



Figure 1: Balinese dancer (Seruling 2017)

How does tourism affect the sociocultural aspects of the local
community?

- A Minor Field Study in Bali

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Abstract:

The tourism industry is growing rapidly worldwide. In 2016, Bali, Indonesia, had a record year in tourism, and the industry is continuously growing. One can argue that tourism is a culture exploiter and disrupts traditional culture. Nevertheless, it can also revitalize culture. Since the tourism in Bali is based on the Balinese culture and traditions, the writers wanted to acquire a deeper understanding of how the locals look upon - does tourism affect their cultural traditions and can residents preserve their local culture? A qualitative method was used for this study. For the collecting of data the writers conducted semi-structured interviews. The result of the study was, according to the Balinese, that people in Bali have become more money oriented due to the development of tourism and that some ceremonies have lost their spiritual meaning. In addition, the writers found that the locals are continuously working on preserving their culture but the challenge is to preserve what is actually authentic Balinese.

Keywords: social exchange, social conflict, sociocultural, tourism, local community, community based tourism, culture, traditions.

Preface:

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Table of Content:

1. Introduction.....	p. 5
1.1 Background.....	p. 5
1.2 Problem.....	p. 6
1.3 Aim.....	p. 7
1.4 Thesis Question.....	p. 7
2. Theoretical Framework.....	p. 8
2.1 Previous Research.....	p. 8
2.1.1 Overtourism and a destination's carrying capacity.....	p. 8
2.2 Residents' attitudes and perceptions toward tourism.....	p. 9
2.3 Social Conflicts due to tourism.....	p. 10
2.4 Modernization of a Destination.....	p. 11
2.5 Theoretical Synthesis.....	p. 12
3. Method.....	p. 14
3.1 Research methodology.....	p. 14
3.2 Research Design.....	p. 14
3.2.1 Interviews.....	p. 14
3.3 Sample.....	p. 15
3.4 Implementation.....	p. 16
3.5 Analysis Method.....	p. 17
3.6 Respondents.....	p. 18
3.6.1 First interview, Jerry.....	p. 18
3.6.2 Second interview, Nengah.....	p. 19
3.6.3 Third interview, Loy.....	p. 19
3.6.4 Fourth interview, Leo.....	p. 19
3.6.5 Fifth interview, Megumi.....	p. 19
3.6.6 Sixth interview, Sri.....	p. 19
3.6.7 Seventh interview, Nana.....	p. 20
3.6.8 Eighth interview, Winda.....	p. 20
3.7 Ethics.....	p. 20
3.8 Trustworthiness.....	p. 21
4. Empiricism and Analysis.....	p. 22
4.1 The Balinese description of the tourism industry in Bali.....	p. 22
4.2 Balinese culture and traditions and how they identify themselves with them...p.	22
4.3 Commercialization of the Balinese culture and traditions according to the locals.....	p. 24
4.4 Tourism affecting Balinese family values.....	p. 26
4.5 Tourism related conflicts between the Balinese people.....	p. 27
4.6 Things tourists do that the Balinese wish they would avoid.....	p. 28
4.7 The expanding tourism industry in Bali.....	p. 29
4.8 Wins and costs for Bali from the tourism industry.....	p. 31

5. Conclusion.....p. 34
6. Concluding remarks.....p. 35

References

Appendices

1. Introduction

The introductory chapter aims to provide an insight into the described topic and creates a deeper understanding of the problem that will be discussed in this paper.

1.1 Background

Sustainable development is fulfilled when the needs of the present is met without compromising the ability for future generations to meet their needs. It calls for common efforts in building a sustainable, inclusive, and continuous future for the whole planet and its creatures. For this to happen it is important to maintain the three elements: economic growth, social inclusion and environmental protection. There must be economic growth that creates better opportunities for everyone, reduces inequalities, raises basic standards of living, promotes fair social development and inclusion, and that promotes sustainable managements for ecosystems and natural resources. All of these factors are crucial for the well-being of societies and individuals (www.un.org 2016). The tourism industry produces 10% of the global GDP and also provides one out of ten jobs worldwide. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that the development is sustainable (www.unwto.org 2017).

The tourism industry is growing rapidly and has become one of the most important industries in many developing countries (Meimand et al. 2017). Furthermore, tourism is one of the leading contributors to global, social and economic transformation (Ogaboh Agba et al. 2010). In many countries, tourism represents a powerful tool for both social and economic development and reduction of poverty through increased job opportunities and business establishments. Tourism, when managed well, not only signifies a positive contribution to the three dimensions of sustainable development, but also plays a momentous role for the production of jobs and trade opportunities (Budiasa & Ambarawati 2014). Furthermore, tourism development has a significant impact on the destination's culture and other sociocultural aspects (Ogaboh Agba et al. 2010).

Sociocultural aspects can be described as a mix between cultural and social lifestyles, since cultural expressions are an important part of social life in all communities. For example, languages and local stories will reflect on social values in the community (www.miun.se 2017). Sociocultural impacts from tourism could not only be reshaping a community's tangible and intangible heritage, but also transform residents from agriculturalists to urbanites, significant changes in traditions and responsibilities within the community and moral values (Alobiedat 2018).

Tourism that takes full responsibility for its destination's current and future social, environmental and economic impacts is described as sustainable tourism. This entails that the tourism industry calls upon the needs of the industry itself, the tourists, the environment and the local community (Budiasa & Ambarawati 2014). UNEP (2005) defines sustainable tourism as follows, "*tourism which leads to management of all resources in such a way that*

economic, social and aesthetic needs can be filled while maintaining cultural integrity, essentials ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems.” Sari, Darmawan and Wahyuningrum (2016) suggest that there can be concerns regarding destinations losing their cultural identity when exposed to tourism, especially from international markets.

Development of tourism in Bali is based on the Balinese culture, which is based on Hindu philosophy (Budiasa & Ambarawati 2014). In 2012, Bali received the enlisting at UNESCO’s world heritage site for their cultural landscape. This shows that Bali is looked upon as a unique travel destination (Putra 2013).

Religion plays an important role in the Balinese lifestyle and there are temples almost everywhere. Bali has also been referred to as *the island of ten thousand temples* and *the island of gods*. Hence, temples are big parts of Balinese culture. They are of high importance during festivals and religious events for locals. The temples have become a big tourist attraction, and even though tourists are allowed to enter, there are a few requirements they need to meet before entering: the body, from waist down, needs to be covered since that part is considered unholy. Women are not allowed to enter during their menstruation periods. If a visitor recently lost a family member, they are asked not to enter, since it is believed that this can upset the family’s spiritual balance (www.volunteerbali.org 2012).

1.2 Problem

In 2016, Bali had a record year in tourism. Australians are the main tourist group in Bali, and has increased from 306 698 in 2008 to 1 137 413 in 2016 (www.globalexpatrecruiting.com 2016). Tourism that has had such a big increasement can bring both positive and negative impacts. One can argue that tourism is a culture exploiter which disrupts traditional culture. However, it can also revitalize culture (Kyungmi & Uysal et al. 2013). In order for the development of the tourism industry to be successful and sustainable, the host community must allow tourists to accommodate for their activities within the destination (Choi & Murray 2010). This especially refers to islands with limited geographical space and fragile environments since tourism leads to additional interaction between locals and tourists and may result in additional evidence of environmental destruction caused by tourism (Garau-Vadell et al. 2013). Due to this, it is determinant for the business community and managers for the destination to understand and acknowledge the locals’ perceptions and support for tourism (Shakeela & Weaver 2012).

Bali is a cultural tourism destination, in which the local population becomes a tourist attraction, hence a number of Balinese people struggle with what is authentically Balinese (Picard 2008). The local dancer I Wayan Limbak changed the traditional Balinese Kécak dance to fit the tourists’ taste. After changing the dance, it became one of Bali’s most popular icons for cultural tourism. Nowadays, the dance is performed almost every day (Putra 2013).

Although these types of cultural events contribute to Bali's economic development, these types of attractions have also been seen as a threat to cultural pollution (Picard 2008). Then, the question arises: how do the locals really look upon the development of the tourism industry in Bali?

Numerous studies have been conducted on host communities' attitudes on the impact of tourism (Lindberg & Johnson 1997; Andereck et al. 2005; Choi & Murray 2010; Garau-Vadell et al. 2013; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson 2014; Sharpley 2014). According to Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010) the tourism in Nigeria has revived the Efiks culture and prevented it from ending up as monuments in museums and adoptions in foreign culture. Although Andereck et al. (2005) suggest that tourism can bring consequences as a decline in traditions and increase materialism and crowding. For example, the Spanish heritage town of Besalú, has experienced crowding in the city centres which has made the locals negative toward the tourism industry, also the residents found that prices had increased a lot because of the tourists (Muler González et al. 2018). However, literature mostly takes the economic point of view into consideration and few studies have focused on other viewpoints, such as ecological or sociocultural aspects (Gursoy & Rutherford 2004; Nunkoo & Gursoy 2012). Furthermore, the majority of studies based on residents' attitudes toward tourism have been conducted on communities in industrialized or developing countries (Nepal, 2008). However, few studies have been done on communities' attitudes and support for tourism on small islands (Andriotis, 2005). Thus, it has been noted that smaller islands are not only confronted by factors familiar for developing countries, but also more specific factors, such as a fragile environment, vulnerability and isolation (Douglas, 2006). Therefore, islands face significant challenges in terms of sustainable tourism due to their unique characteristics and geographical delimitation (Bardolet & Sheldon, 2008). Understanding locals' reactions and attitudes toward the tourism industry and the factors that influence these attitudes is inevitable in accomplishing a sustainable development of tourism (Gursoy et al. 2002). Accordingly, this study will focus on the socio-cultural aspects of tourism and the sustainable development of Bali.

1.3 Aim

The aim is to understand how the locals look upon tourism affecting their cultural traditions as well as how residents can preserve their authentic local culture.

1.4 Thesis Question

- How do the locals consider the development of the tourism industry in Bali?

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will present previous research on the chosen subject and the theories that the study will rely on. These are; the Social Exchange Theory, Social Conflict and Modernization.

2.1 Previous Research

2.1.1 Overtourism and a destination's carrying capacity

Seraphin et al. (2018) describes overtourism as any destination suffering the strain of tourism. Overtourism can also be defined as the destination's carrying capacity, meaning the maximum limit of tourism development (van Der Borg et al. 1996). The carrying capacity is measured through the local communities attitudes, meaning the perceptions, attitudes and opinions. Therefore, the residents' perceptions of impacts are seen as an important factor of the social carrying capacity (Muler Gonzáles et al. 2018). A destination's carrying capacity is determined by its ability to absorb tourist development before negative impacts are perceived by the local community, but also on the amount of tourist flow, since tourists will cease to come when the destination no longer attracts or satisfies them. Thus, carrying capacity is a valuable tool when managing problems due to uncontrolled tourism in destinations (Zelenka & Kacetl 2014). The impacts from overtourism include: crowding of public spaces, locals' losing their sense of belonging in the community, dismantling of the sociocultural connection. Papathanassis (2017) uses the tourism area lifecycle to explain the evolution and implications of tourism in destinations. The model follows six stages:

Exploration: At this stage locals might feel uncomfortable with tourists and there is limited information and infrastructure. A small number of adventure-seeking tourists.

Involvement: The local community starts developing basic infrastructure and discovers potential in the tourism industry.

Development: Investors and authorities initiate larger-scale and sophisticated infrastructure due to the development of visitors. Some locals feel excluded at this stage.

Consolidation: At this stage larger units replace small facilities and this is where mass-tourism starts. Locals feel overwhelmed with the increasing amount of tourists and developments in their everyday lives.

Stagnation: Here the amount of tourists has stabilised and the destination is no longer a novelty. The area has reached its carrying capacity and the locals might have a negative attitude toward tourists.

Decline/Rejuvenation: The locals' irritation grows even more and the environmental and sociocultural impacts from tourism starts to show. Degradation of the destinations infrastructure and resources drives visitors away (Papathanassis 2017).

The shaping of the attractiveness of a destination comes down to the levels of hospitality shown toward visitors, and therefore negative attitudes can determine the limit of when a destination has reached its capacity to absorb tourists (Muler Gonzáles et al. 2018).

An outcome of this is the rise of anti-tourism, where locals are more interested in their quality of life than the income from the tourism industry. (Seraphin et al. 2018)

2.2 Residents' attitudes and perceptions toward tourism

The Social Exchange Theory (SET) has been applied to this study as it illustrates residents' attitudes toward tourism. Furthermore, it will help in analyzing the Balinese attitudes toward the tourism industry and whether they think it brings more costs or wins.

Social Exchange Theory originates from anthropology and sociology (Coulson et al. 2014) and was developed by Ap (Brida et al. 2011) from the works of Homans (1961), Blau (1986), Lévi-Strauss (1969) and Emerson (1976). The theory is used in several disciplines, such as economics, social psychology and sociology (Wang & Pfister 2008) and has been applied broadly in the context of business (Coulson et al. 2014) and tourism. Previous studies have applied the Social Exchange Theory to investigate the problems with tourism development (Coulson et al. 2014), residents' attitudes (Andereck et al. 2005; Wang & Pfister 2008, Brida et al. 2011; Garau-Vadell et al. 2013; Meimand et al. 2017) and support toward tourism (McGehee & Andereck 2004; Nunkoo & Gursoy 2012) etc. The Social Exchange Theory has become a substantial theoretical perspective (Choi & Murray 2010) and emerged as one of the most widely accepted theories in explaining locals' behaviour toward tourism development (Pérez & Nadal 2005). However, scholars have criticized the theory for assuming that individuals, in this case locals, embody the norms that the theory suggests apart from that individuals can vary in the degree to which they confirm these norms (Lee et al. 2014).

Social Exchange Theory is a behavioral theory (Lee & Back 2006) that attempts to illustrate how individuals' actions are contingent upon rewarding actions from others (Emerson 1976). At its theoretical foundation the theory assumes that all relationships give and take (Kaynak & Marandu 2006) and that all social life can be treated as tangible and intangible resources between individuals (Coulson et al. 2014).

From a tourism perspective, the Social Exchange Theory attempts to measure and explain residents' attitudes and perceptions toward tourism and its impacts (Andereck et al. 2005). The theory focuses on the interaction between residents and tourists where the goal of the exchange is to benefit both parties (Mukherjee & Bhal 2017). The theory suggests that residents' attitudes and level of support for the tourism industry and its development is influenced by their expected benefits or costs obtained in return for their services, therefore 'social exchange' (Lee & Back 2006). Residents who perceived benefit from the exchange were more likely to create positive attitudes toward it, while those who saw the exchange as a cost were more likely to view it negatively (McGehee & Andereck 2004). Therefore it is important that the impacts are evaluated so that the rewards exceed the costs for the local community. The SET-theory is characterized from both emotional evaluation and scientific evaluation, such as satisfaction with outcome quality (emotional), trust and learning (logical). According to the theory, dedication is what makes the locals want to continue the tourism business and attractiveness is created thanks to benefits gained from the relationship and

positive experiences, hence a positive evaluation. Constraint, however, reflects the locals' logical choices about the business, such as calculating the costs. The dedication and constraint factors are important to take into account when studying wins and costs situations (Shih-Wei & Chia-Shiang 2016). The SET-theory postulates that positive attitudes toward tourism are generally followed by a high level of support for the industry, whereas negative attitudes among the local community will lead to a lower level of support for the industry (Nunkoo & Gursoy 2012).

According to the theory, residents will support the development of tourism as long as they imprint a positive balance in their relationship with tourists (Garau-Vadell et al. 2013). Furthermore, scientists have found that motivational factors can have an impact on how locals support tourism development. These factors can be hosting a guest, creating new relationships, gaining self-respect, working together as a community, playing a role and feeling needed. (Kayat 2002) Motivation can be looked upon as the reason for human actions and behaviour (Meimand et al. 2017). In host communities with small-scale tourism and many local attractions, the residents will be motivated to develop their life around tourism (Sari et al. 2016).

2.3 Social Conflicts due to tourism

The Social conflict theory has been put together by the writers of this study. This, by gathering certain factors that were found considerably apparent in previous literature. These are the commercialization of culture, community attachment and other impacts. The study will use these factors to analyze how they affect the Balinese culture and traditions.

The host countries can gain positive socio-cultural impacts from tourism such as demand on local arts and artifacts (Gursoy & Rutherford 2004), but can also receive a number of negative impacts on the local community. These impacts can be perceived as positive or negative depending on what perceptions the community has and the residents in it. The commercialization of the host community's local activities can have an evaluated impact on the community (Zamani-Farahani & Henderson 2014). Tourism can also impact family values (Huttasin 2009) and it can even create social conflicts on economic welfare and jealousy (Zhou & Ap 2009). Tourism generates a number of groups and subgroups, which complicates the nature of the conflict and results in disturbances and turbulences in the social structure. Moreover, it increases the gap between different cultures in the communities (Yang et al. 2013). According to Sari et al. (2016) a direct interaction between tourists and the host community can lead to the undermining of local traditions and values, especially when there is an uncontrolled and unsustainable mass tourism growth. This can lead to a social conflict when one part of the society wants to keep the local traditions and values, while the other part wants to please tourists. In general, the local community will oppose tourism if they feel that their traditions and values are being threatened by such a development (Nunkoo & Gursoy 2012).

Other aspects that might impact how residents perceive tourism are the number and type of tourists, the length of their stay, the social heterogeneity of the residents, the social characteristics of the destination and its economic diversification, whether the residents live in areas that are completely tourist oriented or rural areas affected by tourism. Furthermore, factors like the residents' social profile, personal characteristics and their perception of attachment to the community also play a role in their perception of the impacts of tourism (Garau-Vadell et al. 2013). Another factor that impacts the locals from a sociocultural perspective is the community attachment, the state of positive consensus between the people and their community (Park et al. 2017). Community attachment connects the individual's emotional level to a community and also how the locals are assimilated in the community life. Therefore it specifies the locals' feelings about their community and also the awareness and personality of the place (Adongo et al. 2017). The locals show their attachment to their community based on how they identify and bond with the place, but also how they depend on it (Kyle et al. 2004). In rural areas this can be a significant factor for how locals look upon tourism development (Huttasin 2009). Andereck et al. (2005) explain that the stronger attachment individuals have to a place, the more they will question whether tourism will be beneficial for their local community.

2.4 Modernization of a Destination

The Modernization theory has been used for the study to present how the Balinese community has been affected by modernization and globalization, and if tourism has played a part in it.

Modernization originates from multiple perspectives (Harrison 1988; Mbaiwa 2011). The theory is based upon the work of social science theorists such as Weber, Durkheim, Maier and Tonnies, to name a few. The Modernization theory was introduced in tourism studies as a cautionary measure due to the concern on the phenomenon by many scholars (Mbaiwa 2011). Furthermore, according to numerous scholars tourism impacts on ethnic culture are often wrapped together with the comprehensive impact of modernization. Theoretically, these two impacts should be abstracted from each other, but since variables for experiments can not be controlled by studies within social sciences the way that laboratory studies can, it makes this perspective difficult to put into practice (Chen 2014). Modernization theory has been criticized by scholars for inter alia the unidirectional path of development and for the presumption that traditional values can not be seen as being part of modernity (So 1990). The theory has also been criticized for its propensity to justify western engagement and domination of developing countries (Mbaiwa 2011) and for being too abstract (So 1990; Sharpley & Telfer 2002).

Modernization refers to a global process of socio-economic and cultural change. As modernization takes place at a destination, changes are likely to follow. There are four identified sub processes of modernization, namely agricultural development, urbanization, industrialization and technological development. Cultural institutional expressions and

modernity from the Western European countries have affected the rest of the world. The Western culture of modernity rests upon the conversion of social trust from concrete and personal to abstract and universal (Ogaboh Agba et al. 2010). Reliance to people has changed from being tied to community and bilateral relationship to an impersonal trust based upon the competence and expected probity of unknown others. Previously, trust was based on kinship, communities and close relationships within religious communities and political, to now, instead, be depending on large-scale institutions on both a national and international scale. (Berman 2006) According to Hjalager (2007) travel and tourism can be seen as a cause of modernization and globalization. She defines globalization as “relations among and within nations” and that “it is a process that affects all aspects of human life” (Hjalager 2007). Tourism can be seen as a threat to traditional societies, and that the outcomes of it are more negative than positive. This, since the commodification of culture through tourism undermines the authenticity of traditional culture and ceremonies. Local residents in destination areas adopt values from the West and move to urbanized resort areas to get a higher income job within the tourism sector (Mbaiwa 2011).

In ethnic tourism communities, locals perform traditional ceremonies, but lead a modern lifestyle under the driving force of mainstream modernization and internal tourism development. Because of this, locals only influence material culture instead of identifying themselves with their cultural heritage (Chen 2014). Sofield (2003) however, states that for a country to become modernized, social, cultural, political and economic values have to change fundamentally since she sees traditions as a barrier for development. In many cases, modernity has become a social disturbance and resulted in confusion and moral crises on the destination affecting people’s values and ethics (Ogaboh Agba et al. 2010). Chen (2014) states that changes in material culture and institutional culture have been caused by the pressure of social modernization, and that this has lead to the fact that ethnic cultural rituals are no longer practiced. Tourism can, however, be seen as a tool to bring them back into practice, since ethnic tourism is a way of preserving traditional culture (Chen 2014).

2.5 Theoretical Synthesis

For this study, the Social Exchange Theory, the Social Conflict theory and the Modernization theory have been applied. Since the Social Exchange Theory aims to illustrate residents’ attitudes toward tourism and the Social Conflict presents various factors in the local environment influenced by tourism while Modernization brings forth both the westernization and globalization of a destination, these theories have been considered appropriate for the study. Social Conflict and Modernization help the writers to get an understanding of which factors within the tourism industry affect the host community while the Social Exchange Theory helps the writers get a deeper understanding of the host communities attitudes toward these factors. Together, they will help the writers to analyze the problem from different perspectives, concerning wins and costs for the community. What are the different opinions that locals have based on their perceived wins or costs from the tourism business? The writers will examine whether the locals find that their traditions have become commercialized

because of tourism, also whether tourism has brought them into the modern era and in so in what way affected their local traditions and values. All of these factors will be taken into consideration in the writers' examination and analysis of the issue. The factors will help the writers in getting a deeper understanding of the problem and different ways to approach it.

3. Method

The following chapter will help to explain the preparations and approaches done in this study. The writers attempt to describe the work process and how the collection of data has been conducted.

3.1 Research methodology

A qualitative method has been used for this study. The qualitative approach is meant to create an understanding of the respondents' thoughts of the phenomenon that will be investigated. Furthermore, one of the main aspects in qualitative research is to describe how events and patterns evolve over time (Bryman & Bell 2013 pp. 409-412). Therefore this method was suitable for the aim of this study. The writers wanted to investigate whether or not the Balinese are of the opinion that tourism has affected their culture and traditions. The writers aimed at getting a deeper understanding of the problem rather than a broad overlook. The study has followed a constructivist view of science, which means that the research always presents a specific version of social reality as it can never be regarded as definitive. The constructivist view of science means that social categories and phenomena do not only come about in social interactions without constantly being monitored. Bryman describes it as follows: "*Instead of asserting the view of organizing in an organization is something that exists in advance and is independent of the individuals in it, but they say that order is something that is being worked on or negotiated*" (Bryman 2011 pp. 36-37). Because of this, the study has looked upon how the Balinese experience their own reality and how they feel about tourism and if it affects their culture. Furthermore the writers were aware that this could create problems when conducting interviews, as constructivism is based on the fact that every person has his own view of what reality is. This was taken into consideration by the writers in their data collection by looking at the similarities found in the respondents' descriptions.

3.2 Research design

For the collecting of data, the writers have used a cross-sectional design. Cross-sectional design means that the writers will collect data from more than one case during a certain time period in order to be able to identify certain patterns in the collected data later (Bryman 2011 p. 63). The writers have chosen to apply the cross-sectional design to get a variation of individuals and in so a deeper understanding of the problem (Bryman 2011 p. 64). This type of variation was created when the writers interviewed multiple individuals. Since the writers had limited time for the collecting of data, the cross-sectional design gave them a better understanding of the situation at the given time (Bryman 2011 pp. 63-64).

3.2.1 Interviews

For the collecting of data, the writers have conducted semi-structured interviews; this to get a deeper understanding of how the interviewed individual experienced his own reality and what role tourism played in that. Semi-structured interviews give the respondent the opportunity to speak more freely and affect the material rather than structured interviews. Semi-structured

interviews give the writer more responsibility since she or he needs to be more active during the interview in order to come up with suitable follow-up questions. Semi-structured interviews allow the writers to get a deeper understanding of the problem (Alvehus 2013 p. 83).

The semi-structured interviews were prepared beforehand with a question schedule. The questions were created in consideration of the theories in order to facilitate the analysis of the data collection later. The question schedule consisted of seventeen questions. The type of the questions varied. Initially the respondents were asked informal questions about their lives and tourism in general, to allow them to get an understanding of the topic that would be discussed during the interview. Some of the questions that followed were indirect questions, such as, “*Would you say that Balinese family values, ethics and traditions are affected by tourism?*”. These questions were followed up by direct questions, being, “*Would you say that your family’s values, ethics and traditions have been affected because of tourism in Bali?*”. Furthermore, the interviewers asked initial questions like “*Have you ever experienced conflicts within the local community when it comes to tourism?*”. The last question of the questionnaire was an open question “*Would you say that the tourism industry in Bali is too big?*”, the interviewers deliberately put that question last, in order not to influence the respondents' answers for the entire interview. The questions were then tested in a simpler form of a pilot interview to see if they were interpreted the way the writers wanted to and ensure their relevance for the study (Bryman & Bell 2013, pp. 276-277). Two pilot interviews were later conducted; no following changes were made in the question schedule. Since no changes were made, the two pilot interviews were included in the empirical data for the study.

It was important for the writers that the questions were not leading, in order not to influence the outcome and therefore the respondent was allowed to lead the questions himself/herself. Specific to this method is that the questions’ sequence can differ from interview to interview, and that there is room for supplementary questions (Bryman & Bell 2013 p. 218). During the interviews of this study the questions’ sequence came to differ just like Bryman and Bell narrated, this since some of the respondents’ answers almost naturally were linked with other questions in the questionnaire that may not have been the following question in the initial order. The interviews consisted of open questions, some specific, regarding the phenomenon, and some about tourism and how the traditions have changed over the years. Moreover, the need for follow-up questions differed from interview to interview. This, because some respondents were more brief and straightforward and some tended to give more copious explanations. Due to this, some interviews were shorter than others, but not less informative.

3.3 Sample

A strategic sampling was used for the collecting of data for the study. A strategic sampling can be seen as a type of non-probability sampling, whereas the respondents get chosen

strategically (Bryman & Bell 2013 p. 452). Accordingly, the respondents were selected based on a specific characteristic that was directly suited for the survey, rather than a random selection (Alvehus 2013 p.67), this being that the respondents needed to be Balinese, since the study wanted to investigate the Balinese thoughts on tourism and if they thought it had affected their culture. According to Bell (2000 p. 110-112), it is important to get as representative a sample as possible, but for certain surveys it may be difficult and therefore it is important to collect data from the people available. For this survey, the writers have had a mixed selection of gender and when it comes to age, people from the ages of 20 to 43 were interviewed. This, due to the fact that it was difficult to find voluntary interviewees of the older generation mainly due to language barriers. In addition, the data collection was based on a snowball sampling, meaning that the writers started with a smaller number of respondents who in turn introduced the writers to further interviewees appropriate for the study (Bryman & Bell 2013 pp. 206-207). A snowball sample is likewise not a probability sample since it is not possible to know from which population the sample comes from (Bryman & Bell 2013 pp. 206-207). The writers chose to base their work on the the snowball sample and cross-sectional design in order to get a broader variation of respondents, but also due to the fact that the writers had no established contacts in Bali prior to the study.

3.4 Implementation

The writers conducted eight interviews, this since the data collection had shown signs of reaching theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation means that the data collection continues until a category is saturated with data, meaning until there are no new or relevant aspects of the subject studied. The data has been developed in terms of its characteristics and dimensions and its variation has been found, and the relationships between different opinions are established and validated in a good way (Bryman & Bell 2013 p. 453).

The interviews were personal, meaning that they were conducted during a physical meeting between the respondent and the interviewees. According to Bryman & Bell (2013 p. 221) this enables observations of gestures as well as body and face expressions. Furthermore, both writers were present during all interviews, this to maximize the chance of good follow-up questions, but also to ensure that no questions were left out. The advantages of both interviewers being present during the interviews are that it helps explaining and clarifying a question should the respondent have difficulties in understanding, it also opens up for a dialogue and favours the ability to interpret body language, facial expressions and mood (Bryman & Bell 2013, p. 219). This became extra important as there were several language barriers between the writers and the Balinese people, and numerous questions had to be changed and posed in new ways. During the interviews, the work was distributed so that one of the writers asked the questions and the other one was more passive, noted body language and other aspects that could not be addressed in an audio recording. Bryman & Bell (2013, p. 221) consider this a crucial part for making a complete recording of the exchanges during an interview. The interviews were recorded with a smartphone, this to complement the memories of the interviewers and to ease the analyzing process since it allows the writers to double-check the answers (Bryman & Bell 2013, pp. 489-490). After each interview, in

accordance with the snowball sampling, the writers always asked the respondent if he or she knew other locals suited for the study and with perhaps other viewpoints on the subject who might be interested in being interviewed. This also served the cross-sectional design which aims at getting a broader variation of respondents.

3.5 Analysis Method

In this study a thematic analysis has been conducted. This is a method consisting of six phases for identifying, analysing and declaring themes within data (Braun & Clarke 2006). The first step in the thematic analysis process is to delve into the collected data, by repeatedly reading and noting down thoughts and ideas (Braun & Clarke 2006). Since the data was verbal (recorded interviews) and collected by the writers themselves, the first step was to transcribe all the gathered data into written form. This took place on the same day as the interviews were performed. The transcription of the data collection was time-consuming, but also an excellent way to review and digest the data.

The second phase of the process is coding the material by organising the data into meaningful groups (Braun & Clarke 2006). This means sorting and selecting the material that is considered relevant in relation to the research question in a systematic fashion (Hjerm et al. 2014, pp. 37-40). After each interview, the writers discussed possible links between the answers and the theories in the paper, this to facilitate the coding of the collected data into different sections. The writers sorted out all the material and selected only data relevant for the research study. Therefore, not all the transcribed material was used in the final empiricism since the discussions during the interviews sometimes went outside the scope of the subject. According to Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) the best way to deal with empirical data collection is to make sure that the overall framework of the study is based on the theory. The writers have taken this into account by connecting segments of the theories to what emerged from the data collection. Since the themes of the study were more theory-driven, the writers had specific questions in mind that they coded by. These questions were taken directly from the questionnaire used during the interviews. Thereafter the questions with the best outcome and depth were chosen. Examples of these are “*Have traditions been affected by tourism?*”, “*Have Balinese family values and ethics been affected by tourism?*” and “*Is the tourism industry too big in Bali?*”. All the relevant data for each code was gathered into a separate file on the computer and compared to the rest of the material in that file.

Braun and Clarke (2006) describe the third step of the process as searching for themes. This phase re-focuses the analysis at the broader level, namely themes, rather than codes. During this phase the previously selected codes will be compared and altered into potential themes, and all relevant data will be gathered and grouped around each potential theme (Braun & Clarke 2006). During this phase some codes were merged into the same theme and some initial codes formed main themes. This was done almost synchronously with the fourth phase of the analysing process, whilst reviewing themes. This phase involves refinement of the chosen themes, where some themes might be eliminated, e.g. if there is not enough data to

support them. Some themes might collapse into each other and perhaps form a new theme (Braun & Clarke 2006). During this phase some changes were made by the writers. Themes addressing the Balinese perception on how tourism has affected them personally and how tourism has affected Bali as a destination were altered into a common theme, while the theme concerning whether the Balinese identified themselves with their culture, formed a new one.

The fifth phase, defining and naming themes, entails further refining of the themes presented in the analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) point out that it is important that the writers by the end of this phase can define what each theme is about. This can be tested by letting the writers describe the scope of the theme in a couple of sentences. During this phase the writers perfected the themes of the study. Furthermore, summaries were written for each theme. This, to test what Braun and Clarke suggested, but also to provide comfort for the readers. The last phase of the thematic analysis process is to produce the report. This involves the final analysis and write-up of the chapter (Braun & Clarke 2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006) the important part here is to make the text convincing, interesting and non-repetitive. Therefore, during this phase the writers re-read the text, erased repeating parts and highlighted important quotations.

3.6 Respondents

The writers only interviewed people born and raised in Bali to ensure that the respondents would genuinely be part of the Balinese community. The majority of the respondents were living in touristic areas of Bali. The writers found three of the respondents through a Balinese Facebook group, “Canggu Community”, by asking if there were any locals willing to participate in an interview. The rest of the respondents were found thanks to the help of the writers’ supervisor from Undiknas University and also through snowball sampling, by asking the respondents if they knew other persons that might be interested to participate in an interview. The length of the interviews varied due to language barriers that caused some respondents to answer more shortly. According to Bryman and Bell (2013, p. 490) it is normal for qualitative interviews to vary in length. The interviews ended with an open conversation where other interesting aspects emerged. The respondents will be presented with their real first names since all the respondents approved of that.

3.6.1 First interview, Jerry

The first interview was held with Jerry on the first of April, 2018. This interview was primarily a pilot study, but since the questionnaire did not change it was included in the data collection. Jerry studies law at one of the Universities in Bali, he also works as a seller of sightseeing trips. He is Catholic and 22 years old. The interview took place at his office in Seminyak and lasted for 30 minutes, the conversation in total lasted for about 1 hour and 30 minutes. The atmosphere was relaxed, but sometimes it was apparent that he could not answer directly on questions like “*Do you think that the tourism industry in Bali is too big or should it grow more?*” or “*Is there anything tourists do that you wish they would avoid?*”.

The reason for him being reluctant to answer to these questions was most probably due to the fact that he was at his office.

3.6.2 Second interview, Nengah

This interview was also a pilot study, but was included in the data collection. Nengah is Hindu and he comes from a small village. Nengah has travelled a lot thanks to his work on the cruise ship, *Celebrity*. He is a 38 year old native Balinese and has a son. Nengah works as tour-operator, restaurant manager and driver. The atmosphere was relaxed, he was happy to talk about his culture, but mentioned he did not want to talk about politics which the writers did not go deeper into. The interview was held at a café in Seminyak on the third of April, 2018, the questionnaire took 25 minutes, but the conversation in total lasted for about 90 minutes.

3.6.3 Third interview, Loy

The third interview took place at a café in Canggu, north of Seminyak, on the fourth of April, 2018. Loy comes from Bali and is a Muslim, but went to collage in the US, Florida, and lived there for a couple of years. Loy is 43 years old and owns a real estate company. He was extremely extrovert, open minded and spoke English fluently. The atmosphere during the interview was very relaxed. The interview lasted 1 hour and 10 minutes, however, the conversation in total lasted for about 3 hours.

3.6.4 Fourth interview, Leo

Leo comes from the town of Ubud, in the center of Bali, and he is Hindu. Leo is an economics student at Undiknas University in Denpasar. He is 20 years old. The interview took place at a local restaurant in Sanur, located in the east of Bali, on the twelfth of April, 2018. The questionnaire lasted for about twenty minutes, but the conversation in total lasted for two hours. The atmosphere was really relaxed and positive.

3.6.5 Fifth interview, Megumi

Megumi comes from Sanur and she is both Catholic and Hindu, since her parents have different backgrounds. She is an economics student at Undiknas University. She is 20 years old and when she is not studying, she is helping her aunt run the family restaurant. The interview took place on the twelfth of April, 2018, in her family's restaurant. The atmosphere was relaxed but Megumi had to run to the kitchen a couple of times during the interview since she was in charge of the restaurant. The interview lasted for about twenty minutes, but the conversation in total lasted for two hours.

3.6.6 Sixth interview, Sri

The interview with Sri took place on April the seventeenth, 2018, at Undiknas University. Sri works as a tourism lecturer and is a 35 year old Hindu. Her Masters' thesis was about the tourism affecting the Balinese creativity, and focused on local handicrafts. The atmosphere was relaxed, and Sri was very happy to be interviewed. There were some language barriers,

but she had a colleague next to her that could help her find the words. The interview took about 15 minutes and the full conversation about 40 minutes.

3.6.7 Seventh interview, Nana

Nana is a 33 year old Hindu woman. She works as a lecturer at Undiknas University. The interview was held on the seventeenth of April, 2018, at the university. The atmosphere was relaxed, but sometimes a bit noisy since there were other lecturers and students in the same room. The interview took about 15 minutes, but the entire conversation lasted for about 45 minutes.

3.6.8 Eighth interview, Winda

Winda is 21 years old and comes from a traditional Balinese village. She is a Hindu and works as an assistant at Undiknas University. The interview was held at the university on April the seventeenth, 2018, and lasted for about 15 minutes, but the conversation in total took 2 hours. The atmosphere was laid-back and informal.

3.7 Ethics

When conducting a study, it is important to take into account the ethical requirement, informed consent, which means that the writers have informed the respondents about the objectives of the study and that the interviews will only be used for research purposes (Bryman & Bell 2013, pp. 147-148). The writers have also taken the necessary precautionary measures to ensure that there are no negative aftermaths for the respondents as a result of their participation in the study. Problems with confidentiality and anonymity have also been taken into consideration, as it often occurs in qualitative surveys when it comes to the identity of the place and individual (Bryman & Bell 2013 pp. 144-146). Furthermore, it was announced that the material will be included in a Bachelor's essay which will be publicly published. Therefore the respondents have also been asked beforehand whether or not they want to maintain their anonymity or if their first names can be used in the study. The latter was approved by all interviewees. In addition, the interviews were voluntary, and thus the participants approved to participate. Before recording the interviews, the writers initially asked the respondent if she or he approved recording it.

Since the field study was conducted in a country that the writers were not familiar with, and accordingly performed on respondents with a different cultural background, it was of utmost importance to constantly maintain awareness about cultural differences. According to Bryman and Bell (2013, p. 241), interviews performed by persons with another ethnic background than the participating respondents may result in a different treatment and also different outcome. This entails that the writers had to be aware of how they were perceived in the respondents' eyes, as they were third parties investigating residents in their local community. In addition, the writers come from a western country and were investigating possible problems in a developing country and this itself could cause problems. These problems can be what class the writers are presumed to be and from that how freely the

respondents feel they can talk. (Sultana 2007) In order not to violate cultural manners, the writers had been in contact with a supervisor at the destination in advance to ensure that they followed the Balinese etiquette properly. The supervisor also helped them to get in contact with suitable respondents. The writers accordingly dressed neatly for the interviews and did not discuss atheism since having faith is really important to the Balinese. Respect is also very important, so the writers made extra effort to always show appreciation and genuine interest in their culture.

3.8 Trustworthiness

Bryman & Bell (2013 p. 402) suggests that a qualitative study should be evaluated based on the criteria of trustworthiness. Trustworthiness can be divided into four components; credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Bryman & Bell 2013, p. 402).

Credibility; The term means that respondents should confirm that the writers interpreted their answers correctly (Bryman & Bell 2013 p. 403). In the conduct of the interviews, the writers repeated the respondents' responses and asked similar follow-up questions to check that the answers were correctly understood. After the writers summarized the data collection, the respondents were also informed of the outcome. In respect of that, and despite of the language barriers, the respondents were happy and agreed with the results.

Dependability; In order for a study to be considered dependable, it should clearly state all the components of the research process. Thus, another researcher will have the opportunity to complete the same study before the end of the ongoing study (Bryman & Bell 2013 p. 405). The writers have set out to describe and illustrate all the components of the research process and clearly demonstrated how all the elements are connected. This has been possible thanks to the critique from external reviewers.

Transferability; Transferability means that other researchers will be able to complete the same study (Bryman & Bell 2013 pp. 403-404). The writers believe that the same study carried out by other researchers on another occasion could lead to other results. Not because of how the writers performed the study, but because respondents' answers are likely to change with the development of tourism.

Confirmability; Confirmability means that the writers are aware that it is not possible to be fully objective in a qualitative method, but that they act in the best possible way (Bryman & Bell 2013 p. 405). The writers have endeavoured to avoid affecting the respondents answers during the interviews by formulating the question schedule in a neutral way. This by avoiding leading questions such as “*How have traditions been affected by tourism*” and instead phrased them “*Would you say that traditions have been affected by tourism?*”. Furthermore, when designing the interviews, the writers conducted the questions so they would not be directed or have a personal imprint. This, to show that the writers acted in "good faith". During the interviews the writers were also careful not to influence respondents' responses.

4. Empirics and Analysis

In the following chapter the collected data will be presented and analysed on the basis of the theories; Social Exchange Theory, Social Conflict and Modernization. This, to come to a conclusion. The empirics and analysis have been chosen to unite in the same chapter as an attempt to decrease the risk of recurrence and to facilitate for the readers by making it easier for them to follow the discussions in the chapter.

4.1 The Balinese description of the tourism industry in Bali

The writers asked the respondents to describe their thoughts about the tourism industry in Bali. Jerry, Winda and Leo all described the tourism in Bali as the major part of the island's income. Winda said that Bali is the center of tourism in Indonesia and that the tourism industry has become a central factor in Bali. Jerry explained that earlier the main industry was agriculture, but now since tourism has become the biggest industry, the land gets leveled so they can build infrastructure and new restaurants and hotels. Leo explained that the tourism industry also provides multiple job opportunities for the locals. He moreover pointed out that Bali is famous for its culture, traditions and people. This is something that Nengah referred to as "selling the culture", and what he meant by that is for example creating tourism activities around the Balinese social life and history. Loy described Bali as a backpacker destination, with many young people looking to party. However, in the last few years he has seen a change, whereas there are now a lot more upper class tourists, who seek comfort and cultural activities.

4.2 Balinese culture and traditions and how the Balinese identify themselves with them

All the respondents agreed that their culture and traditions are unique and that they can not be found anywhere else, this because culture and religion are so mixed. Winda mentioned that it is really important to have faith in Bali, because the Gods are their protection. In addition Winda said that there are no atheists in Bali and that everyone believes in, at least, karma and reincarnation. Loy described that the caste system is officially abandoned but that it still lingers on, e.g. someone from a priest family would never marry a farmer. Sri explained that it is very important for the Balinese to live as their ancestors and carry on their traditions. That is why every new generation needs to carry on that legacy and stay true to their culture. Both Winda and Loy pointed out that since Bali is a hindu enclave in a muslim country, they already are different and therefore it is even more important for them to stick to their traditions.

The majority of the respondents identified themselves with their culture. Jerry for example, being a Catholic and not Hindu still identified himself with the Balinese culture. Adongo et al. (2017) described that community attachment specifies the locals' feelings about their community, but also how the locals are assimilated in the community life. From the interviews the writers found that the majority of the respondents felt a strong connection

toward their community, which could also be why traditions and culture were very important to them. Nengah who is Hindu felt very connected with the Balinese culture, he explained that in Bali they are brought up to tolerate other cultures and show respect regardless of if you are Hindu, Christian, Muslim or something else. Sri pointed out that she is proud of being a traditional Balinese. Kyle et al. (2004) says that the locals' community attachment can be based on how they identify and bond with the destination. From the answers given by the respondents the writers noticed that being Balinese and having a rich culture was something that the majority of the respondents were proud of and wanted to preserve. This could be one of the reasons why some Balinese are afraid of the commercialisation of their traditions, but also a reason why they want to perform shows for tourists - they feel proud to share their culture. Megumi on the other hand wished that she would respect her own culture more. She also said that she is religious, but could put more time and effort into the ceremonies.

“The traditions are part of the Balinese identity, and if Bali loses its identity and its culture then why would tourists want to come here? You can be modern and a millennialist but you can not forget what has brought us this far.” (Megumi).

When the writers asked if Leo felt connected with the Balinese culture, he answered that he did not feel very traditional, since he identified himself more with the modern culture. He explained that his parents and grandparents are more traditional than him, and that he is the first generation going into the modern era. Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010) explain that modernity has become a social disturbance and resulted in confusion and moral crises, since it affects people's values and ethics. For example Leo also explained that he thought it would be problematic for him to find a good job if he were too traditional, since you would have to commit to so many ceremonies which would mean that you too often would be absent from work. Berman (2006) says that reliance, to people, has changed from being tied to community and bilateral relationship to an impersonal trust based upon the competence and expected probity of unknown others. This is visible in Bali considering that Leo did not feel that connected to his community anymore, he felt more modern. Still the writers could see that this was somewhat of a disturbance for him, that he still thought it to be important that not all Balinese would think and feel like him, since the traditions are such a big part of Bali's culture and identity.

To summarize, the respondents described the Balinese traditions and culture as unique, as religion and culture are so intertwined. The majority of the respondents felt they identified themselves with the Balinese culture. Megumi and Leo on the other hand, who both represent the younger generation, did not have as strong connection as the others. This could be due to modernization, and the writers could see that both Leo and Megumi still thought traditions were important, they just did not put that much effort into them.

4.3 Commercialization of the Balinese culture and traditions according to the locals

All the respondents believed that their traditions have been affected by tourism and thereby commercialized. According to Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) the local community will oppose tourism if they feel that their traditions and values are being threatened. Jerry took the traditional dances as an example and explained that nowadays they are performed, not only in order to introduce the culture to new generations, but also for economic reasons. Sri thought the younger generations have been affected the most by tourism, in being modernized, which has made Bali more mixed with the modern world. But it is still the Balinese traditions that attracts tourists, so Bali needs to stick to their traditions. Nana believed that they have been able to preserve their culture, but that it is going to be a challenge for them in the future. Nana also mentioned that it is of importance to safeguard their culture and traditions, not only for tourists, but also for the next generations.

Loy said that the commercialization of the culture is both negative and positive since it is a way for the Balinese to preserve their traditions, and as long as it is a good source for income and people are interested to study their traditions, he sees it as a positive thing. One can argue that tourism is a culture exploiter and that it disrupts traditional culture. But, it can also revitalize culture. (Kyungmi & Uysal et al. 2013) Zamani-Farahani and Henderson (2014) describes that the impacts of tourism on the local community can be perceived as both positive and negative depending on the perceptions of the community and of the residents. One of the impacts that the researchers mentioned was commercialization of the destination's cultural activities. In addition, according to the SET-theory, dedication is what makes the locals want to continue the tourism business (Shih-Wei & Chia-Shiang 2016). In other words, if the Balinese feel that tourism helps them preserve their culture and traditions they will become more dedicated, since the tourism industry is dedicated to their way of living. The theory also suggests that residents' attitudes and level of support for the tourism industry and its development, is influenced by their expected benefits or costs obtained in return for their services, therefore 'social exchange' (Lee & Back 2006). If they believe, as Loy, that it is not only a cost for the locals, but that it helps them preserve traditions and improve the economy, they might develop a positive attitude toward the industry.

Jerry, Loy, Leo and Nengah also pointed out that even though many of the cultural traditions are being commercialized for tourists, some are still kept only for the locals and are not performed for commercial reasons. This is one way to safeguard the authentic traditions . Jerry furthermore described that the local communities are taking actions to maintain their culture and traditions by organising traditional dance competitions and teaching children and youngsters. The government is also participating in preserving the culture, for example by regulations. Last year they made regulations for the Silent day, or *Nyepi* as the Balinese call it; they are not allowed to play electronic music for touristic reasons, only traditional songs are allowed. Silent day is the hindu New Year's celebration according to the Saka calendar

(www.bali-indonesia.com). Many residents work together with the government to keep the local community happy. The government also organises events such as the Bali festival, Denpasar festival and the Kuta festival. As the theory states, a crucial part in obtaining a positive attitude toward tourism is to keep the local community happy, and also to imprint a positive balance between residents and tourists (Garau-Vadell et al. 2013; Nunkoo & Gursoy 2012). By keeping the authentic apart from the commercialized, the locals have a chance to still live their lives in a traditional way and also to have a balanced relationship with tourists, and in so obtain a positive attitude and support for the tourism industry.

Megumi and Nana mentioned that tourism is not the only factor affecting the traditions in Bali. Modernization and technology play a big role in this as well, because they change peoples. They explained that a report a few months ago revealed that corpses were not brought by foot to the crematorium as per tradition anymore, but by car, because people value their own time and effort more now. Furthermore Megumi mentioned that it is now easier to get divorced. Winda on the other hand explained that the big tourism sector that comes to Bali has brought along modernization and globalization and that this has affected the Balinese culture.

”They bring their culture into ours” (Winda)

Earlier it was custom for women in Bali to only cover their lower body part, but now, due to modernization, all women also cover their breasts. Furthermore, Winda explained that now the young children are more interested in learning to play the guitar or piano instead of traditional Balinese instruments. Also instead of learning the traditional dances, children and youngsters are more interested in K-pop (Korean pop). So from this point of view Winda did not find tourists modernizing their culture a good thing. According to Mbaiwa (2011) tourism can be seen as a threat to traditional societies because of its commodification of traditional ceremonies. In many ethnic tourism societies, locals perform traditional ceremonies, but lead a modern lifestyle with influences from a material culture (Chen 2014). Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010) state that as modernization takes place at a destination, changes are likely to follow, just like Megumi, Nana and Winda mentioned. Furthermore the theory suggests that cultural institutional expressions and modernity from the Western European countries have affected other parts of the world (Ogaboh Agba et al. 2010), and in this case Bali. Like Winda said, the tourists bring their culture into the Balinese culture, and that this has changed the motivation for learning the traditional dances and the use of traditional instruments. The Balinese have become more Western as a result of the modernization. In addition, as said before, Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010) interpret that in many cases modernity has become a social disturbance and resulted in confusion and moral crises on the destination, affecting people’s values and ethics.

To summarize, all respondents believed that tourism has affected their culture and that their traditions have become commercialized. Loy pointed out that it is a way to preserve the

Balinese traditions, as the younger generation wants to learn about them as it is important to keep the tourism industry, and the culture is what attracts the tourists. The respondents also explained to the writers that commercialization is not only due to tourism, but also because of modernization. However some respondents pointed out that it was the tourists who brought the modernization to Bali.

4.4 Tourism affecting Balinese family values

The majority thought that the family values had changed due to tourism. Leo explained that children do not respect their teachers and elders as much as they used to. Furthermore he said that the family traditions have changed. Before, when a ceremony was held the entire family gathered and ate food together, whereas now only the nuclear family gets together. As Winda mentioned earlier, the tourism industry has brought the modernization to Bali, this according to Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010), as said before, can in many cases become a social confusion and this can be seen in Bali. Tourism and modernization changed the values and ethics to become more Western and modern. Loy also explained that now due to both tourism and modernization people are making more money and it is changing their lifestyle. Furthermore, Loy described that just fifty years ago people stayed in their villages whilst now the world has become so globalized and the young people want to be associated with the modern era, but the society corrects itself and tries to maintain the traditions. So there is a bit of tension there, being modern and trying to stick to the traditions and values. These descriptions agrees with what the theorist Mbaiwa (2011) implied, namely that locals adopt to western values and move to urbanized resort areas within the destination in aim for higher incomes provided by the tourism sector.

”Everybody is aspiring for a better way of life” (Loy)

Winda, being from a traditional Balinese village, mentioned that where she comes from, families take it very seriously that children learn and preserve the traditions and culture. She instantiated that now children are calling their parents *Meme* and *Bapa*, as they traditionally used to be called, instead of Mama and Papa. She also explained that people are trying to get these old sayings and traditions back. In addition, Loy explained that even though the traditions are a very important part of the Balinese lifestyle, they have lost some of their meaning, especially for the younger generations. They still stick to their traditions, however, they do not genuinely believe in them as much as older generations used to, it has become more of a social thing nowadays. This was something that was noticeable in both Leo’s and Megumi’s answers during their interviews. As they are both part of the younger generation, age 20, they felt they were more modern than traditional. It became clear that Leo did not fancy traditions himself, but still thought it was good that others preserved them since he did not. According to the SET-theory, dedication makes locals want to continue the tourism business. As explained earlier, the tourism industry’s dedication to local attractions in various forms can be very much appreciated by the locals (Shih-Wei & Chia-Shiang 2016). The main tourist attraction in Bali is their culture, and this brings income and dedication. Based on this,

the writers draw the conclusion that tourism is one reason for the locals to preserve their culture.

Megumi was of the opinion that tourism has made the Balinese attempt to be something they are not, they see the tourists and want to have similar lives. She went deeper into this subject and explained that some locals have started behaving impolite due to tourism. She explained that the tourists, especially the youngsters, think that they can behave as they want when they come to Bali, and that this affects the Balinese to start thinking that they can do the same. She also mentioned that Balinese people used to be very traditional and show respect toward their culture, but that this is changing, since they see tourists living without religion and then think they can also live without it. According to Hjalager (2007) tourism can be seen as a cause of modernization and globalization in many countries and as Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010) say above, cultural institutional expressions and modernity from the Western European countries have affected the rest of the world.

To summarize, the majority of the respondents thought that Bali's family values and ethics have changed due to tourism and modernization. The younger generation, for example, do not feel conservative, but instead more modern. The respondents also explained that the Balinese behaviour has changed, since many try to live by the tourists' examples.

4.5 Tourism related conflicts between the Balinese people

As the writers asked the question "*Have you experienced conflicts within the local community when it comes to tourism?*" the answers varied. Still the majority of the respondents did not think it caused a problem since most of the Balinese had a positive view toward tourism. According to Jerry and Nana everybody living in Bali knows that it is a tourist destination and that the lion's share of the economy comes from the tourism industry, therefore the majority of the people indulge in tourism. Furthermore, Nana explained that the majority are depending on tourism whether they work in rice fields, hotels, restaurants and so on, and therefore they find it positive. This is also evident in the SET-theory where McGehee and Andereck (2004) mentioned that residents who benefitted from the exchange were more likely to embrace tourism. Since the majority of the Balinese are dependent on tourism, in one way or the other, they will maintain a positive attitude toward it, their income and economy depend on it. According to the SET-theory, residents will support the development of tourism as long as it leads to a positive balance in their relationship with tourists (Garau-Vadell et al. 2013).

Loy explained that he had never met locals who were against tourism; Balinese are proud of the fact that people want to visit Bali. In regards to this, you could imply that people having this point of view also are positive to tourists, since they see tourists being interested in their culture and way of living. But he also mentioned a split between traditional and modern people, even though most of them are open to the modern world they are afraid of how it will affect their traditional way of life. Sri also talked about this and explained that the people

who want to be more traditional have their own community or village where they stick to their traditions and protect the area and culture. It is not that they are negative toward the tourism industry, they just want to protect the culture and traditions.

Nana also mentioned that the locals do not really agree about the development of hotels,

”Before, Bali used to be famous for the thousand temples, but now Bali is famous for thousands of hotels” (Nana)

Zhou and Ap (2009) describe that impacts of tourism on the local communities can create social conflicts on economic welfare as well as jealousy. This agrees with what Winda mentioned, that residents outside the tourist areas often wish to establish tourist related businesses in their own neighborhood. This, since they want the economic income that the tourist areas get. Nengah, on the other hand, pointed out that the older generations tended to be against tourism due to lack of understanding. According to Megumi conflicts tend to arise between people who do not understand the industry and the people working within it.

To summarize, there are not that many conflicts regarding tourism in Bali according to the collected data for this study. People depend on tourism, since it is their main income. The Balinese are proud of the fact that Bali attracts tourists who want to learn about the culture. Megumi and Nengah also explained that sometimes there can be collisions with the older generation who might not understand the industry in the same way as someone working within it.

4.6 Things tourists do that the Balinese wish they would avoid

When the writers asked the respondents if there were things tourists did that they wish they would not do, most respondents felt that tourists should respect their culture more. Shih-Wei & Chia-Shiang (2016) explain that it is important to examine constraint factors while studying wins and costs situations. Jerry, for instance, explained that in Bali people believe in becoming “one”, and therefore respect all cultures. This is something Jerry wished that tourists would respect. Nengah mentioned that a lot of tourists visit Bali and think that they can behave in any way they want, instead of showing respect for the local culture. Consequently, the above mentioned can be viewed as costs for the community.

Leo explained that most tourists visiting Balinese temples neglect the regulation to wear a sarong. The sarong should be worn in order not to attract bad luck. He also explained that since showing respect to the Gods is very important in Bali, people leave offerings in the streets and other places. These offerings can be baskets of flowers, candy and incense, outside their workplaces and homes. Leo explained that tourists often ignore these offerings by stepping or driving over them, which is very disrespectful. As Sari et al. (2016) mentioned, undermining of local traditions and values can occur when there is a direct interaction between a tourist and the host community. This is especially common where

tourism has boomed. Nana indicated that she did not get worked up by tourists disrespecting her culture and traditions.

”Balinese people possess peace of mind and believe in karma, what goes around comes around, in that respect we have no business judging them”. (Nana)

Megumi mentioned backpackers several times and revealed that she did not like them due to their reputation of causing a lot of trouble in Bali. She explained that the latest news had reported that two backpackers had stolen money from a temple. She said that many backpackers rent motorbikes without a driver's license and even drive topless, which also is disrespectful. Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) explain that negative attitudes among the locals in a community will lead to a lower level of support for the industry. When tourists act disrespectfully toward the Balinese it can lead to a lower level of support. Megumi also said that many tourists live in cheap hostels resulting in less profit for the Balinese. Therefore she would like to have a rule saying that people visiting Bali have to stay at a hotel or homestay during their vacation so that the Balinese people still earn money. Garau-Vadell et al. (2013) suggests that residents will perceive tourism differently depending on the type of tourists, their length of stay and their social characteristics. Sri on the other hand believed that most tourists do respect the Balinese culture, since they show interest in learning more about it. According to Kayat (2002) scientists have found that motivational factors can impact on how residents support tourism development. One of these factors can be gaining self-respect (Kayat 2002). Therefore, tourists showing interest in the Balinese culture can help the residents gain self-respect, and in so contribute to residents' motivation to support the tourism industry.

To summarize, the majority of the respondents thought that tourists should show more respect toward their traditions and values. According to the SET-theory tourists' disrespectful behaviour would count as a cost for the community, meaning if this misbehaviour from tourists continues or increases, it could make the Balinese oppose the tourism industry. If the tourists on the other hand show interest in local traditions, as Sri thought most did, it becomes a win for the community, motivating people to host tourists and helping locals gain self-respect.

4.7 The expanding tourism industry in Bali

Winda thought the tourism industry in Bali has grown too much, she expressed her concern over the fact that now many investors come to Bali in order to build more modern five star hotels. The Balinese identity lies in their culture, and by exploiting further areas by building new hotels and resort, the Balinese cultural identity will change. Winda gave the example of investors wanting to make reclamation in Tulamben, north-east of Bali, where a sacred underwater temple is located. The investors want to fill up the area with soil, which would completely cover the temple. This would be disastrous for the Balinese who believe that the temple protects them from danger. According to Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010) the western

culture of modernity rests upon the conversion of social trust from concrete and personal to abstract and universal. This can create a conflict with the Balinese who may not see social trust as being based on abstract and universal understanding. If the investors do not show respect and understanding for the importance of the Balinese sacred places and traditions, that could also become a reason for the Balinese to oppose tourism in the future.

Leo, Nana and Loy all explained that since tourism in Bali has grown at a rapid pace, they experience some areas as too crowded. Loy moved to Canggu, a town north of the tourist area of Seminyak, a year and a half ago and told the writers that since then four new hotels, twenty new restaurants have been built in the area at the expense of rice fields. According to Muler González et al. (2018) a destinations' carrying capacity can be measured based on the locals' attitudes and opinions. Zelenka and Kacetl (2014) describes a destinations' carrying capacity as the amount of tourists the destination can handle before it starts having negative impacts, such as crowding of public places and losing its connection to tradition and culture. Given the respondents answers, the writers could see that Bali had reached its carrying capacity in certain aspects, like crowding of public places, since the majority of the respondents found these too crowded. The writers could see that the Balinese were between the stages of *Consolidation*, locals feel overwhelmed with the increasing amount of tourism, and *Stagnation*, the area has reached its carrying capacity and the locals have a negative attitude toward tourists, in Papathanassis (2017) life cycle model. Leo still found that the tourism industry is more suitable for Bali, other, e.g. manufacturing, industries with huge factories would affect the culture, Balinese beliefs and the environment even more. There is a law stipulating that buildings may not be higher than the mother temple or coconut trees. However, Leo feels that the tourism has grown too big, and some areas have become too crowded.

Nana expressed her fear that someday the Balinese will not be able to preserve their culture due to the fast growing tourism industry. Shih-Wei and Chia-Shiang (2016) suggest that locals might show a lower level of support for the tourism industry when making logical choices by calculating the costs versus the wins. If the costs outweigh the wins in Bali, this might change their view on the tourism business. The majority of the respondents found the tourism industry too big in Bali, however, they also realised that it is a necessary source of income. Hence, although there might be some resistance toward the tourism industry, the advantages prevail. Furthermore, Nana pointed out that some owners of villas and low rated hotels, do not have proper business licenses. Hence, they do not pay taxes, and the government loses money due to tax avoidance. She also mentioned that hotels attempt to reduce their prices, which results in many cheap hotels and also attracts a certain kind of tourists.

Megumi explained that she wishes Bali would attract a different kind of tourists, since she felt there were too many party tourists and backpackers, and that she preferred couples and families who stay for a longer period of time. Garau-Vadell et al. (2013) explain, as

mentioned before, that one factor that may impact how residents look upon tourism is the type of tourist, their social characteristics and length of stay. If Bali would stop the bargain prices, it might attract the tourists they are looking for, and make themselves look at the tourism business differently.

To summarize, the majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the tourism business in Bali had grown too big, too fast and that the tourist areas have become too crowded. Furthermore, both Nana and Megumi wished Bali would attract more luxurious tourists, rather than backpackers and youngsters looking to party. There were also concerns regarding the culture, as Winda said, a lot of investors do not show respect for the holy areas they are planning to purchase.

4.8 Wins and costs for Bali from the tourism industry

When the writers asked the respondents about what they thought were the positive impacts from tourism and what the negative were, all of the respondents thought that the economy was the most positive impact. This since tourism gives job opportunities to the majority of the Balinese making it their main income source. According to the SET-theory, residents' attitudes and level of support for the tourism industry is influenced by their expected wins or costs in return for their services (Lee & Back 2006). Because the economy is the main advantage of having tourism in Bali, local residents might find money to be the most important aspect from the social exchange. This may cause them to leave their values and ethics behind in order to focus on money making instead. Jerry explained that because of this, people have become more money oriented in Bali. The Balinese traditions might become mere tourist attractions and would thereby lose their meaning. People would care more about selling tickets than preserving the actual meaning of the ceremonies. Sri also explained that earlier rituals and dances were performed for spiritual reasons, but now they have become mere tourist attractions.

According to Sari et al. (2016), as previously mentioned, a direct interaction between tourists and the host community can lead to the undermining of local traditions and values. Especially when there is an uncontrolled and unsustainable mass tourism growth. Since Bali has experienced a massive tourism growth in the last few years (www.globalexpatrecruiting.com 2016), this can explain why the Balinese feel that the tourism industry has undermined their culture and traditions. And just like Jerry said, people are willing to sell out their own culture and turn it into a profit making machine as long as tourists pay for the performances. Sri used the Barong dance as an example and explained as follows:

”Earlier it was performed to honour the Gods, but now the dance is all about the show. Tickets are being sold and the settings have changed, earlier it was not about the money and you did not have to pay an entrance”. (Sri)

Nevertheless, also Sri thought that Bali could not refuse tourists as they represent a main income source, but that the Balinese should protect their culture. According to Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) in general, the local community will oppose tourism if they feel that their traditions and values are being threatened by such development. But since Bali has a high win from the tourism industry, being their main income, the writers found that they do not oppose it. Sri explained that in Bali the people believe that God, human and nature must always be in balance with each other. This is why it is important for Bali to preserve their traditions and let every village keep their own characteristics, not only for the sake of the culture, but for the villages' creativity. Adongo et al. (2017) explain the community attachment specifies the locals' awareness and personality of the place.

Winda said that because of tourism a lot of traditions have become commodified. Some, the Kecak dance for example, is not even a traditional Balinese dance, but has been designed simply to attract tourists. Now some Balinese mistakenly believe it is part of their traditional culture, she continued. The Kecak dance has become an iconic dance for Bali, it was created for tourists, but has become part of the Balinese community. As mentioned earlier Sari et al. (2016) mean that when tourists and the host community interact directly, it can lead to an erosion of traditions. Now in Bali, the traditions have not only been undermined, but new ones are created merely to please the tourists. This could cause confusion to what is authentic. As Picard (2008) mentions, a lot of people struggle with what is authentically Balinese. This was noticeable during the interviews since Winda was the only respondent who knew that the Kecak dance was not a traditional Balinese dance. All the other respondents mentioned the dance as being equally important as the Barong. Furthermore, Winda explained that there are a lot of traditional dances that have disappeared from the culture and that the young generation is not fully committed to learning and performing them. Therefore Winda's conclusion was that tourism sometimes helped the Balinese maintain their culture, but that it also made them abandon parts of their culture that were not suitable for commercialization. This could create a social conflict between the younger generation, who are not fully committed to the old traditions, and the older generation, who sees committing oneself to old traditions as something important. Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) say that it can create conflicts when one part of the society wants to keep local traditions and the other part wants to please tourists.

In Bali the problem seems to be that the younger generation has entered the modern era, and do not feel as traditional as the older generation. The different viewpoints could cause conflicts, and the tourism industry is not responsible for this. The young generation understands that Bali needs their traditions to attract tourists, but due to modernization they no longer see them as spiritually important. Nengah told the writers that he thought the tourism industry had modernized Bali, and the positive impact is that the young generations become more open minded. On the other hand, he is concerned about what will happen to their traditions and culture. In addition, Nengah explained that there are only five native Balinese villages left. According to Ogaboh Agba et al. (2010), as mentioned earlier,

modernity can cause confusion and moral crises for the locals. This also shows in what Winda told the writers about the Kecak dance not being a traditional Balinese dance.

To summarize, according to the SET-theory it is important to always receive wins for the local community in a social exchange. In this case, the win for the Balinese people is the economic gain that comes with tourism. The cost on the other hand, is that people have become more money oriented in Bali resulting in a commercialization of their traditions to please tourists. According to the respondents, many Balinese are confused with what is authentic. As Picard (2008) mentioned, the effects of the tourism industry can result in difficulties to distinguish between authentic and “fake” Balinese traditions. Even though there seem to be many costs, the Balinese still understand that they are depending on tourism to keep their economy running. It seems to be a matter of how they can keep the tourism industry without losing their genuine traditions and culture.

5. Conclusion

This chapter will present the study's conclusions and answer to the aim of the study. The aim was to understand how the locals look upon tourism affecting their cultural traditions as well as how residents can preserve their authentic local culture.

The study found that according to the Balinese, the local ceremonies have lost some of their spiritual meaning due to tourism. In addition, people in Bali have become more money oriented, making money of their culture. In doing so, people nowadays view their culture as an economic income instead of their legacy. The locals were of the opinion that the tourism industry has become too big for Bali, but since people understand that their economy depends on tourism, it has not lead to any big conflicts among the people.

The younger generations have become less motivated to maintain their traditions as a result of modernization. The tourism industry, on the other hand, can help preserve the Balinese culture since it is one of their main tourist attractions and therefore brings both job opportunities and a higher GDP. That, in turn, can be a motivator for the young generations to preserve the culture. The writers found that the problem is not really about whether the locals can preserve their culture, but how they can distinguish between the commercialized traditions and what is authentic. In addition, the writers found that the locals are continuously striving to preserve their culture, but their real challenge is how to preserve what is authentic Balinese in a global, modernized world.

6. Concluding remarks

In the last chapter of the study the writers will present their own views on the conclusions. In addition, suggestions for future research and a discussion of alternative methods will be given.

One of the UN's development goals is to foster intercultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic global citizenship and shared responsibility (www.un.org 2016). The study showed that most of the Balinese wished the tourists showed more respect toward their culture, and even though tourism has helped Bali preserve their traditions it has also created confusion in what is commercialized and what is authentic Balinese.

Had the writers interviewed more locals from the countryside, and less from cities and tourist areas, the result might have differed. This is something to take into consideration, should the writers continue their work in Bali. Furthermore, none of the participating respondents in this study are over 43 years old. This, since respondents from the younger generation were more accessible and also due the fact that older generations were either not willing or not able to participate due to language barriers. As evidenced in some of the interviews the older generations were not equally appreciative of the tourism industry as the younger generations. The fact that the writers had no respondents over 43 might have affected the results, since the older generations might have had other inputs on the topic. The trustworthiness of this study might be questioned, since the sample does not reflect the whole population. Besides this, the results might have looked different if the writers had spoken the native language, this could have had an impact on the respondents to speak more freely.

Since this study solely investigated how tourism has affected the socio-cultural aspects in Bali, an idea for future researchers would be to examine how tourism has affected the environmental and economic factors, and whether these factors have affected the tourism industry itself. One topic that arose during all the interviews was the problematic issue of plastic. Recently, there have been lots of writings and videos on social media about plastic pollution in Bali (www.theguardian.com 2018), therefore it would be extremely interesting to follow up the effects of plastic pollution on the tourism industry now and in the future.

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Appendices

1. Interview Questions

- How would you describe tourism in Bali?
- Are you working with tourism?
- What do you work with?
- What are your personal views toward tourism in Bali? (win/cost)
- Would you say tourism benefits Bali and your personal life? - how?
- Would you say tourism has negative impacts on Bali and your personal life?
- How would you describe the culture in Bali? (ethics, values and traditions)
- Do you identify yourself with that culture?
- Is there anything tourists do that you wish they would avoid?
- Which is your favourite cultural tradition in Bali?
- Would you say that this tradition(s) has been affected by tourism?
- Would you say that Balinese traditions have become commercialized and materialistic because of tourism, and for the tourists entertainment?
- Would you say Balinese family values, ethics and traditions are affected by tourism?
- Would you say your family values, ethics and traditions have been affected by tourism in Bali?
- Would you say that you personally has changed because of the tourism in Bali?
- Have you ever experienced conflicts within the local community when it comes to tourism?
- Would you say that the tourism industry in Bali is too big? - why? how?