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Community-Based Ecotourism as an alternative to mass tourism, in Bali.

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ABSTRACT

The case study presented is based on fieldwork which took place in March through May, 2016. It aims to determine whether and to what extent Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET) initiatives constitute a sustainable livelihood strategy, to local people living disconnected from mass tourism development in Bali, Indonesia. This is done by examining the local residents' perceptions of tourism impacts, and their views on the differences between a CBET approach and conventional tourism, through in-depth respondent interviews.

This study is important, as the knowledge apprehended can illuminate the views of those who are otherwise not heard, and may reveal issues neither considered nor valued by developers, planners or politicians. The information can then be used to manage tourism in a more sustainable way, compatible with the views and desirability of the local residents.

The research is based on a case-study approach, where fieldwork has been conducted in four villages scattered around Bali. The villages are part of the Village Ecotourism Network (JED), an initiative that operate in response to mass tourism developments in the region. As the stakeholders have been situated just outside the massive transformation that has been ongoing for the past decades in Bali, it gives them a unique perspective on both the differences between CBET and conventional tourism, as well as what has been changing in Bali since tourism development started to severely alter the character of the region, and the traditional way of life for the Balinese.

The primary findings show that a major implication stemming from tourism development, is the loss of cultural identity. A chain of events, starting with people (either by force or voluntarily) give up their land and leave the traditional life of a farmer. Gradually, many Balinese experience getting dragged in to the spinning wheels of development, unable to resist the effects it brings. The younger generation starts working in tourism-related businesses, often along the coastline or in bigger towns. The younger generation's lack of contact with their roots, make the ties to the villages decrease, and the social cohesion of the local communities have slowly diminished as a result. This creates new lifestyles, more individualized, a loss of contact with tradition, and a growing worry from the older generation of what the future holds.

However, being part of an ecotourism network, has been found to enable them to keep their culture, traditions and land, while gaining a supplementary income from tourism.

Keywords: Tourism impacts, Human Geography, community-based tourism, residents' perceptions, Bali, JED

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introducing the Study

Indonesia is a developing country with a well established tourism industry. Every year some nine million people visit the country from abroad. The island of Bali has been made the showcase of the country, attracting visitors from all around the world for nearly a century (Picard, 2008).

Research has found that there are a range of tourism related impacts, both positive and negative, that can be derived from tourism development. These impacts indicate that tourism as a factor of change both can affect the quality of life of residents, and alter the character of a region (Andereck et al. 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Easterling, 2005).

The negative impacts derived from tourism have over the past decades received increased attention, in line with visitors becoming more environmentally and socially conscious (UNEP, 2013). Seeing that mass tourism is not necessarily in the interest of the local people and the resource base, this has created a desire for more socially and ecologically benign alternatives to the conventional tourism development. As a responsible alternative to traditional travel options, the concept of sustainable tourism has emerged. The concept is broad and can be sub-divided into groups with many prefixes; 'alternative-', 'eco-', 'community-based-', et cetera. However, in common, they all share the aim to offer ecologically, socioculturally and economically **favorable** alternatives to regular 'mass tourism' (Saarinen, 2006; Fennell, 2007; Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

The *Village Ecotourism Network – Jaringan Ekowisata Desa* (JED) – is an organization stationed in Bali. By offering small-scale tours, for high-paying visitors, to remote villages throughout the island, JED is enabling a Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET) approach, through implementing a local ownership and minimizing negative impacts stemming from mass tourism.

This study is based on fieldwork which took place in 2016. It aims to find answers to the questions of whether and to what extent CBET initiatives may constitute a sustainable alternative to the negative effects associated with mass tourism.

The choice of subject is characterized by the researchers interest in how global influences affect the geographically local place. By interviewing local people living disconnected from mass tourism in Bali, and getting a deeper understanding of the role of ecotourism, it is hoped that this project could provide useful information to the field of Tourism Geography.

1.2 Problem Statement

Tourism is a highly fragmented and diverse phenomenon, consisting of a broad range of components, with stakeholders on all possible scales. This fragmentation is one of the factors which has led to minimal impact regulation, and thus a vast differentiation in the distributions of benefit between and within different places, spaces and scales (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

Even if the industry has undoubtedly boosted the economic growth of Bali, unfortunately, the development have to a high degree been interfering with the traditional ways of life of the Balinese (Ostrom, 2000). Considerable variability, with unequal distributions of benefits, is evident at a sub-regional scale in the province (Picard, 2003). With this diversity, some people are not only missing out on the tourism wealth, they also have to struggle with resource depletion, land displacement and loss of traditional values. The culture that was once the driving force for tourism in the island, is said to be slowly diminishing (Ostrom, 2000). This is, according to the findings, making the ties of the people weaker, and new lifestyles arise, where people being more individualized and motivated by self-interest. As often said: Bali is paying the price for its own success.

1.3 Purpose

The aim of this study is to investigate whether CBET initiatives may constitute a sustainable alternative to mass tourism in Bali, Indonesia. In accordance with the villagers opinions, thoughts and perceptions, the following three questions will enable the purpose to be realized:

- 1. How does community-based ecotourism differ from conventional tourism?
- 2. How are the local resident's of the villages affected by tourism impacts?
- 3. What are the local residents' views on future tourism development in Bali?

The practical field work is based on a case-study approach, with a qualitative research inquiry, based on semi-structured in-depth interviews.

1.4 Bali

The province of Bali is located in the Indonesian archipelago and the home for some 4.2 million citizen. The Balinese are an ethnic and religious minority in Indonesia, where the dominating religion is Islam, in that around 93 per cent of the islanders practice the so called Balinese-Hinduism, which originates from Hinduism, Buddhism, and animistic traditions from native beliefs. The religious and cultural views, rooted in a communal-agrarian society, have a salient position in the Balinese everyday life (Picard, 2003).

In 1840, Bali became part of the Dutch colonial authority. In the 1920s, tourism was developed by the Netherlands Indies Tourism Bureau, that operated a cruise/cargo-ship combination, to and from the island. In 1924, the company had 213 recorded tourist visits to Bali (Hakim et al., 2009).

As the years passed, more people would visit the "Island of the Gods", and by the 1930s, the absolute majority of the travel agents, hotels, restaurants and art shops were owned and operated by Western and specifically Dutch entrepreneurs. The role of the Balinese was suppressed and usually limited to providing art performances (Wardana, G. P., n.d).

In 1949, the Dutch declared the Republic of United States of Indonesia and recognized Indonesian independence. From that time, Balinese were allowed to open small-scale accommodation and businesses, yet still had little authority and control over the development of tourism in the region (Wardana, G. P., n.d). Private investors from abroad and "big-money-people" from Jakarta (as they are commonly known) saw their chance to step in to a weak and newly born republic.

In recognition of tourisms' potential to generate income, the Indonesian government decided in 1969, to open up the country to international tourism. According to Michel Picard – a French expert on tourism in Bali – the decision was made primarily to address a pressing national balance of payments deficit, as a heritage from the colonial era (Picard, 2003). The government invited a french consultant company, SCETO, to make a feasibility study and formulate a tourism plan for the region. The first plan for Bali was proposed in 1970, and the exercise revealed that Balinese *culture* was the main driver for tourism (Hakim et al., 2009; Picard, 2008).

Leaning on Bali's prestigious image as a paradise, the government decided to make the island the showcase of Indonesia, and almost immediately, tourist infrastructure and accommodation were established (Picard, 2003). The province started its growth to become a world tourism centre. Still at the dawn of the great restructuring of the island, in the 1970s, most Balinese seemed satisfied that the economic benefits of the rapid expansion of tourism outweighed the negative consequences (Ostrom, 2000).

However, in the decade of 1970-1980, the number of foreign visitors to Bali multiplied ten times, from fewer than 30,000 to around 300,000 a year. Simultaneously, hotel capacity increased from less than 500 to about 4,000 rooms (Picard, 2003). During this decade of massive development, many Balinese started to become aware of the irreversible consequences of the development, expressing serious concerns about several negative impacts that tourism was bringing upon their culture, religion and environment (Ostrom, 2000). One growing issue in particular, was the difficulty of avoiding tourism development interfering with the cultural and religious practices (Mitchell, 1994). Much of the land was slowly being alienated from traditional use, in favor of development of tourism facilities, and Bali, with its many temples and sacred sites spread throughout the communities' living space, experienced tensions between the traditional way of life in the East, and the modernity of the West. This problem was intensified as it is part of the Balinese tradition to consider the oceans, beaches and forests to play an important role in carrying out various forms of purification rituals (Wardana, G. P., n.d). Many Balinese throughout the province experienced being marginalized, but the wheels of development were not easily going to stop.

However, the government's official development policy of that time emphasized the importance of striving for growth, stability and equity (Mitchell, 1994). Hence, to minimize the conflicts of interest between the tourism industry and the cultural traditions of ritual practices, the regional government enacted a number of laws. In 1988, the Bali Province ratified a regulation that did not allow the development of buildings over 15 meters in height *"roughly lower than the height a coconut tree"* (Wardana, G. P., n.d). As to this day, there is only one building exceeding the height of 15 meters on the island, and that is a ten-storey hotel built before the law was proclaimed (Wardana, G. P., n.d). This regulation can be seen as a sign from the government to keep control over the development, which was under severe pressure from private actors.

Given the historical facts of tourism development on Bali, there is no doubt that the industry has boosted the economic growth of the region. Tourism today is estimated to contribute to two-thirds of the regional GDP and provides employment to some 75 per cent of the work force, when including its indirect spin-off effects and the informal economy (Byczek, 2011). Consequently, the per capita income has moved from below the national average to one of the highest-ranking provinces' of the country, which has enabled the rise of a new Balinese middle class (Picard, 2003).

However, during the past decades Bali has seen a vast transformation in the name of globalization and tourism. The island has fallen victim to a number of impacts resulting from rapidly and poorly planned development, such as inadequate infrastructure links, land displacement and shortage of freshwater in areas all around the island (Byczek, 2011). One visible example, is the lack of an adequate system for taking care of the garbage on the island, which has made the island to literally overflowing with waste. According to studies conducted by the organization 'Bali Clean & Green', Bali currently produces approximately 10,000 cubic meters of trash every day, of which 75 per cent is either dumped directly or burned (Badan Lingkungan Hidup).

Besides the visible impact of waste on the beaches, streets and in the forests, a less visible, yet horrifying example, is Michel Picard's 'Myth of the Dry Land', which deserves to be quoted in full:

"People were mobilized to sell their land around 1980 through the creation of the myth of dry land. Traditionally, the Tanah Lot area has been the rice bowl of Bali. By cutting off the water supply, irrigation officials in collaboration with the developers effectively intimidated people into selling their land. Once the water supply to the rice fields of Tanah Lot was cut off, the land was classified as dry land - infertile and unproductive. So in the end 5 banjars [neighborhoods] sold their land, for only about 2 million rupiah . . . [equivalent to USD \$200]" Michel Picard, in Ostrom (2000).

The massive land conversion, which has uprooted the local population, alienated from land ownership, has become a matter of serious concern (Picard, 2003). Apparently, one thousand hectares of irrigated rice fields are transformed annually, from a total area that in the year 2016 should be equivalent to only about seventy thousand hectares (Ostrom, 2000). This has tremendous implications for the production of food and the traditional livelihood of farmers, and simultaneously poses serious threats to the perpetuation of traditional Balinese culture; grown out of an agricultural society (Picard, 2003).

For the Balinese, the culture that was once the driving force for tourism is slowly diminishing, due to the fact that many people sell their land, and the younger generation don't want to become farmers. This matter is said to be the most pressing transformation, as the ritual ceremonies and cultural traditions always have made the ties of the local people stronger. Instead, new lifestyles are spreading, opening up for greed, individualism and consumerism.

Unfortunately, this trend shows no signs of turning. Field studies from the island show that tour guides and transporters can earn four times as that of a high school teacher, fueling the urbanization and the tourism development. Besides, many Balinese find pride in working within the industry (Ostrom, 2000). As Picard (2003) put it: "Understandably enough, the majority of Balinese youths are attracted by the financial rewards and prestige attached to a job in tourism, rather than toiling in the muddy and not so rewarding rice fields."

1.5 JED & Wisnu Foundation

The Community-Based Ecotourism village network *Jaringan Ekowisata Desa* (JED) was established by four rural village communities in 2002, as a response to the impacts of the massive development from the tourism industry in Bali. At that time, the villages were subject to conflicts with private investors, regarding local resources in connection with the development of tourism facilities (Byczek, 2011).

The Wisnu Foundation, Indonesia's first NGO working with environmental and cultural preservation issues in the region, started by the end of the 1990s to cooperate with the villages in order to help the locals keep their land, as outside pressure from private investors was becoming severe. Through the financial and technical support of the NGO, maps were drawn of the village's land, making the local people aware of their communities' boundaries, their amount of land and their natural resources. The four villages of Plága, Tenganan, Sibetan and Nusa Ceningan, were given this support from the Wisnu Foundation, as they all had different values worth preserving according to the NGO. Together, they formed the organization JED, from the desire to offer sustainable tourism development in opposition to conventional mass tourism, yet still be able to benefit from the industry. The organization took the legal form of a cooperative, consisting of farmers from the villages, with the continuous support from the Wisnu Foundation (Byczek, 2011).

Just recently, a fifth village entered the network. Nyambo is the first additional village to JED since its outset in 2002. It started the same way, with Wisnu Foundation's support to draw a map of the community, marking the boarders and assets. If possible, JED would like to spread to many, many more villages ("Ben", personal communication 23:rd April 2016, see Table 1).

The organization has, throughout the years, empowered the local communities by financing tourism related education (guides, hosts, chefs, etc), making the villagers ready to become hosts. One of the most important goals for JED, is said to be to implant awareness to both the local people and the visitors. This takes it shape through an important educational aspect to the organization, where the local people who have been trained in environmental and cultural preservation inform the visitors on how to travel more sustainably.

JED is still operating on a small scale, with 150- 450 visitors per year ("Ben", personal communication 23:rd April 2016, see Table 1). Accordingly, the organization is not aiming to be the solution to the tourism-related issues on the island. Rather, the initiative is to offer a diversification of income to the local people, enabling them to keep their land, culture and traditions. The organization is working "*by and for the people*" (JED, 2016), focusing on both the

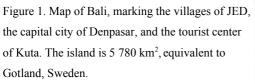
visitors' and the villages' needs. The products are marketed through a sales office in Seminyak, hence, the project keeps visitors on a desirable level for the locals, while contributing with the lion's share of the income directly to the locals.

The project is a form of 'micro economy', where the income generated from the guests are shared equally among the villages, regardless of how many visitors a specific community attracts. The income is then to be used for community development and environmental conservation, but also as a complementary income for the people working actively as guides, cooks and with accommodation.

Nowadays, the NGO gets financial support from donations, the government in Jakarta, other NGOs as well as the British Council. The specific interests of the different shareholders are unfortunately too broad for this thesis to cover.

The founder, as well as the board of the foundation of Wisnu, originate from Bali. In every village there is a key person that represents it at the board; responsible for communicating with JED and the other villages. This person is usually the village chief of custom governance (*adat*), who has the authority and support from their communities to make decisions about the future of the village.

According to Wall (1996), local institutions, such as *banjars* (neighborhoods) which generally make communal decisions on the basis of *adut* (customary law), are capable of taking a leadership role in tourism development. However, the power of such traditional institutions may be declining in the face of an increasingly powerful administration (Wall, 1996). This makes organizations like JED highly important in order to connect especially fragile communities, so that the decisions about future development can come from a grassroots level.





2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In order to fully comprehend how tourism has evolved and become the leading industry of economic turnover globally, it is crucial to see the phenomenon in the light of global processes, such as time-space compressing globalization, the underlying theories that aim to explain the historical and contemporary relationships between the First World and Third World, as well as the growing strive for more sustainable tourism approaches.

2.2 Tourism Geography

'The Dictionary of Human Geography' (Gregory et al., 2011) defines geography as "The study of the earth's surface as the space within which the human population lives". Thus, human geography aims to get an understanding of the ways in which individuals perceive the places where they reside, and what specific qualities and characteristics are attributed to particular sites. The study of human geography entails exploring how differences influence, and are influenced by, the course of human development, and has therefore the potential to create a rich and insightful record of geographical differences on all scales (Purvis & Grainger, 2004).

Tourism geography being a sub-discipline to human geography, is studied in close connection with other academic disciplines within the social sciences, e.g. sociology, anthropology, economy; employing a paradigm that seeks to question real-world social phenomenon (Hall & Page, 2006; Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013). However, the geographer's preoccupation with the importance of place, space and scale, differentiates the discipline from the other areas of social science (Hall & Page, 2006). Places, in the human geography discourse, can be seen in the perspective of how they are experienced, interpreted and through the sentiments connected to them by the individuals that live and reside there. Studying tourism from a geographical angle is therefore of great value, since the site-specific conditions under which tourists and hosts interact are investigated (Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Hall & Page, 2006). With tourism as the world's largest industry, it is of great importance to the companies and governments marketing specific destinations, that every unique place in some way attracts attention with its place-specific characteristics.

The distinction of tourism geography is according to Pearce (1995): "science focused on place, in focus of touristic journeys, the tourists themselves, different operators within the industry and all the people involved in the development processes of tourism." As tourism spans several disciplines and thus incorporates multiple approaches, the range of the types of tourism research is vast.

A tourist as established by the World Tourism Organization, is according to Fennell (2007) defined as "*a person traveling for pleasure for a period of at least one night, but not more than one year, with the main purpose of the visit being other than to engage in activities for remuneration in the place(s) visited.*" (Fennell, 2007). As of which, tourism embraces a diverse range of activities; from small-scale, individually-tailored holidays to large-scale packaged tours of mass tourism, including intercontinental journeys of leisure, business trips, and 4S (sea, sun, sand, sex) recreational breaks. This highly fragmented and diverse phenomenon, consist of a broad range of components and includes stakeholders on all scales. According to Mowforth & Munt (2008), this very fragmentation is one of the factors which has led to minimal impact regulation and thus a vast differentiation in the distributions of benefit between and within different places, spaces and scales.

Limited access to education, poorly paid occasional jobs in urban centers and a lack of resources, knowledge and skills, keep poor people in developing economies below the poverty line of US\$2/day (UNEP, 2013). Tourism is considered by some to be one of the best green options for addressing poverty, employment and economic diversification initiatives in developing countries (UNEP, 2013). However, as Nina Rao puts it, quoted in Mowforth & Munt (2008): "*Tourism takes place in the context of great inequality of wealth and power*." Hence, the development is highly uneven over space and over time, and substantial differentiation occurs at a variety of scales: international, regional and local (Hall & Page, 2006).

2.3 Globalization Shaping the World

The fact that the world is getting increasingly compressed and interconnected is undoubtable. To what level tourism is invoked in this process, is a matter of debate though. Fennell defines tourism:

"the interrelated system that includes tourists and the associated services that are provided and utilized (facilities, attractions, transportation and accommodation) to aid in their movement". Fennell (2007)

Given this definition, it is clear that tourism reflects the increasing interconnectedness of the social, political and environmental relationships between the consumers and producers of the tourist experience.

According to Giddens (1991), tourism and globalization intensify social relations across the world, linking distant localities so that experiences in one location are affected by events taking place in another location. However, this process is perceived differently by different people in different places. Since the very idea of globalization fails to acknowledge which peoples and places are

included or excluded from the process, the economical, political and cultural globalization is compressing the world in an unequal manner (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

According to Mowforth & Munt (2008), tourism has been a significant component in the economic globalization process, where capitalism has drawn the Third World into increasingly tight economic relationships with the First World. However, it is "*not only capital that circulates at an accelerated rate, but places too*", as destinations are drawn and released into the sphere of globalized tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Some places that are deemed unattractive to tourists, due to factors such as risk of natural disasters, political instability, environmental degradation or 'inauthenticity', to name a few, become marginalized from the processes of global interdependence (Hitchcock et al. 2009; Mowforth & Munt, 2008). This creates a situation where the ones responsible for increased mobility, connectivity and transnationalism (the tourists) sets the agenda, and make possible the pick and choose of places. Further, how these are represented and perceived in the First World play, according to Mowforth & Munt (2008), a significant role in putting the Third World destinations on and off the global tourism map. Hence, globalization can somewhat explain the reasons behind the character and growth of tourism in the region (Hitchcock et al., 2009), and tourism is both cause and consequence within globalization (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

Most accounts of globalization, as Mowforth & Munt (2008) put it, are by westerners in the First World as a result of the expansion of Western capitalism (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). This has resulted in that tourism has had the effect of turning Third World places, landscapes and peoples in to commodities and to something consumable: *"We consume these elements of a holiday in the same way as we consume other objects or commodities."* Mowforth & Munt (2008). Given the fact that there has been a dramatic increase in the service sector industries in the First World, these shifts can somewhat explain the growth and development in the First World consumption of tourism services, i.e. holidays (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

The authors stress that the transformation in modes of production and consumption in the First World encourages consumption of even more places. However, they underscore that it can also aid the growth of alternative trends, resulting in a number of new forms of touristic approaches, such as ecotourism. As stated by the UNEP: "*Changing consumer patterns are providing promising export opportunities for sustainable tourism*." (UNEP, 2013)

2.4 Sustainable Development

In the Brundtland Commission's report, *Our Common Future*, that saw the light in 1987, sustainable development is defined as a process that meets the needs of present generations without endangering the ability of future ones to meet their needs (WCED, 1987).

Nearly 30 years after the concept of sustainable development was introduced as a new paradigm, much debate is still centered upon the meaning and implications of the concept (Saarinen, 2006). However, as Saarinen points out, even though the concept is problematic and has analytical weaknesses, its very presence on the world agenda has created a platform: "*on which different stakeholders in tourism can interact, negotiate, and reflect on their actions' consequences for the environment*" (Saarinen, 2006). Thus, the concept of sustainability sheds light on contemporary global economic, sociocultural and environmental issues, and thereby making unsustainable patterns – such as unequal priorities given to economic growth, social welfare and the health of the environment – visible (Purvis & Grainger, 2004).

2.5 Tourism Impacts in the Dimensions of Sustainability

2.5.1 Economical Impacts

Economic effects from tourism generally stimulate the local economy and enables both a creation of employment opportunities for locals, as well as offering possible developments of various local businesses (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005). On a governmental level, improved transport infrastructure, more modernly equipped hospitals and better schools have also been found in direct connection to inflow of tourism dollars (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005).

However, at the same time as it enables an enhancement for local communities and spendings on public services, tourism often results in increased property prices in popular areas, increases in prices of goods and services and a higher cost of renting, which affects the locals negatively (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Deery et al., 2012; Easterling, 2004).

The initial injection of money, i.e. the *direct economic impacts*, refer according to Lundberg (2014), to the actual money being spent by tourists during their stay. This money is mainly distributed to places where tourists are prone to spend their holiday money, i.e accommodation, transport, restaurants and bars, shops, et cetera. However, it is widely recognized within the study of tourism that the industry contains a feature called *economic leakage*. This refers to two things. One is the fact that the vast majority of the money from a touristic journey goes to multinational companies

such as airlines, hotels and tour operators, who take the bigger share of the tourist's expenses. The second is the purchase of the imported goods and services by tourists while on site, which allows the direct economic impact to leak out from the host community (Mowforth and Munt, 2008).

Alongside the direct and indirect economic impacts emerging from tourism, the industry is also subject to the issue of seasonality, where local people are moved in and out of paid positions solely based on the volume of tourism arrivals (Fennell, 2007). However, the issue is not exclusively a problem from an economic point of view, rather it answers to many sociocultural problems of tourism. For example, since travel marketing often aims to attract as many people as possible, and often over seasonal periods of time, much development is projected to withstand visitors in very high densities. Indeed, as the ratio of tourists to residents highly correlates with seasonality (Deery et al., 2012), it could raise considerable resentment towards tourists. As substantial numbers of tourists are using community resources, this causes overcrowding, traffic jams, litter, resource scarcity and an increase of practically all negative aspects found in the tourism industry (Easterling, 2004; Deery et al., 2012; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005).

Another adverse structural aspect of tourism is that of increased economic instability connected to it. This is the case when communities are too dependent on the industry for delivering a continuous flow of visitors. This strong dependency on the income of its only source makes the local economy extremely vulnerable to crisis, be they natural disasters as the 2004 Asia tsunami, or as in the case of Bali; the Kuta terrorists attacks of 2002 and 2005, where tourism declined 80 per cent the following weeks, compared to the same period the years before (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). This created an unemployment crisis in Bali, that took years to recover from (Picard, 2003).

Yet another aspect worth mentioning is the income inequality within and between regions which is evident in many developing countries. This makes economic growth on its own unable to eradicating poverty, unless strategic government ratifications are directed to the poor (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

2.5.2 Environmental Impacts

Due to the diversity of impacts, the lack of knowledge of when the change started and whether the change is due to the tourist process or not, there have been difficulties of measuring environmental impacts emerging from tourism. The initial research that was conducted focused mostly on quantifying the impacts, for example by measuring emissions of greenhouse gases, the industry's consumption of energy or amounts of toxics being used. The results from the findings were then

compared to the average emissions or uses in the everyday life of the same areas, during low season for example, using methods such as ecological footprint analysis (Gössling & Hall, 2008). However, the environmental impacts from the tourism industry consists of so much more, not as easily measurable and in many cases not visible at all. These factors include erosion of coral reefs, future ground water reserves and species extinction, to name a few (Gössling & Hall, 2008; Shaw & Williams, 2002; UNEP, 2013).

The ever present threat to the environment, which highly correlates with the way in which human beings carry out our lives, has given rise to a number of international environmental summits, seeking global agreements on how to handle the environmental situation of the world. Tourism being such a vast and diversified industry, has been made an important part of these global agreements; a factor that has been intensified as tourism has grown and spread (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

Simultaneously, there has been a growing number of international and supranational organizations focusing on the environment and tourism, such as TIES, UNWTO, UNEP, among others. UNEP acknowledges that, despite the various positive impacts from the tourism industry, the sector is a significant contributor to an increased pressure on the environment, mainly through pollution and environmental degradation and deterioration (UNEP, 2013). According to Fennell (2007), detrimental effects of the natural environment is caused by changes in land-use due to infrastructure projects, resource depletion, and the enormous amounts of waste being produced every day that is either burned, discarded or buried (Fennell, 2007).

UNWTO reports that tourism continuous to grow significantly, particularly in areas that are rich in biodiversity but often environmentally and culturally fragile (Hakim et al, 2009; UNWTO, 2014). As a result, UNEP states that tourism '*in certain areas*' may not be truly sustainable, due to the fact that too great a number of tourists at popular sites can damage fragile ecosystems and habitats (UNEP, 2013). This damaged is expressed through, besides the destruction of natural beauty and tranquility, a loss in biodiversity and wildlife habitats due to deforestation and landscape fragmentation (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Easterling, 2004; Andereck et al., 2005).

The industry answers to a high level of 'direct environmental impacts', for example greenhouse gas emissions from transportation – aviation and road transport – and from accommodation – air-conditioning and heating systems (UNEP, 2013). This is fueled by the increased amount of people working in transportation business; taxi drivers or the increased need to deliver 'new' goods.

Access to freshwater has also been found to be one of the most pressing issues linked to tourism, in many regions around the world (UNEP, 2013; UNWTO, 2014). In addition to golf courses and swimming pools that 'swallow' incredible amounts of water, research indicates that people on holiday use several times the daily amount of water they would have at home (TIES, 2006). UNEP (2013) states that:

"a three star hotel uses the equivalent of approximately 450 liters per guest each night, the same amount as a rural village uses for 100 homes. A luxury five star hotel may use the equivalent of 1800 liters of water per guest per night"

Tourism being such a strong force it is, it can compete with other sectors for the already declining water resources. This can decrease the possibilities for the agricultural sector to have its share, and thus rule out the possibility for self-sufficiency for the local populations (UNEP, 2013).

However, it is not solely an issue about consumption of vast amounts of water. Local wastewater is another considerable impact, originating from poor waste management. For example, studies have shown that it is common for hotels and other businesses to discharge untreated sewage directly into the sea (Shaw & Williams, 2002).

Important mangrove forest in many areas around in the developing world are being reduced in great numbers (Picard, 2003). The coastal areas where mangrove forests grow, are attractive land for tourism facilities. The reduction affects both the ability of marine life to breed there and the protection against erosion that it provides (Ostrom, 2000; WWF).

However, there are some positive environmental aspects that can be derived from tourism. For instance, studies have shown that tourism can contribute to an increased preservation of the national environment and historic building and monuments (Ap & Crompton, 1998).

2.5.3 Sociocultural Impacts

Although some of the social impacts are known and can be observed, there might be difficulties in measuring the intensity of the impact within a given context (Tosun, 1999). Thus, studying sociocultural impacts of tourism development is a vital component when examining how tourism affects host communities. This is in part because it may reveal issues not considered or valued by developers, planners or politicians.

Ap & Crompton (1998) and Easterling (2004), aimed to summarize the two-sidedness of the tourism industry from a sustainable development perspective. In their separate longitudinal studies,

which both review previous research on tourism impacts, there are evidently a range of sociocultural impacts, both positive and negative, that derive directly from increased tourism development. The negative aspects affecting local people, that the authors chose specifically to highlight from previous studies, contained for example: increased alcoholism, decline in traditions, increased individualism and materialization, heightened tension, increase in crime rates, increasingly hectic community and personal life, loss of native language, loss of authenticity (Ap & Crompton 1998; Easterling, 2004). And from the positive view, research show signs of improved quality of life, increased availability of recreational facilities, greater pride in the community, promotion of cultural exchange, revitalizing traditional practices (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Easterling, 2004).

Studies suggest that the interaction between locals and visitors is a fundamental part of the tourist experience (Andereck et al., 2007). This opens for a cross-cultural exchange, but if locals experience overall more negative sociocultural impacts from tourism, then:

"visitors might meet hostility instead of hospitality or indifference instead of enthusiasm when interacting with locals" Ap & Crompton (1993).

Scholar stress that other elements of social impacts of tourism focus around the characteristics of a destination (Deery et al., 2012). Doğan (1989) emphasized that "*the presence of tourists can change the sociocultural structure and diversify previously homogenous host communities*". And if a destination is sensitive to for example seasonal altering, then the attitudes against tourism might be affected. It could possibly cause frustration and withdrawal of local residents. This has been found to be the case especially when tourism is at its yearly peak, and residents feel alienated from their community (Deery et al., 2012). However, this phenomenon is not applicable to all communities. According to Choi and Sirakaya (2005), more people also have the tendency to add vibrancy to a community.

2.6 Residents' Perceptions of Tourism

Host community perceptions of tourism impacts have been extensively researched since the 1970s, initially focusing on the economic aspects; in particular the financial flows into a region or country (Easterling, 2004; Deery et al., 2012). However, in close connection with Western societies' overall growing environmental and social consciousness of the past decades, an expanded view of tourism impacts in sociocultural and environmental domains emerged, mainly focusing on how various segments of host communities react differently to tourism impacts (Tosun, 1999). As a result, the

general aim of the majority of studies on resident perceptions of tourism impacts is nowadays to examine how residents in host communities are affected by economic, social and environmental impacts resulting from tourism development, as local residents have been found to be key stakeholders in the process of achieving sustainable tourism development (Lundberg, 2014; Byczek, 2011; Curto, 2006).

Studies of local peoples' perceptions of tourism impacts, have traditionally had an underlying assumption that tourism development has consequences for the residents' well-being (Ap, 1992). These studies have often examined the impact of an assortment of variables that might or might not have an impact on residents' dispositions towards tourism. Commonly examined variables are sociodemographics, personal economic interest in tourism, size of community, distance from tourism activity, and speed of tourism development (Curto, 2006). The perceptions are then measured in relation to how the impacts affect either their community, the residents' quality of life, and/or their support for future tourism development (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Deery et al., 2012; Easterling 2005). However, investigating for example only demographic variables, such as place of birth or length of residency, could easily be seen as inadequate measures when examining the connection between attachment to place and peoples' dispositions to tourism development (Deery et al., 2012). A more in-depth approach would be wanting.

Additionally, treating local residents as a homogenous group should be avoided, as it would ignore the nuances that exist between and within resident groups (Deery et al., 2012). Local residents perceive development differently, depending on the previously mentioned variables, and should therefore be researched from a heterogenous perspective (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

Scholars have stressed that the type of tourism development which is implemented (sustainable or unsustainable) can have an influence on the perceptions of tourism impacts (Andereck & Vogt, 2000). Besides, not having the same knowledge about tourism, development processes or economic, social and cultural resources, have shown to have an influence on peoples' perceptions (Hall, 1999).

For tourism in a destination area to thrive, its adverse impacts should be minimized and it must be viewed favorably by the host population (Ap, 1992). Local residents' support for the tourism industry is vital, partly because it makes up a major part of the tourist experience, and partly because more positive perceptions of tourism is associated with a greater share of benefits for the locals (Deery et al., 2012). Studies have also shown that the degree of involvement in the tourism process have an influence on residents' overall attitude towards tourism development (Allen et al., 1988; Ko & Stewart, 2002).

An other factor that can affect the disposition towards tourists, is the ratio of permanent residents to the number of tourists in the host community. Studies have shown that when there is a substantial imbalance, conflicts may arise (Deery et al., 2012). Pizam (1978), in his seminal study of which specific aspects of a community are most affected by tourism development, measured both residents' and business owners' perceptions of tourism. In this first study of positive and negative sociocultural impacts, Pizam found that income, increased standard of living and shopping opportunities were rated as significant positive impacts, while increases in traffic congestion, litter, noise, vandalism, and prices for goods, services and housing topped the negatives' (Pizam, 1978).

As such, studying resident perceptions of tourism enables the study of their involvement in the production of tourism, and their ability to control the phenomenon (Ap, 1992). Some studies have shown that residents have altered their recreational patterns, and in extreme cases have moved away in order to avoid tourists (Shone et al., 2003; Wall, 1996). It is argued by the authors that these forms of lifestyle modifications threaten the long-term sustainability of the community.

Several studies throughout the years have signaled that residents' perceptions of tourism is closely correlating with their personal economic dependence on tourism (Andereck et al. 2005; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Pizam, 1978). For example, residents with an economic dependency in tourism, in terms of being employed or running a business, have been found to be generally more favorably disposed towards tourism than those who are not involved (Andereck et al. 2005; Lankford & Howard, 1994). However, there are empirical case studies that have failed to find this connection, for example Faulkner and Tideswell (1997). Deery et al. (2012), concludes that most economic impacts are perceived as positive, whilst sociocultural and environmental impacts, in the majority of cases, are viewed as negative.

In Wall's (1996) study of villagers perspectives in Bali, all villagers held positive attitudes towards the tourism sector as an employment opportunity for their children. This will be looked at closer in '5. Analysis'.

2.7 Cultural Tourism in Bali

Michel Picard, the french expert on tourism in Bali, has since his first conducted fieldwork in 1978, examined a phenomenon called Cultural Tourism. During his first cases, tourism to the Balinese authorities was seen as a contributor to cultural preservation, even to cultural revival; as a source of both profit and prestige for its people. However, simultaneously, a growing worry was that tourism

was corrupting the Balinese culture, with a desacralization of temples and religious ceremonies, monetization of social relations and weakening of communal ties (Picard, 2008).

In order to develop tourism without debasing Balinese culture, the authorities ratified a regulation of 'Cultural Tourism', promoting the cultural identity of the local population as a tourist attraction, i.e. turning Balinese culture into the most valuable asset for attracting people to the island, and thus, as an engine for future economic development. This would attract visitors searching for authentic cultural manifestations, but also a means of protecting Balinese cultural integrity (Picard, 2008). The artistic and religious traditions, which had made Bali famous worldwide, provided the island's main attraction. However, it was not only a question of staged attractions, the tourists were also invited to participate in 'authentic' cultural performances, like temple festivals, rites of passage, processions and cremations ceremonies. The line between what was traditional cultural practices, and what was staged or invented to suit the tourism need, was made thinner and thinner, making the Balinese uncertain of what was 'real' and what was 'staged'. However, the fact that the people became more aware of their culture through their increased participation in cultural practices, is undoubted.

Throughout the years, scholars have stated that Cultural Tourism has contributed to the preservation and revitalization of the traditional cultural heritage (McKean, 1973, in Picard, 2008). Others conclude that the culture that was once the driving force for tourism in the island, is slowly diminishing (Ostrom, 2000). Others again state that tourism has neither destroyed nor revived the Balinese traditional culture, but rather created a consciousness among the Balinese in regards to their identity (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 2009; King, 2009). This is found also in Picard's work:

"It is as though, thanks to tourism, the Balinese have discovered that they 'have a culture'–something at once precious and perishable, which they ought to preserve as well as promote." (Picard, 2003)

Regardless of whether culture is being designed, (re)created or lost in the name of touristic development, a certain touristic image of the Balinese culture came to be used by the Balinese themselves as an identity marker. As the authorities of the region made efforts to preserve the culture partly as an attempt to preserve destination value, the culture went from being lived as a process, to designed as a product (Picard, 2008).

The way the culture is used today has changed since Picard started his fieldwork in the region, as the majority of visitors to Bali are not cultural tourists anymore. Tourism has over the years become more independent from the Balinese culture:

"For most tourists, Bali is just another tropical paradise, whose cultural image merely confers an added-value to their holiday" (Picard, 2003).

This, according to Picard, is visible in how the destination is marketed nowadays, with a clear shift from the wealth of its culture, to the quality of its resorts (Picard, 2003). Tradition and cultural practices are an important part of the Balinese way of life, and the local people's views on culture and tourism are presented in '4. Results' and discussed in '5. Analysis'.

2.8 Sustainable Tourism

The impacts from the tourism industry have over the past decades received increased attention, in line with people becoming more environmentally and socially conscious, seeing that mass tourism is not always in the interest of local people and the resource base (UNEP, 2013). This has created a desire for more socially and ecologically benign alternatives to the contemporary tourism development situation.

Looking for a responsible alternative to traditional travel options, the concept of sustainable tourism emerged trying to encapsulate the inequality and unevenness connected to tourism impacts (Saarinen, 2006; Fennell, 2007; Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

The concept of sustainability in tourism has, however, been proven difficult to define. First, due to the very many meanings, interpretations and thus vaguenesses of both concepts (Saarinen, 2006). Second, referable to the concept being intricately interwoven into the fabric of life; economically, socioculturally and environmentally (Fennell, 2007). Third, due to the issue of who it is addressing; sustainability for the hosts or the visitors? (Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Government of Bali Province, n.d.). And finally, it is a problematic definition in that there is no way of demonstrating that a particular tourism product meets this criterion (Butler 1999; Weaver, 2002).

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) combined sustainable development and tourism in their definition of sustainable tourism:

"Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNEP, 2013; 266). In this definition, all stakeholders making out the threads of the web of tourism are addressed, making it very broad. It seems obvious that UNEP consider sustainability being a matter of both local and global responsibilities. Hence, the organization includes a set of principles that every-one involved should strive for in order to make tourism sustainable. The principles are a means to fully maintain the three dimensions of sustainable development, by for example consuming less water, generating local income and conserving biodiversity, cultural heritage and traditional values. As such, when tourism provides for effective resource management, host community income can be generated while minimizing negative externalities to an area's environmental and cultural integrity (UNEP, 2013). As such, sustainable tourism can become an important source of export growth in developing countries.

However, as noted by Butler (1999), "sustainable tourism may in practice be an unsustainable and unequal process for the original communities or natural habitats" (Butler, 1999). What Butler gets at, is that an alternative to mass tourism seeking to visit remote parts of host countries that might not be adapted to tourism, could, if poorly managed, lead to a destruction instead of support for the community. As Mowforth and Munt rather cynically put it: "[sustainable tourism could] penetrate the less visited parts of the Third World and commodify what is there" (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

According to UNWTO, sustainable tourism does not symbolize one specific kind of tourism approach, but rather represents a range of sustainability principles that can be applied across the whole tourism sector. Hence, there are various ways in which tourism could be sustainable. The very idea of the alternative tourism approach is to maximize benefits and minimize impacts of the local community, cultural heritage and environment, and to ensure that tourism policies should no longer concentrate on economic and technical necessities alone (Fennell, 2007; UNEP, 2013). Rather, they should emphasize the consideration of the needs of the local people, as according to Fennell is done by:

"placing the natural and cultural resources at the forefront of planning and development, instead of as an afterthought" (Fennell, 2007).

Sustainable tourism has also been called alternative tourism (stemming from alternative development). As the name expresses, it is supposed to be an alternative way of traveling, emphasizing interaction with hosts at destinations without disturbing or impacting on the local community (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

There is a clear and rising demand for more alternative tourism globally, according to UNEP (2013). Mowforth and Munt (2008) ascribes this to two reasons. First, there is a growing middle

class in the First World, which are getting more and more environmentally and socially conscious. Second, there is a growing desire among tourists for 'real' and authentic experiences (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). The latter being considered a driving force for cultural and environmental preservation (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). This is also visible on a supranational scale, where the UN:s General Assembly has approved the adoption of 2017, as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development (UNWTO). The resolution recognizes the importance of an international year of tourism in order to make the industry foster better understanding among people on all scales. The aim is also that it will lead to a greater awareness of the world's heritages of various civilizations, and to contribute to increased peace by uniting people and support cross-cultural interaction (UNWTO).

Well-designed and managed tourism can make a significant contribution to sustainable development. However, it must be economically viable, ecologically sensitive and culturally appropriate (Dalem, 2000; UNEP, 2013; Wall, 1997). A concern that has been subject to debate since the dawn of the Brundtland Report, relate to whether sustainable tourism is promoting genuine change in practices, or rather a 'cosmetic change', which serves as good publicity but makes little effective difference (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

2.9 Ecotourism & CBT

Even prior to the Brundtland report (WECD, 1987) put the ideology of sustainable development on the global agenda, ecotourism had started to grow as a consequence of the dissatisfaction with conventional forms of tourism that had become visible and been made aware by scholars in the 1960s. Ecotourism can be traced back to the early work of Hetzer (1965), who used it to explain the intricate relationship between tourists and the environments and cultures with which they interact (Fennell, 2007). Hetzer identified four fundamental pillars that needed to be followed in order to practice a more responsible form of tourism:

"... minimum environmental impact, minimum impact on – and maximum respect for – host cultures, maximum economic benefits to the host country's grassroots and maximum recreational satisfaction to participating tourists." (Hetzer, 1965).

This definition is not far from the one used 50 years later, perhaps with the exception of the touristcentric recreational satisfaction being a perspective of significance. Ecotourism today is subject to a broad range of definitions, stated and interpreted differently by different practitioners, researchers, governments, as well as supranational organizations. However, the term is commonly regarded as a means of diversifying the existing tourism product and its ignoring of social and ecological elements within destinations, in favor of providing a more sustainable alternative that takes environmental, social and cultural issues of the host community into account (Fennell, 2007).

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES), states that ecotourism aims to be a responsible way of traveling to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education (TIES, 2015). It should also increase the awareness towards the conservation of natural and cultural assets, both among locals and tourists (UNEP, 2013).

According to Suansri (2003), ecotourism has the purpose of enabling visitors to learn about the community and local ways of life. When offering a trip that combines education, recreation and adventure (Fennell, 2007), this is addressing a different type of visitor, searching for authenticity, whom is perhaps more aware and responsible than the conventional 4S resort tourist, that make up the bulk of the unevenness in the industry (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Research has shown that a *"traveller is drawn to a destination because of his or her interest in one or more features of that destination's natural history*" (Laarman & Durst, 1987, cited in Fennell, 2007). The quest for authenticity is therefore highly embedded in alternative forms of tourism like ecotourism, in that they offer activities with a distance to other tourists, in 'real' contact with 'real' cultures (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

According to UNEP (2013), ecotourism is an ideal sector for the fostering of economic growth in developing countries, since it does not normally require vast capital outlays and investment. The benefits of an ecotourism approach owing to local communities are significantly higher than those of mass tourism. Hence, it could be a vital source of income for countries with natural resource abundance and capital scarcity (UNEP, 2013).

As Mowforth & Munt (2008) point out:

"The only forms of local participation that are likely to break the existing patterns of power and unequal development are those which originate from within the local communities themselves."

Ecotourism is often built on community-led tourism activities and operations that simultaneously as preserving natural ecosystems, enables employment for the (often) unskilled workforce in rural communities (UNEP, 2013).

As such, changes are likely to come from the grassroots, where the need for change is also the greatest. However, the ability to make remarkable differences on anything but a local scale is highly

unlikely, as the power of change on that level is isolated, contextual and not easily spread (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

On a supranational level, future ecotourism development is desired. In December 2012, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution entitled '*Promotion of ecotourism for poverty eradication and environment protection*' (UNEP, 2013). The resolution suggests UN members to adopt policies that promote ecotourism, highlighting its positive impact on income generation, job creation and education, and thus on the fight against poverty (UNEP, 2013).

"Although community can be defined by scale, sector, interest, level of power and by numerous other features which express its diversity and heterogeneity, it is taken here not as an homogenous construct; rather, it is seen as something locational within which there are divisions of differing degrees of contrast according to many criteria." Mowforth and Munt (2008)

However, the approach is not unproblematic. Scholar stress that it cannot be expected that farmers or fishermen quickly are able to advance into tourism occupations, working as guides or with hospitality (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Hence, it is to a high degree the better-educated, wealthy and well-connected people in the community, some stress, that are in a position to benefit from the community based tourism (Wearing & Neil, 2009; Picard, 2003).

Further, approaches like this might be the breeding ground for new economic dependencies created by shifts from a traditional agricultural way of life, to becoming hosts (Byczek, 2011). Additionally, observations have been made of places where ecotourism has served as fuel for mass tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). This is possible when there is a weak management that fails to oversee or control the consequences of tourism development (Strasdas, 2001).

Tightly connected to ecotourism is the concept of Community-Based Tourism (CBT). According to some, a CBT approach enables a contribution to a better social, economic, and environmental future on a local scale, by primarily addressing the needs and desires of *the local people* (Saarinen, 2006). There are several advantages for this approach of development and managing: land ownership will not be released to foreigners, job opportunities will be available to the community, and the control over future tourism development is directed to the local people. But most importantly, the benefits from tourism will to a greater degree remain in the community (Wardana, G. P., n.d). One of the major selling points for CBT is that this type of tourism approach allows the visitors to enjoy the social life of the local community, or even be involved in their everyday sociocultural activities (Wardana, G. P., n.d).

This is managed by offering compensation for the negative impact on the environment of where it is practiced, either directly through contributions to conservation, or indirectly by providing revenue to the host community sufficient for local people to value, and hence protect, their surrounding ecosystems (Goodwin, 1996). It is no doubt that this type of tourism development could limit resource depletion and increase the benefits to local communities (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

Ecotourism and CBT are often used interchangeably to describe the same approach. However, in its acknowledgement of more anthropocentric and community-centered approaches in the delivery of tourism products, CBT is a form of tourism that, instead of regarding the host society as a powerless victim to forces beyond their control, aims to strengthen the social ties of communities by making visits on the locals' terms (Byczek, 2011; Fennell, 2007). Thus, henceforth in this study, Ecotourism and CBT will be grouped together and called Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET).

CBET in JED:s version is defined as a responsible way of traveling to intact areas (*daerah alami*), with the purpose of enjoying natural beauty; it involves education, improves the local people's participation in conservation of nature, as well as increasing the income of the local communities ("Ben", personal communication 23:rd April 2016, see Table 1). As this thesis investigates the local peoples' views of the tourism phenomenon and CBET, the definition used by JED's seems appropriate when mentioning this type of tourism initiative.

2.10 Theoretical Summary

The growing global middle class of the past decades, in line with an increased awareness and concern about minority cultures, fragile areas and the environment at large, has enabled the development of alternative forms of tourism; addressing the needs and desires of local people (Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Saarinen, 2006; UNEP, 2013). In this thesis, in order to define sustainability in tourism, the concept of Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET) is used; a responsible way of traveling to natural areas that conserves the environment, empowers the local people, makes both the visitors and hosts aware of the environment and culture, as well as involving education (JED).

Previous research on CBET has found that benefits of this approach accruing to local communities, are significantly higher than those of mass tourism (Saarinen, 2006). There are several advantages for this approach of development and managing: land ownership will not be released to foreigners, job opportunities will be available to the community, and the control over future tourism development is directed to the local people. But most importantly, the benefits from tourism will to a

greater degree remain in the community. However, CBET should not only be a tool for reaching increased economic stability, increase the awareness of natural and cultural assets, educate and preserve, but also be used to promote the philosophy of sustainable development (Saarinen, 2006).

As more positive perceptions of tourism are associated with a greater share of benefits for the locals (Deery et al., 2012), it is vital to examine which impacts are affecting the local people the most. Studies of local peoples' perceptions of tourism impacts, have shown that a range of variables can have influences on residents' overall dispositions towards tourism development (Allen et al., 1988; Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Deery et al., 2012; Easterling 2005; Ko & Stewart, 2002). Examples of these are sociodemographic features, personal economic interest in tourism, size of community, distance from tourism activity, and speed of tourism development (Ap, 1992; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Curto, 2006; Deery et al., 2012; Easterling 2005).

In order to answer the research questions guiding the aim of this study, the following factors are being examined closer in this study: the type of tourism development being implemented (sustainable or unsustainable) (Andereck & Vogt, 2000), the degree of involvement in the tourism process, the ratio of permanent residents to the number of tourists in the host community (Allen et al., 1988; Ko & Stewart, 2002), personal economic dependence on tourism (Andereck et al. 2005; Lankford & Howard, 1994), knowledge about tourism, development processes or economic, social and cultural resources (Hall, 1999), and loss of authenticity (Ap & Crompton 1998; Easterling, 2004). These factors will not be measured in this study, however, they will be present when analyzing the findings, to determine whether they affect the local peoples' perceptions of tourism (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Deery et al., 2012; Easterling 2005).

In Bali, a growing issue relates to the loss of culture and traditions, due to the spread of more modern lifestyles. However, scholars have also found that tourism has made some Balinese more conscious about their identity and cultural values (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 2009; King, 2009). Some even go so far to state that the Balinese have discovered that they have a culture, thanks to tourism (Picard, 2003; 2008).

So, which of these impacts are found to have consequences for the residents' well-being in the villages of this study? Are there other variables that previous research has not illuminated? As the recent and projected growth of tourism in Bali is both an opportunity and a stress, studying resident perceptions of tourism is vital in order to determine how tourism development affects host communities.

3. METHODS

3.1 Introduction

The majority of the resident perception' studies in tourism previously assumed a positivistic and quantitative approach, using survey questions to establish generalizability and to test the impact of various independent variables (Allen et al., 1988; Byczek, 2011; Deery et al., 2012; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997). However, since the 1990s, a growing body of research has emerged based on a qualitative inquiry, seeking to gain an in-depth understanding of residents' perceptions of tourism through an interpretive view (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Veal, 2006). A qualitative enquiry is often associated with inductive reasoning; being more fluid, flexible, and iterative, where theory emerges from the analysis (Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013; Curto, 2006). Hence, this study is an inductive exploratory research project, as it applies a qualitative research approach based on interviews to gain deeper understanding of the respondent's dispositions towards tourism development and its impacts.

The fieldwork was conducted in the period of March through May, 2016. The results of the study is based on six respondents interviews and one informant interview, with stakeholders involved in the CBET network of JED, the organization around which this thesis circles.

Knowledge of and understanding about the specific context and topics in advance, is crucial in order to produce relevant research questions (Dalen, 2004). Hence, reviews of research on tourism, eco- and community-based tourism, Bali, case studies, JED, qualitative approaches, ethics, as well as residents' perceptions of tourism impacts, have been conducted.

3.2 Sampling: the Villages and Respondents

In order to draw a sample, it is important to first determine the population relevant to the study (Esaiasson et al., 2012). In this case, the population represents all people living and thriving in the five villages that make out the network JED. Occasionally it could be problematic, if not impossible, to be able to determine the population (Esaiasson et al., 2012). In this case, the population is not accurate down to a single individual, but rather on a family level; the way in which the residents measure their community sizes.

The villages investigated have, to a substantial degree, been disconnected from the mass tourism development in the island. This has enabled the thesis to examine research question research question one (how CBET differs from conventional tourism) from a unique, *inside* perspective. As

the stakeholders were not affected directly from tourism development, the distance to the impacts were not colored by their personal benefits from the same. Moreover, the same setting enabled the study to investigate research question one (how CBET is experienced to differ from conventional tourism), from an *outside* perspective. This became evident after the fieldwork was conducted, as valuable findings, presented in 'Chapter 4 - Results', indicate issues that only the people living and working within a CBET network could have opinions about. However, the issues of inside/outside perspectives are not theoretically established, rather a point-of-view that aids in the understanding of the thesis prerequisites and the value of the sample frame.

The sample frame, six interviewees, is considered to provide sufficient data given the method of the case study approach and the limits of time and money connected to a project of this magnitude (Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This is confirmed by Esaiasson et al. (2012), stating that the number of informants to be used in a study is determined by the purpose of the study and the method of choice. As qualitative methods have the advantage of developing a rich depth of knowledge, a smaller sample size is possible to use and still provide information-rich data to the study (Creswell, 2003).

In the villages, there were between 3-12 families working with JED, but the communities sizes amounted sometimes to more than 120 families. The age of the respondents differed between 21 to 54 years of age, with a varying degree of educational background. This mixture enabled a lot of different perspectives, from the younger woman's desire to make a living in tourism, to the older man's experiences of: *"the life as we know it is gone"* (Cannavaro, stakeholder in Ceningan).

Barber (1988), suggests that the best sample is the one that is as good a representation of the population from which it has been drawn, as possible. However, if the population is unknown, there is no way of knowing whether there has been a representative sample or not (Barber, 1988). Given these prerequisites, the very act of sampling is by itself introducing uncertainty to some degree. This phenomenon is called sampling error (Barber, 1988). To avoid this, or at least to reduce the risk of encountering sampling error, a larger sample size could be selected (Barber, 1988).

However, Harris & Jarver (2011) oppose this, suggesting that one of the advantages with qualitative approaches is that, since the interviews go deep and individual stories are being told, the issue of the sampling error is irrelevant. Social and behavioral processes creates outcomes that do not look alike in different places, whereby the collection of data is not affected by this faulty (Harris & Jarver, 2011).

Sample bias is another issue that could occur when sampling, making the representation of the population skewed (Barber, 1988). As this study solely uses respondents of the organization JED as village representatives, the sample frame might be accused for including only individuals with certain population characteristics. Only people that were either a 'village head' or working actively with the community-based tourism (cooks, guides, etc) were interviewed, which may have created problems of representation. The lack of control over who participated in the study and the results might therefore be biased, by unfavorable responses. However, not aiming to generalize these findings, this issue is not of great concern to the researcher.

#	Village	Born	Gender	Alias	Date	Interpreter	Type of Interview
1	Ceningan	1984	Female	Sarah	16-04-14	No	Respondent
2	Ceningan	1962	Male	Cannavaro	16-04-15	Yes	Respondent
3	Tabaran	1974	Male	Ben	16-04-23	No	Informant
4	Nyambo	1994	Female	Mitra	16-04-23	Yes	Respondent
5	Nyambo	1970	Male	Yuseph	16-04-23	Yes	Respondent
6	Plága	1970	Male	Franke	16-04-28	No	Respondent
7	Tenganan	1974	Male	Michael	16-05-02	No	Respondent

Table 1. Sample of Respondent's Interviews, with regard to village, age, gender, and use of interpreter. The Alias is to make the results more vivid.

3.3 Case Studies

A case-study approach has been used to collect primary data of residents' perceptions of tourism development and their views on Community-Based Ecotourism initiatives. According to Coles, Duval & Shaw (2013), primary data refers to the collection of 'original' data, through for example in-depth interviews or questionnaires. In this study, six respondents interviews and one informant interview were conducted to collect primary data.

This method was selected, as case studies are said to be conducive when investigating aspects such as '*how*' and '*why*' (Yin, 2003). As this study is looking at *how* development of community-based ecotourism differs from conventional tourism, the choice of method offered a possibility for detailed understanding about ecotourism, from the views of the local people living in the communities of interest. Besides, examining residents' perceptions of tourism impacts, it aims to answer the question of *why* a certain individual holds a certain disposition towards tourists.

The choice of Bali as a case-study site, is a result of different aspects. First, Bali being an island and thus geographically separate, makes clear boundaries for both the researcher and locals on the scale of interest. Second, the island is known globally, marketed as a paradise all over the world. It is so strongly exposed to tourism, that no one, least of all the people living in 'the eye of the tornado', can escape its impacts. Third, Bali has still areas that are unexploited from tourism development. This is of significance when studying the human geographical perspective of places, and what happens to specific places when some are in the crosshair of development and some are not.

The villages making up the network of JED, are Plága in Central Bali, Sibetan and Tenganan in East Bali, and Nusa Ceningan, an island some 12 kilometers off the southeast coast. The remote villages, that are located in areas between two-three hours of driving from the tourist centers in the island's south, has been part of the network since its outset in 2002. However, during this fieldwork, a fifth village became part of the network: Nyambo in between the Central and East part of the island, has just recently received its first visitors. All villages were visited, except Sibetan. Neither the time nor money needed to visit them all were available.

The conditions in the field differed in a variety of ways, as every village had a unique story of its own. The place specific characteristics were often the reason for the villages to become part of the network from the beginning, and this is explained further in 'Chapter 4 - Results'. This was naturally of interest to the study, in order to get the complete picture of why they had been chosen to be a part, and to be able to illuminate the differences that exist between the ecovillages, and the regular communities.

Much critique of case studies has centered upon their lack of ability for direct generalizations, since each individual case brings with it so many *'idiosyncratic peculiarities'* (Tosun, 1999; Esaiasson et al., 2012). Some scholars even regard the case-study as merely a method of producing anecdotes (Eysenck, 1976). As a result from the lack of ability to generalize, it is said, the case study is unable to contribute to scientific development (Desai & Potter 2006; van Doorn, 1989).

However, some scholars question this critique. Yin (2003), argues that case studies do not necessarily *intend* to produce generalized findings for a population, yet instead might aim to generalize to theoretical development. Flyvbjerg, as well, challenges the generalization critique in his paper 'Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research' (2006), stating that formal generalizations are overrated as contributors to scientific development, especially in the social sciences, whereas 'the force of example' is wanting:

"Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory and, thus, has in the final instance nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge. And the case study is especially well suited to produce this knowledge" (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Similar opinions were stated already by Giddens in 1984, who stressed that in the '*traditional small-scale community research of fieldwork*', generalizations can only be made if carried out in some numbers, adding to a greater body of knowledge (Giddens, 1984; 328).

Case studies have been also criticized for being subjective, giving too much space for the researcher's own interpretations (Flyvbjerg, 2006). For example, Creswell (2003), states that because of the interpretive nature of the qualitative research, it is unfeasible to avoid personal interpretation. This is questioned by Yin (2003), who states that when there is a wealth of literature on a topic from other case studies, the empirical findings can be used to make comparisons. This is especially the case when there is a similarity of methods and data analysis procedures.

Leaning on Yin's and Flyvbjerg's versions, the case-study for this project seemed relevant, as it could generate unique material from these particular places. The contributions of the findings from this study will add to the body of knowledge already existing in the field of tourism geography, and are not aiming to be generalize findings for the entire population.

3.4 Conducting Fieldwork

The active weeks of the fieldwork included getting familiar with the region and its culture, and visiting the head office of JED, located in Seminyak, before making the actual field trips to the villages to collect data. When visiting the manager of JED, information about the organization, the Wisnu Foundation as well as of the villages was shared. The researcher explained the purpose of the thesis, and what was expected from the organization's side in order to successfully collect data. The Information sheet (See Appendix I), was explained, as well as a desirable sample frame; to visit four villages and interviewing people working with JED, hopefully with a mix of age, gender and hierarchal position of the village.

Thus, the sample of respondents in the villages were made by JED, as the manager contacted the 'village heads' and explained the purpose of the research. One to two people per village volunteered. As of which, the respondents that had chosen to participate were already waiting for the questions to be asked, upon the researcher's arrival.

During the actual fieldwork, the researcher were given a 'standard tour' of the village. All villages offer trekking tours in the local area, where the visitor gets a description of the villages' history and its place specific characteristics. Its farming practices, as well as arts and crafts production are described and demonstrated, and the visitor is offered locally produced food. Besides the commonly shared activities, every village has something unique to offer, that the guests normally would know of, as it is often the reason for choosing that particular village to visit. An important part of the visitor experience is the educational component. In Plága (marketed as 'Coffee in the Clouds'), guests visit plantations to learn how organic coffee is produced. It is also possible to buy (expensive) coffee straight from the roaster. However, the money goes directly to the producers.

Tenganan is one of the ancient villages of Bali, famous for its double-cut weaving and for its palm leaf writing technique of *lontar*, which is shown. Visitors get to walk the first, second and third street, and visit a honey farm in the mountain behind the village.

On Nusa Ceningan visitors go around the island and its sister island of Lembongan on a motorbike, to see the farming practices for seaweed and get a direct experience of the differences of when local opposition has been solid and strong (Ceningan), versus weak and easily exploited (Lembongan).

In Nyambo the visitor gets to ride a bike in the area, seeing the wild monkeys by the river and the endless rice fields of the area.

3.5 Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

One informant interview and a total of six respondent interviews were conducted, in four different villages throughout the region. The interviews were conducted in the villages, in a setting that provided a safe and comfortable environment for the respondents. This is by some considered as a possible contributor for a more successful data collection (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004; Esaiasson et al., 2012). Four respondent interviews were conducted with men, and two with women. The interviews ranged from 40-70 minutes, resulting in a total of five hours of taped material. Three were conducted with an interpreter (see 3.7 Using an Interpreter).

The interviews were conducted face-to-face to investigate perceptions of tourism impacts and whether ecotourism is a sustainable livelihood strategy. The interviews were conducted after the guided tour through the villages, so that hours of informal conversations would result in a familiar and relaxed situation. And, introducing every interview, some warm-up questions, which is recommended (Esaiasson et al., 2012).

Soon after the interviews and field work were conducted, the material was transcribed word by word, by the researcher. It was clear that having the situation 'fresh' in mind could assist when facing answers that later might had been interpreted in a different way. The language barrier and the many disturbances of the villages (animals, people, traffic), made it important to do this in close connection to the field trips, in order to make accurate analysis of the material.

The empirics were then labeled and divided into the following categories: 'Perceptions of Tourism Impacts', 'Views on Ecotourism', 'Desirable amount of visitors' and 'Thoughts on Future development for Bali'. Labeling these four categories, the findings could more easily be seen in the light of the research questions. The 'Desirable amount of visitors' has throughout the study been an interesting feature, seeking to explain whether and to what extent the number of monthly amount of visitors is correlating with a desirable amount, according to stakeholders. This is followed up in section '5. Analysis'.

In order to successfully carry out semi-structured interviews, a certain kind of procedure is vital in the preparatory work (Creswell, 2014). First, an interview guide should be created (Appendix I), which is a group of questions made out from converting the reviewed secondary data into themes. Underlying these themes are the very questions that make out the interview protocol, which is used during the interviews for collecting primary data (Dalen, 2004; Creswell, 2014). Since the field work took place in a geographically distant and unknown context for the researcher, the questions were posed in such a way that the respondents had great opportunity to speak freely. It soon became evident that some questions initially being asked did not relate to the core focus of the research, and were therefore omitted from future interviews. However, new questions arose, replacing the previous ones. In the semi-structured approach, the interview guide is important as it enables the researcher to keep the focus on what is actually researched. Without it, the study would rather use an unstructured approach (Dalen, 2004).

However, there were some unique questions to each interview, resulting from a subject raised either by a specific participant response, or by the researcher's desire to get the complete picture of a matter of subject. According to Patton (2002), the only way for researchers to get in-depth understanding of what another person is experiencing, is to approach the phenomenon as directly as possible. This is preferably established by face-to-face, in-depth interviewing (Patton, 2002).

Esaiasson et al. (2012), differentiate informant interviews from respondent interviews. During the former, the informant is supposed to contribute with information about how reality is disposed, enabling the researcher to acquire the best possible picture of the course of event investigated. This type of interview is more informative and is preferentially carried out with a respondent who has

solid knowledge about aspects important to the investigation (Esaiasson et al., 2012). The interview with the manager of the organization JED, had the purpose of giving an overall picture of the tourism development on Bali, how ecotourism has evolved throughout the years and particular information about the villages of interest, and was therefore conducted as an informant interview. Beside the recorded interview, there were a lot of informal conversations about Bali, JED and the lives of the local people.

Respondent interviews, could indeed also include aspects of information that needs to be cleared in order to fully comprehend the situation at hand, however, the aim is rather to examine the respondents' own thoughts and perceptions about the questions relevant to the study (Esaiasson et al., 2012). This interview approach was therefore mostly used, as the respondents' perceptions and opinions were in focus. According to Esaiasson et al. (2012), studies using respondent interviews do not necessarily wish to include a high number of participants, but aims rather for few informants being able to contribute with a variety of perspectives and ways of thinking. The limit is reached when so called theoretical saturation has been reached, i.e. no new information is added to the research (Sandelowski, 1995). It is possible that conducting more respondent's interviews would have broaden the findings, however, due to limitations of time and money, the amount of interviewees seemed acceptable to the study.

3.6 Ethics

To confirm that the research is conducted in an appropriate and ethical manner, and that the data collected empirically is acquired in a reasonable way, it is important to ensure that the integrity and respect for the stakeholders involved in the research is accounted for (Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013). To assure this, the thesis leans on the '*Swedish Board of Ethics*' ethical principles; recommended to use when conducting research within social science or humanistic disciplines (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). The ethical principles covers a range of significant aspects important to consider when conducting a research:

'*The principle of information*' states that respondents are required to be informed of the reasons for the study, as well as what is expected from them in their involvement. The principle also advise to inform that the participation is entirely voluntary and that the informant at any time can withdraw without repercussions (Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013; Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). This was done twice; first through the manager of JED informing the stakeholders of the research project prior to the field trips. Second, in the initial phase of the interviews, while on site (see Appendix I & Appendix II).

The principle of confidentiality' involves ethical considerations regarding the fact that personal data is processed in such a way that unauthorized, third parties cannot access it (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). In order to achieve the total confidentiality, in this study, the names of the respondents have been coded into 1-7, given an Alias to make the result more vivid (see Table 1).

'*The principle of data*' suggests that the material being collected will solely be used for research purpose (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). As of which, several days prior to the interviews, the villagers that were asked to participate in the survey were given an Information Sheet (Appendix II). This letter covered all the principles, by outlining the intent of the research project and the details regarding their involvement. They were also informed about the time frame of the study, and about their anonymity and confidentiality.

A letter of information like this has, besides ensuring that the research is conducted in an ethical manner, some other advantages that hopefully enhance the respondents' overall attitude towards participating. First, it gives the informants the opportunity to make an informed decision about whether to participate or not, and if they do decide to take part, the decision comes from them. Second, informing the respondents of how they were selected, why they were selected, and how the information is going to be used by the researcher, increases the transparency of the study (Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013). Thus, the ethical principle requirements of this study are considered to be met.

However, every study has its flaws. One ethical issue that was encountered, was the fact that the interpreter was the manager of the organization upon which they relied. Thus, '*the principle of confidentiality*' was not completely achieved. This is further discussed in '3.7 Using an Interpreter'.

3.7 Using an Interpreter

The interviews with the stakeholders involved with JED, were mostly performed in English. However, in two cases, the questions were translated into the national language Bahasa Indonesia, by an interpreter. Desai and Potter (2006), state that a local interpreter could be more than a translator of language. Occasionally, they become "*informant[s] in an ethnographic sense*"; intermediaries who can assist to unravel hierarchical positions in a community, describe how specific characteristics of a village differ from the next, or highlight interpersonal behavioral aspects that are not visible on the surface (Desai & Potter, 2006). This was to a high degree apparent in this case study, and it was shown to be vital to have some local assistance that made issues clearer, both prior to and after the interviews. However, the practical difficulties posed by applying a third party need illumination. First, there is a chain of informative interpretations emerging from the researcher posing the questions, via the interpreter, to the respondent, and back again. On each of these links, information could easily be missed, misinterpreted or miscommunicated (Desai & Potter, 2006). Second, in this particular case, the interpreter was the manager of the organization, which might affect the respondents' in their answers, telling the interpreter what he wanted to hear, or even worse – what they were 'supposed' to say. Research suggests that using an interpreter in an interview situation can cause a loss of control, since the translators might have certain interests of their own (Desai & Potter, 2006). There is always a factor of humanity which is inevitably adding layers of judgements and subjective readings to the situation. Some scholars argue that even without an interpreter, all research produced is somewhat colored by the researchers own experiences and subjectivity (Silverman, 2013). The very presence of an interpreter is adding to this mechanism (Desai & Potter, 2006).

Finally, there is no way for any of us to know whether the interpreter's mediation was correct. It is not uncommon for the translator, especially if the person has some sort of connection to the objects of study and is not a professionally trained interpreter, to 'filter out' what might be considered unimportant, even though this could be precisely what the researcher is looking for and value highly (Desai & Potter, 2006). Hence:

"Heavy reliance on single sources of information is not to be recommended, nor to have a single person represent your purpose to others. The problem with dependence on local translators is that one can be restricted and trapped within their perspective on their own society" (Desai & Potter, 2006).

Using a professional, objective interpreter would unfortunately have exceeded the budget for this thesis. Besides, only two out of six interviews were conducted with the help of the manager, making the primary data solid enough, according to the researcher.

3.8 Validity & Reliability

Bell (2014) stresses the importance of questioning the validity and reliability in research, which implies critically reviewing the complete research process and judging whether it is valid and reliable enough. In other words, as Nunkoo et al. (2013) put it:

"how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention?" (Nunkoo et al., 2013).

The concept of validity describes if the research is actually measuring what it is designed to measure. Reliability implies that if another research had been performed using the same methodology, the result would have been similar (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Thus, a study must maintain a high level of validity in order to reach high reliability (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

However, the concepts of validity and reliability are, according to Bryman and Bell (2011), based on a positivistic approach and hence more easily used in quantitative research. It could be difficult, they argue, to make a direct transfer to a qualitative research approach, in that a researcher using a qualitative inquiry never can get the same result twice. Instead, Bryman and Bell prefer to use the terms trustworthiness and authenticity.

In this study, in order to establish a valid and reliable research, a few measures were taken. First, the purpose of the thesis and the research questions have been present during the whole process. This has been visible in the making of the interview guide (Appendix I) and in the introductory description of what the study meant to investigate (Appendix II). Second, a pilot study was used with the personnel from JED, in order to determine if the semi-structured questions were asked in a proper manner and whether they would be understood and logical.

Some of the barriers and limitations of the study, i.e. the use of an interpreter, the language- and the cultural differences, might have had an affect on the empirical material. A researcher without this distance to the respondents had most likely come up with different findings. As often is the matter with case-study research in foreign contexts, these barriers lowers the reliability (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

3.9 Limitations & Discussion

There are limitations associated with all forms of method and analytical techniques. As an example, applicable to any method of choice, is the statement from Denzin and Lincoln (1998):

"... empirical facts can only be described as contemporary knowledge, given the rapid changes in the social world and the impossibility of knowledge being able to remain static in this mercurial environment"

Another example is from Phillimore & Goodson (2004), who argue that the complex social world can only be fully apprehended from the perspective of those who operate within it. Trying to give a complete picture to a third party of experiences being made in the field, is impossible by its nature. According to their book '*Qualitative Research in Tourism*', every researcher brings something

unique to a study which will impact upon the research: different attitudes, values and perspectives (Phillimore & Goodson 2004).

Choosing interviews as a research technique was based on the study's aim to examine perceptions, which according to Harris & Jarver (2011), gives a richer understanding of such a phenomenon. However, interviews (especially in a Third World setting from a First World research perspective) have been criticized for reproducing hierarchical relations between the interviewer and interviewee (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2013). For a westerner coming to a village with all the equipment necessary for collecting data (according to him/her), signals an imbalance with the residents being interviewed. When examining what local residents perceive as important related to tourism development in their region, the hierarchical difference visible in the economic advantage of expensive equipment might give the respondent a notion of the researchers' ability to 'help them', which could possibly affect their answers (Phillimore & Goodson 2004).

Previously, the vast majority of the studies of residents' perceptions of tourism, have been rooted in positivism and apply quantitative methods. However, the method used to achieve the aim of the thesis has been six qualitative interviews, seeking in-depth understanding of the perceptions of the tourism phenomenon, as well as one semi-structured key informant interview to apprehend knowledge of the area of interest.

Quantitative methods, and even a triangulating methods approach were considered, however, the apparent difficulty of conducting questionnaires in remote rural villages, concerning the local peoples' ability to read and write, resulted in the selection of interviews. Besides, it is commonly held that qualitative inquiry where the analysis tends to be a more iterative process, is generally richer than quantitative data (Coles, Duval & Shaw, 2013; Shone et al., 2003). Additionally, investigating for example only demographic variables, such as place of birth or length of residency, could easily be seen as inadequate measures when examining the connection between attachment to place and peoples' perceptions towards tourism development (Deery et al., 2012). A more in-depth approach would be wanting.

The problems associated with using an interpreter are discussed in section '3.7 Using an Interpreter'. However, there were some issues connected to the interviews conducted *without* the presence of an interpreter. These contained a language barrier worth noting. English being the second language for everyone present, both the respondent's answers and the researchers' interpretations might not have been as flawless as if the interviews would have been conducted in a commonly shared language. Additionally, as a first time visitor to Indonesia, Bali and the villages, the researcher being an outsiders in this context created a gap of understanding of the Balinese

cultural norms and values, and thus might have enabled misinterpretations of signs, symbols, verbal and non-verbal communication (such as gestures, expressions) (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).

Thus, the empirical material might have differed if these barriers and limitations would not had been an issue. These are always possible implications when conducting research in countries with unfamiliar cultures, perhaps especially if the researcher is new to the situation and do not take all aspects in to consideration as a more professional researcher would have (Desai & Potter, 2006).

Another limitation of the study regards the depth reached with such a small sample size. With only six respondent interviews spread throughout four villages, the ability to contextualize and to cross-check between different sources of information has been scarce. Besides, with a total of just under five hours of recorded material, the findings could come up short in providing insights to help answer the research questions of the thesis. Yet another issue to discuss regarding the sample frame, is the inclusion of a fifth village in the network. Nyambo, will in the near future become a member of JED, and what could have been an interesting point-of-view, e.g. *why* this particular village was chosen to be part, turned out to unfold information that was too massive for this thesis to cover. This information was given to the researcher in the middle of the fieldwork, and therefore, the story of Nyambo will be left for future research.

Clark (2010) emphasized that there are two broad sets of drivers motivating people to participate in qualitative research. Interest, enjoyment, curiosity and social comparison, could be found at an individual level, whereas representation, empowerment and informing 'change', are said to be key considerations at the collective level (Clark, 2010). However, in this case, the respondents that participated were asked in advance to participate. Even though the researcher had e-mailed the 'Letter of Participation' (Appendix I), to the manager of JED, hoping he had mediated the information to the villages' heads', the selection of the sample was not for the researcher to decide. This is naturally a major implication for the thesis. Even though a non-homogenous sample frame was utilized, as the interviewees consisted of a mix of age, gender and level of English skills, the individuals might have been part of this study as the researcher was a paying customer to their village and organization, or simply because the manager of JED told them to take part. The empirical findings that can be derived from such a sample, always have to be used carefully, and perhaps adds to the disability to generalize the findings to the greater population.

Based on the limitations in this study, future potential improvements that could be made include aspects of using a professional interpreter, use a wider and sample frame with not only front figures of the organization, and a greater sample size. Visiting the villages several times could also be of interest, to be able to gradually experience shifts in attitudes.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The findings presented result from six respondents' interviews with residents engaged with the Community-Based Ecotourism Village Network *Jaringan Ekowisata Desa* (JED), in Bali. The project of JED aims to profit the local people in a sustainable way, by offering high-paying visitors, in small numbers, the opportunity to visit the villages. The focus is on minimizing negative impacts from tourism, and to make the print that visiting people have on Bali as controlled and sustainable as possible. This is done by spreading information about how to travel in a more eco-friendly manner and by offering sustainable tours with low impact to the villages in the network. However, also included is networking, education, and cross-cultural understanding between hosts and guests (Byczek, 2011).

The findings from the field are categorized according to the research questions (RQ) guiding the aim of the thesis. These are:

- 1. How does community-based ecotourism differ from conventional tourism?
- 2. How are the local people of the villages affected by tourism impacts?
- 3. What are the local residents' views on future tourism development on Bali?

4.2 Perceptions of Tourism Development and CBET initiatives in the Villages

4.2.1 Nusa Ceningan

Nusa Ceningan is a small island, which is 'tucked away' between the bigger touristy islands of Lembongan and Penida. Ceningan is connected to one of its sister islands via a small bridge called the 'Yellow Bridge', not even big enough for two motorbikes to meet. However, the islands have had extremely different fates. Ceningan has a history of local opposition towards tourism development. The 'Head of the Village', where the research was conducted, had since the 1970s been one of the key individuals in leading the opposition. This unique history that has shaped and preserved the island was a point-of-view that clearly was of interest to the study.

On the other side of the 'Yellow Bridge', the oppositions was not organized in the same way, making the island of Lembongan weak to outside pressure, and hence incredibly transformed in the name of development. According to Cannavaro :

"... it is out of control now. They build everywhere. And eventually, they will come here."

How does community-based ecotourism differ from conventional tourism?

"A lot of income from the tourism on Bali don't touch the local people, due to several causes, corruption included. By being part of an ecotourism network we are able to develop tourism our way, which means that the benefits can go directly to our people." ("Cannavaro", through interpretation, 15:th April 2016, see Table 1).

What impacts from tourism development do you consider most important?

"Tourism changes the lifestyles of the people. Most of the people right now is following a lifestyle that is different. People become more greedy, wanting more and more money, and they will try every way to get more for themselves. [...] the more we make, the more we will spend. No matter how much me make, we will always want more. We already depend on tourism and it is not enough." (Cannavaro)

What do you think will happen to Bali if the development continues as it is now?

"Oh, I'm so worried! The traditions of Bali will not exist anymore. Because too many people destroy it. It is also a problem with the government giving permits nowadays. I can't do nothing about it now, it's out of control. The life as we know it will be gone. Then it becomes acting, pretending.. Not for real." (Cannavaro)

When speaking to Sarah, her views of the CBET approach were:

"It means that we can educate ourselves, not just the visitors, but the people around here" "Not really eco friendly" ("Sarah", personal communication, 14:th April 2016, see Table 1).

Sarah explained that:

"People get more greedy, because they work a lot. In hotels, in the tourism business. When we build my house, my father asked his neighbours for help. For no money. But now, it is very difficult to find. Maybe in Ceningan you can still find it..." (Sarah)

However:

"Tourism help to push us to be more creative. It pushes us to think that we have to do something, we cannot only be workers, we have to empower ourselves. In order to make a difference, to be able to hold our land to ourselves, it is important to empower ourselves to be young people here." (Sarah)

4.2.2 Nyambo

Nyambo is the fifth village, that just recently entered the network. The village is located in the North-West of Bali. The wild monkeys that live by the river, have been a problem for the farmers for centuries. However, now they are going to be used as a part of the attraction to the village. Only two families (seven people) of the whole *banjar* (of approx. 40 families) are connected to JED at this moment. Mitra was one of the people responsible for organizing the involvement:

Why did your village want to become part of JED?

"If we work in our village and make tourists come here, we can make something for the community, for the people here. To make people contribute to the society. The first and biggest thing is that we learn what we have here and how to manage it and how to develop to make a contribute to the people. After making the mapping, it's getting more clear which parts that could develop for conventional tourism, and what would suit for community-based." ("Mitra", through interpretation, 23:th April 2016, see Table 1).

What do you think about tourism in Bali?

"It gives job for the people. At the same time the land on Bali is getting smaller, because they build many hotels in the tourism area. The farmers' land is decreasing. It's getting more and more difficult to get access to water." (Mitra)

"Some people practice dance and traditional music to entertain. [Tourism] makes us aware of what we have that is of value, and we give more time and effort to preserve and enhance it." (Mitra)

Yuseph explained his views on the difficulties with swift economic development:

"This is very sad, but the rice fields around Seminyak don't produce a lot of money from the farming. At the same time the current generation is not interested in becoming farmers, so that leaves the farmers with not many options: the older generation will continue with the farming system, or they leave it as a vacant area, or the sell. That are the options. Most of the people now choose to sell the land and buy a new, bigger land, in the middle of the island. Some disasters happen though, since they are not used to having a big amount of money at the same time – so they just spend it. Many Balinese people are suffering because of this now. " ("Yuseph", through interpretation, 23:th April 2016, see Table 1).

What are your views on the future of Bali?

"Not afraid as long as people stick to the social agreements. But if they are going to take the ricefields, I would be afraid." (Yuseph)

4.2.3 Plága

Plága is located 1100 meter above sea level. The altitude is the reason that the village evolved from the beginning, since the characteristics of the area enable certain crops to grow, coffee being the most important today. The vast majority of the residents are still working as farmers, growing coffee for export. Plága is the most popular village for visitors from JED, as it offers the unique experience of being part of the coffee procedure.

Plága was chosen to become part of the network since it is located in the north part of Bali, where there is hardly any tourism. Areas like these receive a minimal amount of government subsidies, as they are not attracting enough tourists. The NGO of the Wisnu Foundation, financer of JED, were aware of the unequal distributions of the benefits in the island. Plága was made part of the network, seeing that the coffee could indeed be a driver for small-scale tourism.

When speaking with a stakeholder in Plága, Franke was confident that a rising number of visitors would eventually affect the villagers' dispositions towards tourists. However, if the visitors would originate from JED, it would be a different matter:

"Because our people understand that it is community-based and brings the benefits." ("Franke", personal communication, 28:th April 2016, see Table 1).

What impacts do mass tourism bring to Bali?

"I think that mass tourism bring a lot of negative impacts. The lifestyles of the people change. But also way of tradition. And of course all the rubbish that is produced from the hotels and restaurants. Many things change. For example here in Bali we practice our religion very close to the field, so when we lose the land, we lose the culture. In tourism areas these traditions disappere. In the countryside, we still keep this, including the rituals connected to it." (Franke) "Much of the land disappears to support the tourism needs" (Franke)

What is ecotourism to you?

"It means that everything is supported by the community, and 70 per cent goes to the community. Another important aspect of this ecotourism project is about how the people keep their land, and not [sell it] to support tourism. This way we are able to keep our environment, land, culture and way of life." (Franke)

How can being part of an ecotourism network help this?

"[everything that happens in the village] always start with ceremonies. It means that we do it as a community together. It makes the bonds stronger. Here we know each other, we live together, people can come and share food together, it means the social life is strong. In the city, you don't know the namne of your neighbour. It's much more individualized. The ecotourism can help sustain these ties in the villages." (Franke)

If things continue as it is now, what will happen to Bali?

"I think in a few years, Bali will lose everything, the land, the culture, what happens in the tourist area. Every village should adapt this program in the future. More ecotourism!" (Franke)

4.2.4 Tenganan

The village of Tenganan is situated on the East side of the island. In 1983, the first tourists started to visit the village. At that time, the local people were almost exclusively rice farmers. There was only one family working with textiles, weaving dresses for ceremonial practices. Throughout the years, the village has seen an extensive shift from agriculture to tourism-centered lines of work, and today, the weaving has become commercial, with 40 families producing textiles to sell to tourists. Tenganan village differs from the other communities of the network due to several reasons, according to stakeholder Michael. First, it is the only community where conventional tourism also offers trips. Michael stated:

"When regular tourists come here, they would not interact with the local people the same way. Tourists who visit our village by guide from travel agent, they only visit a few minutes. They just pass first street. They never get to know second and third street. But for us [visitors from JED], we always go to second and third street. In the package from JED, 70% of the payment goes to the village. But the people visiting our village by travel agent, just put small donations, very small contribution to the village." ("Michael", personal communication, 5:th May 2016, see Table 1).

Second, the village has very strong rules and regulations, making the land protected from development:

"We have strong village laws, and we are part of both Indonesian government and Bali government. And everytime the government has a field trip, they visit this village. The government always say we have to keep and protect our culture. That is a positive impact. Government also support our village." (Michael)

Third, the village is known as one of the few preserved ancient villages of Bali, making the placespecific characteristics of the village attractive for visitors:

"Tenganan is one of the ancient villages of Bali. If we compare to villages outside, in this village, we have no hierarchy for man and woman – it's equal. Outside of this village, men are higher." (Michael)

There is a major difficulty managing plastics:

"Because it's like culture. Before we started to use plastic, we just took the food on a leaf and then threw it, it's natural." (Michael)

However, according to Michael, the very presence of tourists are speeding up this adaption of waste management:

"I always ask the visitors to teach the local people here. I tell them – this is the real tourist who mind about the plastic like this. [...] Even small children, like him, that use something with plastic, always put in the pocket and discard later." (Michael)

5. ANALYSIS

5.1 Discussion

Given the fact that a separation between 'good' and 'bad' forms of tourism is already somewhat controversial, trying to separate negative and positive aspects of tourism impacts is not an easy task, as the reality is often so much more complex. However, when examining which impacts are of greatest concern to the locals, it is crucial to reflect the findings in the light of variables that may affect the perceptions, such as the local peoples' involvement in the tourism industry, length of residency, demographics, and knowledge of the tourism industry, to mention a few. As these impacts previously have been shown to affect the residents' quality of life, and/or their support for future tourism development, they are therefore of great concern (Ap & Cromton, 1998; Lankford & Howard, 1994).

There are some other elements that might have affected the outcome of the results. As the stakeholders being on the side-line of the regular tourism development, they are experiencing tourism impacts from an 'outside' perspective. In addition, being part of the ecotourism network, they have unquestionable insights regarding how community-based ecotourism initiatives differ from conventional tourism. This could, according to the researcher, be called an 'inside' perspective. The concepts of inside/outside are not theoretically bound, yet still most certainly affecting the local people's perceptions of tourism impacts, and their dispositions towards CBET initiatives. Not least in regard of, for example, economic dependence on tourism and distance from their homes to the center of tourism development areas, which otherwise have been found to significancely affect residents' perceptions (Andereck et al. 2005; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Pizam, 1978). Further, the ratio of permanent residents to the number of tourists, which has been found to correlate with the level of acceptance towards tourists (Deery et al., 2012), has been very high. Seeing that visitors arrive in small numbers and that the villagers are able to choose when and how often they arrive, this implies that the overall disposition towards tourists is affected positively. Besides, as they are part of the network, they are to a high degree protected from negative aspects of tourism development, yet still able to benefit from the industry. This is of course also influencing the resident's dispositions towards tourism development and their views on CBET initiatives.

Since the number of visitors are limited to a desirable amount from the separate villages, negative impacts are largely avoided. The economic instability is not as threatening as to for example the major tourist areas of the South of Bali, where many people are dependent on the industry for delivering a continuous flow of visitors in order to make a living.

5.2 Analysis of the Findings from the Field

5.2.1 Nusa Ceningan

"... *it is out of control now. They build everywhere. And eventually, they will come here.*" Cannavaro was one of the stakeholders interviewed who was most upset about the current rate of development growth in Bali. He stated that the tourism-related income to the island was not sufficient in relation to the environmental and sociocultural costs from the same. Balinese, Cannavaro argued, had throughout history always been able to live off the land, in traditional lifestyles that valued knowledge about the nature and the religious ceremonies. Apparently it would be desirable to return to a traditional way of life, and at most bring people to the island in small scales, to profit the local community. Tourism should therefore not be the main source of income, but a complementary supply strategy to a traditional way of life, i.e. farming or fishery. This, Cannavaro argued, would only be manageable with small-scale tourism approaches, since it is only when a community has very strong cultural ties, that it could possibly withstand the pressure from developers. This belief was indeed a foundation for his disposition towards tourism development, and the impacts that are reshaping Balinese traditions, values and culture.

"A lot of income from the tourism on Bali don't touch the local people".

JED is aiming to reach a situation where the local people can have the same pace of development as the rest of the region, while keeping the nature for farming and preserve the cultural ties that are said to be the most important issue. This kind of tourism approach is showing a low level of leak, as it contributes with such a great share of the profits to the villages themselves. Hence, the level of leakage can be seen to be reflected in tourism approach (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). CBET represent the extreme on the one side of the spectrum, whilst an all-inclusive package tour might be situated on the other. As the income from the purchase of goods and services go directly to JED, and in the end to the villages, the level of leak could be said to be minimized. Every interviewed stakeholder welcomed this tourism approach, saying it was the best form to gain profits from tourism without total alienation and spoiling of the cultural heritage. Apparently, in order to bring enough income from comparatively high-paying customers, the local people interviewed are able to live off the land while sustaining their traditions, culture and the environment. However, as discussed previously, these individuals' dispositions are not generalizing to the greater population, as they are all representatives directly involved with JED and, hence, direct beneficiaries of the approach.

"Tourism changes the lifestyles of the people."

It has been a commonly held opinion among all respondents, that the cultural ties of the Balinese countryside are very strong, and as long as these are not broken, tourism activities cannot harm the culture too much. Outside of the villages, the economic impacts from tourism development were considered to be mostly negative, to Cannavaro. One negative economic impact that was found, regarded the fact that it would be difficult to support the new, upcoming lifestyles that is rapidly spreading, because everything is becoming increasingly expensive on the island. This is fuelled by the prestige and increased salaries connected to the industry, as stated by Picard (2003).

"The traditions of Bali will not exist anymore".

Cannavaro was both afraid and upset about the progress of tourism development and the effects it's bringing upon Bali. According to him, the ability to come up with a solution to the issues connected to tourism impacts is in the hands of the government. It is only the government that have the ability to rescue the island from total environmental and social destruction. Mowforth & Munt (2008) share this insight in their statement that for effective change to happen, and the ability of small community projects to succeed, national government policy will need to change to reflect the need of the local sector. The structural aspect of income inequality within and between regions, makes economic development unable to eradicate poverty unless strategic government ratifications are directed to the poor (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). In Indonesia, like in many other developing nations, legal frameworks and enforcement are still weak. However, as shown by Warren (1993, in Wall, 1996), local *banjars* have the ability to control tourism development, and bring empowerment to the local level, which seems very important for future development (UNEP, 2013).

"It means that we can educate ourselves, not just the visitors, but the people around here" "Not really eco friendly"

Sarah too held positive views of the CBET program. However, the ecotourism they were involved with was a socioculturally sustainable way of earning income for the village, by gaining control over the place, space and scale of visitors.

The CBET organization is not working with the ecological aspect of sustainability in a specific manner, according to Sarah. What is more important are the attempts to make the villages profitable, making villagers aware of their heritage and in the long run be able to promote a more ecologically benign approach. This control of the future development could be linked to John Ap (1992), who state that resident involvement in the production of tourism and their ability to control the phenomenon, is correlating with their disposition towards it.

"Creativity pushes young people to be more creative"

Sarah is experiencing a very positive aspect of tourism. If the creativity could be used to make the new lifestyles more sustainable, instead of having a goal to make as much profit as possible, this development would be fantastic. Hence, instead of working long hours for a small income, younger people getting creative in finding ways not to work in the industry, could possibly enable the communities to evolve through innovation.

Twenty years ago, in Wall's (1996) study of village perspectives on Bali, the people of all eight researched villages held positive attitudes towards the tourism sector as an employment opportunity for their children. This is very interesting indeed, as according to the findings of this study, the younger generation were the ones with a generally more positive view of what tourism could do to Bali (Sarah, Mitra), whereas the older ones interviewed (Franke, Yuseph, Michael, Cannavaro), who had perhaps seen more of the transformation that has been ongoing for the past decades, were more restrictive towards tourism. This becomes obvious especially in the case from Nusa Ceningan, where the daughter in the family sees bright on the future, and claims that tourism enhances creativity, whereas the father is very skeptical about tourism development and would like to go back to a more traditional way of living.

The comparison with this and Wall's case-study is interesting as these individual cases tell completely different stories, with only twenty years in between. Even though the eight villages of Wall's study are not a representative sample, nor the four villages of this, they constitute a diversity of varied, but not unusual characteristics, from a range of possible situations in Bali. As of which, it would be interesting to follow up on this thread in a decade from now, to see in which direction it blows.

5.2.2 Nyambo

"The most important thing is that we learn what we have here and how to manage it".

The awareness that Mitra speaks of is something that has been found in every village of the network, and is an important part of the philosophy of JED. However, as this study solely uses respondents of the organization JED as village representatives, the sample frame might be accused for including only individuals with certain population characteristics. Only people that were either a 'village head' or working actively with JED (as cooks, guides, etc) were interviewed, which may have created problems of representation. The lack of control over who participated in the study and the results might therefore be biased, by unfavorable responses. As this thesis is not aiming to

generalize the findings, the issue is not of great concern to the researcher. But still, this phenomenon does not add nuances to the answers, given the respondent's hold similar opinions.

"It's getting more and more difficult to get access to water."

Access to freshwater is an issue of great concern, that has been found to be linked to tourism in many regions around the world (UNEP, 2013; UNWTO, 2014). Besides the vast amount of water used to supply the golf courses and swimming pools, people on holiday use several times the daily amount of water they would have at home (TIES, 2006). The case of Bali shows that the northern and central parts of the island are not even close to attracting the same amount of visitors as is the south, which was selected already in the 1970s regulations as a development area of interest (Wardana, G. P., n.d). However, the North and Central areas have since the emergence of tourism development been important water suppliers for the south. The south is literally draining the rest of the island of water, in order to supply the tourism facilities need. This issue has become present in many parts of the island, where people are struggling to supply their villages with adequate amounts of freshwater. Almost all stakeholders mentioned the lack of water as a negative impact from tourism, which in the long run could pose tremendous threats to crop and rice cultivation, as to the perpetuation of traditional Balinese culture.

"Some people practice dance and traditional music to entertain"

Mitra stressed that one positive aspect about tourism is that of a rebirth of traditional ceremonies as a result of the awareness connected to it. As Mitra shows, tourism has made the Balinese more aware of their culture, as they practice these dances to entertain. This can be connected to the work of Picard. In his studies of Cultural Tourism in Bali, Picard argued that many of the art performances of dances and shadow plays that are on display, were invented or changed to fit tourist tastes (Picard, 2003, 2008). This made the Balinese 'discover' that they actually had a culture (Picard, 2003). This phenomenon of created consciousness among the Balinese in regards to their identity, has been found in other studies aswell (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 2009). However, this thesis is not examining whether culture has been transformed to suit the tourists' interests, been invented as something new or designed as a product, but rather about the opinions that the local people have on how tourism impacts affect their culture has been reshaped is a question for another study.

"that leaves the farmers with not too many options"

The traditional way of life, being rice field farmers for example, is not a lucrative line of work. At the same time, the younger generation is not interested in being farmers, which leaves the older generation with not too many options: they could either continue with their livelihood in farming, sell the land, or leave it as a vacant area. As a result, most of the people have chosen to sell the land. What has been shown in this fieldwork is that for the Balinese, the loss of land due to tourism development, in combination with the very many people nowadays working within the industry, make the cultural ties of the local people weaker. In addition, the farmers that give up their livelihoods receive a one-time payment for their land. As many Balinese are not used to getting their hands on a comparatively large amount of money on a one time occasion, this has grown to be quite a big problem on the island. According to Ben, a lot of people are suffering from an increase in gambling and alcoholism, due to the sudden increase of capital. The ones that do reinvest their capital, often buy a new piece of land in the middle of the island, where the prices are still low. Seeing this from an outside perspective, the development is slowly eating away all of the attractive spots, often with access to the oceans, and the traditional way of life is slowly cornered from all sides. As Nina Rao put it, in Mowforth and Munt (2008): "Tourism takes place in the context of great inequality of wealth and power."

5.2.3 Plága

"people understand that it is community-based and brings the benefits"

Franke was confident that a rising number of visitors would eventually affect the villagers' dispositions towards tourists. Some local people, Franke said, would probably even move away from the village if too many tourists would come. This finding can be linked to Deery et al. (2012), stating that the attitudes towards tourists could possibly cause frustration and withdrawal from local residents, if too great a number of visitors would come. Thus, tourism needs to be organized in such a way that the presence of visitors is kept to a desirable level for the locals, so that the people living in the villages don't feel marginalized or overrun. Franke's statement, one could say, encapsulates the sociocultural aspect of sustainable tourism at its very core. It shows signs of exactly what this thesis is aiming to investigate, namely whether CBET constitutes a sustainable livelihood strategy. Here, the reviewed literature that suggests that alternative tourism should benefit the communities, (see Fennell, 2007; Hetzer, 1965; Mowforth & Munt, 2008; TIES, 2006; UNEP, 2013) is confirmed by the findings of the primary data.

"In tourism areas these traditions disappeare. In the countryside, we still keep this"

This issue can be connected to a quest for more modern lifestyles, derived from tourism development, that was visible already when Picard (2003), conducted resarch in Bali from the end of the 1970s. A lot of activities are done together in the village, which according to the findings, makes the bonds stronger.

The decrease of agriculture land and ownership in the name of 'development' and 'national interest', is according to the findings, one of the most pressuring issues connected to massive tourism development. Most of the cultivated rice fields, are used to provide for the direct tourism facilities, and indirect tourism developments, i.e. the places around tourism areas that become housing areas to support the industry with workers, raise the issue of land displacement.

There have, of late, been tensions regarding public versus private access to various holy sites across the island. As stated previously, the Balinese consider their oceans, beaches and forests to play an important part in their ritual practices. However, tourism facilities have been built in the very connection to some temples, with roads blocking the public's access to these sites. In addition, according to the informant interview with Ben, a lot of hotel managers argue that the beach areas just outside the resorts belong to the hotels.

These examples show that the access is getting increasingly limited to the locals, as they are literally cut off from their ability to perform purification rituals. Besides, once a building has been built, it is there for good. This indicates two things. First, that money is habitually the language of decision making; foreign investors are able to develop tourism facilities in areas that are highly valued to the Balinese. Second, the local people being marginalized and suppressed, that already Mitchell (1994) saw signs of, is still a major issue, and evidentally backed up by the findings of the primary data in this thesis.

5.2.4 Tenganan

"[regular tourists] would not interact with the local people the same way."

The fact that the village offers regular tourism aswell is affecting the villagers' image of the difference between regular tourism and ecotourism. As to the question of what differs between regular tourists and ecotourists, Michael's statements showed obvious advantages with having the visitors from JED. In Tenganan, the village council collects the income from tourism and distributes it. Ritual ceremonies are very expensive, and 60 per cent of the income generated from tourism goes

to practice ritual ceremonies. Apparently, this form of 'micro economy' enhances the communal ties, according to the locals of Tenganan. However, they still need conventional tourism as 90 % of the women are weavers, and many men sell handcrafted items.

"We have strong village laws"

A lot of investors have throughout the years tried to develop tourism facilities in or near the village. However, in line with the village laws, which are complexly integrated side-by-side to the national and regional laws, the land is not allowed to be sold to people outside of the village. The very strict regulations, laws, norms and habits that people live by here, are not easily changed and are indeed affecting the lifestyles of the residents to a high degree. Mowforth and Munt (2008), argue that power originating from within the local communities themselves, is the only way to achieve effective enough control. It is for example not allowed for outsiders (not even Balinese people living outside of Tenganan) to spend the night in the village, unless they have a very rare certificate from the chief council. This has deterred the government from investing any money for tourism development, or from subsidiesing the locals' ability to switch from agriculture to tourism.

The very special laws of the village also make young people obligated to come back to attend certain ceremonies, even if they move elsewhere. A common issue in other parts of Bali is that young people leave the villages to find jobs in the cities. In Tenganan, almost every single one moves back, due to the inhabited responsibilities to the village. This too, enhances the cultural ties of the village, which is otherwise considered to be a major problem for the Balinese. In this study, there was a growing concern that the younger generation, trying to find jobs in the bigger cities, will lack this confident and see only their own opportunity for success. As long as the wheels of development keep spinning, more people will leave the countryside. Only if the development would dramatically slow down, or stop, would this process be able to reverse.

"Before we started to use plastic, we just took the food on a leaf and then threw it"

The plastic packages introduced with the transition into a more modern society, is also a major issue. Due to the inadequate waste management and the tradition of discarding the used materials into the nature, which seems difficult to change, this is giving detrimential effects all around the island. The introduction of plastic that came with tourism development and economic progress. Even though Tenganan village has strong laws that include the protection of the environment, the reality is somewhat different. Apparently, before plastic appered in millions of ways to Bali, the local people had their meals on for example cassava leafs, which they simply threw in the nature

once finished. This behaviour seems hard to change, since there are vast amounts of trash next to the roads, on the streets, beaches, etc.

According to Fennell (2007), detrimental effects of the natural environment is partly caused by the enormous amounts of waste being produced every day that is either burned or thrown (Fennell, 2007). This is a result due to ineffective enforcement of government regulations and inadequate planning of infrastructure of roads, sewers and garbage disposal (Picard, 2003; Byczek, 2011).

5.3 Discussing JED

JED emerged as a response to the contemporary development situation on Bali. The idea was to implant an awareness to the people on what they had, how they could manage their resources and how they could connect with the tourism industry, through a "*participatory mapping project*", supported by the Wisnu Foundation.

An alternative to mass tourism seeking to visit remote parts of host countries that might not be adapted to tourism, could, if poorly managed, lead to a destruction instead of support for the community (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Besides, in order to get involved in the local tourism business, the residents of the villages should possess both the means and the knowledge to do this. This is easier said than done, as the ability to shift from a traditional agricultural livelihood to becoming hosts, is not something that can be taken for granted (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). The life of the Balinese farmer has not changed much for thousands of years, until the recent generations. It might therefore not be easy for them to switch into tourism-centric lines of work. This can also be linked to what Mowforth and Munt states about the fact that it cannot be expected that farmers or fishermen quickly are able to advance into tourism occupations, working as guides or with hospitality. As of which, locals in several villages (not working for JED) were initially against this sort of tourism establishment in their village. It took them years to see that Desa Wisata, village tourism, would benefit the community without making the people sell their land (which is synonymous with tourism for some). However, as the benefits are shared throughout the *banjar*, more people would now like to contribute to, and be part of, the rotating schemes of the CBET initiative.

As shown by Wall (1996), *banjars* are capable of taking a leadership role in tourism development. However, as the power of such traditional institutions may be declining in the face of an increasingly powerful administration, it is vital to implement a community-based empowerment. This makes organizations like JED highly important in order to connect especially fragile communities, so that the decisions about future development can come from a grassroots level. The JED initiative has shown to be able to slow down the development of mass tourism in these particular areas, and local interests have been promoted instead of ignored. However, even though CBET should indicate a more environmentally benign way of travelling, JED today is more about educating the local people of the villages to be aware of the environment, and to bring profit to the local people. In a later state, it is said, the environment could be considered.

Small-scale developments and community-based initiatives have been a matter of subject, partly due to the reason that the locals might lack knowledge in the workings of the tourism industry, and are therefore unable to manage or control the tourism development (Strasdas, 2001; Byczek, 2011). However, in this study, it has been obvious throughout the whole project that when tourism is controlled and managed at a grassroots level, and when the income generated contribute to the lives and the communities of the local people in such a high degree that it does, it is a well working establishment. JED's definition of CBET encapsulates the essence of this tourism approach, namely to be friendly to the environment, profit local people in a sustainable way, and educate both the visitor and the locals. This is perceived by the researcher to have been fulfilled. Naturally, there could be issues connected to this that were hidden from this research, and as discussed previously, a sample bias and inability to reach any kind of depth in the material. However, based on the experiences, this would, could and should be the future for tourism development in Bali, so the Balinese can keep the traditions, land and culture.

6. SUMMARY

6.1 Conclusion of the Thesis

The answer to research question one, was that a major difference between the investigated CBET approach and conventional tourism, according to the stakeholders, regarded the income generated to the local communities. Even though the flow of income into the communities is still relatively small, as the number of visitors are still pretty low, visitors from JED enable a supplement to the communities income, which otherwise mostly come from farming. This has made the stakeholders interviewed in this study all very positive to being a part of JED.

Regarding the impacts from tourism development in regular, research question two, was besides the diminishing water supplies and the apparent shift in people's behavior, the loss of cultural heritage among the Balinese people. This, the people said, was the cornerstone of the whole problem. According to the stakeholders, the start of the chain is that the Balinese culture has grown out of a communal-agrarian society, where people throughout history have been farmers or fishermen, with little need of more than what the land produced. However, during the decades of massive tourism development, a lot of people left the traditional way of life to find jobs in the tourism industry. As Picard (2003) put it: "[looking for] *the financial rewards and prestige attached to a job in tourism*". As people leave the villages, the traditions, knowledge and appreciation of their peoples' history and ritual practices are said to slowly be diminishing.

There is a growing fear that the values attached to the traditions and culture, will lose their importance. This process is not unique to this place; it is ongoing in many parts of the world. Not least in the Western part of the world where societies have rapidly moved in to modernity, and lost a lot of knowledge of their roots and heritage. However, the issue for the Balinese is that the cultural ties, ritual and ceremonial practices, make the bonds of the people stronger. It has been obvious in the conversations that the stakeholders believe that these ties are the only way for their voices to be heard, in order not to be marginalized by stronger forces.

In order to maintain the sociocultural traditions, and still develop economically without harming the environment, CBET development has in this study been found to be a sustainable livelihood alternative for local communities in order to still develop. As a CBET initiative is empowering the villages to make their own choices regarding the amount of visitors, and the availability that suits their ceremonial practices, it has been found to be the solution to the many of the impacts derived from tourism development. At least on a local scale.

However, it cannot be expected that small-scale tourism approaches are going to solve the structural problems of a whole tourism industry, in part due to the industry's varied and manysided associated phenomena. However, globally, there is a growing desire for more sustainable travel patterns (UNEP, 2013). Mowforth and Munt (2008) ascribe this to a growing global middleclass, which is more conscious about the contemporary environmental problems and the social structures of our time. This can be linked to the time-space compressing globalization, of which tourism is a major part.

As tourism development in Bali is rapidly transforming the landscape, this make the region very interesting from a geographical and environmental perspective. There might still be time to highlight some of the processes at work, perhaps even being able to make a difference before it's too late.

5.2 For the Future

It is important to know which impacts are of concern to residents, to be able to contribute to a platform for further research. If more in-depth case-studies would agglomerate, and inequalities be highlighted even in a global perspective, adequate measure could be taken on national and supranational levels to promote more ecotourism.

In order to reach this, all stakeholders involved (representative of the central government, regional government, provincial-level management agencies, districts, communites and villagers) should work together and have the same vision for the future.

However, there is need to define the concept of the ecovillage. Without a clear definition, the very people that are looking for alternative ways of travelling, might approach other, more fragile areas, that could instead affect wildlife, or even worse – be a trigger for mass tourism development.

Given Bali's tourism history, it is important to give a voice to the local peoples' visions of its tourism future.

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FIGURES & TABLES

Figure 1: Map of Bali, marking the villages of JED, the capital city of Denpasar, and the tourist center of Kuta.

Table 1: Sample of Respondent's Interviews, with regard to village, age, gender and level of education.

APPENDIX I – INFORMATION SHEET

Information sheet for research participants

A Research Project Investigating Ecotourism Benefits and Resident's Perception of Tourism Impacts

Introduction

I would like to invite you to participate in this project, which is concerned with how it is to live in a village that is part of an ecotourism network, what your thoughts of this are and whether you are experiencing downsides. I am also interested in your opinion about tourism on Bali in general, and how this affects people socially, economically and ecologically.

Why am I doing the project?

The project is part of my final year for my degree course at the University of Gothenburg. It is hoped that the project could provide useful information in the field of tourism and that, by interviewing people living pretty disconnected from mass tourism on Bali, get a deeper understanding for the role of ecotourism.

What will you have to do if you agree to take part?

Talk either to me or Gede and let one of us know that your interested.

- 1. We will arrange a time to meet, which is convenient for you and in your own home if that is appropriate.
- 2. There will be one, single interview with myself and an interpreter, during which I will ask you questions about tourism and your life in the village. The questions will be easily formulated and there are no right or wrong answers.

How much of your time will participation involve?

The interview is expected to last between half an hour and one hour.

Will your participation in the project remain confidential?

If you agree to take part, your name will not be used and the information will not be disclosed to other parties. Your responses to the questions will be used for the purpose of this project only, and it will only be handled by me and my supervisor at the University.

You can be assured that if you take part in the project you will remain anonymous.

What are the advantages of taking part?

You may find the project interesting and enjoy answering questions about your life in the village and what you think about tourism impacts. Once the study is finished it could provide information about ecotourism, and hopefully help preserve more of Bali in the future.

Unfortunately, no money can be offered.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part?

I can not see any disadvantages for you taking part in this study.

Do you have to take part in the study?

No, your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. You are not obliged to take part, you have been approached as you live in Ceningan Island which is a part of JED ecotourism network. If you do not wish to take part you do not have to give a reason and you will not be approached again. Similarly, if you do agree to participate you are free to withdraw at any time during the project without any repercussions.

What happens now?

If you are interested in taking part in the study you are asked to decide a time and place for us to meet, which you can tell me or Gede. I will be visiting Ceningan Island for a few days and will be able to conduct the interview almost whenever.

Researcher: Anton Ekström, Undergraduate student, University of Gothenburg, Human Geography Unit Supervisor: Kristina Lindström, PhD, University of Gothenburg, Human Geography Unit

APPENDIX II – INTERVIEW GUIDE

Informing

The purpose of the thesis is to investigate how local people think about tourism and if ecotourism is a sustainable alternative to regular tourism. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.

Your answers will be totally anonymous, and I will visit more villages and talk to more people so now one will now that you are you. I'm hoping you can be as honest as possible, for the sake of making JED a better organisation.

Introduction

Hello!

- ! Who are you?
- ! How long have you been living here?

Background

- ! Can you give me the historical background of your village?
- ! What do people do here?
- ! Are there many people working in other places, with tourism?
- ! What are the reasons why your community wanted to become involved with eco tourism?

JED

- ! What is ecotourism to you?
- ! Why is it important do you think to have an eco tourism network
- ! What are the biggest differences between being part of an ecotourism network and not being part of one, do you think?
- ! How do you notice that you are in a ecotourism network?

- ! How does this affect your everyday lives?
- Do you have any special kind of rules or laws in your village, as a result that you are a part of JED? (How to handle trash, for example)
- ! Are you proud of living in a 'special' place like this, outside ordinary tourist development?
- ! Do you know where the income generated from JED goes to, in your village?
- ! What forms of tourism do you consider desirable for your community and what forms do you consider undesirable? (Would you like more people to visit, through JED?)
- ! How could things with JED be run better?

Bali in General

- ! What do you believe are the most serious problems associated with tourism on Bali? Why?
- ! What do you think will happen to Bali if things continue to proceed as it is now?
- ! Does your village benefit from the tourism industry without having tourists visiting your village? By for example produce handcrafts and sell in another town, sell seaweed to restaurants outside your region (nearby villages?), etc?
- ! Do you feel that since not many tourists visit this part of Bali, your village is "left outside" the big decisions that are made about the region?
- ! What do you think about the current rate of tourism growth in Bali (too rapid, about right, too slow)?
- ! Is tourism the best economic development strategy for Bali?

Impact-related questions

What are the **positive economic** impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- ! improves the economy
- ! increases employment
- ! improves investment

- ! better development and infrastructure
- ! improves transport infrastructure

What are the negative economic impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- ! increased prices and shortage of goods and services,
- ! increased price of land and housing,
- ! increased costs of living/property tax
- ! benefits are not distributed,
- ! employment is seasonal,

What are the **positive social** impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- ! Improves quality of life,
- ! increases availability of recreational facilities/opportunities
- ! greater pride in the community

What are the **positive cultural** impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- ! Improves understandig of different cultures
- ! promotes cultural exchange
- ! facilitate meeting visitors
- ! revitalizing traditional practices

What are the **negative social and cultural** impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- ! Increased alcoholism
- ! hightened tension
- ! increasingly hectic community and personal life
- ! loss of native language

- ! tourism destroys communty relationships
- ! resident attitudes worsen over time, tourism intensifies labor burdens, loss of authencity

What are the **positive environmental** impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- **!** Preservation of the national environment and historic builiding and monuments
- ! Better understanding about the environment

What are the **negative environmental** impacts from tourism development on Bali? Examples:

- ! increased noise and pollution
- ! destruction of natural beatuy and tranquility,
- ! fragmentation of landscapes

Future

! What is your vision for future tourism development in your region?

Thank you

! Thank you!