

RESIDENTS PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM IN BALI: A COMPARATIVE FIELD STUDY IN CANGGU AND UBUD

Thesis for Bachelor's Degree
Business Administration

Maja Ericson
Filippa Helmer
Jessica Roos

2023: VT2023KF08



UNIVERSITY OF BORÅS

Title: Residents' perceptions of tourism development in Bali: A comparative field study in Canggu and Ubud

Publication year: 2023

Author: Maja Ericson, Filippa Helmer, Jessica Roos

Supervisor: Emma Björner

Abstract

The rapid and to some extent uncontrolled tourism expansion in Bali is likely to have major impacts on the island and its residents. Tourism development in Bali is a top priority for economic growth and is the main economic sector on the island. Sustainable tourism has become an increasingly important and recognized topic due to tourism's inherent nature to generate both positive and negative economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. Sustainable tourism development is about striking a balance between meeting the needs of local communities, satisfying tourist demand, and protecting the natural environment. Residents of host communities are seen as a vital component of the tourism experience as they are the first to interact with tourists. The residents' perceptions are essential to assessing the feasibility of all types of development initiatives, as well as their perceptions are of great importance linked to their personal well-being. Social exchange theory (SET) and triple bottom line (TBL) were used as theoretical frameworks to fulfil the purpose of this study. The study aimed to create an understanding of how residents in Bali experienced the island's tourism development, and whether and how it differed between residents of the two different destinations: Ubud and Canggu. By examining Bali residents' perceptions of tourism on the island, a small contribution can be made to tourism research from a resident-centric perspective. In turn, this can contribute to subjective indications concerning tourism that are likely to be important in a developing island context. The results showed that the perceived economic benefits outweighed both the socio-cultural, and environmental perceived costs. This result can be interpreted as being due to the residents' strong dependency on tourism, where their vulnerability should be taken into account in sustainable tourism development.

Keywords: Sustainable tourism, Sustainable development, Tourism impacts, Social exchange theory, Triple bottom line, Residents' perceptions, Developing countries, Bali.

Table of content

1	Introduction	- 1 -
2	Problem discussion	- 3 -
3	Purpose and objectives	- 5 -
4	Theoretical framework.....	- 6 -
4.1	<i>Sustainable tourism development.....</i>	<i>- 6 -</i>
4.2	<i>Residents' perceptions of tourism development</i>	<i>- 8 -</i>
4.3	<i>Social exchange theory (SET).....</i>	<i>- 10 -</i>
4.4	<i>Summary of the theoretical framework.....</i>	<i>- 11 -</i>
5	Method.....	- 12 -
5.1	<i>Research methodology.....</i>	<i>- 12 -</i>
5.2	<i>Research design.....</i>	<i>- 12 -</i>
5.3	<i>Interviews</i>	<i>- 13 -</i>
5.4	<i>Sampling</i>	<i>- 13 -</i>
5.5	<i>Comparative analysis method.....</i>	<i>- 14 -</i>
5.6	<i>Abductive process.....</i>	<i>- 14 -</i>
5.7	<i>Method reflection.....</i>	<i>- 15 -</i>
5.8	<i>Trustworthiness and transparency.....</i>	<i>- 15 -</i>
5.9	<i>Ethical considerations.....</i>	<i>- 16 -</i>
6	Empirics and Analysis.....	- 17 -
6.1	<i>Tourism as main income.....</i>	<i>- 17 -</i>
6.2	<i>Employment satisfaction and cost of living.....</i>	<i>- 18 -</i>
6.3	<i>Culture and traditions.....</i>	<i>- 19 -</i>
6.4	<i>Adapting to difficult times.....</i>	<i>- 21 -</i>
6.5	<i>Involvement in tourism development.....</i>	<i>- 22 -</i>
6.6	<i>Tourism impacts on the environment.....</i>	<i>- 23 -</i>
6.7	<i>Tourism impacts on traffic.....</i>	<i>- 25 -</i>
7	Discussion	- 27 -
8	Conclusion.....	- 29 -
8.1	<i>Limitations and further research</i>	<i>- 30 -</i>
	References	- 31 -
	Appendix	- 35 -

1 Introduction

Seven years ago, a stay in Bali, Indonesia, provided insights into how this developing island has undergone a prominent expansion with the tourism industry in the lead. After observing and interacting with the residents, knowledge arose about how their everyday lives had changed apace with the rapid growth of tourism. One of the locals had to quit farming as he could no longer supply the farm with groundwater. While another had in later years, spent the mornings cleaning the beaches from litter. It became clear that the local community were a bystander to the island's development, while at the same time, according to Dolezal and Novelli (2022), being affected to a great extent. The visit to Bali seven years ago sparked an interest in the residents' view on tourism and how sustainable the tourism development on the island is perceived by the residents.

Tourism is constantly developing in Bali, with tourists from all over the world flocking to the small Indonesian island. The tourism industry stands for about 80 percent of the economy (Chin, Haddock-Fraser & Hampton, 2017), where tourism development has been regarded as an effective strategy to reduce poverty and create sustainable livelihoods (Dolezal & Novelli, 2022). The island experienced, like many other places in the world (Pahl, Brandi, Schwab & Stender, 2022), a major economic downturn during the covid-19 pandemic but has now started to regain the amount of tourists. Due to the increased number of tourists visiting the island, tourism has spread to different geographical locations and led to more communities being involved in tourism development. In other words, the development of tourism in Bali has led to constant change on the island, with new destinations becoming a part of the development over the years (Chong, 2020).

Kuta was originally the destination that first caught the attention of tourists, due to its beautiful palm trees, turquoise water, and large variety of restaurants and bars. But the tourism development in Kuta has also left the destination and its residents with large mountains of rubbish, high disturbing noise from bars and clubs, and heavily trafficked roads. Not to mention the bombings in 2002, which harmed both tourists and locals, and subsequently affected the development of tourism in Kuta (SVT, 2005). Today, the number of tourists visiting Kuta has decreased, and other parts of Bali have instead gained attention (Chong, 2020). Two destinations in Bali that recently have attracted a lot of attention from tourists are Canggu and Ubud. These two destinations offer tourists different activities based on their unique characteristics. The coastal destination Canggu has not been on the tourist map for long but has become one of the most popular destinations in Bali with a huge increase in restaurants, bars, and places to hang out (Travelsnippet, n.d.). Ubud on the other hand, is a destination located in the jungle and offers relaxation for both body and soul. The destination has long been the cultural heart of Bali with its beautiful traditional arts, statues, and temples (Travelsnippet, n.d.). The two destinations can be described as opposites in terms of tourists' travel motives, but the cities both receive a large number of tourists each year.

Regardless of the character of destinations, sustainability should be involved in tourism development (Rasoolimanesh, Ramakrishna, Hall, Esfandiar, & Seyfi, 2020). Sustainable tourism development can be assumed to be particularly important in developing countries since most of these countries grapple with severe macroeconomic problems (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). In addition, islands have limitations such as space and limited resources, and are often heavily dependent on tourism (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Simao & Mosso, 2013). This leaves governments with no other option than to embrace tourism growth, even though it may

detrimentally affect long-term sustainable development within the country (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). The dependence on tourism also affects the people living on islands. Hence, to ensure sustainable tourism development, the local residents' perceptions of the many impacts generated by tourism are of great interest (Byrd, 2007; Latip, Mostafa Rasoolimanesh, Jaafar, Marzuki, & Umar, 2018; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Demirovic et al., 2018). Residents are the first to interact with tourists, which makes it necessary to understand the possible negative and positive impacts experienced by the local population (Woo, Uysal & Sirgy, 2018). Thus, measures can be undertaken to minimise these impacts while optimising benefits to the host community (Latip et al., 2018; Kurniawan, Fanani & Supriono, 2021). In order to preserve sustainable tourism development, it is therefore important to understand the residents' perceptions and attitudes, and the challenges they face in dealing with a large amount of tourism (Chong, 2020).

2 Problem discussion

Tourism development is an effective strategy to promote destinations and make them more sustainable (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). In the context of tourism, Byrd (2007) argues that sustainability is one of the main factors when governing resources to accommodate the needs of *economic, socio-cultural, and environmental* aspects. To make any destination development sustainable, there must be economic growth that simultaneously creates better opportunities for all concerned. Economic growth must therefore also reduce inequalities, raise the overall standard of living, promote social development and inclusion, and foster sustainable management of ecosystems and natural resources (Chong, 2020). All these factors are crucial for the well-being of communities and individuals, especially for the residents who are greatly affected by the development of the destination.

According to Lasso & Dahles (2018), tourism often triggers the transformation of traditional livelihoods into complete dependence on tourism-based income. To achieve sustainable development the needs of the present must be met without adversely affecting the ability of future generations to meet their needs (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021). To do this successfully it is important to maintain economic growth and social inclusion while at the same time protecting the environment (Eslami, Khalifah, Mardani, Streimikiene & Han, 2019). In other words, it is by investigating all three aspects of sustainability, hence economic, socio-cultural, and environmental aspects, that a comprehensive picture can comply (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Simao & Mosso, 2013).

Sustainable development depends heavily on local acceptance, local initiatives, development being consistent with local values, and development working in harmony with the local community (Chong, 2020). Residents are important destination stakeholders due to their vital role in providing significant experiences for tourists and maintaining sustainable tourism development (Caliskan & Özer, 2021; Ap, 1992; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010a). The residents are the first who integrate with tourists and are most exposed to the many impacts generated by the tourism development, and their support is crucial to the long-term success of the destination (Simao & Mosso, 2013; Styliadis, Biran, Sit & Szivas, 2014; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010a). In fact, the resident's involvement and support are, according to Al-Emadi et al. (2017), likely to increase the longevity of positive impacts on the local community.

Examining the perceptions and attitudes of residents is essential to assessing the feasibility of all types of development initiatives (Chong, 2020; Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Liu & Li, 2018). Which can further reduce the risks related to unexpected changes and undesirable outcomes and increase the chances of more profitable sustainable tourism planning (Chong, 2020). But the residents' perceptions are also of great importance linked to their personal well-being (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Dolezal & Novelli, 2022). Previous literature acknowledges that tourism affects the local population in a variety of ways, which makes it of interest to study the phenomenon from all three aspects of sustainability (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Simao & Mosso, 2013). Despite the amount of research examining the impacts of tourism, a deeper understanding and knowledge can be added concerning the residents' perceptions of tourism. This in relation to the fact that sustainable tourism development is often viewed from a tourism-centric perspective that emphasises the sustainability of tourism itself (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). In other words, the focus has been on how the tourism industry can be

maintained instead of considering the needs of local communities (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Demirovic et al., 2018; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018).

The implementation of *sustainable tourism development* faces challenges, particularly in developing countries and isolated islands (Dolezal & Novelli, 2022; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). Many islands have adopted tourism as a development strategy to overcome the problems associated with small size, isolation from the outside world, remoteness, susceptibility to natural disasters and environmental factors (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Simao & Mosso, 2013). When an island is dependent on tourism, it is important to understand what might influence residents' support for tourism development, the degree to which residents' welcome tourism, and to understand residents' needs, values and what promotes their well-being (Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Simao & Mosso, 2013).

Since the developing island of Bali became independent as a nation, tourism development became a top priority for economic growth (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020). But the rapid and to some extent, uncontrolled tourism expansion in Bali is likely to have major impacts on the island and its residents (Chong, 2020; Dolezal & Novelli, 2020). The island's dependency on tourism as a source of main income makes the residents vulnerable, and the rich culture in Bali is also believed to be affected by the large flow of tourism (Chong, 2020). In the same manner, the island has undergone major environmental changes, with large hotel complexes taking up significant land space and resulting in water shortages and a decline in agriculture (Chong, 2020; Dolezal & Novelli, 2020). Even though tourism in Bali brings financial opportunities and stimulates infrastructural growth, tourism development in Bali must also balance the negative environmental, economic, and socio-cultural costs against the impact on the local community (Chong, 2020).

A common theory used when studying the residents' perceived impacts generated by tourism is *social exchange theory* (SET). In the field of tourism, SET implies that support of the locals is based on their evaluation of the benefits and costs resulting from the industry. SET has been particularly successful when it comes to explaining residents' support given its ability to account for deviant views based on experiential and psychological outcomes (Al-Emadi et al., 2017; Emerson, 1976; Latip et al., 2018). Despite the wide use of SET, the theory has mainly been used in quantitative studies (Al-Emadi et al., 2017; Demirovic et al., 2018; Eslami et al., 2019; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Latip et al., 2018; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018), and a contribution can be made by using the theory in conjunction with qualitative results. By adopting a qualitative approach to residents' perceptions, interesting topics and issues can be found (Hunt & Stronza, 2014).

As tourism increases, it is important to understand which indications are considered relevant in different geographical areas (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2020). Generally, subjective indications are qualitative in nature and based on personal feelings, attitudes, experiences and perceptions, and these indications are highly contextual (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2020). By examining Bali residents' perceptions of tourism on the island, a small contribution can be made to tourism research from a resident-centric perspective. In turn, this can contribute to subjective indications concerning tourism, that are likely to be important in developing island context.

3 Purpose and objectives

The aim of this study is to create a better understanding of how residents in Bali experience the islands' tourism development, and whether and how the perceptions differ between residents of two different destinations. The results of the study will provide subjective indications of residents' perceptions of tourism development, thus contributing to tourism research related to developing countries and island contexts. The following two questions will guide this study:

- How do residents perceive the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts generated by tourism?
- How do residents' perceptions differ between Canggu and Ubud?

4 Theoretical framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study. The main concepts that will be discussed are sustainable tourism development, residents' perceptions of tourism development and social exchange theory (SET). Finally, a summary of the selected theories will be explained in relation to the study's purpose.

4.1 Sustainable tourism development

Sustainability concerning tourism has become an increasingly important and recognized topic and concept (Byrd, 2007). This is partly due to tourism's inherent nature to generate both positive and negative economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts (Byrd, 2007; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Esmali et al., 2019; Lasso & Dahles, 2018). The sustainability topic stems from the rapid growth of tourism and the growing concern about its negative impacts. This has in turn led researchers to put a greater emphasis on studying sustainable tourism development. Even though there is no universally accepted definition of the sustainable concept incorporated into tourism development, the most applied definition is according to Byrd (2007) developed by the World Tourism Organization (WTO). WTO defines sustainable tourism as meeting the needs of the present, both tourists and host regions, while at the same time protecting and improving opportunities for future generations (Byrd, 2007; Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021). In other words, sustainable tourism development is a constant search for new answers and involves balancing the relationship between tourists, residents, places, and the businesses that provide various tourism services (Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018).

Research regarding sustainable tourism development has grown, focusing on the balance of the *triple bottom line (TBL)* (Eslami et al., 2019; Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Styliadis et al., 2014; Latip et al., 2018). Tyrell, Paris & Biaett (2013) indicate that the triple bottom line was developed as a form of framework from the former single bottom line. TBL alternately includes both the environmental and socio-cultural aspects to provide a more equal footing to the traditional economic aspects (Tyrell, Paris & Biaett, 2013). As the objective of sustainable tourism development is to meet the need of local communities, meet tourist demand, and at the same time protect the natural environment (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021), TBL has become a theoretical framework aiming to lead to more sustainable thinking within all the aspects of sustainable development (Tyrell, Paris & Biaett, 2013).

From an economic point of view, tourism has become a source of income for people and societies. However, for the tourism industry to be sustainable, it must positively contribute to the residents' livelihoods and, at the same time, eliminate poverty (Eslami et al., 2019). The growth of tourism is typically justified based on its economic advantages and is criticised for causing social, cultural, or environmental harm (Ko & Stewart, 2002). In relation to tourism, economic growth shows different positive economic impacts, including an increment in average family income, increased employment, and job opportunities. These advantages are often accompanied by an expansion in the cost of living, low-paying jobs, rising property taxes, escalating property prices, and an increase in the cost of labour and products (Latip et al., 2014). Even though tourism has the ability to bring economic growth, it cannot be considered as sustainable if it does not lead to better opportunities for all parties involved (Chong, 2020).

Meanwhile, the environmental aspect of sustainable tourism is of significant importance as nature is an essential resource for the tourism industry (Eslami et al., 2019). Destinations must deal with the fragility and limitations of the environmental elements, especially when ecologic and geographic attributes are used to attract visitors (Eslami et al., 2019). If the overuse of natural resources and the severe environmental impacts of visitors cause negative impacts such as over-polluted nature areas, land scarcity, traffic congestions, or water shortage, this could potentially lead to tourists eventually declining to visit the destination (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Chong, 2020; Butler, 1980; Warren & Enoch, 2010; Goodwin & Noland, 2003). Chong (2020) further argues that new villas, resorts, and hotels in busy tourist areas have the potential to take up significant amounts of land and that unregulated and excessive development could damage the surrounding environment in varied ways. Therefore, great attention should be paid to the conservation of nature, as its destruction could be a threat to the tourist destination.

As to the third aspect of the triple bottom line, its socio-cultural perspective, tourism should help to preserve the local culture, traditions, values, and heritage, thus minimising the negative impacts of tourism (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021). According to Butler, Szili and Huang (2022), social and cultural impact studies are excellent means to reveal residents' perceptions towards tourism and the result should be used to enhance social leverage. The socio-cultural aspects also include the ability of residents to cope with change and difficult times (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021), which are particularly important for countries that are dependent on tourism. A difficult time that affected the whole world was the covid-19 pandemic. As revealed by Pahl et al. (2022), the covid-19 pandemic did not only cause distress to individuals' mental and physical well-being but also induced long-term problems and affected countries' economies. In addition, the impacts of the pandemic became particularly evident in developing countries where tourism is a central part of the local economy, which during the pandemic became explicit (Pahl et al., 2022).

Where tourism is a major industry, the support of residents is one of the main keys to the success and implementation of sustainable tourism development (Byrd, 2007; Latip et al., 2017; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Demirovic et al., 2017). Hence, many studies on tourism have devoted considerable attention to examining the perceptions and attitudes of the local population toward tourism. However, these studies have traditionally been executed in mature destinations in developed countries (Hunt & Stronza, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). Although the implementation of sustainable tourism development continuously faces challenges, it is, according to Lasso & Dahles (2018), particularly important to keep in mind within the context of developing countries. These countries are generally already struggling with several macroeconomic problems, which in turn may leave them with no choice but to rely on tourism growth (Lasso & Dahles, 2018).

Even if less attention has been paid to studying the impact of tourism in developing countries, a few authors have contributed with knowledge. Lasso and Dahles (2018) examine in which way the tourism development has led the local fishing community in Komodo Island, Indonesia, to give up their fishing to become fully dependent on selling souvenirs. The result showed that the residents of Komodo generally were satisfied with their current employment as it provides them with sufficient income (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). Similarly, Latip et al. (2018) reveal that economic gain has a significant positive effect on how residents in Malaysia perceive the impacts of tourism. Latip et al. (2018) also reports a substantial positive effect of economic gain on the perceptions of residents in Malaysia, especially in rural areas and less developed destinations. The two studies above present a positive view of tourism based on economic gain, but the authors also agree on the fact that depending on tourism as

the only source of income has significantly increased the vulnerability of the population (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Latip et al., 2018).

To heavily depend on tourism can be considered particularly vulnerable on islands, given their unique character and geographical limitations (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Simao & Mosso, 2013). Many islands use tourism as a development strategy considering that islands are often attractive to tourists given their physical and climatic characteristics, which in turn enhance their cultural distinctiveness (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). By examining how the residents of Port Louise perceived the impact of tourism on the island, Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010b) results showed that employment in tourism was found to be crucial for attitudes and support for tourism. Another study carried out on the island of Cap Verde, which has lately been through decisive tourism development, shows that negative social impacts and positive economic impacts have a strong influence on residents' perceptions (Simao & Mosso, 2013). But in general, the residents support the tourism development, even though there were some differences in perceptions depending on the different demographic characteristics of the respondents (Simao & Mosso, 2013). Warren and Enoch (2010) cities that island destinations, due to their small size, have limited capacities as opposed to the problems that larger countries encounter. This makes it of great interest to investigate sustainable tourism development in an island-developing context.

4.2 Residents' perceptions of tourism development

The development of sustainable tourism can lead to numerous changes, both in the destination and the local community (Caliskan & Özer, 2021). Previous literature has addressed concerns about the mixed blessings that tourism development has brought and examined resident's crucial role when including their support for successful and sustainable tourism development (Ap, 1992; Caliskan & Özer, 2021, Latip et al., 2018; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010a; Simao & Mosso, 2013). Caliskan and Özer (2021), Latip et al. (2018), and Simao and Mosso (2013) clarify how residents of host communities are seen as a vital component of the tourism experience and impose their essential contribution to the industry when strengthening tourism areas. Al-Emadi et al. (2017) and Simao and Mosso (2013) define residents' perceptions and attitudes toward tourism as psychological tendencies that are expressed through the evaluation of tourism development, either in favour or against, and will allow for the overall capture of thoughts and feelings perceived by the residents.

The linkage between tourism and economic growth shows different positive economic impacts and is often accompanied by an increase in adverse effects (Latip et al., 2014). Kurniawan, Fanani and Suprino (2021) posit that the negative impact in general is neglected, due to the economic benefits provided. Correspondingly, Caliskan and Özer (2021) underline that the support for tourism development is primarily related to economic issues and indicate that if the locals are economically active in the tourism sector, they will support more. Notably, Hunt and Stronza (2014) argue that as residents and the host community increase their experience and involvement in the tourism industry, their attitudes concerning tourism have become more aggravated. Particularly if the residents are affiliated by direct employment, due to their ability to acknowledge more negative aspects of the industry. Whereas residents not affiliated with the tourism industry, contain a more positive standpoint (Hunt & Stronza, 2014). Contrarily, Woo, Uysal and Sirgy (2018) address that the residents' perceptions are likely to be positive if the residents are affiliated with the tourism industry.

Hence it could bring awareness of the negative consequences if the residents' expectations concerning tourism development were not fulfilled. Which in turn could lead to a decline in the support for further tourism development (Woo, Uysal & Sirgy, 2018).

Regarding residents' perceptions toward the spectrum of potential socio-cultural impacts, Butler, Szili and Huang (2022) affirm that native tourism has a significant role in nourishing community pride, moreover, raising the concern of preserving the culture for future generations. Algassim, Saufi, Diswandi and Scott (2022) examines how tourism development can be acknowledged to increase the attachment toward residents' cultural identity. Furthermore, community attitudes could be more beneficial toward tourism activities since it aids the recognition of cultural conversations (Algassim et al., 2022). As revealed by Gu and Ryan (2008), participation in a traditional society can be the preeminent source of pride due to their deep sense of cultural history, relationship, respect and tradition for their longstanding history and lifestyle (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Yeh, Borrero, Suda & Cruz, 2021). Yeh et al. (2021) expands the knowledge of residents' strong connection to their native land. The study was conducted in Hawaii and revealed that the residents who had a strong connection to the island, felt obligated to protect and nourish it, as they thought it was coalescing with their identity (Yeh et al., 2021). Similarly, Butler, Szili and Huang (2022) found evidence that residents had more positive perceptions if the tourists were curious to learn and consume the culture at the destination. The result also suggests that fast tourism development can raise concerns among residents regarding the rapid growth of change due to increasing tourism, and how it possibly can change their community and culture (Butler, Szili & Huang, 2022).

Tourism can have an irreversible influence on community values, behaviour patterns, quality of life, and lifestyles (Latip et al., 2014). Caliskan and Özer (2021) clarify how host communities have faced socio-cultural changes of complete adoption of Western culture, even if the residents at the destination were actively resistant to the change. Furthermore, Gurosay, Jurowski and Uysal (2002) explain how negative responses among residents may arise if they believe that tourism will conclude in crowding the destination out of foreign traditional pursuits (Gurosay, Jurowski & Uysal, 2002; Woo, Uysal and Sirgy, 2018). Similarly, Latip et al. (2018) and Caliskan & Özer (2021) elucidate that the positive effects among residents toward the perceived social impacts of tourism are grounded on community involvement.

From an environmental perspective, the growing awareness related to sustainability has shaped residents' lifestyles at destinations but also their ability to adapt to the rapid changes without it being exorbitant (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021) Eslami et al. (2019) describe that if environmental elements are managed respectfully, tourism can bring benefits that may be in the interest of all stakeholders. But how these elements of natural resources and local communities are excluded during planning policies, could instead lead to an overestimation of the net concerning both social and environmental systems at the destination. The most cited concern among residents is the major impact of tourism and its negative impact on the environment, specifically regarding traffic (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Goodwin & Noland, 2003, Warren & Enoch, 2010). The amount of traffic is remarkably emerging faster than the infrastructure and road capacity, which influences the significant vulnerability and inability to the geographic parameters of smallness and remoteness at rural destinations (Warren & Enoch, 2010; Goodwin & Noland, 2003). Embracing more profitable management of roads and junctions to restrict traffic growth could, according to Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010b), lead to decreased pollution and a lower rate of traffic accidents, furthermore, play a significant role in the residents' overall opinion toward their living satisfaction.

The close relationship between tourism and residents may foster an understanding that will improve residents' awareness of tourism, their ability to adapt to development strategies, and their willingness to support tourism growth (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Latip et al., 2018). Nunkoo, Ramkissoon & Gursoy (2012) question whether community engagement in tourism development can provide residents with a sense of ownership over the decision-making process. Additionally, Woo, Uysal and Sirgy (2018) contend that governmental support is essential to promote tourism initiatives in the community. Saufi, O'Briend and Wilkins (2014) examine the residents' perceptions of the obstacles to host community participation in tourism development in Lombok, Indonesia, thus gaining new insights into institutional influences on tourism opportunities. The study actively demonstrates that the underperformance of government tourist agencies and private sector providers contributed to a lack of infrastructure for the industry and restrictions on the host community's capacity to engage in tourism development and businesses (Saufi, O'Briend & Wilkins, 2014). Additionally, Latip et al. (2018) argues that encouraging residents to participate more actively in the establishment, and implementation of tourism and destination development strategies, would raise awareness of the positive impacts brought by tourism on their communities and earn their support (Latip et al., 2018).

4.3 Social exchange theory (SET)

Social exchange theory (SET) is a widely used and applied theory to illustrate residents' perceptions and attitudes regarding tourism (Eusébio, Vieira & Lima, 2018; Ribeiro, Pinto, Silva & Woosnam, 2017). SET has been identified as a general sociological theory that aims to provide a deeper understanding of the exchange between groups and individuals, in a situation where they interact with each other (Ribeiro et al., 2017; Lai, Pinto & Pintassilgo, 2021). Even though SET is a widely used theory when studying local residents' perceptions of tourism development, it has its criticisms and ambiguities. According to Emerson (1976), the theory has been criticised for predicting decision-making as a rational and mechanical process, and for ignoring other psychological and social elements. In the same manner, Cropanzano and Mitchell (2005) criticise the theory for having theoretical ambiguities and that the model is often misunderstood, as well as, having empirical needs. However, the theory's explanatory power is useful for a detailed explanation of the resident's perception, especially when including all three aspects of TBL (Emerson, 1976).

According to Lai, Pinto and Pintassilgo (2021), the social exchange must be emphasised especially in relation to tourism, as tourism is a social phenomenon that occurs when people travel to new places and interact with new people. The exchange takes place through these interactions, which in turn affect the individuals' attitudes, thoughts, perceptions and even their individual lifestyles (Lai, Pinto & Pintassilgo, 2021). The theory has been used in many studies trying to examine perceived positive and negative economic, socio-cultural, and environmental factors, and how these perceived impacts affect residents' support for development. In SET theory, residents' support is measured by their support for current, future, and their attitude towards different tourism development projects (Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Eusébio, Vieira & Lima, 2018). Some results show that socio-cultural impacts are the most influential and further have the greatest impact on residents' attitudes towards the community and personal quality of life (Stydlis et al., 2014; Al-Elmadi et al., 2017). At the same time, other authors argue that the economic and environmental impacts are the most influential on residents' views on support (Demirovic et al., 2018; Latip et al., 2018; Liu & Li, 2018).

SET means that individuals evaluate an exchange based on the assessment of whether they will generate benefits or costs from the exchange and depending on this, the individual's behaviour and perceptions are determined (Al-Emadi et al., 2017; Lai, Pinto & Pintassilgo, 2021; Eusébio, Vieira & Lima, 2018; Ribeiro et al., 2017; Ouyang, Gursoy & Sharma, 2017; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Latip et al., 2018; Eslami et al., 2019; Demirovic et al., 2018; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018). Yu, Cole & Chancellor (2018) applied SET to their study of residents' perceptions towards tourism development, where the results showed that residents who believed that they benefited from tourism, tended to support further tourism development. Similarly, those who believed they did not gain benefits from tourism more often had negative perceptions and opposed future tourism development. Succinctly, through a SET lens, the residents' support for tourism is heavily dependent on their perceived benefits and costs (Eusébio, Vieira & Lima, 2018; Latip et al., 2018).

4.4 Summary of the theoretical framework

Residents' perceived impacts of tourism are of great importance for sustainable tourism development (Byrd, 2007; Latip et al., 2017; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Demirovic et al., 2017). Sustainable tourism development is about striking a balance between meeting the needs of local communities, satisfying tourist demand, and protecting the natural environment (Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018; Eslami et al., 2019; Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Styliadis et al., 2014; Latip et al., 2018). By examining residents' perceptions of tourism, through TBL, all three sustainability aspects can be included. Furthermore, the empirics could be analysed through the lens of SET and make it possible to interpret whether the residents' perceptions seem to be positive or negative. In this way, conclusions can be drawn about whether the residents seem to support tourism development in Bali or be against tourism development. A contribution can be made to previous research by using SET in the context of a qualitative study, sustainable tourism development and residents' perceptions related to developing islands (Al-Emadi et al., 2017; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Latip et al., 2018; Eslami et al., 2019; Demirovic et al., 2018; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018).

5 Method

This study is conducted using a qualitative methodology in the form of a field study with a comparative design. In this context, the perceptions of the local residents of Bali, in both Ubud and Canggu, are studied from the triple bottom line and the social exchange theory (SET). The authors want this chapter to create an understanding of how the data has been collected and how the analysis has been made.

5.1 Research methodology

A field study was conducted in Bali with a qualitative approach. The methodological approach was chosen to explore and estimate valuable information in the natural context of Bali. To analyse the local residents' perceptions in Ubud and Canggu, the social exchange theory and the triple bottom line were used as the theoretical framework. Hunt & Stronza (2014) implies that using a qualitative approach when collecting data, is superior when investigating change as a result of tourism, as it generally provides richer details. By taking a qualitative approach, this study was expected to interpret and understand how residents experience tourism and thus add a small contribution to the already existing literature on sustainable tourism development. The authors had extensive prior experience in South-East Asia and had a long connection to Bali, which Hallin and Helin (2018) state is a great advantage. The authors believed that this approach combined with the pre-knowledge was beneficial for the overall success of the research. This is due to the possibility of obtaining a richer and more insightful consideration of the residents of Bali's experiences.

5.2 Research design

A comparative design has been used and data was collected within a cross-sectional format. The design embodies the logic of comparison, in that it implies that researchers can understand social phenomenon better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022). To answer the research questions and thus fulfil the purpose of the study, the cross-sectional design was applied to get a variety of individuals and conceivably a deeper understanding of the problem (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022). As the writers obtained data from more than one case during a limited time, the cross-sectional design was expected to identify certain patterns in the collected data material.

The two different cases compared in this study are the two destinations Ubud and Canggu. Canggu is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Bali. The rapid development of tourism and the increased number of tourists has led to the transformation of Canggu's land, from a nature of rice fields and farmland to buildings and hotels for tourists (Natawiguna, Arifin & Kaswanto, 2021). In another part of Bali lies Ubud, which can be considered the opposite of the coastal cities in terms of atmosphere, nature and culture. According to MacRae (2016), Ubud represents a specific type of tourism in Bali where traditional culture has been one of the main reasons behind the tourism. However, since 2010 the number of tourists has increased in Ubud to enjoy the local culture and nature (MacRae, 2016). Since the selected destinations are distinguished in terms of tourists' motives for travelling, it is therefore interesting to investigate whether people's perceptions of tourism also differ

between destinations. According to Rasoolimanesh et al. (2020), when studying people's perceptions, it is important to consider that the indications may vary depending on the residents' surroundings. Rasoolimanesh et al. (2020) believe that to avoid generalising, comparisons must be made between different places in order to be able to find similarities and differences linked to different places.

5.3 Interviews

With semi-structured interviews, this study examined the residents' perceptions of tourism development and sought to provide an understanding of individuals' reasoning by capturing interesting perceptions within the topic. The semi-structured interviews were prepared in advance before the authors arrived in the field. The interview questions (appendix 1.) were developed and carefully aligned to explore, recognize, and comprehend local's perspectives and sentiments to conduct more detailed data (Hallin & Helin, 2018). Furthermore, the questions were designed on the premise of the three aspects of TBL. This made it easier for the authors of this study to later analyse the obtained data. According to Hallin and Helin (2018), the most important aspect of semi-structured interviews is that the design of the questions is open and not leading in order not to influence the results, especially to leave room for supplementary questions. Nevertheless, Hallin and Helin (2018) point out how it is inevitable not to influence the interviewees. This was a consideration that the authors of this study had in mind when conducting the interviews and analysing the empirical data. When all the semi-structured interviews had been held, they were transcribed to start the analysing process.

5.4 Sampling

Strategic sampling was used when collecting the data for this field study. The purpose of strategic sampling is that the interviewees are strategically selected according to the aim and objectives of the research, furthermore how the selection of criteria are assembled to answer the research questions (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022). Therefore, the main focus when selecting interviewees was to find native Balinese residents between the ages of 20 and 70 as well as individuals who had been affected by the growing tourism on the island. The selected criteria created to make it possible to answer the research questions and fulfil the study's purpose were the following four criteria: (1) experienced a change or transformation due to tourism, (2) basic knowledge of English, (3) their accessibility and proximity to the researchers, and (4) residents that worked within the tourism industry. The ambition was to interview 10 to 15 people evenly distributed between the two destinations of Ubud and Canggu. At the end of the study, 12 interviews were obtained as the authors then perceived the data set to be saturated. A summary of the interviewees can be found in Table 1. With the results from the interviews, a generalisation cannot be made to the entire population of Bali, but instead, the results can be seen as rich data about the selected interviewees.

Table 1- Interview persons in Ubud and Canggu and interview information.

Interview persons in Ubud and Canggu
Interviews

DATE	GENDER	AGE	OCCUPATION	CITY	DURATION INTERVIEW (min)	INTERVIEW PERSON NAME IN OUR STUDY
2023-04-10	MALE	41	TAXI DRIVER	UBUD	66	INTERVIEW PERSON 1
2023-04-11	FEMALE	50	VILLA MANAGER	UBUD	85	INTERVIEW PERSON 2
2023-04-12	FEMALE	23	WAITRESS	UBUD	85	INTERVIEW PERSON 3
2023-04-15	MALE	42	COFFEE PLANTATION GUIDE	UBUD	64	INTERVIEW PERSON 4
2023-04-16	MALE	61	TAXI DRIVER	UBUD	65	INTERVIEW PERSON 5
2023-04-18	FEMALE	42	OWNER OF A PAINTING SHOP	UBUD	75	INTERVIEW PERSON 6
2023-04-22	FEMALE	27	WAITRESS	CANGGU	30	INTERVIEW PERSON 7
2023-04-24	FEMALE	31	VILLA MANGER	CANGGU	89	INTERVIEW PERSON 8
2023-05-10	MALE	42	SURF SHOP OWNER	CANGGU	57	INTERVIEW PERSON 9
2023-05-10	MALE	25	VILLA MANAGER	CANGGU	41	INTERVIEW PERSON 10
2023-05-11	FEMALE	63	VENDOR	CANGGU	38	INTERVIEW PERSON 11
2023-05-12	MALE	46	TAXI DRIVER	CANGGU	53	INTERVIEW PERSON 12

5.5 Comparative analysis method

Since this study aimed to examine the social phenomenon of local people's perceptions, a comparative analysis method was used, due to the method's ability to find similarities and differences in the collected data (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022). Once the interviews had been conducted and transcribed, statements from the interviews were written down on Post-it notes. The Post-it notes were colour coordinated and the statements of the economic aspects were coloured blue, the socio-cultural aspects were coloured purple, and the environmental aspects were coloured green. In addition, the answers that the authors considered to be part of more than one category were coded with the colour red. This was firstly done with all statements in Ubud and then followed with all statements in Canggu.

When all Post-it notes were assembled, the material was analysed by inspiration of a thematic analysis. This was to identify, analyse and announce themes within the collected data. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2019) indicate that the data can be organised and described in detail and that the thematic analysis method is often used when doing qualitative research. The authors of this study started analysing each colour of the Post-it notes and divided them into new themes. In this way, the empirical material could be analysed in a structured way so that it became comprehensible to the purpose and questions of this study (Hallin & Helin, 2018). After analysing the results of the two destinations, eight prominent themes emerged; main income, employment satisfaction and cost of living, culture and traditions, adapting to difficult times, involvement in tourism development, impacts on the environment and impacts on traffic. A comparative analysis is about finding parallels in the collected data (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022), which in this case was about finding parallels in the collected interview material from Ubud and Canggu. When the themes were made the authors could easily compare the similarities and differences between Canggu and Ubud.

5.6 Abductive process

In this study, an abductive process was used in the sense that it was inspired by an inductive and deductive approach. An inductive process according to Braun and Clarke (2019), is when the themes created from the collected data are not driven by an already established theoretical

framework and not a coding process where researchers try to fit the data in already established coding frames. Instead, the focus should aspire to find themes within the data. This study is deductive in the sense that the three aspects of TBL were used as a starting point in the development of themes in the comparative analysis, and further used as a framework when the creation of the interview template was constructed. However, when all the interview material had been collected, additional adjustments were made to the theoretical framework. This was because of this study's qualitative approach and use of semi-structured interviews that sought emerging responses. After collecting the empirical material, the authors of this study returned to the theory, to add the knowledge needed to answer the purpose of the study. This way of proceeding with the data material was an ongoing process during the thesis, which can be seen as a more inductive process (Braun & Clarke, 2019).

5.7 Method reflection

The authors were looking to interpret and understand how the residents of Bali experience tourism and strived for a deeper holistic description of the sampled residents' situation. With a qualitative approach, the authors were able to explore people's perceptions and experiences conveyed through language and expressions of life that characterise the qualitative approach (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022). The authors' aim with this study was to create a better understanding of the resident's perceptions about the growing tourism rather than a broad overview, therefore a qualitative approach was used. With the complication that came with doing this research abroad, the use of the authors' already established contact net on Bali assisted the group with guidance throughout the research timeline. The authors' contact also abetted with managing cultural barriers and aiding with the interview template design.

With a comparative method, there are difficulties that need to be considered. According to (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022), a comparative design can often lead researchers to look for differences in the empirical material rather than having an open approach. This method can create restrictions as it often means that researchers could have a clear focus from the beginning, which can lead the interviews or analyses to an already predetermined problem (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2022). Another limitation with reference to a comparative design is the difficulties to achieve equivalence between variables, methods and the samples used. Bell, Bryman and Harley (2022) emphasise the importance of addressing the different aspects that may affect the result. In this study, such variables could be seen as language and culture barriers. The semi-structured interviews are good for achieving an open approach as there are only a few interview questions, intending to let the conversation develop on its own (Hallin & Helin, 2018). However, the disadvantages of semi-structured interviews are often based on already determined questions. The authors in this study chose to use the triple bottom line as a starting point which may have resulted in a possible excessive focus from the beginning. This in turn may also have influenced the empirical results.

5.8 Trustworthiness and transparency

Qualitative studies should according to Bell, Bryman and Harley (2022) have different criteria than those used by quantitative researchers. The quality of the research in quantitative studies can be described through validity and reliability, while in qualitative studies the focus should instead rely on authenticity and trustworthiness. In qualitative studies, it is common that researchers do not establish how they arrived at their conclusions and how the analysis took

place. Despite this, according to Bell, Bryman and Harley (2022), it is equally important in qualitative studies to explain how the analysis was carried out, how the interviewees were selected and also how the conclusions of the study were reached.

To sustain a high quality of the qualitative study in the aspects of trustworthiness and authenticity, authors should strive to make the research process as transparent as possible by describing in detail the chosen approach and methods used in their study (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). On these grounds, the authors of this study tried to explain in much detail how the data has been collected, how the analysis has been made, as well as how the conclusions were reached. The authors also tried to interpret and present the answers from the interview persons as clearly and correctly as possible. The authors of this study are also aware that it is not possible to be completely objective in a qualitative method but strove to formulate the interview questions in a neutral way to provide an indifferent response (Hallin & Helin, 2018).

5.9 Ethical considerations

As this thesis was carried out in another country, several ethical considerations were required, especially to prevent cross-cultural issues that could occur. In addition, the method used required answers from the interviewees that could be considered as intriguing on their privacy. To avoid ethical violations, the authors established requirements based on Hallin and Helin's (2018) four ethical requirement guidelines. These four requirements are: the information requirement, the consent requirement, the confidentiality requirement, and the utilisation requirement. To fulfil these four requirements and achieve a cross-cultural equivalence, a conversation was held with the participant to inform them of the purpose of the study and its contribution. The authors also briefed the participants on where this study was going to be published (DiVa). All interviewees were then asked if they would like to participate in the study and gave the authors their consent. Each participant would remain anonymous, partly because the interview questions could be considered personal, but it was also stated that the interview persons would be anonymous before the interviews to feel safe enough to share confidential information without being exposed. The interviewees also read the transcript material when it was finished to ensure that nothing had been misinterpreted. This helped to avoid language barriers that may have arisen in the English language, as well as getting a direct accurate interpretation of the residents' experiences.

6 Empirics and Analysis

In this chapter, the author presents their empirical material based on the themes that emerged from the comparative analysis, through the lens of the previously presented theories. The empirics and analysis are in the same chapter to create a more interpreted view and to be more transparent with the working process. These are also put together in the same chapter to make it easier to follow for the reader and to make a lead towards the conclusions.

6.1 Tourism as main income

The results from the interviews carried out in Ubud showed that all the interviewees considered tourism as their main income and had tourists as their main or only customers. Interview person 1 even thought that he would not be able to provide for his family without tourism. In addition, all interviewees expressed how the residents in Ubud, as well as the residents in Bali, would not survive without tourism as Bali is dependent on it. The fact that the interviewees in Ubud view tourism as their main income is consistent with Dolezal & Novelli (2022), who describes tourism as the main economic sector in Bali. But despite the perceived dependency on tourism the interviewees had a positive perception about their individual income and working in tourism. According to Lasso and Dahles (2018), the residents' positive perceptions can be partly attributed to their limited choice to work in the tourism industry. They must embrace tourism growth to some extent, even though it may affect sustainable tourism development in the long run.

Interview persons 1, 2, 5 and 6 felt that they could manage with the income they earned. Despite this, opinions were raised concerning how they would like to earn more. Interview persons 2, 3, 4, and 5 expressed during the interview how they would like to earn more money to be able to buy the things they want. They also implied the difficulty of saving money and explained how long it takes them to save up to buy more expensive things. Although there was a desire to earn more money, the interviewees were generally satisfied with their income. The result is in line with Lasso & Dahles (2018) findings in their study on Komodo Island, where the residents were generally satisfied with their current employment as it provided them with an income they were pleased with. Furthermore, many residents in developing countries have a positive view of tourism based on the economic gain, but if residents get dependent on tourism and have tourism as their only source of income, it can significantly increase the vulnerability of the population (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Latip et al., 2018).

Tourism is my main income, I am happy with my income, I must be happy about it (laughs) because I need the money to survive. I am just thinking about what I can do with the money I earn (Interview person 1).

Like the results from residents' perceptions in Ubud, all the interviewees in Canggu also felt that tourism was their main source of income. But differences can be found regarding how they feel about managing without tourism. In Canggu, only interview persons 11 and 12 felt that they would not manage without tourism, and it was only interview person 11 who expressed big differences regarding income between low- and high seasons. All the other interviewees from Canggu explained how they had customers even in low season and felt that they managed even when there was a decrease in tourists (Interview persons 7, 8, 9, and 10). This had mainly to do with the big amount of money they earned in the high season that could

cover the cost of living during the low season. Even if the interviewees from Canggu had different views on how they manage with their income, they all saw tourism as the biggest and richest industry to work in. Interview person 12 mentioned that he had to quit his former job as a fisherman a couple of years ago since working with tourism provided him with more money. Similarly, interview person 11 had lost her job as a rice field worker a few years ago to work in the tourism field.

In developing countries, the residents are very dependent on tourism and according to Nunkoo and Ramkissoon's (2010b) findings, the residents who believe that tourism is important for their employment or feel very dependent on tourism, have a more positive perception towards the impacts of tourism. The authors' results also showed that the people who had negative perceptions regarding tourism were those who were not dependent on tourism (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). According to this, the fact that all the interviewees in Ubud felt dependent on tourism should, through a SET lens, indicate that they have more positive perceptions towards the tourism industry and its economic benefits.

Furthermore, this would in turn mean that the interviews conducted in Canggu will have a more negative perception of the tourism impacts and its economic benefit. As the majority of the interviewees instead felt they were not dependent on tourism (Interview person, 7, 8, 9, 10). This would also mean that the residents' perceptions toward the tourism industry, according to SET, can be influenced by the residents' feeling of dependency on tourism (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). There is no doubt the economic benefits generated by tourism can be a very important factor in supporting tourism, especially due to its ability to help reduce poverty and increase the quality of life of residents (Latip et al., 2018; Simao & Mosso, 2013). This can be seen with SET, which shows that residents who benefit the most from tourism always will have a more positive perception, see more of the positive impacts and be in favour of further tourism development (Latip et al., 2018; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b).

6.2 Employment satisfaction and cost of living

Sustainable tourism development should, according to Kurniawan, Fanani and Suprino (2021), harvest the tourism industry as economic viability without harming the residents' community and environment. Even though most interviewees expressed they were satisfied with their income, the interviews also revealed that the interviewees were strongly dependent on how many hours they worked. In Ubud, interview persons 2 and 5, had positive perceptions about their working conditions and felt that they could work eight hours per day to feel satisfied with their salary. Meanwhile, the remaining interviewees (1, 3, 4, 5 and 6), had the opinion that they had to work more than eight hours, additionally take on extra shifts or even have multiple jobs to feel satisfied with their income. This is in line with the study by Nunkoo and Ramiksson (2010b) who argue that residents of island economies will participate in the exchange if there are no other economic alternatives. The fact that residents' satisfaction depended on how much they worked could also be interpreted from one of the interview persons who during the interview expressed:

Even if I am tired or sick I need to work, if someone calls me I need to go to work anyways, still have to work to make a living (Interview person 1).

In Canggu, however, the majority of the interviews revealed that the residents felt satisfied working eight hours per day. It was only interview person 12 who expressed that he had to work over the standard working hours, as his salary as a taxi driver did not make him feel satisfied. Although interview person 9 explained that the average working hours were eight hours per day, it occurred during the interview that he worked six days a week, approximately 11 hours per day. Despite the previous statements, all the interviewees in Ubud and Canggu had a positive perception of their occupation, income and working conditions. These positive attitudes and perceptions may according to Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010b) be residents' lack of alternatives other than working with tourism.

Tourism has become a source of income for people and societies. However, for the tourism industry to be sustainable, it must positively contribute to the residents' livelihoods and at the same time eliminate poverty (Eslami et al., 2019). Regarding the residents' perceptions of the cost of living, interview persons 1 and 6 explained how the prices are the same as it always has been in Ubud. In comparison, interview persons 2 and 6 conveyed that the costs of living had become more expensive due to tourism. In Canggu, interview persons 8 and 10 explained that everything in Canggu is already expensive and had the impression that the prices had increased even more due to the growing tourism. Interview persons 9 and 12, believed that it is still the same prices, or even cheaper for the local people, and said it all depended on how you choose to live.

As stated by Latip et al. (2018), tourism can contribute to numerous positive economic impacts including job opportunities, an increase in average family income and increased employment. Nevertheless, these advantages could at the same time tend to increase product and labour costs and cost of living, as well as rising property taxes and prices (Latip et al., 2018). Different opinions concerning tourism's impact on the cost of living could be identified between Ubud and Canggu, as the different perceptions imply that the differences rely on how the residents perceive the tourism development (Amuquandoh, 2010). The residents' perceptions in Ubud regarding their working conditions and cost of living can be interpreted as negative. But looking through the lens of SET, their overall perceptions of the economic impacts would instead be positive as they would not survive without tourism. The residents in Ubud's graceful attitudes towards their working conditions can be interpreted as being influenced by their dependence on tourism. Findings in Canggu, instead expressed a more positive perception of their working conditions, as most of the interviewees (Interview persons 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11) did not feel the need to work over the regular eight hours.

6.3 Culture and traditions

When asking questions concerning the socio-cultural aspects in Ubud, all interviewees agreed that their culture and traditions are very strong and unique. Furthermore, they explained in detail about the Balinese Hinduism, the Gods, and the offerings they gave to the Gods every day. According to Butler, Szili and Huang (2022), native tourism has a vital role in fostering community pride, as it raises the need to preserve the culture for future generations. In addition, Yeh et al. (2021) indicates that the residents can feel obligated to protect and take care of the land and that the residents had a strong connection to the land, as it was a big part of their personal identity. According to Algassim et al. (2022), tourism development can be perceived to increase the attachment toward the cultural identity of the residents living at the destination, which can be seen in the obtained interviews in Ubud.

According to interview persons 3 and 5, Ubud is still consistent with the old traditional culture, where buildings and culture are preserved. The culture in Ubud not only brings tourists to Bali but also creates the opportunity for residents to educate and show them their culture, moreover, bringing the community in Ubud closer. Interview persons 1, 3, 4 and 5 elaborate on how they had never experienced any type of conflict between tourists and residents, as well as conflicts within the Ubud community. Furthermore, interview persons 3, 4 and 5 explained it as pride, and that the culture in Ubud is part of their community, where the residents do their best to keep it as original as possible. Tourism can in other words be perceived as an opportunity to develop local historical places, which will strengthen the socio-cultural identity of the community. In summary, in the interviews carried out in Ubud, residents' perceptions of tourism and its impact on their socio-cultural aspects can be interpreted as pride and willingness to educate tourists about the original culture in Bali.

When discussing the same subject in Canggu, all interviewees thought the culture was very strong when referring to Bali. They expressed their personal beliefs as the same compared to all the residents in Bali and agreed on the fact that tourists come to Bali mainly because of the island's unique culture. However, when asking more specifically about the culture in Canggu, interview persons 8, 9 and 12 thought that even if the culture is very strong, it looks different than it did 10 years ago. They described how the food, music, and fashion had changed and how the culture in Canggu had started to become influenced by tourists. Interview person 8 explained how the government knows that tourists love their religion and traditions but uses it to monetize tourists. Ceremonies and traditions are according to interview persons 8 and 12 commercialised for the tourism industry and to earn more money from the tourists. Similarly, interview person 8 also views the culture in Canggu as more touristic, as the destination has interpreted other cultures as an attempt to make tourists feel more comfortable and more at home.

Despite this, culture seems to create a sense of community for the Canggu residents. Interview persons 7 and 11 thought that tourism has brought the local people closer together. Interview person 12 also stated that the Balinese residents always have had a strong local community and did not notice that tourism had changed anything regarding this. The same was highlighted by interview persons 10 and 11, who never had experienced any type of conflict between the local community due to tourism. Instead, both interviewees felt that everyone, both tourists and local people, were very helpful and expressed that it was important that the residents in Canggu supported each other.

We help the tourists here, we need more knowledge and help from them too, so I think it is good to work and learn together and from each other (Interview person 9).

Algassim et al. (2022) findings show that community attitudes may be more positive towards tourism activities since it encourages the construction of cultural conversations. Similarly, Gu and Ryan (2008) found evidence for the fact that a sense of pride can be generated through associations linked to living in a historic city. In addition, Yeh et al. (2021) research presented that the residents spoke about themselves as native Hawaiian and explained how they had a deep sense of cultural history, tradition, relationship and respect for their longstanding history and lifestyle on the island. Also, Gu and Ryan (2008) found that participation in a traditional society can be a source of pride and by representing that society can be a part of protecting it from disappearing. This could signify that a place is of high value, as the residents' perceptions about their view of tourism seem positive due to their pride in Ubud and its unique and strong culture. This is also in line with SET, which suggests that if residents

perceive more benefits than costs, they will support the tourism development (Eusébio, Vieira & Lima, 2018; Ribeiro et al., 2017; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). Differences can be seen in the results from the residents of Canggu as they viewed the culture in Bali as unique and strong but at the same time stated that the culture and traditions in Canggu have changed a lot due to tourism. Even though the conducted interviews in Canggu can be interpreted as residents being proud of the culture of Bali, there seems to be a lessened need to show the traditional and unique culture. But there still appears to be a notable concern that the culture will disappear completely among interview persons 11 and 12.

6.4 Adapting to difficult times

In all interviews that were conducted in Ubud and Canggu, the covid-19 pandemic was highlighted by the residents. The interviewees explained how they were severely affected by the pandemic, and the interviewees had an identical view of the time Bali was in lockdown. According to Pahl et al (2022), covid-19 created long-term economic problems due to reduced trade but also affected the well-being of individuals in terms of both mental and physical health. The interviewees in Ubud and Canggu had to quit their jobs, did not get a salary, and could not provide for their families. According to interview persons 2 and 5, they became very sad and depressed during the pandemic, and they also expressed the feeling of incredible stress during that time. Pahl et al. (2022) further examined that developing countries were most affected due to their economic shift to services in the global sector and are also highly affected by fluctuations. But despite this, interview persons 2 and 4 were not worried about the possibility of a similar disaster happening again. They further explained how it was all connected to their beliefs, as they cannot control what is going to happen, but instead, they give offerings to the Gods in hopes of their acceptance to avoid another disaster. In contrast, interview persons 1, 3 and 6 were worried about a new pandemic or a natural disaster mainly because it would affect their income.

In the majority of the interviews in Canggu, the interviewees expressed the difficult times during the covid-19 pandemic and how they had to adapt to the new challenges. Interview persons 8, 11 and 12 revealed that they had to quit their jobs because of covid-19 and became unemployed. Interview persons 7, 9 and 12 stated that they managed during the pandemic but that their salaries were cut and onwards brought an underlying mental stress to cope. Pahl et al. (2022) also concluded that among the countries likely to be most affected by the pandemic and most negatively impacted were those working in the tourism industry. All three interviewees further explained their dissatisfaction at not being able to live their lives as they did before the pandemic and were forced to save all the money they earned in order to survive. Interview person 12 illustrates how he had to sell everything that was of value, only to get money to buy everyday necessities such as food, clothes and hygiene products. Ultimately, interview persons 7, 9, 10 and 12 were afraid that another pandemic like covid-19 would occur again, while interview persons 8 and 11 were not. In developing countries, many residents have a positive view of tourism based on the economic gain, but if people get dependent on tourism and have tourism as their only source of income it can significantly increase the vulnerability of the population (Nunkoo & Ramiksson, 2012; Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Latip et al., 2018).

The result showed a similar view on adapting to difficult times even though there were different opinions concerning if they were worried that similar disasters, like the covid-19 pandemic, would occur again. Looking at this through a SET lens, it would mean that the

residents who perceive more economic benefits from tourism would still have positive perceptions about further tourism development (Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021). According to Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010b), it can be stated that if the residents' feeling of dependency on tourism is strong, they will have more positive associations with future tourism development. This can also be explained as Kurniawan, Fanani and Suprino (2021) argue, that residents often ignore the negative impacts tourism can produce if there are economic benefits, as this aspect is often predominant. This could explain why some of the interviewees were not afraid that something like a pandemic would happen again. These interviewees can be interpreted as not being as dependent on tourism as those who expressed a strong concern that it would happen again. Those who had stronger concerns were also the people who expressed dependence on tourism and had tourism as their only source of income.

6.5 Involvement in tourism development

In order to achieve long-term successful destination development, it is necessary to gain the support and commitment of the population of the city. Engaging residents in destination development can contribute to lasting positive effects and contribute to successful tourism development (Al-Emadi et al., 2017). Interview persons 1 and 5 in Ubud had the view that they had to adapt to the tourism development and embrace it. Interview person 1 referred to the money and meant that it was no idea to complain because it gives food on the table and a roof over the head. Similarly, interview person 5 explained that the opinions of the residents could not be expressed and referred to the fact that he does not like all the new buildings that destroy nature and water supply but could not do anything about it. Both interviewees believed that they were bystanders to the tourism development in Bali and had to adjust to whatever was decided by the government. Interview person 1, on the other hand, felt an involvement because he worked in the industry, and according to interview person 2 the residents can be involved by demonstrating, but at the same time explaining that no one wants to demonstrate.

According to Latip et al. (2018), community involvement has a significant positive effect on the perceived social impacts of tourism. This can be seen in the result from the residents in Ubud as the general view of tourism from the interviewees' perspective in Ubud was broadly positive. The interviewees in Ubud expressed they were happy with tourism and working in the tourism industry. One main factor in that statement seems to be the residents' view of the destination. They all explained how proud they were of Ubud and how they loved to teach tourists about the city. Interview persons 2, 4 and 5 stated that the reason they liked to work with tourism is the opportunity to educate the tourists about the culture and the island. Similarly, interview persons 1 and 4 also liked to learn from the tourists, as it was an opportunity to learn about new languages and new countries.

The result conducted from the interviews in Canggu was in general more negative. Latip et al. (2018) argues that tourism, regardless of its source, can have an irreversible impact on community values, behaviour patterns, lifestyles, and the quality of life of the residents. Interview persons 7, 11, and 12 were of the opinion that they were not included in the tourism development process while interview persons 8, 9, and 10 almost ignored the question. Instead, they expressed complaints about tourism in Canggu. Interview person 8 expressed concerns about the safety in Canggu due to the small scamming and overconsumption of alcohol among tourists. Due to the strict drug policies in Bali, interview person 8 meant that tourists are afraid to use drugs and instead turn to drinking more alcohol, which the tourists

more than often misuse. Furthermore, the consumption of alcohol gives consequences such as arguments with the local community, drunk driving, and traffic accidents. Interview persons 8 and 11 acknowledged that Canggu is not good for a home base and that they wanted to relocate due to overcrowding and previously stated problems. Interview person 11 mentioned that it is hard to feel relaxed as soon as leaving her home due to the heavily trafficked roads and noises. Correspondingly, interview person 9 meant that there is criminality everywhere, in all countries, but in comparison to other countries, there are not as many criminals in Bali. This makes him feel very safe in Canggu. Further, interview person 8 indicated that there is a lot of corruption within the government in Bali which makes it difficult to raise her opinions. If the government would incorporate appropriate laws, the interviewee thought that there would not be as many problems in Canggu.

If local people perceive tourism as something that can affect the reduction or disappearance of traditional pursuits, their perception towards further tourism development is often negative and can lead to residents opposing tourism development (Gurosay, Jurowski & Uysal, 2002; Woo, Uysal & Sirgy, 2018). Further, Hunt and Stronza (2014) posit that citizens affiliated via direct employment in tourism had the ability to recognise more negative aspects of the tourism development whereas residents not affiliated with the industry have a more positive approach. This statement contradicts the result of this study as all the residents in Canggu work in the tourism industry, but despite this, have negative perceptions of the social impacts of tourism (Interview persons 8, 9 & 11). Even though the interviewees in Ubud did not feel totally involved in the tourism development, they were of the opinion that they had to embrace tourism and just adapt to the tourism development. It can be interpreted that their positive view reduces the importance of being involved in tourism development, as they consider themselves satisfied. The sampled residents in Ubud have in other words a positive view of tourism, which through a SET lens, can indicate that the residents' perceptions are positive due to the fact that they see the exchange from tourists more positively than negatively (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b).

This result differs from the findings from the interviews in Canggu, where the residents, if not ignoring the question, were of the opinion that they were not involved in the tourism development process (Interview persons 7, 11 & 12). The interviewees from Canggu had some concerns to raise, which never came up during the interviews carried out in Ubud. The concerns were about how the tourists in Canggu affected them personally, as well as how the tourists affected the destination. Woo, Uysal and Sirgy (2018) mean that the high expectations of the positive impacts of tourism development can decrease over time due to changes in the local community or economy resulting in declining support of the residents. The lack of opportunities for the local residents in participating in decision-making, management or ownership makes their expectations increase and the residents' characteristic attitudes begin to display (Hunt & Stronza, 2014). The results can in relation to SET be interpreted as the interviewees in Canggu had more negative perceptions towards the possibility to be involved in tourism development (Hunt & Stronza, 2014). Furthermore, it seems that this result also indicates it is based on their many complaints about the behaviour of tourists, as well as the authorities' ability to handle the tourism development in the city.

6.6 Tourism impacts on the environment

During the interviews in Ubud, interview persons 3 and 6 expressed their concerns regarding the pollution and how litter covers the streets of Ubud. They both elucidate that the litter on

the street was both the locals and the tourists' fault. Whereas interview 3 describes how tourists are more disciplined with the trash and that it is the local people who are more reckless and litter the streets. Further on, interview person 3 explains how the issues with plastic are a major problem, as there is no program for diminishing the trash. Interview persons 1, 3 and 5 experience problems with the water not being clean due to pollution or even rivers disappearing because of construction work, and state that there are only a few holy springs that are preserved. In Canggu, the majority of the interviews (Interview persons 8, 9, 11 & 12) indicated that there is a lot of litter, dirt and polluted water covering the town, especially on the beach. Interview persons 8, 11 and 12 described the environment in Canggu as bad. Further, interview person 11 specifies her opinion and means that the trash on the beach does not come from tourists, instead, it has been washed up with the ocean. Also, if the problem with littering escalates, interview persons 8 and 12 express their worry about tourists choosing not to come to Bali anymore and note how the waste management system needs to be improved.

The tourists impact the environment but we are the ones who open the door. If there were bins here, the tourists would throw the trash there (Interview person 8).

When asked about nature in Bali, the majority (Interview persons 7, 8, 9 & 11) of the interviews in Ubud implied that the natural environment was a vital part of tourism development as well as the development on the island. Interview persons 1 and 5 expressed how proud they were of the nature Bali has to offer. They further touch on how the rich nature of Bali allows locals and tourists to enjoy the island in various ways. In the same manner, interview persons 1, 4 and 5 believed that both the northern part of Bali and Ubud have preserved their nature and are still the same as it always has been. Meanwhile, Interview person 3 expressed concerns about how nature is slowly disappearing in Ubud due to the increasing emergence of luxury villas and hotels. Whereas interview person 5 affirmed his delight at being able to keep his house in the village he grew up in. Furthermore, he expresses his fear that the tourism development is going to make a huge impact on the environment and makes a comparison to Canggu where there is no nature left due to all the hotels and other facilities. In the same way, Eslmai et al. (2019) imply that when modifying tourism development at a destination, the need of preserving nature and its resources is essential as its destruction can be a threat to the destination. Especially when geographic and ecological aspects are used as the main attraction for visitors, as the destination has to deal with the fragility and limitation of the environmental elements (Amuquandog, 2010; Eslami et al., 2019).

The interviews in Canggu revealed the locals' disappointment that nature in Canggu is not the same as it was three to five years ago when there were still rice fields, palm trees and open spaces everywhere around the city. Interview person 8 argues that she thinks the tourism industry has destroyed the town with concrete and the expanding of buildings but implies that it is something that the residents have to accept. In the same manner, interview person 9 explained the need to cope with the development but at the same time further stated a belief that Bali's ecosystem needs to be preserved. Lindberg and Johnson (1997) elucidate that tourism often is a major factor that disrupts social and environmental systems at destinations, and according to Eslami et al. (2019), tourism could bring benefits in the interest of all stakeholders if the elements are managed correctly. In the same manner, Chong (2020) illustrates the importance of the government to understand the possible negative impacts experienced by residents. This could be seen in Canggu, as interview persons 8 and 12 underline the importance of the government's support to solve the issue of littering and trash.

Moreover, the interviewees discussed how they thought that tourists impact the environment by littering. But at the same time interview person 8 emphasises that Bali are the ones who open the door for the tourists and that they need the government's support to get better at maintaining the problem.

The results from the interviews carried out in Ubud and Canggu differ in terms of whether it is litter on the streets, destruction of nature, or the availability of water that has the greatest perceived impact on the environment. Although, all interviewees agreed that the environment in Bali is very important, both for the local residents and for tourists who want to keep visiting Bali. A recognizable pattern in both Ubud and Canggu, was the residents' view on the impact of tourism on the environment, where the interviewees agreed that tourists are not the problem. Differences can be found in the perception of what is most tangible in the two destinations, where the interviews from Ubud show that it was primarily important for them to preserve nature and avoid becoming like the destinations on the coast. While in Canggu it was primarily the littering of the streets and beaches that was considered to be the greatest dissatisfaction. In Canggu, it also appeared that better waste management and regulation from the government is required to improve this, which is in line with other studies examining the environmental perceptions of residents' (Chong, 2020; Butler, 1980; Warren & Enoch, 2010 & Goodwin & Noland, 2003). Through the lens of SET, residents' support is measured by their support for ongoing and future impacts, and in both cities, this can be seen as the interviewees' discussed both current and future concerns. Based on the viewpoint of the theory, it can be interpreted in both destinations that the interviewees perceptions of the environmental aspects are generally negative, although tourism is excluded in their perceptions.

6.7 Tourism impacts on traffic

The issues that were most frequent among the answers were the bad roads and the busy traffic. In Ubud, the majority of the interviewees (Interview person 1, 2, 3, 4 & 6) expressed that the traffic has always been busy but according to interview persons 2, 4 and 6, it has now been more influenced by the increasing tourism on the island. Interview person 4 claimed that the busy traffic increased as more roads were built. As revealed by Goodwin and Noland (2003), the amount of traffic is considerably rising faster than the road capacity and infrastructure can endure (Goodwin & Noland, 2003). Furthermore, the geographic parameters regarding the destination's remoteness and smallness could influence a significant inability and vulnerability concerning heavily trafficked routes (Goodwin & Noland, 2003; Warren & Enoch, 2010). Interview person 1 supposed that the busy traffic in the city was due to the bad roads that are very narrow and small. Further, he explained how the government is talking about building and expanding the roads and said that this is the solution for decreasing the busy traffic and minimising traffic accidents. Following this statement, interview persons 2 and 6 explained how the traffic accidents are due to tourists not being used to the busy streets of Ubud.

Previous literature addresses residents' concerns about the major impact of tourism and cites traffic as one of the most negative impacts on the environment (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Goodwin & Noland, 2003, Warren & Enoch, 2010). Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010b) criticise the high probability of urban destinations experiencing traffic congestion, which could be seen in Canggu where interview persons 7, 8, 10, and 11 expressed how the traffic in Canggu is crazy and that both tourists and locals need to be careful. The interviewees further

explained that there are a lot of traffic accidents and that the roads are the main problem. Continuously, interview person 8 mentioned that if better roads were built, it would mean a decrease in traffic which she stated would solve the problem of the busy traffic in Canggu. Correspondingly, interview persons 7, 11 and 12 postulated that if the law were better and stronger, there would not be so many problems in traffic. Interview person 11 revealed that she does not feel safe on the streets or in traffic anymore and stopped driving completely. Interview person 9 explains how Bali needs to develop first road connections all over the island and that this needs to be prioritised by the government. Interview person 7 addressed that the traffic has worsened because of all the new buildings in Canggu, which has brought the difficulty of now being able to expand and build better roads because of the narrow spaces at the destination. This goes in line with Goodwin and Noland (2003) and Nunkoo and Ramkissoon's (2010b) statement of the need for governments to address the high demand of heavily trafficked routes and apply appropriate responses to restrict traffic growth which in turn could lead to decrease pollution and a lower rate of accidents. Continuing, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010b) argue that the policy of road building should require an expansion of the strategic road network but is most of the time neglected due to the lack of accessible resources.

The results of the interviews showed that the residents in Ubud and Canggu are encountering similar traffic problems regarding the heavily trafficked routes. Both destinations stated that the traffic has been influenced due to the increasing tourism on the island, but that the solid issues are due to the expanding of road infrastructure as well as not maintaining the narrow and small roads that already exist. Yet there were some differences between the two destinations. In Canggu, the concerns about tourists' reckless behaviour in traffic is viewed in a more negative aspect, which is concurrent with SET that connotes this could lead to a more negative attitude toward tourism. Latip et al. (2018) explains how the residents who may experience benefits have more positive perceptions of tourism, but at the same time, it may influence the perceptions regarding the socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism more strongly. This also could be seen in Canggu as the interviews showed how their attitudes have changed concurrently with the rapid growth of tourism in the destination. Latip et al. (2018) and Ribiero et al. (2017) illustrate, through the lens of SET, that residents of developing countries and rural areas are more likely to accept the problems if they receive positive benefits. Equally, this was apparent in Ubud, where the residents' perceptions were more positive as they do not experience as much inconvenience with traffic and the only concerns regarding traffic are the bad roads, which they claim the government will fix.

7 Discussion

In this chapter a discussion of the result and analysis will be carried. The aim with the discussion is to summarise the essential key results and combine it with previous literature emphasised in the theoretical framework.

The residents' perceptions of tourism development in Bali have been investigated and both similarities and differences could be found. The interviews showed that the resident's perceptions of the economic impacts of tourism are prominent in both destinations. Even though the interviewees had different opinions concerning which economic impact was considered most important, there was a positive and significant relationship between the perceived economic benefits and the support of tourism. The results showed that Ubud was more dependent on tourism and could also be interpreted as experiencing worse working conditions. The residents in Canggu perceived tourism as their main income but expressed that they would manage without tourism. In addition, there were more positive perceptions regarding their working conditions. This could mean, as SET states, that those in Canggu had more negative perceptions about tourism because they may not be as dependent on tourism as they are in Ubud. This result can be found similar to other studies examining residents' perceived impacts of tourism, which argue that if there is a greater dependence on tourism, each individual will accept more costs (Latip et al., 2018; Hunt & Stronza, 2014; Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Caliskan & Özer, 2021).

In terms of the socio-cultural aspect, a considerable number of differences could be found in the residents' perceptions. According to the interviewees in Ubud, the culture of Ubud is a part of the destination and a sense of pride was expressed. The interviewees uttered a positive feeling regarding tourists wanting to participate and taking an interest in their culture. This can be interpreted as the residents in Ubud perceive the socio-cultural impacts of tourism as positive. It was also clear how the culture strengthened the community in the destination. According to Gu and Ryan (2008), living in a historic city can create a sense of pride. This pride was something that emerged from the interviewees in Ubud as they were eager to talk about the destination and its culture. Ubud has a very strong history, religious characteristics, and a strong culture, which could explain the pride and willingness of the interviewees to convey their beliefs and culture to everyone visiting the destination.

Differences could be seen in the result conducted in Canggu. Although the interviewees expressed a strong personal religious belief in Balinese Hinduism, the residents in Canggu were more prominent that the culture had been adapted in favour of tourists. Canggu has interpreted more foreign cultures and has become more diverse and multicultural due to the high flow of tourism that exists in Canggu. The residents had therefore a greater concern regarding the possibility that the original culture would disappear completely, which was not evident in the interviews from Ubud. Looking at this through a SET lens, it can be interpreted that the residents of Canggu perceive more costs than benefits regarding the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. The fact that the residents of Canggu felt that tourism contributed to the loss of culture in the destination may thus indicate that the residents ultimately perceived the impact of tourism on socio-cultural aspects as negative.

Considering the environmental aspect, the residents' perceptions from both Ubud and Canggu had similar perceptions as they were generally negative about the environmental impacts of tourism. In Ubud, the interviewees talked mainly about nature and the importance of preserving it. Both to the fact that they needed nature as a resource, but also as nature is a

main factor in tourist activities in Ubud. In Canggu, the topmost concern was about traffic and partying, which led to concerns about the high volume of intoxicated tourists. Interestingly, however, was the resident's unequivocal opinion that the environmental problems in both places were not due to the tourists, but rather the residents themselves or the governments planning. Perhaps the environmental aspects can also be a result of the limited size of the island, which Nunkoo and Ramkissoo (2010b) express can be a strong constraint in the sustainable tourism development of islands. In both Canggu and Ubud, the main concern that seemed to influence residents' perceptions was that future travellers would think that the environment was not well preserved, and that local people would therefore stop benefiting from tourism. This can also be interpreted as a form of fear that tourists will stop coming to the island and can be linked to their dependence on tourism and again can be assumed to be due to the economic benefits.

In summary, sustainable tourism development is about balancing economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects. It requires taking all three aspects into account and, more importantly, create an understanding that it is impossible to separate them as all three aspects are interrelated and influence each other (Tyrell, Paris & Biaett, 2013; Eslami et al., 2019; Kurniawan, Fanani & Suprino, 2021; Styliadis et al., 2014; Latip et al., 2018). By looking at the result through a SET lens, this could mean that the selected interviewees in Ubud had positive perceptions' regarding both the economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development. This can further be interpreted that the residents had overall positive perceptions of tourism and thus supported tourism development. Even though the residents in Ubud had concerns about the environmental impacts of tourism, SET states that as long as the residents believe they gain more benefits than costs, they will support tourism development. This can also be explained as Kurniawan, Fanani, and Suprino (2021) argue, that the economic benefits more often outweigh the negative effects, making residents more likely to perceive the positive aspects. Furthermore, the residents in Ubud can assume to perceive the economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism as positive, which can be interpreted as outweighing their environmental concerns. A recurring theme also shows that this outcome can be strongly associated with the residents' dependence on tourism and their vulnerability to a decrease in tourists.

Similarly to the residents of Ubud, the residents of Canggu experienced negative perceptions regarding the environmental impacts and positive perceptions concerning the economic impacts. However, their perception of the socio-cultural impacts was more negative. At first glance, the interviews from Canggu could be interpreted as being more negative, but after analysing the results through a SET lens, a positive overall view of the impact of tourism was revealed. Once again, the results point to a positive economic view of tourism that puts the perceived negative impacts aside. On this note, it can be interpreted that the residents' perceptions are heavily influenced based on what type of tourists visit the destinations, which is also related to how the two different destinations position themselves. Such as in Ubud, where the tourists come to explore nature and culture, the residents' perceptions of tourism were predominantly positive. Whilst in Canggu they talked more about tourists that only came there for the parties and beach clubs, and also explained the tourist visiting as disturbing, bad in traffic and rough. Finally, it can be assumed that the residents' perceptions are strongly linked to the character of the city and that the island's dependency on tourism has a great impact on residents' perceptions.

8 Conclusion

This chapter will present the study's conclusions and further discuss the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

In this study, the opinions of local residents have been taken into account instead of examining how the tourism industry can be maintained. Previous literature has identified a paucity of research from the residents' perspective and highlighted the need for further research (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Demirovic et al., 2018; Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018). With a qualitative approach, this study has contributed with a puzzle piece to sustainable tourism research from a resident-centric perspective. The research has also emphasised how residents' perceptions are particularly important to understand in the context of developing islands, as they have greater constraints, and are often highly dependent on tourism (Dolezal & Novelli, 2022; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b). Hence, the choice of research area was based on previous literature's statement on how developing countries are less explored (Dolezal & Novelli, 2022; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010b; Lasso & Dahles, 2018)

The study aimed to create an understanding of how residents in Bali experienced the island's tourism development and whether and how it differed between residents of the two different destinations, Ubud and Canggu. This was to be able to find similarities and differences between the residents' perceptions, as it is important to understand which indications are considered relevant in different geographical areas (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2020). The study's research questions can be answered as indications have been found from the three sustainability aspects that can be interpreted as having the greatest impact on residents' perceptions of tourism, and how residents' perceptions differ between the two destinations. In this way, the purpose of the study can also be answered.

It was clear that the fast expansion of tourism in Bali and its accompanying impacts were recognised by the local residents. Bali's strong dependence on tourism is recurring in the interviews from both Canggu and Ubud. Regardless of the concerns or worries raised during the interviews, the interviewees added that their perceptions were nevertheless positive. But despite their positive perceptions, indications could be found that still had significance for their perceptions of tourism development in Bali, which were; tourism as their main income, working conditions and cost of living, culture and traditions, adapting to difficult times, involvement in tourism development, impacts on the environment, and impacts in traffic. Although there were both positive and negative perceptions linked to the different indicators, it was still something that all interviewees highlighted as important during the interviews.

By looking at the empirics through a SET lens it showed that the perceived economic impacts of tourism were positive in both destinations. The environmental impacts were, on the other hand, negative among the residents of Ubud and Canggu. In comparison, differences were found regarding residents' perceptions concerning the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, as the residents' in Ubud found the exchange to be positive while the residents in Canggu found the exchange to be negative. In both destinations, the results showed that the perceived economic benefits outweighed both the socio-cultural, and environmental perceived costs. This result can be interpreted as being due to the residents' strong dependency on tourism, where their vulnerability should be taken into account in sustainable tourism development.

8.1 Limitations and further research

The present research is not free of limitations, albeit the contribution of the study is evident and could provide opportunities for further research in the field of tourism. The obtained data were collected by the method of doing semi-structured interviews. Even though the study had criteria when selecting interviewees, there were still barriers to the interviewees' understanding and communication of English. This made it difficult at times to understand each other. Although the authors managed to understand and interpret the material from the interviews with various tools, the use of an interpreter would be recommended to further increase the trustworthiness of the material.

Another limitation of this study was the timeframe. This study was conducted over a period of nine weeks, which could limit the number of interviews that could be conducted and limit the saturation point of the results. This study contributes with rich and detailed data on residents' perceptions of tourism development, but to get a broader overview, further research could involve a wider sample (Hallin & Helin, 2018). Furthermore, the answers conducted in the interviews may not be a hundred percent authentic since there may be many underlying factors influencing the answers from the interviewees. This must be taken into account as in some cases the answers could have been more direct towards answering the question based on what they think the interviewer wants to hear rather than stating their individual opinions. Another indication of this could be that the authors of this study are originally from Sweden and went to Bali as tourists. The authors are aware that the residents' answers regarding the positive and negative impacts of tourism could have been influenced by this limitation.

To get a more comprehensive picture of Bali, other destinations on the island could be considered for further research. In one of the interviews, it emerged that each destination in Bali has slightly different characteristics, which could give other indications of the residents' perceptions of tourism. Findings from this study showed that the character of the destinations seems to have a strong impact on tourists' travel motives and residents' perceptions. Therefore, the authors consider it interesting to further investigate the relationship between place branding and residents' perceptions of tourism. Lastly, the authors suggest that further research can use this study as inspiration to investigate other developing islands. This due to the fact that this study only contributes a small piece of the puzzle to previous literature on sustainable tourism development from a resident-centric perspective.

References

- Al-Emadi, A., Kaplanidou, K., Diop, A., Sagas, M., Le, K. T. & Al-Ali Mustafa, S. (2017) 2022 Qatar World Cup: Impact Perceptions among Qatar Residents. *Journal of travel research*. [Online] 56 (5), 678–694.
- Algassim, A. A., Saufi, A., Diswandi, D., & Scott, N. (2022) Residents' attitudes toward tourism development at Al-Juhfa, Saudi Arabia. *International journal of culture, tourism and hospitality research*. [Online] 16 (1), 55–74.
- Amuquandoh, F. E. (2010) Residents' perceptions of the environmental impacts of tourism in the Lake Bosomtwe Basin, Ghana. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. [Online] 18 (2), 223–238.
- Ap, J. (1992) Residents' perceptions on tourism impacts. *Annals of tourism research*. [Online] 19 (4), 665–690.
- Bell, M., Bryman, A. & Harley, B. (2022) *Business research methods*. Sjätte upplagan. Oxford university press.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2019) Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative research in sport, exercise and health*. [Online] 11 (4), 589–597.
- Butler, G., Szili, G. & Huang, H. (2022) Cultural heritage tourism development in Panyu District, Guangzhou: community perspectives on pride and preservation, and concerns for the future. *Journal of heritage tourism*. [Online] 17 (1), 56–73.
- Butler, R. (1980). The concept of a tourist area life cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer*, 24(1), 5–12.
- Byrd, E. T. (2007) Stakeholders in sustainable tourism development and their roles: applying stakeholder theory to sustainable tourism development. *Tourism review* (Association internationale d'experts scientifiques du tourisme). [Online] 62 (2), 6–13.
- Caliskan, U. & Özer, Ö. (2021) Relationship between Local Residents' Perceptions of Tourism and Support Attitudes in Post-Communist Countries: Case of Turkestan (Kazakhstan). *Tourism planning & development*. [Online] 18 (5), 573–593.
- Chin, W. L., Haddock-Fraser, J. & Hampton, P. M. (2017) Destination competitiveness: evidence from Bali. *Current issues in tourism*. [Online] 20 (12), 1265–1289.
- Chong, K. L. (2020) The side effects of mass tourism: the voices of Bali islanders. *Asia Pacific journal of tourism research*. [Online] 25 (2), 157–169.
- Cropanzano, R. & Mitchell, M. S. (2005) Social Exchange Theory: An Interdisciplinary Review. *Journal of management*. [Online] 31 (6), 874–900.
- Demirović, D., Radovanović, M., Petrović, M., Cinnaljević, M., Vuksanović, N. & Viković, D. B. (2018) Environmental and Community Stability of a Mountain Destination: An Analysis of Residents' Perception. *Sustainability (Basel, Switzerland)*. [Online] 10 (1),

- Dolezal, C. & Novelli, M. (2022) Power in community-based tourism: empowerment and partnership in Bali. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. [Online] 30 (10), 2352–2370.
- Emerson R. M. (1976) Social Exchange Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 35–62.
- Eslami, S., Khalifah, Z., Mardani, A., Streimikiene, D. & Han, H. (2019) Community attachment, tourism impacts, quality of life and residents' support for sustainable tourism development. *Journal of travel & tourism marketing*. [Online] 36 (9), 1061–1079.
- Eusébio, C., Vieira, A. & Lima, S. (2018) Place attachment, host–tourist interactions, and residents' attitudes towards tourism development: the case of Boa Vista Island in Cape Verde. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. [Online] 26 (6), 890–909.
- Goodwin, P. & Noland, R. B. (2003) Building new roads really does create extra traffic: a response to Prakash et al. *Applied economics*. [Online] 35 (13), 1451–1457.
- Gu, H. & Ryan, C. (2008) Place attachment, identity and community impacts of tourism—the case of a Beijing hutong. *Tourism management*. [Online] 29 (4), 637–647.
- Gursoy, D., Jurowski, C. & Uysal, M. (2002) Resident attitudes: A Structural Modeling Approach. *Annals of tourism research*. [Online] 29 (1), 79–105.
- Gursoy, D. & Rutherford, D. G. (2004) Host attitudes toward tourism: An Improved Structural Model. *Annals of tourism research*. [Online] 31 (3), 495–516.
- Halim, D. K. & Ervina, E. (2021) Comparative Study: Perception on Sustainable Tourism of Urban and Rural Eco-Villages in Bali. *IOP conference series. Earth and environmental science*. [Online] 704 (1), 12-36
- Hallin, A. & Helin, J. (2018). *Intervjuer*. Studentlitteratur AB, Lund.
- Hosseini, K., Stefanic, A, & Seyedeh, P. (2021) World Heritage Sites in developing countries: Assessing impacts and handling complexities toward sustainable tourism. *Journal of destination marketing & management*. [Online].
- Hufvudstadsbladet u.å. *Lista: De här fem paradisen håller på att förstöras av turismen*. <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/f4e70da7-cb21-4524-9221-c08726e72a15>. [2022-11-28]
- Hunt, C. & Stronza, A. (2014) Stage-based tourism models and resident attitudes towards tourism in an emerging destination in the developing world. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. [Online] 22 (2), 279–298.
- Ko, D.W. & Stewart, W. P. (2002) A structural equation model of residents' attitudes for tourism development. *Tourism management*. [Online] 23 (5), 521–530.
- Kurniawan, A., Fanani, D. & Suprino, S. (2021) Examining Resident's Perception of Sustainability Tourism Planning and Development: the Case of Malang City, Indonesia. *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites* [Online] 40 (1), 242–252.
- Lai, H. K., Pinto, P. & Pintassilgo, P. (2021) Quality of Life and Emotional Solidarity in Residents' Attitudes toward Tourists: The Case of Macau. *Journal of travel research*. [Online] 60 (5), 1123–1139.

- Lasso, A. & Dahles, H. (2018) Are tourism livelihoods sustainable? Tourism development and economic transformation on Komodo Island, Indonesia. *Asia Pacific journal of tourism research*. [Online] 23 (5), 473–485.
- Latip, N. A., Mostafa Rasoolimanesh, S., Jaafar, M., Marzuki, A. & Umar, M. U (2018) Indigenous residents' perceptions towards tourism development: a case of Sabah, Malaysia. *Journal of place management and development*. [Online] 11 (4), 391–410.
- Lindberg, K. & Johnson, R. L. (1997) Modeling resident attitudes toward tourism. *Annals of tourism research*. [Online] 24 (2), 402–424.
- Liu, X. & Li, J. (2018) Host Perceptions of Tourism Impact and Stage of Destination Development in a Developing Country. *Sustainability (Basel, Switzerland)*. [Online] 10 (7).
- MacRae, G. (2016) Community and cosmopolitanism in the new Ubud. *Annals of tourism research*. [Online] 16–29.
- Moisander, J. & Valtonen, A. (2006) *Qualitative Marketing Research: A Cultural Approach*. London: Sage Publications. ss. 21-41.
- Natawiguna, I. M. P. D., Arifin, H. S., & Kaswanto, R. L. (2021) Analysis of Telajakan characteristic and the existence of ritual plants in Canggü Village and Penglipuran Village. *IOP conference series. Earth and environmental science*. [Online] 879 (1), 1-10.
- Nunkoo, R., Ramkissoon, H. & Gursoy, D. (2012) Public trust in tourism institutions. *Annals of tourism research*. [Online] 39 (3), 1538–1564.
- Nunkoo, R. & Ramkissoon, H. (2010a) Community perceptions of tourism in small island states: a conceptual framework. *Journal of policy research in tourism, leisure and events*. [Online] 2 (1), 51–65.
- Nunkoo, R. & Ramkissoon, H. (2010b) Small island urban tourism: a residents' perspective. *Current issues in tourism*. [Online] 13 (1), 37–60.
- Ouyang, Z., Gursoy, D. & Sharma, B. (2017) Role of trust, emotions and event attachment on residents' attitudes toward tourism. *Tourism management*. [Online] 426–438.
- Pahl, S., Brandi, C., Schwab, J., & Stender, F. (2022) Cling together, swing together: The contagious effects of COVID-19 on developing countries through global value chains. *World economy*. [Online] 45 (2), 539–560.
- Patel, R. & Davidson, B. (2019) *Forskningsmetodikens grunder : att planera, genomföra och rapportera en undersökning*. Femte upplagan. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Rasoolimanesh, S. M., Ramakrishna, S., Hall, C. M., Esfandiar, K., & Seyfi, S. (2020) A systematic scoping review of sustainable tourism indicators in relation to the sustainable development goals. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. [Online], 1–21.

Ribeiro, M. A., Pinto, P., Silva, J. A. & Woosnam, K. M. (2017) Residents' attitudes and the adoption of pro-tourism behaviours: The case of developing island countries. *Tourism management*. [Online] 523–537.

Saufi, A., O'Brien, D. & Wilkins, H. (2014) Inhibitors to host community participation in sustainable tourism development in developing countries. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. [Online] 22 (5), 801–820.

Simao, J. & Mosso, A. (2013) Residents' perceptions towards tourism development: the case of Sal Island. *International journal of development issues*. [Online] 12 (2), 140–157.

Stylidis, D., Biran, A., Sit, J. & Szivas, E. M. (2014) Residents' support for tourism development: The role of residents' place image and perceived tourism impacts. *Tourism management* (1982). [Online] 260–274.

SVT (2005) *Nya bombattentat på turistön Bali*. <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/utrikes/nya-bombattentat-pa-turiston-bali>. [2021-05-15].

Travelsnippet (n.d) *Ubud or Canggu: Which Bali Destination is Better to Visit?*. <https://travelsnippet.com/asia/indonesia/ubud-or-canggu/> [2022-05-13].

Tyrrell, T., Paris, C. M. & Biaett, V. (2013) A Quantified Triple Bottom Line for Tourism: Experimental Results. *Journal of travel research*. [Online] 52 (3), 279–293.

Warren, J. P. & Enoch, M. P. (2010) Island Transport, Car Ownership and Use: A Focus on Practices in Cuba, Malta, Mauritius and Singapore. *Island studies journal*. [Online] 5 (2), 193–216.

Woo, E., Uysal, M. & Sirgy, J. M. (2018) Tourism Impact and Stakeholders' Quality of Life. *Journal of hospitality & tourism research* (Washington, D.C.). [Online] 42 (2), 260–286.

Yeh, C. J., Borrero, N. E., Suda, J. F. & Cruz, C. I. (2021) Place matters: Exploring Native Hawaiian youths' cultural selves, pride, and generativity. *Asian American journal of psychology*. [Online] 12 (1), 76–86.

Yu, C.-P., Cole, S. T. & Chancellor, C. (2018) Resident Support for Tourism Development in Rural Midwestern (USA) Communities: Perceived Tourism Impacts and Community Quality of Life Perspective. *Sustainability* (Basel, Switzerland). [Online] 10 (3).

Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview template

Gender:

Age:

Occupation:

Starting questions:

- How would you describe tourism in Bali?
- How would you describe tourism in Canggu/ Ubud?
- When do you think Bali became a tourist island?
- Has your life changed since then? In what way?

Economic factors

Employment

- What is your working situation like?
- What is your personal view on working with tourism in Canggu/ Ubud?
- Do you feel that tourism has influenced your choice of employment?

Income

- Is tourism a main income for you?
- Do you feel you can manage based on the money you earn?
- How many hours per day do you have to work to feel satisfied with your income?

Cost of living

- Do you feel it has become more or less expensive to live in Canggu/ Ubud as tourism increases? (food, cloth, electricity etc)
- Do you experience that the tourists have affected your living situation?

Socio-cultural factors

Cultural and traditional values

- How would you describe the culture in Canggu/ Ubud? (ethics, values and traditions)
- Would you say that cultural traditions have been affected by tourism?
- Is there anything tourists do that you wish they would avoid? (taking photos, interacting in ceremonies etc)

The ability to adapt to change and difficult times

- How do you cope with the change of numbers of tourists during the high/low season?
- How were you affected by COVID-19?
- How do you feel about the potential decline in tourism due to critical circumstances? (natural disasters, pandemics, etc)

Being a part of a community

- Have you ever experienced conflicts within the local community when it comes to tourism?
- Do you feel that tourism has brought you closer or divided you as a local community?

Environmental factors

- What is your personal view of the environment in Canggu/ Ubud?
- Do you experience that tourists influence the environment in Canggu/ Ubud?
- Do you feel safe in Canggu/ Ubud?

Other

- Do you feel you are included in the process of tourism development in Canggu/ Ubud?
- Would you say that the tourism industry is too big? (why, how)
- What do you think tourists should consider when coming to Canggu/ Ubud?
- Do you think that there are some differences between tourists' behaviour in Ubud and Canggu/ Ubud?



UNIVERSITY OF BORÅS

Visiting address: Allégatan 1 · Postal address: 501 90 Borås · Phone: 033-435 40 00 · E-mail: registrator@hb.se · Webb: www.hb.se