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Veganism and Vegetarianism in Bali:

Anthropological Perspective

Veganství a vegetariánství na Bali: antropologická
perspektiva

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Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedenou literaturu a zdroje.

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Podpis

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Annotation

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This thesis titled *Vegetarianism and Veganism in Bali: Anthropological Perspective* aims to find out the perception of the mentioned alternative lifestyles in Bali. Through background provided by literature, it compares the historical and traditional preconditions of the island to the inclination to vegetarianism and veganism with actual situation. Theory is connected with field research and observation in order to notice different perspectives on the possibilities of these alternative lifestyles to fit into the environment of Bali. Furthermore, it investigates the relationships between local communities with foreign tourists, who are often vegetarians and vegans and focuses on the approach of the Balinese to those tendencies.

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Introduction

This thesis is going to focus on observing vegetarianism and veganism in Bali. As these lifestyles are currently very popular across the whole world, I am curious to find out what the situation is on this Indonesian island. As the overall life conditions differ significantly living close to the equator in comparison to the temperate climate in Europe, as well as the general daily habits of local Balinese people, whose priorities vary investigation of their personal opinions and perspective seems to be logical. As the perception of dietary preferences may be less prioritized same as other secondary necessities of individuals, it interests me to be let into the environment and compare it with my already existing assumptions and expectations. Personally, as someone in favour of the studied alternative lifestyles myself; I am also concerned about the influence of foreign travellers visiting Bali, bringing their habits to a place of such a traditional environment. I believe it is educational for visitors and locals to interact, sharing diverse beliefs and often contradictory opinions, as it allows all people to learn from each other.

The inclination of the Balinese to vegetarianism and veganism is expected, due to Indian origin of the beliefs practised until the present day. Firstly I am going to give general information about the topic, with historical background and its principal standardized rules and persuasions. The second part of the thesis will explain the presumptions of the lifestyles to appear in Bali, as well as conditions in support of it, while later also focusing on the specific ingredients traditionally used in Indonesian cuisine, introducing those in context of daily use and significance. Furthermore, I am going to connect the topic of vegetarianism and veganism with the current stage of tourism development in context of existing literature and also investigate the mutual influence between foreign travellers who are vegetarian and vegan and Balinese residents. The situation is planned to be observed mainly in tourist popular areas of the island, to distinguish specific groups of foreigners, who are vegetarian and vegan and in connection to it find out where they choose to eat, depending on the level of their comfort with the Balinese restaurant standards.

Methodology

For the purpose of this work, a combination of research methods was used. Primarily, it is based on literature review on mainly online publications of books and academic works from sources mostly written in English, accompanied by author's personal observation through field research. Literature sources gave background to the discussed topics, with additional information obtained from statistics and internet websites, documents and case studies, as those are of more recent acquaintance and details, as the amount of sources available on the investigated topic is insufficient. For more detailed answers and personal opinions of local Balinese people, as well as international tourists, quantitative research was used for analysis of the situation in general, as well as personal conversations conducted over several-month-long period of time, to obtain subjective opinions of wider spectrum of people from different environments and of various beliefs. Furthermore, direct communication was focused on qualitative research of individuals employed in the tourism industry and the hospitality sector, while being influenced by daily interactions with vegetarian and vegan international visitors. Qualitative research is a broad umbrella term for a wider range of techniques and methods including interviews, discussions, analysis, interpretation, observation and others. These methods focus on a lower number of respondents while trying to come to conclusions and generally repeated patterns, however, its reliability is not high due to the situation changing quickly and the individuality of the examined (Hennink, 2011, p. 9). Additionally, foreign tourists were interviewed when visiting various vegetarian and vegan local businesses, in order to find out their motivation for choosing Bali as their travel destination and whether their lifestyle influenced this particular choice. This part of the research was carried out to come to conclusions about stereotypes of vegetarians and vegans in Bali and their requirements when it comes to dietary habits.

The data collection was conducted during February to April 2019, with previous general observation starting from September 2018. The respondents who agreed to be interviewed were mostly between 18 and 30 years old, either employed in service sector among the tourism industry or studying at university, as people of younger age are peers of the author and communication is more natural with less significant language barrier. The answers were collected in English and Indonesian language,

often a combination of both, being the reason why the written data had to be adjusted and corrected, depending on the speaking abilities of each individual. Respondents were approached mainly in public places varying between restaurants, shops and markets located mostly in urban areas already focused on tourism for simpler communication and for the respondents to be already initially informed about the topic of focus, with the interviews lasting 10 to 20 minutes. The interview questions were structured and prepared, before being further developed to lead to more specific additional questions. Generally, the work starts by stating general information and knowledge, then comparing it to the actual current situation in reality, discussing and summarizing it.

1 Vegetarianism and Veganism

1.1 History of vegetarianism and veganism

According to the Oxford Dictionary of English, a vegan is a person who does not eat or use animal products and follows a vegan diet. Veganism is, therefore, the lifestyle vegans follow and was first mentioned in the 1940's, after being derived from the term vegetarian, meaning a person who does not eat meat or fish, where a vegetarian sometimes avoids other animal products too, especially for moral, religious, or health reasons (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1969). The magazine *The Vegan News* notes the term vegan itself to be validly used since November 1st 1944 by Donald Watson and from that time on, the date celebrates the World Vegan Day. Although people were already following the vegan diet at that time, until that moment they called themselves non-dairy vegetarians, as no other more specific term for that matter existed. European Vegetarian Union, an umbrella organization formed in 1985, currently based in Germany, created the original sign of the Union, the letter "V" with a little leaf growing from the top of the right side. This sign became global and has spread widely, although it is used for both vegan and vegetarian products. The Vegan Society also created its own logo soon after its establishment, containing also the letter "V" too, but in a circle with a flower similar to a sunflower (EVU, 2019). EVU¹ is closely connected to V-Label, which owns a trademark for the mentioned vegetarian and vegan symbols. Based in Switzerland since the year 1996, it is now internationally recognised, marking a vegetarian and vegan seal, allowing brands and companies to inform their customers about reliable products fulfilling expected criteria and quality (V-Label, 2019).

During several previous centuries, philosophers of the East and scientists of the West have been coming up with thoughts and ideas of the one ideal way of life and when diets were being mentioned, avoiding meat was often recommended, sometimes excluding the rest of animals products as well, other times still allowing eating fish or milk occasionally. In the past, vegetarianism may have been thought of in a restrictive manner, as meat has always been expensive and for most historical periods it used to be considered a luxury only higher social classes could afford

¹ EVU = European Vegetarian Union.

(David, 2012, pp. 6-10). Meat was to be eaten only on special occasions and ceremonies often connected to religion. Philosophers, scholars and scientists who wanted to express empathy towards the poorer social classes restricted themselves from eating meat as a form of compassion² and living in poverty was understood as a form of detoxification and purification of the body and spirit. Vegans follow a lifestyle that avoids all animal products, meaning meat, eggs, dairy products, honey and gelatine. Though vegetarianism and veganism raise various controversial questions amongst the general public, there is no doubt the number of people choosing to follow such diet and lifestyle is rising and people have number of motivating aspects to live this way.

1.2 Reasons for choosing alternative diets

- **Environmental and Ethical**

Concerns for the environment, global issues and ethics are some of the typical reasons to reduce animal produce intake. The decision helps to reduce overall carbon footprint and it is friendly to sustainability of resources, as eating plant based proteins requires three times less energy. In comparison to meat products, the same ratio applies to the use of water and about ten times less use of fertilizer and pesticides which harm the soil, while also reducing the landuse. The impact of the meat industry on the environment differs for each kind of meat as well as on its origin, with mass production of beef being the worse with methane emissions and use of land, next to fish industry affecting the ocean habitat and polluting water instead. The Food and Agriculture Organization³ has published a report on the severe environmental problems caused by livestock production in 2006, when they encouraged taking urgent action stating that mass production represents a bigger contribution to global warming than for example all transport emissions combined (Kimler, 2014, p. 135). Naturally, humans have ethical conscience; therefore maltreatment of animals in all forms should not be overlooked.

² Besides Gandhi and Buddha, there are historical proofs about for example Pythagoras, Plato, Edison or Einstein being vegetarian or following an alternative diet similar to vegetarianism (Kerry S. Walters, 2001, p. 53).

³ FAO = Food and Agriculture Organization.

- **Health related**

Some argue about vegetarian diet being appropriate for certain stages of human life, mainly when it comes to proper growth, however, it has been confirmed that it is not problematic in any age, from pregnancy to children and adolescents to adults and elderly people. Vegetarian nutrition can be tricky mainly when it comes to the intake of iron, calcium, vitamins B12 and D and omega-3 fatty acids, as some of these are supposed to be automatically present in animals products, for example omega-3 in fish and seafood or B12 in meat, as animals should be consuming these in their natural diet, but this has been changing during the past few decades, due to proteins, hormones and antibiotics being fed to them artificially in mass production (Phillips, 2005, pp. 133-135). Frequently, vegetarians get asked about their source of protein, as it is known to be present in meat and eggs, however, same amount of protein can be found in plant based sources. Furthermore, some vegetarian and vegan foods such as soybeans, most legumes and grains are comparably rich in protein as non-vegetarian protein sources. Casein, the milk protein present in cow milk, is often added to dairy products and causes respiratory issues, due to being too thick and clogging the system, which is one of the reasons adults are becoming allergic to dairy products or lactose intolerant (Insel & Ross, 2017, pp. 239-243). A planned vegan or vegetarian diet is proved to be beneficial for humans, as it is high in fibre and vitamins and low in processed foods, which usually contain high amounts of saturated fats and cholesterol, which is why vegetarians have lower rates of diabetes and obesity. In 2015, World Health Organization published an interview mentioning red and processed meat to be carcinogenic to humans (WHO, 2015). The organization, supported numerous researches of scientists has confirmed the connection between the consumption of red meat with cancer and cardiovascular diseases, which is why it encourages people to cut down on the intake of it.

- **Religious**

Across religions, there are traditions and laws encouraging or discouraging followers from eating certain types of foods. Some commands may be misinterpreted and confusing, as for example in the Bible before the Fall, God advises Adam and Eve to eat plant based foods, however, after the Flood, God permitted eating of meat and killing animals for human needs for plants to have a chance to recover after the Flood (Poy, 2011, p. 93). Then, Jewish people are allowed to eat meat, but they have

specific ways of selecting and preparing it for it to be in compliance with particular Jewish rules, summarized by the term *kosher*.⁴ In Islam, there exists a similar umbrella term for allowed foods, *halal*,⁵ which allows eating meats from animals that have been killed a certain way and prohibits consumption of all pork products as well as alcoholic beverages.

2 Vegetarianism and Veganism in Bali

2.1 Preconditions for the local Balinese to become vegetarian and vegan

Originally Indian religions which arrived to Bali from India through Java, leaving proofs mainly between 9th to 11th century caused the island of Bali to become the only Indonesian island with a dominant Hindu religion practised by locals. However, Hindu influences reached Indonesia already in the Saka-era, during the first century and official Census states that there are currently about 4,5 million Hindus within the archipelago, although the number could possibly be as much as twice as big. Due to travelling a long way before reaching the island, blending in with traditional animist religions and other cultural aspects brought mainly by tradesmen coming there by sea, it differs from Hinduism known from India. The beliefs are not completely identical; similarly to Hindus in India, the Balinese believe in reincarnation and karma, worshipping the trinity of Brahma, Siwa and Wisnu. In comparison to India, in Bali there is not such strictness about the classification of people's positions in the caste system, as more than 90 percent of the Balinese are in the common caste⁶ and only personal names can distinguish the higher standing priests and people from different castes interact with each other daily (Greenway, 2016, pp. 27-28).

⁴ Kosher (Hebrew) permitted for consumption, derived from Kashrut (Hebrew), a set of Jewish religious dietary laws.

⁵ Halal (Arabic) permissible, lawful, antonym is haram (Arabic) forbidden, both according to Quaran.

⁶ Sudra (ind.), meaning peasant, farmer, is the fourth, the most common caste in Hinduism, according to Hindu texts. Members of this lowest (except the untouchables or caste-less) caste in Balinese Hinduism usually work in agriculture.

Alike in India, Hindus should avoid eating beef, as cows are considered sacred.⁷ In the past, when people lived in lands providing them with complete self-sufficiency, cow products played an important role in trade as well as daily life. In the higher castes,⁸ Hindus often avoid other animal products too, following for example a lacto-vegetarian diet, in fact it is quite often encouraged, again because of its supposedly purifying properties. Those practises are advised in the most important Indian epics, which Balinese Hinduism also follows,⁹ together with advices to do as little harm to animals as possible as if doing so, deliver and offer the animal first to the Gods during religious ceremonies. Supposedly, Hindu traditions therefore suggest somewhat inclination towards vegetarianism, perhaps at least occasionally. In reality, in comparison to India, where some of the states consist of as much as 70 percent vegetarian population and India is generally traditionally the most vegetarian friendly country with about 38 percent vegetarians, most of whom lacto-vegetarian, in Bali, those beliefs are not as strong. When the economical situation allows it, the Balinese enjoy eating meat, mainly fish, chicken and pork. As mentioned, the two higher castes may have stricter dietary allowance, such as for example even trading of animals for slaughter and milk products or alcohol while also being forbidden from eating on the street or a marketplace. Generally, traditional Hindu families living in Bali are more prone to eating less meat, because of lower income, due to continuing to work in agriculture. Local communities in smaller villages located further from the tourist areas all play their part in obtaining the needed ingredients and products for daily use. Hindus in such communities enjoy only little meat regularly, however in times of celebrations of weddings, funerals and significant Holy days, they do not hesitate spending extra money, inviting wider family members as well as neighbours and strangers for a rich feast consisting of simple and typical but also non-vegetarian dishes containing poultry and pork,¹⁰ even if it means

⁷ According to India's traditional scripts, the original cow Mother Surabhi came out of the cosmic ocean, therefore, the five products out of the cow, milk, curd, ghee, urine and dung, are considered purifying.

⁸ The first three Hindu castes are Brahmana (the highest), Satriya (warrior) and Wesya (merchant or official) (Greenway, 2016, p. 28).

⁹ Mahabharata together with Ramayana are one of the most significant works of Indian epics. The pieces are considered the fifth part of Vedas, ancient Hindu scriptures written in Sanskrit. The epics are very extensive, perhaps the largest in the world. Bhagavad Gita is a part of Mahabharata, consisting of 700 verses, which are dated to originate in 4th century BC to 4th century AD (Turner, 2000).

¹⁰ A typical Balinese pork dish is Babi guling (ind.), turning pig, is a spit-roast pig stuffed with traditional spices and a mix of vegetables.

they spend everything they were working on earning during the previous weeks. When it comes to younger generations, traditional beliefs are starting to become lax, although the elders disapprove of it (Jones & Ryan, 2007). Not only that the youth enjoys eating in fast food restaurants, which offer Western dishes, but they do not even care what type of meat is a part of their meal and some eat beef regularly with no remorse, although it is not something they would reveal to their older family members. Also, with a significant number of Indonesians moving to Bali from the other islands, they bring dishes suitable for their religion, which often exclude pork but include beef instead and some of the Balinese eat it with no hesitation.

In addition, the tropical climate in Bali also supports eating lighter meals easier to digest for people to have energy to work without feeling stuffed or overeat. Due to the geographical position close to the equator, there are only two seasons alternating in Bali, dry and wet, which is very beneficial for almost constant rotation of agricultural opportunities, with the option to harvest crops more frequently than for example in a temperate climate. Therefore, locals are able to produce more, as wet season brings them the necessary water supplies which they are able to manage with their elaborate irrigation system. This allows the Balinese to have access to fresh and locally grown ingredients throughout the whole year, which naturally suggests using home-grown grains, fruits and vegetables as bases of dishes, without the need to create more complicated combinations, like for example adding some processed ingredients of animal origin, as basic ingredients are enough to make various vegetarian and vegan dishes, which is why many of the typical meals of Indonesian cuisine are vegetarian. Therefore, living in bigger cities where it is not a problem to buy food at shops or restaurants without the necessity to cook at home logically allures the Balinese to become lazier and choose faster and more convenient fast food options.

2.2 Daily life and habits

The Balinese surround their days around Hindu ceremonies and work, making most of the day by waking up early, as markets start while it is still dark outside, and then working all day, completing it with prayers at sunset. Regular days of the Balinese would not differ depending on the diet they choose to follow, as freshly prepared meals can be bought in markets or in shops throughout the whole day, as

merchants are used to waking up as early as at 2 a.m. to have enough time to prepare it properly. Dishes and snacks later sold in markets are usually cooked and prepped at homes of the locals, who then deliver them to individual merchants or sell them themselves. The whole system cooperates and in order to operate adequately, each person has their own indispensable position in it, especially in smaller villages. In rural areas, where each family often traditionally focuses on manufacture of a specific product or preparation of a certain ingredient, the trade still often functions on barter trade. There, people have yet to become envious of each other's property or wealth and rather focus on gratitude for all that comes, therefore, when it comes to food, simple meals are sufficient.

During religious festivals and on important Holy days, various traditional kinds of side dishes are prepared, including vegetables like long green beans, eggplant, corn and vegetable fritters, tofu, tempeh and jackfruit or chicken curry made with coconut milk, combined into the most common meal of all, *nasi campur*.¹¹ On daily basis, the Balinese are satisfied with just plain rice, noodles and a little bit of chicken, egg and tempeh and eat usually twice a day with a richer meal in the evening, with consistent snacking in between. Tempeh and tofu, which are very cheap and easily available are not considered meat substitutes, just another side dish in the eyes of locals, and are usually eaten along with chicken or fish. The Balinese traditionally eat with their hands, grabbing all components of the meal into one bite to achieve *campuran*¹²(mixture) of all the different tastes together at once.

A significant feature the daily life of the Balinese is *warung*, an Indonesian term for a place to eat, varying from a restaurant to a small food stall in the street or a market, serving meals and snack foods throughout the whole day. As these typical places to eat and gather are usually inexpensive, they are very popular among everybody, offering locals a place to spend their lunch break or free time in general, taking part in introducing the overall relaxed atmosphere of Bali. Warungs vary in size, offer and price range, selling everything from drinks and snacks to kitchen and bathroom necessities, fresh fruit and vegetables and typically mainly Indonesian

¹¹ Nasi Campur (ind.) mixed rice, perhaps the most typical Indonesian meal with many variations, depending on the side dishes available on display of a warung. Choices include meat, tempeh, tofu, noodles, fritters and vegetables or many kinds, making it the best choice for people with any taste or diet, as everyone can create their own plate of side dishes always accompanied by a base of rice.

¹² See ¹¹.

food, which is cooked in the back on a small stove, or is already prepared and visible on display and kept warm throughout the whole day (Van Esterik, 2008, pp. 20-24). The traditional habits are developing and changing in Balinese capital city Denpasar and other bigger cities such as Singaraja or areas with tourist resorts. There is a rising occurrence of fast food restaurants, where besides the typical American chains there are tens branches of their analogies originating in Java, serving usually fried chicken with a side of rice instead of potato fries. Another original Indonesian fast food restaurant meal is *ayam geprek* (shredded and fried chicken meat), served simply with rice and hot *sambal* sauce, which can be found in various restaurant chains with this specific focus. Fast food is becoming popular option for a place to hang out and eat mainly for younger people and families with children and a new variety of the traditional *warung*, where the food is available right away or for take-out as well. As eating while walking is considered impolite, Indonesians spend time in such establishment and same as a *warung*, cheap fast food restaurants and shopping centres are becoming a place to spend free time at.

2.3 Meat alternatives in Bali

Developed thousands of years ago, ancient East Asian civilizations already got used to higher population density and therefore obtain nutrients dense foods for as cheap as possible using low-technology methods (Hutton, 1999, p. 23). Similarly to the rest of the continent, Indonesian and Balinese cuisines surround their meals around rice, pairing it with various side dishes from the cheapest and most conveniently available ingredients, which means vegetables, eggs or some meat, creating numerous inexpensive and satisfying combinations. Concerning meat alternatives, there are many options, though the ingredients are not locally understood as substitutes. Besides many variations of meat alternatives made out of soya such as many types of tofu and tempeh, other popular ingredients for vegetarian and vegan dishes include jackfruit or mushrooms.

2.3.1 Jackfruit

Jackfruit is a spiky fruit with sticky and slimy insides is certainly complicated to work with, the Balinese and all Indonesians have learned to use its potential efficiently. As the fruit can weigh as much as 35 kilos, making it the largest fruit growing on trees, it can be found easily not only in shops and markets already

portioned, but also when observing the countryside, still attached to trunks of trees. Due to young jackfruit being almost tasteless and absorbing flavours easily, it makes it ideal for marinating and further utilization. On the other hand, when ripe it tastes very sweet, supposedly similar to a mix of pineapple, banana and mango or a bubblegum and the flesh can be consumed on its own fresh, if not repulsed by its strong odour. On top of that, jackfruit is rich in vitamins A, B6 and C, as well as calcium and potassium (Elevitch & Manner, 2006, pp. 5, 10). Interestingly, people have discovered its variability when it comes to meat substitutes, as the texture resembles that of a chicken, for which the flesh needs to be cooked to soften and shred. In Bali, similarly to other South East Asian cuisines, it is used to make curry stews, cooking it with spices and coconut milk. Therefore, a cheap meat alternative is available, creating an inexpensive vegetarian and vegan option. Balinese jackfruit curries or stews are seasoned with typical East Asian spices including bay leaves, kaffir lime leaves, lemongrass, ginger, shallots and garlic. Besides the health benefits of jackfruit, being low in fat and calories, it has many prospects for future success, as it is a sustainable crop that could help for example small farmers when facing food shortages in and outside Asia (Tejpal & Amrita, 2016, pp. 59-61).

2.3.2 Soybeans

Soybeans are a very typical and important ingredient of Indonesian cuisine, used all across Asia for possibly two thousand years too. Dry soy beans are being processed into meat alternatives, sauces and other plant based substitutes. Slowly realizing the potential of soy since the 20th century, the fields have grown all around the world,¹³ as farmers have realized its efficiency in proportion to the price, nutritious value and complexity of maintenance. Soybeans are processed in many ways to create plant based ingredients typical for Asian cuisines, by now commonly used worldwide, starting with sauces for flavour and alternatives of dairy products suitable for vegans and those who are lactose intolerant, to meat substitutes. Soy products can be divided into two categories, depending on whether the beans have undergone the process of fermentation. Non-fermented ingredients include plain soybeans, canned or in dry form, edamame from young soy pods, sprouts, soy flour,

¹³ The world's largest soy producers for the past about 50 years have been the United States, Brazil, Argentina, India and China (Chen Kuan-I, 2012).

soymilk and alternatives further produced out of it, such as yoghurt or tofu. The most popular fermented soy products are *miso*¹⁴ paste, soy sauce, and tempeh (Jooyandeh, 2011). Until today, Java remains the Indonesian biggest producer and consumer of soy and soy based alternatives, because of the majority of population living there. Due to a growing number of people suffering from allergy or intolerance to dairy products, the popularity of its substitutes is growing.

- **Tempeh**

Tempeh¹⁵ is a Javanese invention, made out of fermented compressed soybeans, sold in every market or shop for a very cheap price all across Indonesia. Sliced into bigger or smaller blocks, it serves as a healthy meat alternative rich in protein the Javanese were able to produce without being experts in microbiology or chemistry. Usually, it is eaten fried after coating it in starch mixed with spices plated together with meat, tofu and other side dishes along with rice and condiments. To make it, soybeans are cooked and dehulled, before *Rhizopus oligosporus*¹⁶ is used as a starter culture for the production of tempeh both at home and industrially. The fungi are applied to make mould when later packed in containers, or traditionally, banana leaves, where the compressed tempeh is incubated at about 30°C for 24 hours, while the fungus grows, creating a network of white filaments needed for soy beans to stick together. Conveniently, the tropical climate in Indonesia reaching about 25 to 31 degrees Celsius daily, allow the fermentation to work fast, taking only 24-48 hours (Jooyandeh, 2011). Therefore, unlike other beans, tempeh does not produce gas in the intestines, because of the bacteria present in it.

Tempeh is supposed to have been invented in Central or East Java in 19th century, but it may have been far earlier than that, as some sources believe that it could have been invented as early as one or two thousand years ago. Unfortunately, not that many details have been discovered about it in comparison to other soy foods. Tempeh was then first brought to Europe and produced commercially by the Dutch in the middle of the 20th century and for a few decades The Netherlands were leaders

¹⁴ *Miso* (Jap.) a paste made out of soy, used traditionally in Japanese cuisine as a flavouring or seasoning, produced by fermenting soybeans with salt and *koji* fungus.

¹⁵ *Tempe* (Ind.), simplified to tempeh in English and some other languages. The letter “h” is added to make sure the word is pronounced correctly as “*tem-pay*”. The term refers to other fermented foods as well, but the most popular is the one made out of soy.

¹⁶ *Rhizopus oligosporus* (Lat.) a fungus used as a starter culture for the production of tempeh, both at home and industrially, domesticated in Indonesia for several centuries.

in its production. During the World Wars, soybeans were a staple food of European soldiers; however, soy was complicated to digest, due to not being cooked long enough. Therefore, tempeh played a crucially important role in the protein intake of soldiers and helped to reduce death rates, containing the needed nutrients while being easy to digest. Tempeh used to be considered a food of the poor, as most information about it came from war camps or peasants. Due to this fact, although people of all social classes were eating it regularly, Indonesians took a long time to appreciate their invention.

3 Vegetarian and vegan tourists in Bali

Due to the massive increase of international tourist arrivals in Bali, foreigners have a significant influence on life on the island in all aspects of daily routines of local people. Though the perception of changes caused by the growing number of tourists is positively accepted and welcomed by the Balinese population to a certain point, the culture may be endangered as a consequence of overlooking it and neglecting necessary precautions. The Balinese are very accommodating when it comes to foreign tourists' needs, meeting requirements in terms of alternative diets as well. Again, this is specific for Bali, as the Western influence there is the strongest and local population is in daily contact with tourists. So it seems that the Balinese initially welcome the interest of tourists with open arms due to the certainty of contribution to local businesses.

Thus, even though the Balinese are not vegetarians or vegans themselves, the island helps to spread the ideas by being known as the ideal place for people of such beliefs to visit. In the vegan community, Bali is often recommended as the ideal place when it comes to food. Although this could be generalized for the destination overall, as for most Westerners, the low prices in South East Asian countries are very appealing, even the other activities Bali is nowadays known for, such as yoga or spirituality is often connected to alternative lifestyles. Consequently, Balinese and Indonesian recipes and ingredients such as unknown types of fruit like durian or jackfruit or tempeh are brought to the West and mingled into cuisines, creating innovative plant-based recipes.

In addition, Indonesia ranked 16th in the Global Vegetarian Index, which compared all countries based on three factors, including the number of vegetarian-friendly restaurants, number of people per vegetarian restaurants by dividing the size of population by the number, as well as annual meat consumption per capita. Each country received a score, which gives a general global idea, although the information may not be precise and the number develop and change. Indonesia, due to quite low overall consumption of meat and 438 (10th on the list) vegetarian restaurants listed on Happy Cow,¹⁷ although the ratio of number of people per one restaurant was second highest after India (Oliver's, 2017). This index serves as a great tool for tourists when searching online, as many other websites and blogs get inspired by it, although the real situation in the countries is different due to the dependency of the development of the country and online activity advertising such vegetarian businesses.

3.1 Typology of tourists

According to Erik Cohen (Kotíková, 2013, pp. 32-33), tourists can be classified into four main groups. This typology consists of organized mass tourists, who travel to a certain destination typically in order to relax, having all services included in a beforehand arranged package, with a set unchangeable schedule, isolated from reality of the place of visit only spending time within the accommodation complex. The table continues with individual mass tourists, who still partially rely on arranged facilities and bookings in advance and even visit the same locations as the previous tourist group, however, they move around according to their own plan. The third group are explorers, who want to avoid crowds and choose to follow unusual tracks in close contact with local residents, as long as they feel secure and safe, then in case of an unexpected unpleasant situation, they move towards what is already known and comfortable. The last group of Cohen's classification are drifters, who cross the boundaries to discomfort and danger, in order to achieve original unconventional experiences and blending into local communities, avoiding other tourists as much as possible. Additionally, the first two groups are described as Institutionalized tourists, while the second two groups are non-institutionalized.

¹⁷ HappyCow.net is the world's leading vegetarian and vegan website listing restaurants.

3.2 Doxey's irridex

In 1975, George Doxey created a Model of Host Irritation (Beeton S. , 2006, pp. 39-41), which can be applied to destinations around the world in the point of tourism development, when the effects start affecting a certain community negatively. The model helps to take action accordingly, to possibly prevent the expected upcoming stages, describing the host responses to growing pressure caused by an increasing number of visitors. During the early stages, euphoria is observed within the community, welcoming all benefits brought by tourism, especially when it comes to improvement of economic status, as there are only few visitors and locals appreciate their interest. The local approach then moves towards apathy, realising the promised positive impact is not being fulfilled completely and does not affect the whole community. At this stage, hosts are already used to visitors, who are seen as only a source of income. Later, the hosts start to be annoyed by all inconvenient adaptations necessary to meet tourists' requirements, as at this stage the lives of all members of the local community is affected as the number of visitors keeps growing. The tourism industry here already frustrates the hosts and the development reaches peak point of pressure on locals and the destination itself. Those feelings then lead to antagonism, which can even lead to violent behaviour of local community towards tourists, who are now blamed for producing negative impacts only.

3.3 Groups of tourists in Bali inclined to vegetarianism and veganism

With the rapidly growing number of tourist arrivals to Bali, there can be observed certain stereotypes of people visiting the island mainly among unconventional travellers. The motivation of people to choose Bali as their destination differs and usually consists of more than just one purpose of travelling, as it is usually a combination of activities, personal requirements and overall lifestyle. Based on Cohen's typology, the most tourists inclined to alternative lifestyles such as vegetarianism and veganism are classified as explorers, as the time they spend in Bali is longer than average and the list of their planned activities is wide, however, they choose to organize everything themselves, move from place to place and seek to

experience something extraordinary. Not all individuals in the specific groups I am going to mention are vegetarians or vegans, however their mindset is typically very close to those beliefs and activities they plan are alternative and connected to the studied lifestyles. Generally, the following groups include dominantly people from Australia, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, aged between 20 to 35 years, but further research would be necessary to obtain more precise statistics about the origin of travellers.

- **Yogis**

The first noticeable group and people interested in spirituality through yoga, meditation and activities connected with it. Yoga tourism is one of the new trends of tourism of the 21st century as many people travel to experience something spiritual, connecting it with healthy habits and active lifestyle, as all types of yoga together with meditation are proved to be helpful with both physical and mental health. People who practise yoga often have positive approach towards overall alternative lifestyles, which often brings them to vegetarianism and veganism. As yoga originates in Indian Hindu culture, Bali is an ideal place to practise it, either only as a partial motivation of travelling, or to complete a full course to become a yoga teacher or an instructor, as travel agencies offer tours specifically focused on yoga as the main purpose of visit. The focus group in this section, however, are individuals who choose yoga as one of many activities experienced during their stay and do not plan or schedule it in advance. Yoga centres in Bali are run by both locals and foreigners working in Bali for a longer time, and especially in more touristic areas such as Ubud, where there can be found several studios of this kind on every street. The centres usually provide various activities, such as classes and lessons like for example ecstatic¹⁸ or contact¹⁹ dance, also popular among so focused travellers. Cafes and restaurants are other usual integral parts of yoga centres. The restaurants connected to the mentioned multipurpose studios offer many vegetarian, vegan and even raw dishes, which attract outside customers too and provide a place to meet for those of similar mindsets.

¹⁸ A form of dance in which dancers free themselves to the rhythm of music and move as the music takes them, leading to possibly to trance or feeling of ecstasy.

¹⁹ A form of improvised dancing that involves the exploration of one's body's relationship to others around them by sharing weight, touch, and movement.

Probably the most significant influence on tourism growth in this direction had the internationally spread publicity of the book *Eat Pray Love*, which attracts a wider spectrum of travellers, but yogis make up a significant portion of those. During the past nine years, the locations mentioned in the book have noticed an obvious rise in numbers of both international and domestic visitors as the movie starring Julia Roberts was released in 2010. The region of Ubud has been known as the Balinese centre of culture since the eighth century, as healers of natural medicine, as the name of the city itself comes from an Indonesian word *obat*, which means medicine. Both in the book and in the movie, the main heroine visits a healer in Ubud, who helps her on her journey to rejuvenation. This way, the book advertises alternative lifestyles, as well as yoga, meditation and other spiritual practices. Even though the food section of the book does not take place in Bali, there are often direct connections between dietary and spiritual aspects common for vegetarianism and veganism, although not essentially. In the Ubud region, there is the highest concentration of yoga studios, as well as vegetarian and vegan restaurants, which creates ideal conditions for such spiritually based purposes of tourists' stay.

- **Freelancers**

Another diverse group of travellers to Bali are freelancers, who work under their own personal name or a brand, not depending on an employer or a company. These people are self-employed and in the past this labelling would include for example journalists, however nowadays, as many people work online, this classification is wider and may include business owners, copywriters, designers or so called digital nomads and social media influencers. Freelancers, although independent on location or an actual office are on the other hand dependent on internet connection, which is why they choose specific areas of a destination, where they can be sure to have access to it. In Bali, specifically in the area of Canggu, there has formed a community of social media influencers, who make their living online, sharing parts of their personal lives while promoting locations, products and their personal life, working in digital media, internet technologies, marketing or as entrepreneurs and. Particular areas of Bali have accustomed to create a base for these groups of travellers, adapting the surrounding in favour of their lifestyle, providing all popularly required services. These foreign travellers choose to stay for longer amount of time than regular tourists in Bali, typically alternating work with exciting

activities, typically surfing or skateboarding. In connection to this independent way of living, young people in this community usually follow alternative lifestyles such as vegetarianism and veganism, as it suits both health and trend aspects. By sharing their experiences on social media, local Balinese businesses get free promotion, as vegetarians and vegans advertise restaurants, accommodation providers and other services, reaching a wide range of potential customers with such way of living and beliefs. In Bali, with today's internet data access almost everywhere, the conditions for people working online are very pleasant, perhaps belonging to the third group of Cohen's classification, as they seek to explore a location very far from their home, but still need a certain level of comfort, which in their case is internet connection and electricity.

4 The relationship of the Balinese with vegetarian and vegan tourists

4.1 Influence of vegetarian and vegan tourists on the offer of restaurants in Bali

Although traditional Indonesian cuisine provides many options for vegetarians and vegans, using basic ingredients without the necessity to add animal products to every meal, not all tourists travelling to Bali are ready to experience the authenticity fully. At first, travellers are usually disturbed by the hygienic conditions which are unsatisfactory in comparison to standards of European Union, the West and developed countries in general. Primary cultural shock is usually inevitable, entailing foreigners to be excessively conscious about the conditions their food is being prepared in. Therefore, many tourists avoid eating meat at least at the beginning of their stay, not trusting the local cooking methods, as the ingredients are often not stored in a sanitary environment.

Consequently, while also being inspired by foreign cuisines with the pursuit of improving overall standards in the hospitality sector, during the recent years there have opened hundreds of restaurants in Bali, offering traditional Indonesian dishes, as well as dishes originating from Western cuisines. In Bali specifically, it is a question of minutes to find a restaurant which meets individual's dietary requirements, whether that means the comfort of a restaurant chain or a certain type

of food. Balinese restaurants regularly offer meatless options, typically in the form one of the three basic dishes, which is fried rice, fried noodles or *gado-gado*, a traditionally vegetarian lighter meal famous for its peanut sauce. Almost all bigger restaurants offer pasta, pizza or burgers, with global fast food chains having a higher concentration of locations the more tourism popular the specific area is. As local Balinese businesses try to fulfil the wishes of foreign travellers, restaurants usually have modern interior design ideal for taking photos, with popular English quotes as decorations on the walls. Besides the employees being able to communicate in English at least on a basic level, the menus are very often written in English too, with descriptions or pictures for simpler orientation. In areas already adapted to tourists, restaurants advertise themselves as vegetarian or vegan directly and in addition, using Google maps is very helpful when it comes to finding a required type of restaurant, as lists of closely located businesses appear with descriptions, photos of the meals and reviews, giving the tourist a fundamental idea about the place they are considering to visit, given the advice of other travellers on the pricing and alternative options. Due to the popularity of such modern and developed businesses with, the prices usually increase accordingly to the quality and width of the offer, as restaurant owners are becoming competitive with other similar businesses in the area and the cost of the meals is still quite low in comparison to what most international tourists are used to.

In regular Balinese restaurants, tofu or tempeh are considered equivalent to meat, which is why cross contamination is regular, due to frying meat alternatives in the same oil or cooking it in the same pot or pan as meat. Typical fast food restaurants with numerous locations around the island and Indonesia overall serving for example *ayam geprek* (fried shredded chicken) or regular fried chicken, have confirmed frying tofu, tempeh and mushrooms in the same oil as chicken, not understanding the issue vegetarians would see in this situation, as for them it is more convenient and economic, as they are used to later combining it on the plate anyway. Completely vegetarian and vegan restaurants guarantee safe and reliable conditions of preparation of the food, for which many people do not hesitate to pay more. Specialized restaurants therefore offer not only comfort foods which may remind tourists of their country of origin, but also provide authentic Indonesian cuisine with the certainty of zero animal products used, which enables tourists to try all typical

recipes. Generally, if the restaurant is not initially completely vegetarian or vegan, it adapts the menu depending on the demand, so if tourists ask about more vegetarian options, the restaurant is likely to add those. Recently, as allergies are more common, nut free or gluten free option are consequently also more frequent.

Loving Hut²⁰ is the biggest fully vegan restaurant chain in the world, founded by Ching Hai in Vietnam. There are two locations in Bali, one in Denpasar, second one in Singaraja. Each country is free to offer its own fare and suggest innovative meals under the condition of it staying completely vegan, as there are currently more than 200 locations in 35 countries around the world, the first one opening in the year 2008. The founder of the restaurant is also a very active author and a businesswoman in the fields of spirituality studies, politics, world peace, climate change and influence, with her slogan “Be vegan, make peace”, as a motto of her restaurant franchise. The menu in Bali mainly includes Asian cuisine, including rice and noodle dishes, dumplings, soups and spring rolls. Besides that, there are also fusions of Italian, American or Mexican cuisines. In Bali, Loving Hut was one of the first fully vegan restaurants opened, where customers are able to taste typical Indonesian dishes, which would otherwise contain meat, such as *bakso* (soup with meat balls) or *sate* (meat skewers with peanut sauce). In addition to tofu and tempeh, the recipes use also mushrooms, soy meat and wheat protein as meat substitutes, as well as seaweed to recreate the taste of fish. In comparison to most other fully vegan restaurants located in the areas of Bali such as Canggu, Seminyak or Ubud, the meals are half the price in Loving Hut. The aesthetic look or decoration of the served meals may not be as picture-perfect and trendy, but the taste is very authentic, due to having more experience than most newly opened vegetarian and vegan restaurants.

4.2 Approach of the Balinese to vegetarian and vegan tourists

In Bali, similarly to the rest of Indonesia, the tolerance of locals towards any unusual beliefs or religions is a historically formed mindset. The Balinese are known for their hospitality and kindness, among other reasons due to the various currents of thinking touching Indonesia from all directions for centuries. Local people have no

²⁰ Loving Hut Denpasar: Pertokoan Sudirman Agung B 12 A, Kota Denpasar, Bali 80232. Interview with an employee implemented in February 2019 (Loving Hut, 2018) (Loving Hut I. , 2019).

problem with adaptation, although they do not appreciate when their way of living is disturbed, especially when it comes to religious rituals, which are their priority even over earning money consistently, as perhaps the only so traditionally strong habit left. Unfortunately, even in this essential part of life, which religion stands for in Bali, local people are affected negatively by the rapid tourism development, although it depends on the age and strictness of sticking to traditions, varying significantly between busy areas and more isolated villages. In the scale of Doxey's Irridex, the situation in Bali would be complicated to fit into just one stage of, as the local residents' generally kind and warm personality suggests the destination to be still in the first stage of development, at least at the first sight. However, even though all visitors are welcome, the Balinese accommodative approach is no longer caused by the primary astonishment but rather the opportunities tourism brings when it comes to work opportunities and living standard improvement.

To regulate tourism from influencing the island negatively, although foreign investment, as well as co-ownership is supported, laws have been introduced for example forbidding foreigners from owning land in Bali. The Balinese who used to live in areas now busy with tourism development are being pushed into more central inland areas of the island or to suburban parts of cities. Consequently, a significant part of street art created by local artists often refers to negative influence of the rapid development, portraying the expansion and speed of building in coastal areas. This approach suggests Bali to be in advanced stages of Doxey's Irridex, as local communities' approach has undoubtedly progressed towards apathy an annoyance, with possible risks of violence in the most affected areas. Nevertheless, the influence would have to be investigated in just one specific region, as it differs for each and it is complicated to distinguish unbiased opinions.

Generally, most of the Balinese have an idea about alternative diets, knowing the connection of vegetarianism and veganism with avoiding certain animal products. Usually when being asked about vegetarianism, local people know it stands for not eating meat; however, they are often confused about fish and seafood being considered meat too and sometimes they ask about chicken as well. When it comes to veganism, they assume some additional animal products are avoided, such as eggs and dairy, some of them also being aware of other ingredients, such as honey. Those working in more tourist popular areas are usually more informed, as they are in daily

contact with foreigners. Religion of individuals also influences the answers, as Hindus should have at least a basic idea about historical roots, differences from its original Indian current or restrictions within the higher castes. Besides religion, rather than seeing the motivation of vegetarians and vegans in ethics or the environment, they connect it with health reasons. Noticing also the increasing number of people suffering with allergies to certain animal products, the Balinese assume people who care about their health regularly decide to become vegetarian or vegan, as most of those working in the hospitality sector noticed the increasing demand of customers for options concerning their allergies. Generally, local Balinese agree with such beliefs, occasionally practising it themselves, or choosing meatless meals in times of curing a sickness. Positively, they typically happily fulfil wishes of vegetarians and vegans, try to understand the adjustments needed to meet the requirements the best they can and their approach towards alternatively living people does not differ. Any misunderstanding due to language barrier or lack of attention is usually excused with a smile and an apology. However, this attitude is based on their overall accommodative personality, rather than inclination to vegetarianism and veganism.

Conclusion

This thesis is focused on the perception of vegetarianism and veganism in Bali. As this Indonesian island is located in the tropical zone very close to the equator, the climatic conditions are very favourable for agriculture throughout the whole year, which enables access to fresh ingredients typical for cooking plant based meals. With historically traditional use of soy based ingredients in Indonesian cuisine similarly to the rest of Asia in general, vegetarians and vegans are attracted to travel to destinations with pleasant preconditions in coherence with the lifestyle they follow. Bali, especially in some particular areas, is already in an advanced stage of tourism development, providing foreign travellers with favourable living conditions and high standard of services while the destination's pricing usually still remains affordable in comparison to their home countries. In the parts of the island, where tourism is the primary source of income, local people working in services and hospitality are interacting daily with tourists, absorbing their beliefs not only when it comes to the diets the visitors follow, and therefore learn about the possibilities of alternatives diets and their specific requirements. Although the Balinese are Hindus, their beliefs are not as inclined to vegetarianism and veganism as those of people for example in India, although their fundamental mindset aligned with the religion is quite connected with respect towards animals. The local perception of the culinary has a ceremonial significance of expression and relationships. In daily life, consumption of food is solely a part of the routine. However, the accommodative personality of the Balinese people, as well as their interest in learning about new cultures and improving themselves as individuals causes rapid development of vegetarian and vegan options.

After explaining the fundamental principles and motivation of vegetarianism and veganism, the thesis investigated the conditions, due to which vegetarianism and veganism has potential to be received positively in Bali, without disturbing traditional habits of local population. The work then proceeded to introduce some of the ingredients typically used in Indonesian cuisine, later continuing to observation and field research of the current situation on the island. Finding out the opinions and perspectives of local residents as well as international travellers, the work then proceeded to discover various aspects of influence the communities are mutually

exchanging. In the context of tourism theories, the topic is also connected to the tourism development in Bali, with the growing number of foreign visitors who are vegetarians and vegans, affecting local offer of businesses. The thesis has confirmed the influence international tourists partially have on the understanding of the local Balinese perception of vegetarianism and veganism and enabled understanding of these lifestyles with traditional local Balinese culture and customs.

Resume

Tato bakalářská diplomová práce s názvem *Veganství a vegetariánství na Bali: antropologická perspektiva* se zaměřila na vegetariánství a veganství na Bali v Indonésii. Jelikož jsou tyto životní styly v posledních letech velmi populární stejně jako tato ostrovní destinace, práce má za cíl zjistit jaké jsou předpoklady pro toleranci a vnímání alternativního způsobu stravování na tomto místě. Práce nejprve představuje základní přesvědčení vegetariánů a veganů, následně navazuje na podmínky, které Bali poskytuje v kontextu jak historickém, tak i současném. Následující sekce pak popisují nejprve specifické rostlinné ingredience používané v tradiční indonéské kuchyni a jejich využití, načež se zaměřuje na vztah a subjektivní názory místních Baličů na vliv, který s sebou přináší mezinárodní turisté vegetariáni a vegani.

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