

How Traditional Balinese Houses Can Adjust and Cater for International Tourist in the Canggu Area, Bali Indonesia?

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Abstract--*Bali has a unique architectural value. When tourism enters as a new culture, Balinese people need adjustments to the culture brought by tourists. Differences tradition and culture in each Regency in Bali, is the biggest obstacle for the government for make basic rules for housing. The height limit of a vertical building must not exceed than the height of a coconut tree. This rule is the main obstacle to development of high rise buildings in Bali. This research is a case study that originates from many homestay phenomena which were raised as a trend of mass media coverage in Bali. Period of housing development is obtained through interviews with homeowners and tourists. Results of this study indicate that ritual zone cannot be lost. Canggu community did several ways to maintain their residential units. First is adding space to existing buildings, and make combination in two or more occupant-owned buildings so that more rooms are available for commercial functions without sacrificing the ritual zone.*

Key words-- *Balinese Traditional House, Adjustment, Tourism*

I. INTRODUCTION

The ancestors of Balinese people very sacred with structure of the housing space. Every inch of land, the distance between one building to another, has its own size that comes from body dimensions of the occupants in the house. However, after the rapid development of tourism in Bali, these traditional homes face many challenges. Starting from the curiosity of tourists to the culture and social life of the Balinese people, the house only used for tourist attraction. In the beginning, tourist just wondering how the social interaction and cultural life of Balinese people inside the house. After that, tourist behavior develops into permanent residence. Many tourists than come to stay for long time in Bali. Cause that, people in Bali start thinking about building a homestay. Homestay began to develop in Bali in the 1920s which was initiated by Walter Spies who stayed at Puri Ubud (Merta et al, 2018). In the 1930s homestay later developed in the Kuta area, and in the 1980s, homestays began to explore the Sanur area. Anom et al (2017) research entitled "Turismemorfofosis" in detail mentions the development of tourist characteristics in the beginning of tourists to Bali until the decade of the 2000s. In this study it was stated that in the 1980s to 2010 Bali began to recognize integrated accommodation in the form of hotels. At this time, tourists visiting the homestay began to decrease compared to previous years. However, after the publication of the ASEAN Tourism Standards Task Force by the ASEAN Ministry of Tourism in 2010, homestays re-emerged as priority accommodation. Seven standards set by the ASEAN Tourism Ministry include, 1) Green Hotels, 2) Food and Beverage Service, 3) Public Restroom, 4) Homestays, 5) Ecotourism, 6) Tourism Heritage, 7) Community Based Tourism (CBT). The existence of this community based tourism encourages the development of homestays in

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community residential units in all City Districts in Bali.

The density of accommodation in Kuta area has an impact on the surrounding area. One of the areas affected by the transfer of tourists is the Canggu area. Accommodation in this area began to grow after the construction of the Petitenget-Canggu shortcut road. Tugu Batubolong Hotel is the first accommodation that built in the Canggu area. Now, this hotel has been eroded by the growth of accommodation that built inside the residence of the Canggu community. Tourists prefer to stay in homes that have empty rooms with a daily or monthly rental system. Starting from one or two houses, then spread to all *banjar* in Canggu. The concept of a homestay that previously used an empty room in a house with the concept of one single bed, is now undergoing a transformation into a dormitory, better known as the "*monkey house*" by the Canggu community. This monkey house offers multi-bedroom beds. One room can consist of 4 until 8 bed, that rental rates are calculated per head of the person staying. Various phenomena that occur after the rapid tourism in the village of Canggu, requires people to adapt to the new culture brought by tourists. In addition to adapting in terms of social interaction, the physical environment of the community is also required to be able to accommodate the needs of tourists who live in it. The construction of accommodation that exceeds the number of tourists who come to Canggu per month has resulted in competition among the people in determining homestay rates. The community is faced with two very difficult choices. On the one hand, people are required to fulfill economic needs, so they begin to modify the spaces in the house so that they can get many rooms for rent. In other life, the people of Canggu are very attached to the traditional tradition, where processions of humans are born until humans die, must be done inside their traditional house. This case need requires conservation of the ritual space inside the house. It is this dualism that requires the community to immediately seek solutions in developing tourism accommodation units owned horizontally, considering that until now, the District Government in Bali has not allowed the construction of buildings high above the height of a coconut tree (15 m).

Research Question

From the research background, it can be raised the problem of how to adjust space within the traditional Balinese houses of the Canggu community which has been used for lodging.

1. How Balinese traditional house in Canggu adjust to the need of tourist?
2. How do people in Canggu build tourist accommodation inside the traditional house that has high ritual value?

Research Objectives

Conservation of traditional Balinese homes is very important given the strong customs and culture that unite the community. Customs and culture as one of the tools of the Balinese people survive from the pressure of the capitalists who want to dominate all of Bali's nature. The island of Bali without customs and culture will eliminate local identity as a thousand temple island.

Purpose of this study in general is help solve the problem of developing tourism accommodation that built inside traditional Balinese houses. Helping to find a solution related to the emergence of cheap tourism problems which is the main issue for the development of tourist accommodation in Bali today. Providing conceptual solutions and methods for developing tourist accommodation that are in harmony with

the concept of Balinese culture, as the basis for making *awig-awig* (traditional Balinese rules) in determining physical rates and limits for the construction of tourist accommodation built in the homes of Balinese people.

Outcome Targets and Research Benefits

The focus of this research is that Canggu community houses are still occupied today, but at the same site tourist accommodation was also built. The house under study still has a family sanctuary inside the house and residents of the house must have customary ties with Canggu Village.

The benefits of this research can be seen from various perspectives. In terms of local communities, the existence of this research is expected to be able to provide a basic guide for the Canggu community who want to develop their homes for homestays and other tourist accommodations, by not reducing selling value and not violating applicable rules and regulations. Provide solution for Balinese people who want develop his house. Benefits for policy makers, this research can be used as a guideline to formulate tourist accommodation policies that are currently not detailed in the Regional Regulations or in the *awig-awig*.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Some studies on traditional Balinese residences are carried out by Acwin (2003), Wastika (2005), Parwata, I. W. (2011) very useful to find out the basic concepts underlying the formation of spatial structures in traditional Balinese residential houses. Acwin (2003) suggested that the concept of building traditional Balinese houses in principle was based on the concept of balancing the relationship between *Bhuana Agung* and *Bhuana Alit*, *Manik Ring Cucupu*, *Tri Hita Karana*, *Tri Angga*, *Hulu-Teben* until the concept of the value of *Sanga Mandala* giving direction spatial planning, both at home and residential (village) scale. The application of traditional Balinese housing conceptions according to Acwin (2003) was also influenced by the concept of *Tri Pramana* (*Desa, Kala, Patra*) which became an operational tactical foundation, realizing a housing pattern that varied in each City District in Bali. Refer to the concept put forward by Wastika (2005). Wastika stated that, *Tri Hita Karana* is the basic concept of building houses in Bali. House building in traditional Balinese housing plans to pay attention to the abiotic environment. Cover the building with a wall (perimeter fence), while each building in it is left open to be able to take advantage of light, air, freely by opening the widest possible space that can oriented in the middle of site (*natah*). In one yard at traditional Balinese house is generally divided into three parts, namely part *luan* (above) is used for worship places, the middle part of the residence while the *teben* (low) part is to store materials that are no longer useful and keep animals. In each of these areas also planned places for plants that are useful for ceremonial facilities, household needs and for medicine. In terms of strength, we also consider the selection of building materials, which are adapted to the environment.

The basic concept is then explained in more detail by Parwata (2011). Parwata stated that traditional Balinese housing is a form of building that functions as a residence built using the size of the limbs of a homeowner known as "*sikut*", with the aim that the homeowner can become one with the building occupied. The use of these sizes is adjusted to *Hasta Kosala Kosali*. Traditional Balinese homes are based on religious norms, beliefs, local customs. In the implementation guidelines contained various rules, provisions, and various other arrangements which are protective factors in its development. *Hasta kosala kosali* itself consists of several parts. In the article "Traditional Balinese Architecture: What Is Thought and What Is

Seen" made by Gantini et al (2011) it is stated that the concept of the *kosala kosali* consists of three parts, namely, the building, ritual and physical procedures of the building itself. These three things are the cause of the harmony of the buildings in traditional Balinese homes so that this concept must be preserved. The entry of tourism into Bali brings various kinds of changes, including changes in the structure of the space of the community housing units. As done by Primadi et al (2017), Diasana Putra et al (2017), Budiharjo (2017) who examines changes in traditional Balinese homes due to the rapid development of tourism in Bali. Efforts to make Balinese culture as a tourism commodity have been carried out since the colonial era through Baliseering ", followed by the New Order era with the theme " Cultural Tourism "and in the 21st century the tourism trend in Bali changed to " *Ajeg Bali* "(preservation of Bali).

The change in Bali's tourism paradigm towards the concept of sustainability is one form of the government's concern about the loss of Bali's local values and concepts, including the architecture of its residential units. As Primadi et al (2017) stated, the existence of Balinese homes has been displaced due to an increase in the number of family members and increased economic needs. Economics is the main factor that has driven changes in the arrangement of space in traditional Balinese homes. In the case of Penglipuran Village, what was updated was only material for external physical appearance. To accommodate the additional function of tourism, the Penglipuran community only renovates the interior of the building, adjusts to the needs of tourists, such as the addition of a bathroom and dressing table. The most consistently maintained by the Penglipuran community is the physical form of *angkul* (entrance / entrance) and *natah* orientation center which is maintained in the center of the yard. Slightly different from the changes identified by Diasana Putra et al (2017).

Based on the literature review above, it can be seen the physical characteristics of traditional Balinese housing as well as the values contained in them. So, in creating an effort to develop the value system it becomes a basic reference to see the developments that occur in the present. Any building that has been removed by the community, and what buildings have been maintained until now. From the results of a comparison theory and facts of the field, a finding of a new arrangement pattern can be developed.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a case study research that originated from the many phenomena of homestay in Canggu tourism area which was raised as a trending topic of mass media coverage in Bali. The main focus of this research is the traditional Canggu community house which has the status of *karang ayahan desa* (having traditional ties with the Canggu Village), but has now undergone a change. Have tourist facilities and must have a holy place (*sangguh/pemerajan*) in the house. Data collection was carried out by interviewing residents of the house and tourists who stayed in the houses. Observation of the composition in the residential space and the form of tourist accommodation that was built was carried out to obtain the physical characteristics of people's homes. Data from these observations are then compared with the results of interviews with homeowners and what tourists expect for accommodation provided, to be taken into consideration in making recommendations for additional space for tourist accommodation. The documentation of the object of the research is carried out to help the writer remember the building problems that occur in spaces that are in the object of study. In the future, this research is expected to be used as input in the development of traditional Balinese homes, especially in the Tourism area.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Results

Based on the results of observations, documentation and interviews with the people who live in seven *banjars* in Canggu, there is a unique arrangement of space in their homes. In some literature on traditional Balinese homes, and several previous researchers, mentioning that the linear pattern in traditional Balinese homes is very synonymous with the composition of the residential space of the people in the mountains, because the geographical conditions of the house are not made possible with the concept of *sanga mandala* on the axis of the earth, *kaja-kelod* (north-south) and *kangin-kauh* / sunrise and sunset (east-west). The fact of the condition of the settlements in Canggu seems to break the concept of a linear pattern that is only found in mountainous regions. Starting the access into the Canggu community housing unit there are buildings of *angkul-angkul* with the same form as those in Bali in general. Naming the building has the same concept, namely the center is on the middle site (*natah*). The kitchen is placed near the main entrance of the site, where the kitchen has the meaning of neutralizing all negative auras before residents and visitors enter the residential area. After that there is a barn building placed adjacent to the kitchen (*paon*). Buildings that are used for beds are *bale daja* and *bale delod*. The meaning of *bale delod* by the people of Canggu is a traditional *bale* for the execution of *manusa yadnya* (special holy for human) ceremony. The position is not placed just east of *Natah*. The building that is right in the east of *Natah* before *pemerajan* is *sanggah natah*. As shown in the following picture:



Figure 1. Structure of the building inside the Canggu community residence before the entry of tourism

Source: Author, 2019

Sanggah natah has a very important role in developing the composition of buildings in Canggu. The imaginary axis that determines the orientation of the building inside the house is between the *sanggah natah* and the entrance (*angkul-angkul*). This imaginary axis in addition to functioning as the center of the orientation of the building period, this empty space also plays an important role in the various ritual activities of the community.

Gergely Hory et al (2017) in his research entitled "*Exploration of Spatial Design Issues at Hostels Backpacker in Budapest's Historic Center: Informality, Density, Adaptability*" suggests that tourist characteristics greatly influence the physical development of an area. Gergely Hory et al's findings also occur

in Canggu Village. At the end of the 90s until the beginning of 2000, the characteristics of tourists who came to Canggu Village, belonging to tourists who were concerned with the comfort of a place to stay, were interested in learning local culture and prioritizing natural beauty. Tugu Hotel as the only one accommodation at that time, became a favorite place that was always full of tourist bookings. Residential houses are only used as cultural objects, where tourists only see the activities of the Canggu community who at that time were fishermen.



Figure 2. Tugu Batu Bolong Hotel, which is the first hotel built in Canggu Area

Source: <https://jenishotel.info/hotel-tugu-bali-canggu>



Figure 3. Dining Venue in Tugu Batu Bolong Hotel Accommodate Tourist Character at the end of 1998

Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=hotel+tugu+batu+bolong+canggu&safe=strict&tbm=isch&tbs=rimg:Cde2Ctt11kXaIjiR69YtajAXwRCOnghUP5CkS-OjJb0DXB2vpFCL8_1PIbWk1NZ58wMwEHg5IqD6YewuVLiWXzye-WCoSCZHR1i1qMBfBEWm-uExIVBx4KhIJEI6eCFQ_1kKQRjkJZdRLbxC8qEgIL46MlvQNcHRGsGZ_1tedmfCioSCa-kUIvz88htEdSDU0vRhA4EKhIJaTU1nnzAzAQRouyR7GrCansqEgkeDkioPph7CxG4yt49mujsyioSCZUuJZfP J75YEVHRJKAR7-zB&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiTn5nvmfHiAhUgUI8KHaD-AwEQ9C96BAgBEBg&biw=1036&bih=492&dpr=1.5#imgrc=cJmAhf45vfOy1M:

The establishment of Canggu Village as a tourism area was formally stated in the Regional Regulation of Badung Regency Number 26 of 2013 concerning Regional Spatial Planning, paraganlan 4 (four) article 42 paragraph 2 letter c. In article 42 paragraph 4, it is made clear that Canggu Village is one of the tourist destinations (DTW), with the main attraction being a stone beach. Then in article 83 clarified with the zoning provisions of DTW in paragraph 4 it states that "*the development of DTW in the form of natural tourism is directed as natural tourism objects without permanent buildings oriented to environmental preservation, beauty preservation, tourist attraction, water tourism, ecotourism and tourism attraction development natural*". After this determination the peak of tourist accommodation development in Canggu Village. Travelers who were once synonymous with luxury facilities, experienced a characteristic change in this decade. Young tourists with low budgets start dominating in Canggu. This condition shifted the position of Tugu hotel as tervafortit accommodation. The demand for cheap accommodation began to come from tourists, so people began renting out part of their homes or rooms inside their homes for tourist

accommodation. According to Nurjani (2015), found the periodization of the development of tourism facilities development as follows:

Table 1. Development Period of tourist accommodation in Canggu Village

Phase	Development Of Tourist Accommodation	Transportation	Tourists' Behaviour	Attitudes Of Local Residents And Local Policies
0 (1994-1998)	Canggu Village is not yet known by tourists	This area is still in the form of green land, there is no well-developed transportation network	Lack of tourist interest and knowledge of the Canggu Village	There are no local policies related to tourism development arrangements
1 (1998-2012)	A tourist facility is built, namely Tugu Batu Bolong Hotel	The road network is opened to connect one area to another	Tourists start coming to the Canggu Village	The local community and the Badung Regency Government began observing the Canggu Coastal Area so that in 2003 a Detailed Plan for Spatial Planning for North Kuta District (RDTR) was established which also regulated the development of the Canggu Coastal Zone
2 (2011-2012)	Began to build various types of tourist facilities such as villas, hotels and restaurants	Transportation networks began to develop between tourist facilities with one another	There is an increase in tourist visits and additional travel plans to the Canggu	Improvement of the quality of infrastructure networks and improvement of tourism service facilities
3 (2012-2013)	Organizations set up to organize tourism facilities in the Canggu Village began. Early hierarchy and specialization of	Trip & Adventure; There is a grouping of tourist areas with different transportation characteristics	There began to be competition to control land along Canggu Area	The dualism effect of the development of tourist facilities began to emerge

	tourist facilities	along the coastal area of Canggu.		
4 (2013-2015)	Specialization of tourist facilities	Various transportation systems and networks	Disintegration of space and tourist perception; the population in the Canggu Area is getting denser; development problems arise	Start thinking about efforts to control the use of built space, because the available space is not able to accommodate the rapid development of tourist facilities

Source: Nurjani (2015)

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the development of tourism facilities in the Canggu Area is influenced by transportation, tourist behavior and the role of local residents and local policies. Problems began to develop in the third phase and peaked in the fourth phase

V. DISCUSSION

Changes in the characteristics of tourists who come to Canggu

Tourists who come to Canggu Village come from various countries, with a teenage age that ranks the most. Teenagers more do activities outside tourist accommodation. Surfing activities are favorite activities that are carried out during the morning to evening. This surfing activity is one of the attractions in Canggu. The presence of surf coaches who stand in the accommodation is one of the additional selling points for accommodation owners. The phenomenon of teenage tourists that occurs in Canggu is in line with the results of research found by Richard & Wilson (2000). The conclusion of their study states that, teenagers prefer physical activities such as visiting historical attractions, climbing mountains and traveling to different places. In the late evening, teenage tourists who come to Canggu spend more time with their friends at nightclubs, cafes or restaurants that are around the tourist accommodation they occupy. In fulfilling the need for food and food, tourists in Canggu prefer buffet stalls that are around the accommodations they occupy. Low prices with a large variety of menus, making these stalls preferable to large restaurants that offer expensive menus. One of the most popular cafes by tourists in Canggu is Oldman.



Figure 4. Oldman, The most famous café in Canggu

Source: <https://balivillaescape.com.au>



Figure 5. Warung which is a popular eating place for tourists in Canggu in the era of 2017 until now

Source: Komang varuna

In general, tourists who come to Canggu in the era of 2017 until now, the principle is not to prioritize exclusive occupancy that has five-star hotel facilities. Very different like before, when the first time tourist come in Canggu area. The results of observations and interviews with tourists staying in the Canggu homestay show that the main space needed by tourists in the homestay is a bed with a cupboard and desk and the presence of wifi that can be accessed throughout the room. The existence of a private bathroom is not too important for Canggu tourists. Other facilities such as kitchen, terrace dining room or others, can be removed. Room cleanliness is the main point in the decision to choose tourist accommodation in Canggu.

Space Adjustment as A Form of Adaptation Canggu's Community to The Function of Tourism

Schneiders in Ali and Asrori (2006) provide an understanding of the phenomenon of self-adjustment that occurs due to pressure on individuals. Schneiders sees adaptation from three points of view. First, self-adjustment as a form of adaptation, both self-adjustment as a form of conformity, and thirdly self-adjustment as an attempt to master something (mastery). Ali and Asrori also mentioned that self-adjustment is a mental response to behavior in dealing with various situations with demands from outside and from within the individual's place of life. Morris (1975) revealed a type of adjustment that is more specific to a family living in a residential unit. According to Morris, there are several indicators that influence a family to develop its residence. The first is residential mobility. The reach and distance of the house is the first indicator that Morris revealed in his research. People prefer strategic home locations. When one family member is married, they will begin to pay attention to the privacy of their small family by choosing to make a new building as a place to live with the location factor as the first consideration. Second residential adaptation. Adjustment to the new environment is not easy for some people. Communities sometimes need time to be able to adjust to their living environment. Different cultural backgrounds encourage the birth of a barrier for people to interact with each other. The last is family adaptation. The family consists of a composition of several people who are born with different characters. The inhabited house is required to be able to meet the needs of residents who have diverse characters. The spaces formed become a reflection of the behavior of residents. A family will be more adaptable when the space in the house is able to meet all of its needs. Humans are not able to live alone so that in every house there must be a space of interaction between family members and, a space of interaction between family members and guests who come. The existence of norms as a boundary for humans

to do something, also affects humans in developing their homes. Humans will adjust to the norms that apply around their homes.

Not much different from the function of a private house, when a house is added to commercial functions in the form of lodging, residents and tourists who stay overnight are required to adjust to each other. But in this case, whether the space formed is larger adopting the needs of residents, or more dominantly meeting the needs of tourists. Given that traditional Balinese homes are very thick with cultural values and traditions, so the mobilization of existing spaces is very difficult to do. The position of the building inside the site has been arranged in the sacred and profane space. This rule does not allow putting the kitchen in the northeast area, or it is not permissible to eliminate the family holy place inside the house. Balinese people cannot be regarded as primitive societies bound by *adat*. Balinese people survive with very strong Hindu values of rituals and traditions. Object of this research study took a sample of 50 houses of the Canggu community that had been commercialized as lodging. Based on the results of the analysis of the data obtained, it was found that the Canggu community did several methods to withstand the pressure of capitalism in the world of tourism. The methods include, first, adding space to existing buildings, noting that the function of the ritual space cannot be removed. Second, adding new buildings to empty rooms that are still inside the residential unit, thirdly merging two or more buildings belonging to the occupants so that more rooms can be obtained that can be commercialized. One of the buildings with the most mergers is traditional *bale adat* and *bale delod*. And the dimensions of the *lumbung* which are currently made smaller, which only functioned as a symbol of worship of the goddess Sri.

NORTH (Mountain)

Utamaning Nista (UN) Area for <i>Penunggun Karang</i>	Utamaning Madya (UM) Area for <i>Bale Daja</i>	Utamaning Utama (UU) Area for family temple (<i>sanggah/pemerajan</i>)		Utamaning Nista (UN) Area for <i>Penunggun Karang</i> + commercial zone for rent	Utamaning Madya (UM) Area for <i>Bale Daja</i> + Adjust Room for rent in the backyard of <i>bale daja</i>	Utamaning Utama (UU) Area for family temple (<i>sanggah/pemerajan</i>) Conservation zone until now
Madyaning Nista (MN) <i>Lumbung</i> or <i>angkul-angkul</i> position	Madyaning Madya (MM) <i>Natah</i> (courtyard)	Madyaning Utama (MU) <i>Bale Dangin</i>		Madyaning Nista (MN) Commercial zone for rent	Madyaning Madya (MM) <i>Natah</i> (courtyard), Conservation Zone Until Now	Madyaning Utama (MU) <i>Bale Dangin</i>
Nistaning Nista (NN) <i>Paon</i> (Kitchen)	Nistaning Madya (NM) Bale Delod	Nistaning Utama (NU)				

SOUTH (Sea)

Figure 6. Basic Reference for Placement Building Units in Balinese Traditional Housing
 Source: Sulistyawati (2018)

Nistaning Nista (NN)	Nistaning Madya (NM)	Nistaning Utama (NU)
<i>Paon</i> (Kitchen)	Bale Delod + Comercial Zone For Rent or Demolition bale delod for new building for rent	Comercial Zone For Rent

Figure 7. Housing Pattern in Canggu Village After Tourism Enter
 Source: Author

VII. CONCLUSION

Planning housing in Bali requires careful thinking, because there are various aspects that must be considered. Aspect of spatial geometry originating from the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* to the aspects of custom and socio-culture. Every space that is maintained in form and function is based on ritual interests. The entry of tourism to Canggu village, requires a change in the function of space. However, the concept of sunrise symbolized by the existence of *Pelingih Surya* (temple in the center of courtyard become symbolize of the sun). This building have important value for Balinese people. Cause that, this building become one of conservation component inside traditional house. How much people can adjust tourism function inside that house or how much area on site can changed, very determined with function of the building. Balinese traditional building, can make smaller than before, can make up floor, but must be still in same place. Ritual space cannot be eliminated, like place for ceremonial baby born and also place for take body when people dead. Same function, same orientation and consider about religion and also custom. Relationship of residents with other family members or outsiders is realized by the existence of *Bale Dangin* or *Bale Delod*, as well as occupant relations with the environment symbolized by the existence of *Natah* (courtyard) as an open space equipped with a garden as a source of lighting and ventilation for all building units in the house. This balance concept is the core of trust in *Tri Hita Karana*. It is not seen from the extent of the land or the incomplete arrangement of traditional Balinese house building units, but the essence of the concept is the harmony of residents, outsiders and the neighborhood.

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