



PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM IN SELECTED BALINESE VILLAGES

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Abstract: This paper examines attitudes towards tourism among indigenous residents of eight villages in Bali, Indonesia. Tourism is generally viewed positively: there is a desire to receive more tourists, and a lack of appreciation of negative side-effects of tourism development. However, attitudes vary spatially with those closest to the resorts and the most familiar with tourism having the most reservations. These findings are consistent with earlier writings which suggest that residents of destination areas usually hold positive attitudes towards tourism in the early stages of tourist development. Questions are raised concerning the difficult challenges of incorporating local inputs into the decision making process. **Keywords:** attitudes, Bali, villages, community involvement.

Résumé: Perspectives sur le tourisme dans quelques villages balinais. Cette recherche examine les attitudes envers le tourisme parmi les habitants indigènes de huit villages à Bali, en Indonésie. En général, le tourisme est vu d'un oeil favorable: il y a un désir de recevoir plus de touristes et un manque de conscience des effets indésirables du développement du tourisme. Pourtant, les attitudes varient selon l'espace; ceux qui sont les plus proches des lieux de vacances et qui connaissent mieux le tourisme ont le plus de réserves. Ces résultats sont compatibles avec des recherches précédentes, qui suggèrent que les habitants ont généralement une opinion favorable envers le tourisme au début du développement touristique. On discute la difficulté d'incorporer les opinions des habitants dans le processus des décisions. **Mots-clés:** attitudes, Bali, villages, participation de la communauté.

INTRODUCTION

Bali is a small island in the Indonesian archipelago (Figure 1). It is densely settled, with a permanent population of approx. 2.8 million people living in an area of 5,600 square kilometers. Its tropical climate and well-watered volcanic slopes have enabled Bali to be self-sufficient in rice production and, although many of the Balinese are poor, the standard of living is higher than that achieved in many other parts of Indonesia.

Bali is unique in that it is "a Hindu island in a Moslem sea". There are other islands with a tropical climate, a volcanic core, and sandy beaches, but none which possess the form of Hinduism which has evolved in Bali. The Hindu religion pervades the lives of the Balinese. Its outward manifestations of temples, offerings, music, dance, ceremonies, and rich craft heritage give rise to an atmosphere which is both colorful and exotic to visitors from elsewhere.

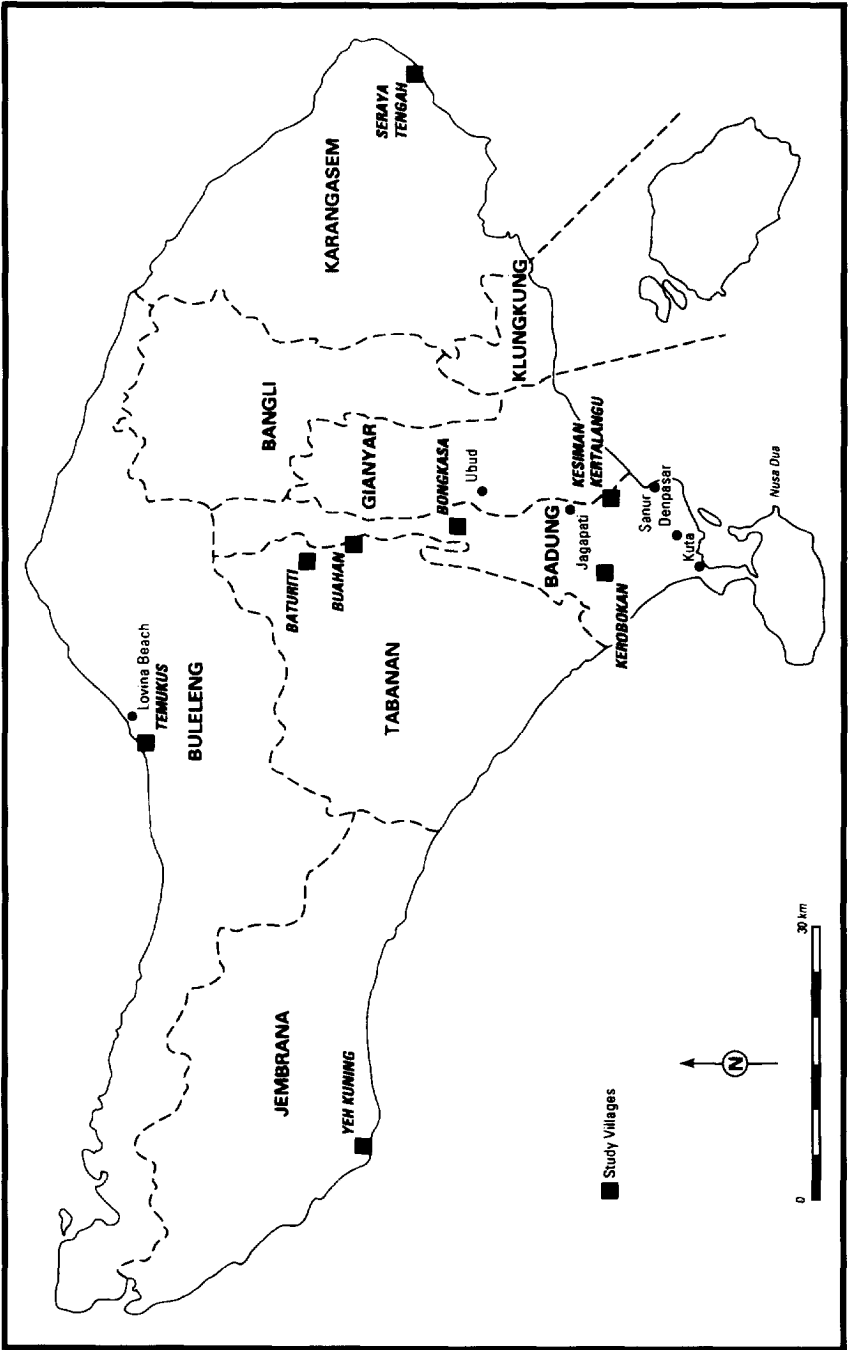


Figure 1. Location of Study Villages in Bali, Indonesia

There is a substantial and growing, academic and popular, literature on life in Bali which is published in many languages, as well as information in other media such as photographs and film. Overwhelmingly, writing and interpretation have been undertaken by outsiders. In particular, the unique culture of Bali has long attracted the attention of leading anthropologists and there is a wealth of papers by authors such as Bateson and Mead (1942), Belo (1953,1960), Geertz (1966), Hooykaas (1973), Geertz and Geertz (1975) and others which document many aspects of Balinese culture and life. Although some of the earlier writings, such as Mead's interpretations, are coming under increasing criticism from Balinese scholars (Jensen and Suryani 1992), they remain fundamental sources of information for those interested in understanding Bali and its people. In drawing the attention of Western readers to Bali, these writings helped to stimulate tourism to Bali but, because they pre-date mass travel, tourism is seldom mentioned in these documents.

More recent writings, such as those of Lansing (1991) on the practical and religious significance of irrigation systems, Suryani and Jensen (1993) on trance and possession, Barth (1993) on north Bali, and Warren (1993) are important to the understanding of life in Bali. But they, too, fail to devote much attention to tourism which has become one of the major agents of change in the island (although Warren does discuss briefly the involvement of local institutions in aspects of it in Sanur).

Also, a substantial and varied literature has grown in quantity as tourism to Bali itself has expanded. Much of the early writings concentrated upon its impacts, particularly the implications for aspects of Balinese culture, with debate concerning whether tourism debased or revived cultural expressions (McKean 1989; Noronha 1976; Picard 1983; Udayana University and Francillon 1975). Bali has also been the location for discussions of the merits of tourism developments of different scales (Jenkins 1982; Rodenburg 1980). Vickers (1989) has documented the history of Bali with a thorough discussion of the evolution of tourism and Picard (1992) has recently published the most comprehensive discussion of tourism in Bali.

A variety of consulting documents related to planning initiatives have been reviewed by Wall and Dibnah (1992); and the literature continues to expand and diversify with papers on such topics as local entrepreneurship (Hussey 1986, 1989), tourist employment (Cukier-Snow and Wall 1993, 1994), the activities of the informal sector (Cukier and Wall 1994), water supply and sanitation in tourist areas (Rahmi 1992), and landscape evaluation (Hull and Revell 1989). However, in all of this literature, there appears not to have been an examination of the attitudes of residents of Bali towards tourism. Although there are many descriptions of differences in the characteristics of the major resorts and widespread acknowledgment of the concentration of tourism in the south of the island in most recent publications, no empirical study of the attitudes of the Balinese towards tourism or of spatial variations in such attitudes could be found.

Given the lack of information on the attitudes of residents of Bali towards tourism, the objectives for this paper are: to describe the attitudes towards tourism held by indigenous residents of selected villages in Bali, Indonesia; to demonstrate that these attitudes, while generally very positive, vary in accordance with distance from tourism centers and familiarity with tourism as indicated by the frequency tourists are observed within the home villages; to discuss these findings as they relate to the ideas of Doxey (1976) and, particularly, his contention that residents of destination areas generally hold positive attitudes towards tourism which become less favorable as its level of development increases; to raise questions concerning the input of local opinions into decision making concerning tourism development.

The information on which this paper is based was gathered as part of a much larger project which had the goal of formulating a sustainable development strategy for Bali. This project is described briefly in this paper because it constitutes the context in which the study was undertaken and because the goals of the larger project influenced the nature of and means by which information was collected. However, the paper does not address the topic of sustainable development or attempt to define the terms or approaches which were adopted in the larger project.

The Bali Sustainable Development Project (BSDP), which is a part of the broader initiative on Environment and Development in Indonesia (EMDI) funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), submitted its recommendations on sustainable development to BAPPEDA Bali (the Bali Planning Department) in November, 1992 (BSDP 1992; Gertler 1993; Wall 1993a). As a part of its activities, BSDP conducted detailed investigations of the prospects for sustainable development in eight Balinese villages (Mitchell 1994).

This initiative on villages was carried out as one of the first activities undertaken by the project for three major reasons: The first was the importance of the village as a settlement form in Bali. Over 80% of the people live in villages and, consequently, it was felt that villages must be sustainable if the environment and culture of Bali are to be sustained. The second reason was the importance of village institutions to Balinese culture. Balinese villages and culture possess a number of distinctive institutions, such as *banjars* (neighborhood groups), *gotong royong* (communal labor), and *subaks* (irrigation societies), as well as *desa adat* (traditional) and *desa dinas* (administrative) forms of government (Covarrubias 1986; Warren 1993). Previous experiences, such as the successful implementation of a family planning program, had indicated that it was important to introduce new ideas into Bali through the traditional institutions. Hence, it was important to BSDP that the workings of these institutions be fully understood. The third reason was the need for the research team to gain familiarity with Balinese life and culture as expeditiously as possible. As an extension of the previous point, it was felt that recommendations for sustainable development should only be made on the basis of an appreciation of Balinese culture,

and that perhaps the best way to achieve at least a rudimentary understanding of Balinese culture fairly quickly was for researchers to live in the villages.

A major aim of the village studies was to identify stresses in these villages and their capabilities to respond to these stresses, whether they be of an economic, environmental, cultural, or institutional form. The recent and projected rapid growth of tourism is both an opportunity and a stress and tourism is a major agent of change in Bali. Accordingly, this paper concentrates upon aspects of tourism in the villages, which is one component of a much broader array of concerns investigated by the study team.

TOURISM IN BALI

Tourism is a recent phenomenon in the long history of Bali. Before 1945 the number of tourists was small and the rapid growth of tourism did not take place until the 1960s. In 1964, the whole of Indonesia had 35,9156 visitors; in 1965 there were only 29,367; and in 1966 the number declined further to 19,311, of whom only 2,150 went to Bali. Many of these visitors were on business rather than traveling for pleasure. Tourists began arriving in Kuta in small numbers in the late 1960s. At that time Kuta had only one hotel, the Kuta Beach, founded in 1955 as a successor to one of the same name which opened in 1935 but closed in 1942 with the arrival of the Japanese. In 1966, the Bali Beach hotel opened on Sanur Beach with 300 rooms. The first guidebooks did not appear until the early 1970s.

In 1968, the international airport was enlarged, permitting the use of larger planes, and 5,000 people flew to Bali. The rate of growth was very rapid: in 1969 there were 10,000 arrivals, 23,000 by 1970, 133,000 in 1978, and 158,000 in 1981. The preceding figures refer only to international arrivals and the number of domestic visitors must be added to get a complete picture of the volume of tourists. Mabbett (1985) has suggested that in 1982 domestic visitors occupied more than a third of the rooms rented out in the better hotels. Of the foreign visitors, the largest group (65,000) in 1982 were Australians, against 32,000 from Europe, 30,000 from Japan, and 16,000 from North America.

According to Hassall and Associates (1992), the number of visitors to Bali increased at an average annual rate of 7.6% between 1981 and 1990, 12% for international visitors and 3.4% for domestic visitors, so that there were 1.9 million visitors in 1990, 60% of whom were foreigners. In 1990, the visitors came predominantly from Australia (28.7%), Europe (36.3%) and Japan (14.6%), with the proportion from other ASEAN countries expanding rapidly and the proportion from Australia declining somewhat in recent years.

Tourism has grown so rapidly in the last 20 years that, if the craft industries associated with it are included, it now contributes in excess of 20% of the gross provincial product and one recent estimate suggests that the figure may now be as high as 40% (Bali Tourism Development Corporation, no date). Tourism has become

an extremely important sector of the Balinese economy in its own right, and it also intersects with and has implications for most other economic sectors. For example, the agricultural landscape, the production of handicrafts, and the rich cultural traditions attract visitors out of the major resorts into rural areas. Thus, the landscape, the very way of life and even the way of death (for cremations have become a tourism attraction) constitute a major part of the resource base which attracts visitors. While the government of Indonesia has viewed tourism as a positive economic force with the potential to generate foreign exchange and raise standards of living in Bali, the cultural traditions of Bali have resulted in the development of *pariwisata budaya* (cultural tourism), in which the encounter between visitors and the Balinese people and their culture constitute a major part of the tourism experience (Picard 1992).

The evolution of tourism planning in Bali has been reviewed elsewhere (Wall and Dibnah 1992). Suffice to say that a plan for the development of tourism, known as the Bali Tourism Study, was completed in 1971 prior to the growth of mass tourism in the island, and is the template which has guided development (SCETO 1971). The plan was undertaken by SCETO, a consortium of French consultants, and was sponsored by the United Nations Development Program and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. As recommended in the Bali Tourism Study, a major tourism development was initiated in Nusa Dua which is a tourism enclave with luxury hotels and a conference center.

The plan concentrated tourists in Kuta, Sanur, and Nusa Dua in the south of the island but also designated excursion roads to facilitate the movement of tourists from the three major accommodation nodes to various attractions in the interior of the island. The intention was to spread the positive economic impacts of tourism without encouraging adverse sociocultural impacts which might be associated with large numbers of visitors staying overnight in the interior.

Although, with the benefit of hindsight, it is not difficult to criticize the plan, and a plan to disperse tourists more widely has recently been adopted (Dibnah 1992), it is significant that it preceded the rapid growth of tourism and promoted the concentration of visitors. The plan has been complemented by supporting policies, such as regulations prohibiting land ownership by foreigners, restrictions on building heights, and encouragement of the use of indigenous styles of architecture, although not all aspects of the plans and policies have been strictly adhered to.

Initially BSDP, in recognition of the constraints of time and resources, selected six villages for study. Following a workshop in Bali and at the suggestion of local officials, the number was expanded to eight (BSDP 1989). Villages were selected to represent a variety of environmental settings, including upland and lowland agriculture, relatively moist and dry places, upstream and downstream locations on the Ayung River (the major river of Bali) and, of particular importance for this paper, a diversity of locations both close to and distant from existing resorts. Specifically,

Kerebokan and Kesiman, located in southern Bali, were selected to reflect proximity to and resulting influences of Denpasar, the major city, and the international resorts of Kuta, Sanur and Nusa Dua. Baturiti, Buahon, and Bongkasa were chosen because of their position on the Ayung. Temukus, located close to the north shore and the domestic resort of Lovina Beach, is in a dry, rain-shadow area. To these six were added Seraya in a dry spot in the eastern part of the island and Yeh Kuning, a fishing village with a strong agricultural base (Figure 1). It is important to acknowledge that the villages do not constitute a representative sample of all Balinese villages. Rather they constitute a diversity of varied, but not unusual situations, from a range of possible situations in Bali.

Research Methods

Following testing of research procedures in Jagapati, which was used as a pilot study, five sets of information were collected in each village: one, village statistics — most villages keep information on demography and land use and this is published in a village monograph or retained by the *kepala desa* (village head); two, key actor interviews — interviews were conducted with prominent local individuals such as governmental and religious leaders, school teachers, health workers, and leaders of the women and youth groups; three and four, 30 interviews of a sample of villagers evenly divided by gender and interviews of grade five and six schoolchildren were undertaken; and five, systematic observation — field workers were requested to keep a diary, to participate in village activities, and to record and discuss their observations.

The surveys with adults sought information on village change, environmental issues, contacts outside the village, work and migration patterns, health and education, and on tourism. Similarly, the schoolchildren questionnaires were designed to reveal information about many aspects of Balinese life including religion, culture, village activities, environmental issues, travel, attitudes to tourism, health and sanitation. Data acquisition for the village studies was undertaken by teams of four researchers (predominantly graduate students) who spent a month in each village. Teams were constituted to ensure a mix of Balinese, other Indonesian, Canadian participants and representation of both genders.

Summary reports for each village and comparative reports examine capabilities and stresses under five headings: institutions, biophysical, production and marketing, human health, and culture. This paper concentrates upon experiences with and attitudes towards tourism. The data are derived primarily from the interviews with villagers and, to a lesser extent, with schoolchildren. However, it should be noted that tourism was treated in the surveys in an undifferentiated manner: no attempt was made to differentiate between domestic and international tourism, or to distinguish between different forms of tourism, although it is recognized that these are important issues for Bali. The latter topic has been addressed elsewhere (Wall 1993b).

Study Results

The frequency with which residents see tourists varies from village to village (Figure 2). In Temukus, the majority (63%) of adult respondents had never seen tourists in the village. However, many would have been familiar with tourism in nearby Lovina Beach. In contrast, in Kerobokan which is close to Kuta, all respondents reported seeing tourists in the village, the majority on a daily basis (77%). In three of the villages (Kerebokan, Kesiman, and Baturiti) the majority of residents see tourists quite frequently (daily and weekly). Tourists were reported as being seen with less frequency (monthly, less than monthly, or never) in the remaining villages.

Although residents of some villages see tourists quite frequently, only limited interaction has taken place between villagers and tourists. Respondents from Kerebokan and Baturiti (23% in both cases) had talked with tourists the most. In contrast, none of the respondents from Buahan and Yeh Kuning had ever spoken with tourists in their villages. While many Balinese people are artistically inclined, and dance and musical groups from the villages perform for tourists, of all of the adult respondents, only two men from Kerebokan and one from Kesiman had ever performed for tourists. Similarly, the great majority of respondents had never sold goods to (89%) nor acted as a guide for tourists (91%).

Interaction between residents and tourists had generally been infrequent and the majority of respondents wanted more tourists to visit their village, ranging from a high in Bongkasa of 97% to a low of 73% in Buahan. Overall, most (86%) of adult respondents indicated that tourists had not caused any problems in their village.

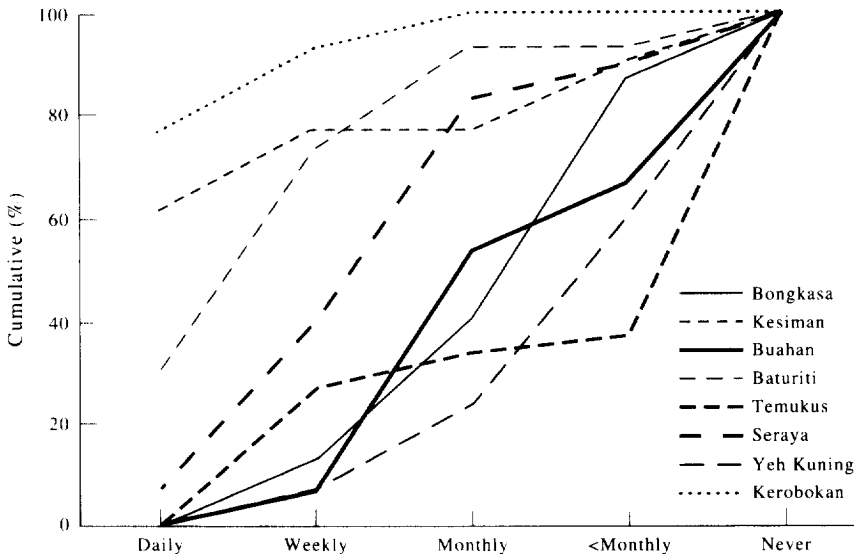


Figure 2. Cumulative Frequency Curves of Frequency with which Respondents View Tourists in their Villages

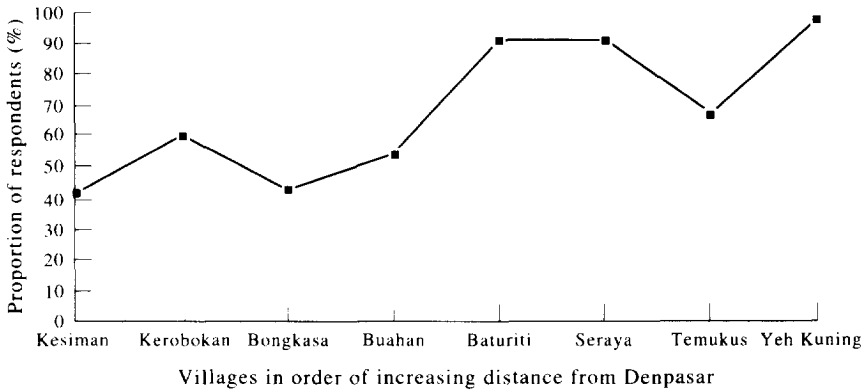


Figure 3. Acceptability of Tourist Behavior Ordered by Increasing Distance from Denpasar and Southern Resorts

However, some Kerebokan respondents suggested that many residents living close to hotels had been pressured to move. However, Kerebokan differs from the other villages in that it is close to Kuta and is currently developing a substantial tourism sector with associated changes in land use, increases in land values and competition for resources, including water (BSDP 1991).

Opinions varied concerning whether or not the behavior of tourists is compatible with the Balinese way of life. There is a general trend of increasing acceptability with increasing distance from Denpasar and the southern resorts, ranging from 42% in Kesiman to 97% in Yeh Kuning (Figure 3). Again, Temukus bucks the trend, reflecting its proximity to Lovina Beach. The data suggest that as villagers become more familiar with tourists, they tend to become more critical of their behavior.

Jobs in the tourist industry are generally viewed with favor by adult respondents, the values ranging from 37% in Temukus to 87% in Yeh Kuning. In spite of their relatively low rating of the desirability of tourism jobs, 94% of Temukus respondents would be happy if their children worked in the tourist industry. With responses ranging from 84% in Kesiman to 100% in Kerebokan, Baturiti and Yeh Kuning, almost all respondents from all villages held positive attitudes towards the tourism sector as an employment opportunity for their children.

When asked what type of employment they would like when they grow up, 12% of students in the villages spontaneously mentioned tourism jobs, such as guide, driver or hotel employee, or employment in craft industries which are strongly linked to this industry. The majority of schoolchildren respondents indicated the desirability of skilled or semi-skilled occupations which require completion of at least secondary education, such as teachers, doctors, policemen and engineers.

Of the villages studied, the greatest proportions of students wanting tourism employment were in Temukus (30%) and

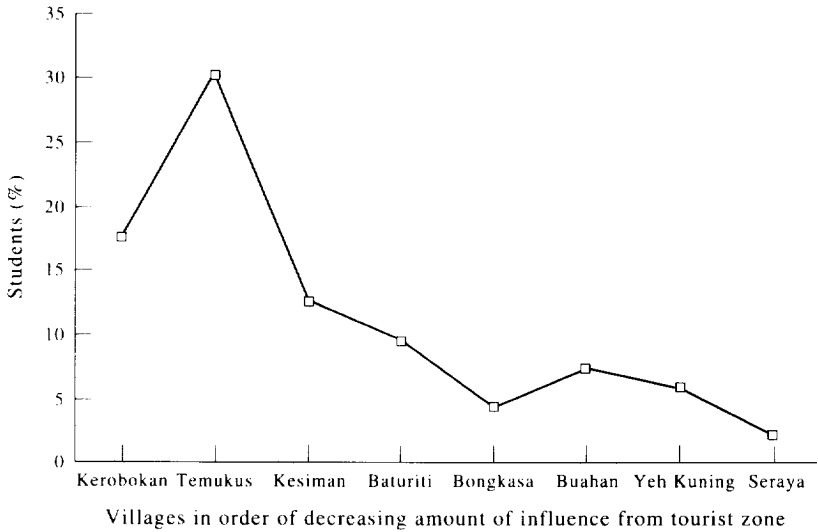


Figure 4. Percentage of Students Wanting Jobs Ordered by Decreasing Influence of Tourism on Village

Kerobokan (18%), villages close to resorts (Figure 4). Temukus had the smallest proportion of adult respondents but the largest proportion of schoolchildren favoring jobs in tourism. Although Temukus is distant from the major resorts in the south, it is close to Lovina Beach and it seems that familiarity with tourism, as indicated by distance from resorts, promotes awareness of and positive attitudes towards employment related to tourism, at least among children, but a more cautious attitude on the part of their parents. When occupations desired by students are compared with the employment of their parents, the growing interest in tourism and the decline in farming are clearly evident.

The proportion of all adult respondents who actually had someone in their family leave their village to look for work in tourism was 21%, ranging from 33% in each of Bongkasa and Buahhan to 3% in Seraya (Table 1). For most of such workers living in Kesiman and Kerebokan, close to the resorts, commuting is possible, in contrast to Seraya and Yeh Kuning on the eastern and western extremities of the island respectively, which have fewer people leave and who are too distant from resorts to permit commuting. However, even in the latter places, most tourism workers return to their village at least on a monthly basis, usually to participate in ceremonies. The majority of such individuals provide financial support to their families in the village but significantly fewer support the *banjar* financially. In fact, there is a tension between the regimented hours of employment in hotels and restaurants and the freedom to return to the villages to fulfill religious and other cultural obligations, and some tourism employees pay nominal fines to their *banjar* in consequence of their failure to participate.

Table 1. Return and Support Rates for Those Leaving the Village to Look for Tourism Work

Order of Distance From Denpasar	Daily Return (%)	Support Family (%)	Support Banjar (%)	#That Leave
Kesiman	50	87.5	37.5	8
Kerobokan	75	87.5	62.5	8
Bongkasa	20	100	50	10
Buahan	10	90	10	10
Baturiti	33	67	33	3
Seraya	0	100	0	1
Temukus	0	83	33	6
Yeh Kuning	0	100	80	5

CONCLUSIONS

In a fine recent work on cultural tourism in Bali, Picard (1992) has suggested that a process of "touristification" has taken place in Bali with the result that the distinction between what is Balinese and what is attributable to tourism is no longer clear, even to the Balinese themselves. Picard is careful to document the long history of outside influences on Bali, the differing views of Indonesian and Balinese elites, and the distinctive characteristics of each major Balinese resort. However, the manifestations of Balinese culture are presented as being homogeneous and are not differentiated by place, although this is not the case (Barth 1993). This paper suggests that there are grounds for believing that aspects of Balinese life and thought may vary spatially, particularly in the extent to which they have been impacted by tourism.

The Balinese have their own distinctive spatial schema which exist at a variety of scales and are generally oriented towards the interior mountains, the abode of the Gods (Budihardjo 1986). Thus, a consideration of variations in attitudes in association with distance from major resorts risks the charge of imposing an alien construct on Balinese spatial orientations. Nevertheless, the survey evidence which has been reported shows that, while the attitudes towards tourism held by indigenous residents of selected villages in Bali are generally very positive, these attitudes vary according to distance from tourism centers and, by extension, familiarity with the industry as indicated by the frequency with which tourists are observed within the home villages.

These findings have both theoretical and practical significance. From a theoretical perspective, the existing literature suggests that attitudes towards tourism are correlated with such factors as distance from tourism areas, degree of involvement in the industry, a variety of socioeconomic factors and stage of touristic development (Butler 1980; Simmons 1989, 1994). Although all of these variables have not been considered in this paper, it appears that the study results are generally compatible with those found in previous research conducted in the western world.

Doxey (1976) suggested that as tourism evolves and intensifies, residents of destination areas go through a sequence of stages from euphoria, through apathy, irritation, and antagonism, to a final situation in which they must learn to live with the fact that their lifestyles and environment will never be the same again. Of course, Doxey is attempting to provide a generalization of dominant attitudes in a community and it should be acknowledged that, at any point in time, there may be divergent views within a single community with respect to the desirability of tourism development (Mathieson and Wall 1982:139). Although Bali has major resorts, the villages which have been investigated in this study all have minimal touristic infrastructure and can be considered as being at a very early or even pre-tourism stage of development. In line with Doxey's ideas, attitudes towards the industry in these villages are generally very positive. While it has not been possible to document the evolution of attitudes towards tourism in the study villages, it has been shown that, while still expressing generally positive perspectives, those residents with greatest exposure to tourism also expressed the most reservations towards it. Thus, this study suggests that Doxey's ideas, while originally presented as a temporal sequence, may also be viewed as having a spatial component, as opinions become more critical with increased exposure to and familiarity with tourism.

From a practical perspective, the findings raise interesting questions concerning the involvement of local people in decisions concerning tourism development. It is usual to argue for the greater participation of local residents in tourism planning (Murphy 1985) and there are many examples of this as well as of resident attitude surveys being undertaken in so-called developed countries. However, Prentice (1993) has pointed out the challenges of community-driven tourism planning, particularly where there may be divergent views and no obvious single community of interest. Far fewer examples of community-based tourism planning and public involvement exist for the developing world and, for example, it has been contended that the Balinese have had little input into the development of tourism on their island (Picard 1992). While there has been involvement of the intelligentsia as advisors to international consultants, numerous workshops on tourism in Bali and successful attempts to improve the infrastructure and training opportunities available to villagers in proximity to the Nusa Dua complex (Inskeep 1991: 90-396, Lihou-Perry 1991), critical decisions on tourism development, such as the licensing of five-star hotels, has, until recently, been the prerogative of officials in Jakarta, the national capital. However, concerns about the appropriateness of developments are frequently expressed in the *Bali Post* newspaper and demonstrations occurred in 1994 against the development of a major resort complex close to Tanah Lot, one of the most important temples (Cohen 1994). At the same time, as is shown in this study, the great majority of those living in villages with little tourism would welcome such developments.

The ability of local people to participate in decisions which affect them depends upon access to power, resources and knowledge, among other things. This paper has been concerned, in part, with the latter.

This raises the question of the extent to which, even if access to power and resources are sufficient, those who have limited experience in and who may be unfamiliar with the full implications of tourism development are in a strong position to best represent their own best interests. Undoubtedly, most respondents to the surveys reported here see benefits to be derived from tourism and they may well be correct. At the same time, interesting questions are raised concerning the forms which local involvement might take. It should not be assumed that western notions of public participation can be readily transferred. Lansing (1991) has examined at length the relationships between outside experts and indigenous knowledge in the context of irrigation in Bali but no similar work exists for tourism. Woodley (1994), working with Inuit in Baker Lake, Canada, has stressed that forms of local involvement should be culturally appropriate and this may mean full recognition of traditional modes of community decision making. In Bali, village institutions continue to be extremely strong although they have not been widely involved in tourism planning. However, Warren (1993) has shown that local institutions, such as *banjars* which generally make communal decisions on the basis of *adat* (local customary law), are capable of taking a leadership role in tourism development, as has occurred in Sanur, but the power of such traditional institutions may be declining in the face of an increasingly powerful administration. □ □

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