

# History of Family: Denpasar's 1950s Generation in Cultural Transition

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**Abstract:** This study aims to find and discover the conditions that allow the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar District, Denpasar City, Bali-Indonesia, not to be involved in the tourism business sector, either in the middle or upper class. Newcomers mostly control the sector. Even though their place of residence is only 6 to 12 kilometers from the Sanur and Kuta tourist attractions. Why can this phenomenon happen? This question will be answered using a combination of family history and memory history methodology, while the data excavation (heuristic) stage uses Bourdieu's concepts of generative structural theory. The research results show that the defeat of local residents in the tourism business can be found in the factor of family management in carrying out their obligations as members of the *Banjar*. Many parents force or are forced to assign their sons to represent the family in carrying out customary obligations, so they must always stay home and work not far from home. Rarely are there those who dare to look for work in Sanur and Kuta, which are the main tourist destinations in Bali. Therefore, they do not have the basics of the tourism business. The unstoppable negative excesses of modernization have further narrowed the business opportunities in the tourism sector. This mental condition is influenced by their habitus, which is formed from the practice of fear and obedience to parents and the strong domination of the *banjar*.

**Abstrak:** Studi ini bertujuan untuk mencari dan menemukan kondisi-kondisi yang memungkinkan generasi tahun 1950-an di Desa Pemecutan Kaja, Kecamatan Denpasar Utara, Kota Denpasar Bali-Indonesia tidak terlibat di sektor bisnis pariwisata, baik di kelas menengah maupun atas. Sektor tersebut kebanyakan dikuasai oleh para pendatang. Padahal tempat tinggal mereka berjarak hanya 6 hingga 12 kilometer dari objek wisata Sanur dan Kuta. Mengapa fenomena tersebut bisa terjadi? Persoalan itu akan dijawab dengan memakai perpaduan metodologi sejarah keluarga dan sejarah memori, sedangkan tahap penggalan data (heuristik) menggunakan konsep-konsep teori struktural generatif Bourdieu. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan kekalahan penduduk lokal dalam bisnis kepariwisataan dapat dicari pada faktor manajemen keluarga dalam menjalani kewajiban sebagai anggota *banjar*. Banyak orang tua yang memaksa atau terpaksa menugaskan anak laki-lakinya mewakili keluarga dalam melaksanakan kewajiban adat, sehingga mereka harus selalu tinggal di rumah dan bekerja pun tidak jauh-jauh dari rumah. Jarang ada yang sampai berani mencari pekerjaan ke Sanur dan Kuta, yang merupakan destinasi wisata utama di Bali. Oleh karena itu mereka tidak memiliki dasar-dasar bisnis pariwisata. Ekses negatif modernisasi yang tidak terbendung semakin mempersempit peluang berbisnis di sektor pariwisata. Kondisi kejiwaan itu dipengaruhi oleh habitusnya yang terbentuk dari praktik rasa takut dan kepatuhan kepada orang tua dan dominasi *banjar* yang begitu kuat.



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## INTRODUCTION

Bali is widely known as a tourist destination that has undergone a lot of historical changes. The position of Bali as a tourist destination has been going on for more than a century, as stated by Vickers (1989, pp. 91-92), Picard (1996, pp. 23-24), Howe (2005, p. 26), and Pringle (2004, p. 128). Almost all of the previous researchers above give the impression that Bali is tourism, tourism in Bali, and all Balinese people are involved in the tourism business. This, however, is not true. Relatively, many Balinese people are not touched by the tourism industry. This study discusses the 1950s generation in a village in North Denpasar District, Bali-Indonesia, most of whom are not involved in the tourism business.

This phenomenon is very interesting to study using the methodology of family history. In terms of the period, the 1950s was a very inspiring period because it was a period of cultural transition from colonial society to republic society. Until now, no research has been done on Denpasar society using family history. The two are often studied separately. Historians have not explored this also. Denpasar society is generally studied from an economics perspective (Restiyani & Yasa, 2019); public health science (Suardana et al., 2015); psychology (Sanchaya & Susilawati, 2014), education and teacher training (Sutika, 2017); Christian theology (Pieter, 2020) and Hinduism (Sudarsana, 2019)

Meanwhile, in Java, family history has received serious attention from historians, as seen in Amini's work (2016). This article discusses Javanese family marriages in the 1920s-1970s period. During this period there was a tension between women, socio-political organizations and the state. This phenomenon is revealed in the solution of social problems regarding marriage. Women have their own way of dealing with this problem. (Amini, 2013) through a prosographic study revealed the emergence of egalitarian, open and fluid identities in the life of elite families in Semarang, Central Java.

In Malaysia, family history research is also quite thorough as revealed in (Abdullah, 2010). His research aims to analyze the influence of political socialization agents, history, family, and educational institutions on ethnic relations. Abdullah tries to complete the shortcomings of previous researches, showing that the study of racial integration and unity in Malaysia is quite complex. This is because the agent processes of political socialization, namely historical, educational, social, economic and political processes are racially

oriented.

The research conducted by (Amini, 2013) can be used as an entry point for writing a family history of the 1950s generation in Denpasar to answer this research question of how and why the 1950s generation experienced marginalization in the middle and upper tourism sector. There is adequately useful research to support this research, the work of a journalist, Setiawan (2021), who writes in the autobiographical style of his biological father, who was born in 1952 in Jembrana, West Bali. This work can be used as a source of information in this research. The book presents a number of memories, including those relating to the situation and condition of education in Bali in the 1950s to 1970s, the social conditions of the people in that era, the period of the eruption of Mount Agung (1963), the G-30-S PKI affair and the mass killings that followed it (1966), the condition of the cities of Singaraja, Karangasem, Klungkung, and Denpasar in that period.

An interesting problem that needs to be studied is how it happened that after passing productive age, the 1950s generation in North Denpasar was marginalized from the middle- and upper-class tourism sector. Suppose anyone from this generation is involved in the tourism business, usually on a small scale such as dealing with souvenirs as mentioned above. In that case, even though economically speaking, quite a lot of them have inherited land, which is relatively large. The location of the land is also in strategic, where migrants rent it for their tourism business. In addition, tourism business opportunities in the city of Denpasar and its surroundings are also wide open. Since the early 1970s, there has been a process of modernization in South Denpasar, as seen from the infrastructure procurement in the villages of Sanur and Kuta.

Bourdieu's generative structural theory is used as a basis for thinking. This theory is useful for looking at the results of the cross between habitus and society's collective capital when located in the arena of social struggle. (Harker et al., 2016). The source of the data is from the author's personal memory and collective memory, put in a broader historical framework, especially related to the social changes taking place in Denpasar at that time. A grand narrative has been written in the present. In general, the 1950s generation in Denpasar, especially in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar, is not involved in the tourism business sector, such as hotels, homestays, tours and travel, car rentals, packing and shipping, and restaurants. Newcomers

instead more dominate these business sectors.

The research questions posed in this study align with the objectives to be achieved: Why is the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar District, Bali-Indonesia not involved in the tourism business? How can this issue be explained from a family history perspective?

## **METHOD**

In family history, as well as in other historical models, the success or failure of historians in reconstructing the past into historical narratives is largely determined by the availability of data. Family history can be traced from personal, political, and business aspects (Wasino et al., 2019). Some aspects of family life can be accurately described and analysed using generally available data. In the Western world, the function of the family as a reproductive unit can be satisfactorily observed using family reconstruction techniques based on the data of baptisms, marriages, and burials in parish registers. To a certain extent, the methodology used in this study refers to Hareven (1971, p. 399). Any systematic study of the family, except biographies, is left to sociologists and anthropologists. Childhood and youth, as far as they are concerned, are treated monolithically and ideally, as if they had remained the same throughout history. Little attention has been paid to the possibility that the meanings of different stages of the life cycle change over time, treatment, perceptions of development at different stages of human experience in society and among different social groups.

In Denpasar the register can be easily found in the church environment. In the West a large number of English registers are available for the purpose of writing family history. The registers date back 250 years or more, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Through these documents, the data can be found. The data include age of marriage, age difference between spouses, duration of marriage, widowhood, birth spacing, number of children ever born, number of children surviving to a certain point in the family cycle, premarital pregnancies, and the relationship between one's death, marriages of parents and of children, the proportion of families that are childless or childless at the time of the father's death (Wrigley, 1977, p. 74). However, this is not the case with the people of Denpasar who are predominantly Hindu. Temples or traditional villages do not have written data related to the human life cycle. Therefore, the historical memory method as popularized by the French historian Pierre Nora (Nosova, 2021, pp.

116–220) can be used as a substitute. Nora studies history and its components, collective memory, and social memory, to determine what history really is. Nora concludes that history contradicts memory. When history is written, that is when memory really ends, because history has turned it into someone's agreement. When time and history move faster, that is when memory is damaged, so that it can no longer be used as a historical foundation. History also turns into political history and official memory, which primarily selects what to remember and what to forget in order to construct the past based on the needs of the present.

The past also loses its meaning, undermined by an exclusive historical consciousness, which legitimizes and gives meaning to all versions as valid. In contrast, official memory is associated with the practice of forgetfulness or selective memory. In formulating a method for researching the history of memory, Nora does not start from an objective historical paradigm (which is also known as scientific history or critical history), but a post-modern paradigm, focusing attention on memory (Nosova, 2021). The goal is to invite historians not always to seek objective truth, because doing so will make history ideological and manipulative. Such a history will distance itself from memories of the actual facts because they have been distorted by the subjectivity of historians and the realm of history as a socially constructed reality.

The historian's job is to bring up the right memory when history is fleeting and to maintain proper memory in conditions in which time flies so rapidly, which corrupts tradition, memory, and at the same time destroys it. When tradition is destroyed, the next day all innovations become obsolete and all the appeal of collective memory loses its meaning. On the basis of Nora's thoughts, the research method of this study does not begin by seeking and discovering primary sources as in critical history. This study also does not require internal and external criticism stages to seek factual truth. Nora states that the history of memory does not need "factuality" of data, because what is needed is actuality, so the past events survive in the cultural memory, as they are. The goal of memory history is not to create a chronology of events, but rather to search for and analyze memory sites, a kind of "topos," which means areas of social memory.

Still based on Nora's ideas, this study is not intended to write history, specifically in the sense of critical history, but to write history in order to deconstruct it so that the true memories in the memory of the 1950s generation will reveal

themselves. Because the references used in this study are not intended to prove that he has been quoted, but only as a reference where one can read further about the use in historical writing, according to the goals and objectives to achieve, so there is no need to include the page number and the name of the source.

As a framework, concepts in Bourdieu's theory are used. He explores various societal problems to understand, explain, and reveal their inequalities (Costa & Murphy, 2015, p. 1). Bourdieu also tries to unify action, power and change within a structuralist framework. Therefore, Bourdieu looks for cultural practices in behaviors, perceptions, and beliefs that have experienced internalization in individuals, which is called habitus. Habitus is thus an accumulation of human experience, a complex social process in which structured individual and collective dispositions develop in practice to justify their perspectives, values, actions, and social positions in society (Costa & Murphy, 2015).

There are two stages in habitus formation, namely primary and secondary. Primary or generic habitus is related to the formation of cognitive elements, a mental activity that makes a person able to relate, evaluate, and consider an event to gain knowledge. Primary habitus is matured by secondary habitus, which can be referred to as disposition schemes acquired in a more specific domain and context, such as school or workplace. Secondary habitus has the power to drive change in individual practice. In the context of this study, for example, for certain reasons there are individuals who decide to leave their hometowns to migrate. Secondary habitus can also indicate changes in disposition and strategies to modify or adapt to certain social fields. So, secondary habitus can also be used as a tool to describe the production of new practices, which, in the end, can clash with or negate old practices (Costa & Murphy, 2015).

## DENPASAR'S 1950S GENERATION IN CULTURAL TRANSITION

### General description of the research area

Denpasar is the capital of Badung Regency as well as the capital of Bali Province. The city center is located in Alun-Alun, where the Bali Governor's Office is situated. Bali Governor's Office used to be the office of the assistant resident of Bali and Lombok, which used to be Puri Denpasar, where the Puputan Badung War against the Dutch colonial army took place in 1906 (Wijaya, 2006).

North Denpasar is one of the sub-districts in Denpasar, consisting of eight villages and three sub-districts. Pemecutan Kaja Village is one of the eight villages. Pemecutan Kaja Village, is located on the left side of the Badung river, a river stretching from north to south. The Badung watershed, both on the west and east sides, has an important role in Denpasar society, where they build balai *banjar*, houses, temples, and various kinds of business premises on either side of the main road, which stretches from north to south. In the era of the kingdom, a number of palaces, people's houses, and temples were built in that area. Majalangu Temple and Maospahit Temple show that this village had already existed when Majapahit people arrived in Bali around 1343 AD.

The road to the north connects Denpasar with Tabanan, Mengwi and Buleleng. On the side of the road, a ditch from the colonial era channels irrigation water and collects rainwater. The ditch water flows towards South Denpasar, where there are vast expanses of rice fields, such as in the villages of Sanglah, Sesetan and Benoa. In the central part of the south, there is a crossroad. Heading west, the road leads to Desa Padangsambian and Desa Kerobokan via Jalan Doctor Wahidin to Jalan Gunung Agung. Heading east via Jalan Gajah Mada, it leads to the city center, Alun-Alun. (zero point of Denpasar City). From Alun-Alun to the north via Jalan Veteran, it leads to Desa Kesiman and the east via the Jalan Hayam Wuruk to Desa Sanur (Wijaya & Sulistiyono, 2020 ). Heading south onto Jalan Imam Bonjol, the road leads to Desa Kuta.

### Factors Causing Non-Involvement in the Tourism Business

#### *There is no Merantau (migration) Tradition*

Generally speaking, the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar neither wanted nor dared to migrate. This is far different from the people of Aceh. Migrating to trade is the work ethic of the Acehnese people, as a way out to avoid the stigma of being labeled as lazy in society. The people of Aceh hate lazy people and they highly appreciate hardworking people. In principle, even a small grain of wealth must be sought and worked for (Sakti, 2022). This secondary habitus has made the Acehnese grow as traders overseas, as seen in the Pidie people in the Pidie District.

In Aceh, the parents' limited economic ability is used as a driving force to work harder. On the other hand, parents' wealth also does not affect the work ethic of the Pidie people. Even if some

work for their parents, they are yet treated as employees and paid the salary they deserve. The purpose of working is to learn business and management skills from their parents' business. If they meet other fellow workers, they talk about who is successful in business and how they achieve it. The success of other people inspires them to follow it (Hafasnudin, 2014).

The work ethic of Pidie people was relatively invisible in the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar. The courage to leave their village is only possessed by people with a definite goal, such as civil servants, police, soldiers or university students. They are reluctant to find work in tourist centres like Sanur and Kuta, which are only about 6 to 12 kilometres away. They must always be ready at home, because there are so many customary obligations that must be carried out as banjar residents continuously, both at the collective (banjar) and individual (banjar resident) levels. Many customary and cultural ceremonies occur over 210 days (six Balinese months) related to marriage, death, and birth. These activities take place from house to house of the banjar residents. Every head of household must send a representative of his family to attend these ceremonies.

On the other hand, some were forced to help their parents make a living, so many of them went to school while working. Some worked as ice pop sellers, newspaper and magazine vendors, and opened cigarette stalls. They came from families that had experienced impoverishment from the colonial era to independence (1906-1970s). There were quite a number of them and many of them did not graduate from elementary school.

The reluctance to migrate or work far outside the home is thus a side effect of the customary obligations that must be carried out and the social sanctions that are attached to them. One of the most feared social sanctions is ostracism from the social environment and the revocation of membership as a *banjar* resident. This social sanction is given to those who are not obedient and useful to the *awig-awig* (customary law) that applies in the *banjar*.

### **Banjar**

Several traditions or activities on behalf of the *Banjar* also influence the non-involvement of the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar District, in the tourism business sector, so newcomers defeat them.

### **Banjar as Traditional Space**

When a traditional (religious) ceremony, called *piodalan*, is celebrated once in 210 days, activities at the *balai banjar* (*banjar* hall) start the day before. In the morning at around 8 am, marked by the sound of *kulkul*, women representing their respective families come to the *Balai Banjar* to prepare the ceremonial materials. In the afternoon the men representing their respective families come to *balai banjar*. In the evening around 19.00. following the sound of the *kulkul*, the men come back carrying *blakas*. *Blakas* is a sharp weapon, resembling a butcher's knife, having a rectangular blade with a straight blade. The task that must be done is to prepare the spices for the traditional Balinese dishes. It takes about two or three hours to complete this work.

In the early morning around 02.00 the men returned to *balai banjar* to make various traditional Balinese dishes. In this case, many parents assigned their children as representatives, with various reasons. Only those who did not have teenaged children came by themselves to *balai banjar* to represent their families. A number of people with special abilities came early to slaughter ceremonial animals, like chickens, ducks, buffaloes and turtles. After that the *banjar* members returned to their homes to rest. About 08.00 the *banjar* members were asked to come and take their portion. Each family got a large portion of *lawar* complete with *Sate Lilit*, placed in a container called *Taledan*. *Taledan* is made from old coconut leaves called *selepan*. Sewn with a stick (made of bamboo cut into small pieces). The shape of the *teledan* is rectangular, or rather a square, with frames on all four sides. It is usually used as a mat for offerings, but it can be used as a place for *lawar*, but the size is made larger than that used for the mats for offerings. The task of getting the family's portion was usually left to wives or children, either male or female. This *gotong-royong* tradition ended in the 1990s, but several other *banjars* in Denpasar City ended this tradition in the 1970s.

### **Banjar as a Cultural Space**

Recurring activities at *banjar* hall (*balai banjar*) occur on Galungan and Kuningan feast days which take place once in 210 days. On that day, for ten days, the *Banjar* management held a bazaar, a kind of bar and cafe, as well as gambling games of domino cards and Chinese cards. The servers were taken from *banjar* residents, especially teenaged girls. Hot and cold lemonade, hot coffee, including beer and Seven Up are on the menu. The needs of

gamblers are catered by providing specially designed chairs for them.

When somebody dies, especially from the nobility, the activity of the *banjar* residents lasts a relatively long time. The noble people tend to spend a lot of time waiting for a good day of *ngaben*, the burning the dead body. The *Banjar* residents start to get busy much earlier. *Banjar* members often prepare traditional dishes using buffalo, turtle, and chicken meat for offerings and general consumption. As mentioned above, the *banjar* members do the same activities as when there is a *piodalan*.

From the morning through the evening, women representing their respective families come to the funeral home carrying gifts in the form of mori cloth, rice and money, as an expression of condolence. At night, the men came to the funeral home. Gamelan sound went on playing. Those who like to gamble made small groups of four to play dominoes and Chinese cards.

On the day of *Ngaben*, the *Banjar* residents were already busy preparing themselves before noon. At exactly 13.00 the body was delivered to the Badung cemetery which is only one kilometer from Pemecutan Kaja Village. Moments like this, for some groups of people, are often used as a momentum to vent their anger and personal grudges on the part of the family of the deceased. During their lifetime, people considered to be disobedient and useful for the collective interests of the *banjar* often became targets of anger from certain groups.

If the person who died was from the *soroh jaba* circle (majority clan), all *banjar* residents, including nobles, also came to the funeral home to offer their condolences. Each of them brought a condolence gift, placed in a *keben* or *bokor*. *Keben* is a multi-functional container made of woven bamboo, while *bokor* is a large dish that is concave and has wide edges. Women from the nobility did not come alone, but a servant accompanied them. The servant was a person who occupied the land owned by a noble family for generations. The servants were in charge of carrying the gifts and accompanying their master from behind. The *Ngaben* ceremony, especially during the funeral procession, is often used as an opportunity to give social sanctions to residents who do not actively participate in the customary activities, by, among others, shaking the container (corpse tower) on the way to the cemetery.

## **The Formation of Primary Habitus**

### ***Balai Banjar as a social space***

As a multi-purpose building, *Balai Banjar* is also used as a venue for regular meetings of *Banjar* residents' regarding various affairs, ranging from customary affairs to official affairs. If no regular meetings are held, at night many individuals, especially people of productive age, hold informal meetings at *balai banjar*.

At around 22.00 someone came out of the *balai banjar* area, returning to their respective homes. Many people preferred to sleep in *Balai Banjar* if the meeting continued until 23.00 or 24.00. It is believed that sleeping together at the *balai banjar* is safer than going home. Balinese people believe that dark locations are often used as hiding places for leaks, supernatural creatures. In the midst of such a belief system, sleeping at *Balai Banjar* is much more comfortable than going home. Each *Banjar* has a temple, which is believed to be the residence of the 'gods'. Not only local residents, traders from other villages and even from other districts chose to spend the night at *balai banjar* when it got late to continue their journey. They could enter the area freely because in the 1960s the *banjar* area was not yet surrounded by iron fence like it is today. In the morning, before sunrise, they leave *Balai Banjar* to continue performing their various tasks.

### ***Banjar as an Art Space***

Residents often borrow The *banjar* hall as an arena for shadow puppet performances and other traditional performances where the habitus of preschool-aged children begins to form. They begin to learn good and bad dispositions, left and right, up and down in social interactions. It also forms their social capital, especially in finding and maintaining social relationships with their peers. The show ended at 23.00. The children returned to their homes, but some stayed at the *banjar* hall. The same scenes can be found in other traditional Balinese performances. They used *balai banjar* as an arena, except *arja*. *Arja* needs a large space because it includes relatively many gamelan players. Most of the audience is adults, whose tastes tend to lean toward classical arts. One of them is "Panji" story or which is also called *Malat*.

## **The Formation of Secondary Habitus**

### ***Schools***

The secondary habitus of the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village was formed at school. In Denpasar there were kindergarten schools, one

called Catur Tunggal and two elementary schools. After graduating from Kindergarten, the 1950s generation continued to elementary school. Lessons were given in Balinese language and the writing tools are in the form of a grip and slate, also called *karas* and the bark of the Suar tree (*Samanea Saman*) was used as eraser.

At that time, in the 1960s, a lot of things in the surrounding environment could be learnt by reading diligently. At the electricity substation, for example, there was a warning notice "Sane Ngambil Janten Padem", which means that anyone who dares to take it will die. In fourth grade, the children were given singing lessons. Every child had to memorize the popular songs from the radio at that time. Most parents owned radios as a media of entertainment. They listened to programs broadcast by Radio Republik Indonesia Denpasar. The popular songs at that time among others are 'Teluk Bayur' sung by Ernie Djohan and 'Nonton Bioskop (Going to the Cinema)' by Bing Slamet.

### **Gameplay**

Secondary habitus is also formed through the game play of children. There are a lot of places to play in the author's memory, such as rivers, rice fields, and dry fields. In the 1960s in North Denpasar, relatively no residents had bathrooms, toilets and places to wash clothes. There were only wells where water was drawn with a bucket tied with a rubber rope. Water from the well was usually for drinking and bathing toddlers. All of these activities were carried out for adults at the Badung river.

People who were over the age of ten usually bathed while playing in the Badung river, swimming, fishing and catching fish. There were also those who came to the river just to relieve themselves. On Sundays, school children came to the river to wash clothes to wear the next day. Some directly wash the clothes they are wearing and then dry them on the edge of the river. They were waiting for the clothes to dry while swimming or bathing. Those who could swim chose to bathe in a river area which was deeper. Caution was needed because this river had a relatively swift current and quite a number of troughs on its walls, which was believed to be able to drag swimmers.

Bathing in the river to the west of the village, is done before or it could also be after playing in the rice fields, located on either side of Jalan Gunung Agung now. As soon as they arrived at the river, they immediately started playing. Those who were thirsty, they usually drank the water from the ditches of the rice fields that led to the river. The

popular game at that time was Ganyang Tengku, which was a social reflection of the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation in 1963-1966 (Nur & Ravico, 2021).

In the 1960s, the roads in the North Denpasar area were still empty of motorized vehicles. A herd of ducks, geese, pigs and dogs were roaming the middle of the road in the morning. Trees were still found in front of people's houses, such as hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), coconut and sapodilla. During kite season, children flew small kites. Teenagers preferred to play kite fighting with the strings polished with glass powder glue. Adults liked to play traditional kites, such as the *Bebean* and *Janggan*, which have been maintained and contested as historical heritage (Oprandi, 2021).

### **Area Outside the Village**

The secondary habitus in the 1950s generation was also shaped and matured by their interactions with the environment outside their respective villages.

### **Pasar Badung**

Pasar Badung was an environment outside the village in the North Denpasar area that the 1950s generation could access. It is located, from the crossroad, to the east, only about 150 meters from the nearest village which can be accessed from various directions. Periodically, before sunset, several women were seen walking hand in hand from the north carrying pottery. In Pasar Badung there was a small temple, where traders offered offerings and young children came to collect their money from the offering. The Tukad Badung bridge separated the two markets, Pemecutan Kaja Village from the City Center in the town square.

Pasar Badung was located to the east of the bridge, and Pasar Payuk was to the west. On the north, center and east sides of the bridge there were giant statues carrying batons. In the middle of the market there was a small bridge specifically for pedestrians, so visitors could easily move from Pasar Badung to Pasar Payuk and vice versa. Pasar Payuk specialized in selling pottery items such as *Payuk*, *Jun*, *Pane*, *Kekeban*, and *Ceretan*. These items were the main kitchen utensils of the Balinese at that time which were made from clay, apart from kitchen equipment. At Payuk Market, various pottery types were also sold for ritual purposes. *Payuk* is a pot, a tool for cooking rice; *Jun* is a barrel for storing water; *Pane*, a kind of sink which functions for various purposes in the kitchen; *Kekeban*, a kind of food cover whose function is to protect food from rats and flies; *Ceret*, a type of kettle used

to serve drinking water.

In the 1970s, in several families, parents worked as intermediary traders in Pasar Badung to raise their children. There were also goods distributors, including rice, beans, chicken, vegetables, ducks and coconut leaves. Traders from Java also bring chickens. The activity of unloading goods started early in the morning. Over ten porters were waiting to offer their services. They mostly came from the area of East Bali. Except under certain conditions, no local people were willing to work as porters. Afterwards, these goods were brought to pasar Badung by cart as a means of transportation or hand-carried by a collective group.

### ***Jalan Gajah Mada Center of Business***

The town square (Alun-alun) and Bali Hotel were the next closest areas which could be accessed by village residents on foot, which helped develop the secondary habitus of the 1950s generation. It is located a little further from Pasar Badung and Pasar Payuk, about 700 meters to the east. It is now called Jalan Gajah Mada, and it can also be reached from various villages around Denpasar. Along both sides of this road were shop-houses and a temple. There were two cinemas located on the west and on the east end of the road. Indra Cinema was at the west end, and at the east was Wisnu Cinema. In the late 1960s, some parents went to the cinema with their children to watch films for all ages, such as Hercules, Spartacus, and Benhur, shown in the cinema.

### ***Alun-Alun (Town Square) and Bali Hotel***

Secondary habitus is also formed in the town square (*alun-alun*) and the *Bali Hotel*. At the eastern end of Jalan Gajah Mada there was a crossroad, at the middle of which stood a large clock bell, a legacy of the Dutch colonial era. To the northeast of the crossroad stood the Bali Governor's Office, a polyclinic, and a post office. There was a hotel next to it. This area was called Kampung Tiga, where there were several Dutch heritage buildings and riols, as well as large and wide waterways, but now many of them have been deliberately closed due to the widening of the roads. At the end of the road on the right, where the Mayor's Office now stands, there was a Padang Restaurant. The road heading south led to Desa Dauh Puri Kangin, the Suci terminal, Desa Sanglah, Sesetan, and Benoa. Heading east towards Desa Sanur (Wijaya & Sulistiyono, 2020), there was a Junior High School building, which was called the Holland Inlandsche

School during the colonial era (N. Wijaya, 2018, 2020).

*Alun-Alun* (the square) was located on the southeast side of the crossroad (N. Wijaya, 2018, 2020)(Wijaya, 2018, Wijaya, 2020). This multifunctional square was often used as an arena for fairs, acrobatics, and exhibitions. Its formal function was used as a place for holding flag ceremonies. There was no flag ceremony, so the square was used for sports, especially football. There were also tennis courts from the Dutch colonial heritage (Wijaya, 2018), but none of the 1950s generation became tennis players. None of them grew up as a painting gallery entrepreneur, even though the Bali Museum, where tourists visited, also stood here. The hawkers moved about trying to sell their goods here and there. Many of them later became owners of art galleries, one of which was the owner of the Arma Museum (Couteau, 2013; Wijaya, 2018)

Going to the north, only about five meters from the crossroad, stood the Bali Hotel (Vickers, 1989; Picard, 1996, Pringle, 2004; Wijaya) . To the north of *Balai Banjar Belaluan*, about 100 meters from it, stood the Kshatriya Temple, a heritage of the XVIII century (Wijaya, 2020)where the official residence for the head of the Badung area was built, which was held by a descendant of the King of Denpasar . Across the road, right in front of *Balai Banjar Belaluan*, there was a house owned by the Puri Ubud family, Gianyar (Wijaya, 2020) which has now been turned into a shopping complex. Along the road there were several art shops selling art items, especially sculptures. Small art kiosks could also be found behind the wall on the west side of the Bali hotel, where the Lino Cinema Building used to stand. The building has stood there until today.

In this place there are stalls selling statues. Several sculptors from Pemecutan Kaja Village, especially from *Banjar Panti*, including those born in the 1950s, sell their works at the abovementioned location. A businessman from Denpasar has also operated a sculpture art shop on Jalan Gajah Mada close to the Wisnu Cinema since the Dutch era.

The description above shows the habitus of the 1950s generation in Denpasar going as it is, like children in other cities. Therefore, the factors affecting their non-involvement in the middle- and upper-class scale tourism business sector must be sought in the family and the surrounding environment.

Here, the difference is clear with Acehnese entrepreneurs, whose secondary habitus is formed



in the diaspora, so the experience of interacting with people from various regions also helps shape their knowledge in the field of business. This is different from what was obtained by the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar, whose secondary habitus was formed not far from their own homes.

### The Effect of Progress of the Age

The lack of involvement of the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Village, North Denpasar, in the tourism business, so that newcomers defeated them, can also be found in the effects of the advancement of the times in the 1970s, which could not be responded to well as explained below.

The rapid growth of Sanur and Kuta as tourist destinations, especially after the operation of the Bali Beach Hotel and the inauguration of Ngurah Rai International Airport in the early 1970s (Wijaya, 2020), did not stimulate the generation born in the 1950s to work in the tourism sector. Relatively no one from the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village exchanged their cultural capital for economic capital.

In the 1970s, apart from tourism, modernization caused social changes in Bali, so job opportunities could be found everywhere. Its tendencies can be traced from the penetration of Japanese-made motorized vehicles, such as three-wheeled minibuses and motorcycles in the late 1960s, beginning with the entrance of a 90cc red and blue Honda motorcycle and followed by three-wheeled minibuses in the early 1970s, which was followed by the presence of the Colt Mitsubishi Diesel vehicle. The presence of these motorized vehicles has changed the face of Denpasar traffic. The horse-carts drivers, most of whom came from one of the *banjars*, slowly disappeared. The horse carts were replaced by bemos. Inter-city vehicles, which previously relied on buses, started to compete with Colt. Many children of productive age chose to work as bemo drivers or bemo conductors.

On the other hand, motorbikes changed the lifestyle of children of productive age. Motorcycles were used as a means to show self-identity. Speeding, especially after Yamaha and Suzuki motorcycles appeared, began to be frequently seen on the roads. Along with this, groups of teenagers competing for identity in Denpasar emerged, and the most famous groups were Amada Racun (ARC) and the Anak-anak Sudirman, who came from the ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) housing complex on Jalan Sudirman, Denpasar.

There were often fights among them. Groups of martial arts appeared everywhere. They can generally be grouped into three: Kerta Wisesa, Perisai Diri, and Bhakti Negara. Many teenagers from the 1950s generation in Pemecutan Kaja Village, North Denpasar, spent their time joining one of these groups. They prioritized martial arts training over seeking experience interacting with foreign tourists in Sanur and Kuta.

The life challenges of the children of productive age in Pemecutan Kaja Village also originated from the growing entertainment centers, especially on Jalan Gajah Mada, with a paid billiards arena in a shop, served by beautiful girls. Many teenagers of the 1950s generation spent their time in the billiard arena near the cinema building solely to seek entertainment. Localization complexes also started to emerge, both inside and outside the city. Riding motorbikes in groups, teenagers of productive age were involved in it. They wore faded jeans, cut-bray pants, sleeves rolled up, long hair, and flip-flops. They looked like hippie tourists in Kuta who stayed in small hotels around Denpasar (Wijaya, 2018).

Quite a number of the 1950s generation spent their time in the cinema watching movies or enjoying the crowds. Children of productive age who had lovers preferred to see films at the Wisnu Cinema, which showed Indian films more often, because the screening duration was longer than Indonesian films, so the dating hours were also longer. Combined with Hollywood and Mandarin films, Indonesian films were usually shown in Indra Cinemas. On the other hand, most of the 1950s generation in Pemecutan-Kaja in the 1960s-1970s usually looked for lower-middle-class entertainment at Setra Ganda Mayu People's Amusement Park in *Banjar* Pemedilan to watch a drama gong performance.

Many of them were allowed by their parents to seek this kind of folk entertainment everywhere. In every *banjar*, there are often free performances of traditional Balinese art. There were also always gong drama performances everywhere that were loved by the 1950s generation from Pemecutan Kaja Village, especially if there were no customary activities at their respective *banjar* halls. So it is obvious that when they were in their productive years, the 1970s, they prioritized seeking entertainment rather than gaining business experience in the tourism sector.

### CONCLUSION

The conditions that allowed the 1950s generation in

Pemecutan Kaja Village, Denpasar, to fail to adapt to social change, especially in the tourism business, lie in family management in carrying out their obligations as members of the *Banjar*. In the 1970s, when they were in their productive years, many of them were forced or forced by their parents to represent their families in carrying out customary obligations. Their position was like standing in two opposite places. On the one hand, they must always be at home to hear information about whether or not there are customary activities at the *banjar* hall. On the other hand, they must actively look for work to help ease the economic burden.

Their work locations were close to home. Relatively no one dared to look for work in Sanur and Kuta, which were the tourist centers at that time, so they needed to gain experience in the tourism business. They did not fight against this tradition because their habitus was formed from the practice of fear and obedience to their parents and the strong domination of the *Banjar*. In such a mental state, it is rare for people to be able to negotiate the effects of modernization properly and instead become victims of it, only becoming hunters of entertainment and games that were easily found in the 1970s.

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