations seem to be one of his motivations to marry a Chinese woman. Their marriages did not get the necessary approval from the family but despite this, the marriage went on and has given birth to 3 children now.

It is necessary to note, that the man now lives in the house of his wife's family, not in the palace (Puri). Although this condition seems to break the norm applicable for the Balinese Aristocrat (which is highly patriarchy in character), yet it is still socially acceptable at Canggu Village. If judged according to the forms of capital proposed by Bourdieu (1983), it appears that in this context the wife has the necessary cultural capital (because of her having better educational qualification) and a better economic capital so that it can be accepted by the husband even though he is a civil servant in Badung regency.

2.1.4. The Marriage of A Less Wealthy Balinese Woman with A Wealthy Chinese Man
The information which is provided by a Balinese woman at Padangbai village is quite interesting to observe, it seems that the marriage is much in concern of the family. At first, she would be married with her Balinese relatives, but she decided to marry a Chinese husband although the physical aspect of the Chinese man is less handsome. The marriage was motivated by family relationships and business. The woman initially helped his aunt (Balinese) whose husband was of Chinese descendant to sell crops. Her aunt's husband happened to be the uncle of the groom. Thus, this marriage was inspired by the previous Balinese-Chinese inter-marriage, i.e., the marriage between her aunts and the man of Chinese descent, which seems to have made their lives always harmonious and successful.

Another example is a Balinese woman who is married to a man of Chinese descent at Padangbai. According to this woman, three of her aunts were also married to men of Chinese descent, who were working in the restaurant originally owned by her aunt where they met the men. The working relationship and marital history of the family (of her aunt) seem to be one factor motivating the marriage of the Balinese women and Chinese men. Her aunt's family seems to have been used as a reference for Balinese women to marry a Chinese. On the other hand, the economic capital of the Chinese men is apparently better than the women of Bali.

Such marriage cases as described above also occurred among the Balinese women and Chinese men at the village of Padangbai. There are some similarities between them. First, their families (her aunt) married with men of Chinese descent. It is used as a kind of reference or a role model on the part of both Balinese women. Second, they were employed long enough in the Chinese family by her aunt, which served as a media to understand Chinese culture. Third, viewed from the economic capital, the two Chinese men are much stronger than the two Balinese women. In this context, cultural capital and economic capital owned by the Chinese man seem to be a force or incentive for the Balinese women to marry Chinese men. It is interesting to note that in terms of physical appearances and ages the two Balinese women are better (more beautiful) and younger than their husbands.

2.2 Togetherness through Common Participation in The Desa Pakraman
In the context of togetherness in the Desa Pakraman, both the Chinese and Balinese basically have their respective goals and desires. Their daily lives are much connected to the life of Desa Pakraman, and this has endured since the childhood until adulthood and has been going on for several generations. The informant said that such togetherness is possible because the doctrine of Tetuwamasi in Hinduism is in accordance with the life principles of the Chinese. Under this doctrine, the two ethnic groups agree that loving others is the same as loving ourselves, and likewise harming others is equal to hurting ourselves. Thus, their togetherness is deeply rooted in religious values and traditions inherited from their ancestors. Hence, the goal and/or desire to preserve
such paternal teachings and traditions that are empathetic and nuanced with this solidarity underlie their togetherness in the daily lives including the lives at Desa Pakraman.

By examining the evidence more seriously, it appears that there are many facts indicating that each party's interests related to their togetherness in Desa Pakraman. The Balinese through the Desa Pakraman often accept donations and material support from the Chinese individually and institutionally. Donations are usually deliberately encouraged by the Balinese, but sometimes spontaneously done. The need for donation is usually associated with the implementation of the rituals in a temple or with the renovation or construction of a village hall. This means that Balinese people are much concerned with materials that would be obtained free of charge from the Chinese. They are really loyal and participative in all activities at Desa Pakraman. This is because Balinese people are also considered as their own relatives and even be called nyama toko or semoten toko 'relatives in trade'. It is interesting to note that most of the Chinese in Bali are businesspeople who support their lives by running shops. In addition, the Balinese always maintain the Hindu philosophy, called Tri Kaya Paripurna' three basic concepts of good and godly human behaviours, which include Manacika 'to think well', Wacika 'to talk well', and Kayika 'to behave well'. The Chinese also feel that it is much easier for them to interact with the Balinese than with other ethnic groups.

The Chinese who contribute in this regard are not only those who live in the village but also those who live in the outer parts of the village, or in other the countries and have relatives in the village. It has been mentioned earlier that the Chinese have adapted well to the Balinese. However, in order to perform religious ceremonies associated with life cycles, the Chinese conduct such ritual in their own places of worship and they adopt or apply local Buddhist tradition.

Another interesting case that needs to be mentioned is that the donations are given under the initiative of the Chinese themselves. A group of Chinese hereditary maintainers and finance the rehabilitation of a so-called Bale Pawidan 'a place for the priest to officiate the ritual service' at a temple belonging to Desa Pakraman. In addition, there is a group of Chinese who bear the entire cost for the tin roof of a Balé Wantiyan 'village hall' of the village. There is also the Chinese who donated several rolls of fabric, goats, pigs, sugar, rice, and tens, hundreds or even millions of rupiah for the implementation of rituals in the temple of Desa Pakraman. In addition, according to the Chinese, the contributions were given as the forms of gratefulness, both to God worshiped in the temple for blessings them with health and safety to the Desa Pakraman that has long encouraged and invited their close relationship. Based on the philosophy known as Tri Hita Karana 'three main causes for prosperity', namely mutual respect to God, environment, and human, i.e. a balance or harmony between human and God, environment, and another human. Both the Balinese and Chinese believe in this concept. Thus, Balinese, in this case, means the Chinese donation as a token of solidarity with the Chinese tradition. It should be noted however, that the Chinese interpret meaning for donation of gratitude and thanks to the Gods as well as a form of gratitude to the Balinese in and to the surroundings.

According to Habermas (Thompson, 2007), such actions are taken by the Balinese and Chinese in terms of time-donate could be categorized as instrumental actions. That is, the Balinese use Desa Pakraman as a tool to meet their needs to get donations for purchasing various facilities for the Desa Pakraman which is established as a symbol of the identity of the Balinese themselves. By borrowing the capital concepts as proposed by Bourdieu (1996), it appears that the Balinese use Desa Pakraman as capital gain i.e. to strengthen the contribution of capital of Desa Pakraman. However, the Chinese use his properties as tools to meet their needs, namely the need for security, safety and even the need for fortune, event in the form of land. By obtaining this material, the Chinese were granted the land by the Desa Pakraman or by the Puri 'royal palace' to be used as the local cemetery, a place of worship (Kanci). There are even lots of Chinese families who are granted land for settlement. Therefore, this can also be categorized as economic capital used as a tool for building social capital (security) and cultural capital (the burial place and a place of worship).

3. Conclusions
Crossed marriages between the Balinese and Chinese in Bali are motivated by at least five factors of lives that are taken into consideration in the decision making process. The factors are physical (beauty and good looks),
socioeconomic, religion, principal attitudes and social solidarity. Among the factors, beauty/good look and socioeconomic conditions are the priority factors. However, if the results of the assessment of the parties concerned do not match, the values of other factors are used as a compensation in the framework of decision-making for marriage.

Togetherness on the part of the Balinese and Chinese in Desa Pakraman is guaranteed by the willingness of both parties to preserve the traditions inherited from their ancestors who had since a long time ago been practicing crossed-marriages and togetherness through common participation and interest. There are some similarities between Hinduism and Buddhism in performing religious rituals and in the belief in ancestor worship which serves as the background of their marriages. In addition, it seems that each ethnic group has interests at Desa Pakraman. On the one hand, the Balinese is interested in gaining support from the Chinese to strengthen the Desa Pakraman as a cultural capital and a symbol of their identity. On the other hand, the Chinese want to gain the support of the people of Bali to get a sense of security and land for shelter, cemetery, and a place of worship as well as cultural capital as a symbol of their identity. In the case of supporting each other, it seems that the Balinese use the Desa Pakraman as tools to gain support from the Chinese, whereas the Chinese interpret this as social capital as well as the cultural capital obtained by using the economic capital in the form of money and goods donated to Desa Pakraman. In this context, it seems that the Chinese keep maintaining their existence at Desa Pakraman.

Bibliography


* Lecturers, Faculty of Arts, University of Udayana, Bali-Indonesia. Email: sutjiati59@gmail.com
Maniben Nanavati Women's College
Vallabhbhai Road, Vile Parle (W),
Mumbai - 400 056.