

**QUESTIONING EMPOWERMENT
IN COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM
IN RURAL BALI**

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ABSTRACT

The term ‘empowerment’ is used with greater frequency in tourism for development, particularly in the context of community-based tourism (CBT), which is often referred to as a tool to ‘empower’ communities in the initiation, implementation and management of tourism. Still, critical and empirically grounded research on empowerment remains limited, particularly as emerging from social relationships in CBT. These are in many cases regarded as disempowering for community members, such as the tourism encounter and community relationships in cases where they lead to conflicts and jealousy, rather than collaboration. This research analyses these social relationships prevalent in CBT to take them as a potential starting point for social empowerment. Its aim is to locate social spaces of empowerment in CBT by unravelling power relations between the actors involved at local level. In these social spaces of empowerment, the basis of empowerment is generative power, defined as collective power *with* and power *within*, based on self-respect, to achieve power *to* generate positive change and to overcome power *over* (i.e. dominating power).

The fieldwork was conducted in three rural villages in Bali, which engage in CBT and are supported by a local NGO that aims at empowering communities. The methodology draws upon ethnographic traditions alongside semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Symbolic interactionism provides the methodological position, regarding meaning as constructed through interaction. A reflexive chapter discusses the intersubjectivities between the researcher and participants and links the methodology with the intellectual argument and the findings of the study.

Empirical evidence reveals that empowerment opportunities are unequal in the studied villages, with obstacles such as language, a lack in skills and caste hindering villagers’ empowerment. The village tourism committees (VTCs), a local and trained elite, take control over the space of CBT and the tourism encounter, by employing notions of ‘authenticity’ to sell the CBT product. Although CBT creates hope for change and empowerment for community members, it currently remains empowering for a few, while others generally experience tokenistic pseudo-participation and a silent involvement. At the same time, this study reveals first signs of empowerment based on power *with* and power *within*, generated in the tourism encounter and through villagers’ social ties, which are visualised in a ‘CBT power diagram’.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABCD	asset-based community development
ADA	Austrian Development Agency
ASA	Association of Social Anthropologists
Bali CoBTA	Bali Community-Based Tourism Association
BI	Bank Indonesia
BTB	Bali Tourism Board
CBT	community-based tourism
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
FDI	foreign direct investment
GDP	gross domestic product
GRDP	gross regional domestic product
HDI	Human Development Index
IFAD	International Fund of Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	less developed country
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	non-governmental organisation
PAR	participatory action research
PNPM	<i>program nasional pemberdayaan masyarakat mandiri</i>
PPT	pro-poor tourism
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PTBVRD	PT. Bali Village Resort Development
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
REST	Responsible Ecological Social Tours Project
SAP	structural adjustment programme
SI	symbolic interactionism
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SLA	sustainable livelihoods approach
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VTC	village tourism committee
VTT	village tourism team
WB	World Bank

GLOSSARY OF INDONESIAN/BALINESE TERMS

<i>ajeg</i>	upright
<i>atraksi</i>	attraction(s)
<i>Balai banjar</i>	local community hall
<i>balian</i>	Balinese healer/shaman
<i>Baliseering</i>	Balinization
<i>banjar</i>	Balinese neighbourhood association, hamlet
<i>Brahmana</i>	highest caste in Bali, caste of the priests
<i>canang sari</i>	a type of Balinese daily offering to the god
<i>demokrasi</i>	democracy
<i>demokratisasi</i>	democratisation
<i>desa</i>	village
<i>desa wisata</i>	village tourism/tourist village
<i>desentralisasi</i>	decentralisation
<i>gamelan</i>	traditional Balinese orchestra
<i>ibu</i>	mother
<i>kasta</i>	caste
<i>Kebalian</i>	Balineseness
<i>keanekaragaman</i>	diversity
<i>kebudayaan daerah</i>	regional culture
<i>objek wisata</i>	tourist attraction
<i>otonomi asli</i>	real autonomy
<i>pande besi</i>	ironsmith
<i>pande emas</i>	goldsmith
<i>pande perak</i>	silversmith
<i>partisipasi</i>	participation
<i>pemberdayaan masyarakat</i>	community empowerment
<i>penari Bali</i>	Balinese dancer
<i>potensi</i>	potential
<i>para</i>	market
<i>puri</i>	royal family house
<i>reformasi</i>	reformation
<i>sambal</i>	sauce
<i>sanggar tari</i>	dance school
<i>Satria</i>	second highest caste, caste of rulers and warriors
<i>sosialisasi</i>	socialisation
<i>subak</i>	Balinese irrigation system
<i>Sudra</i>	lowest caste, caste of the peasants
<i>sukuisme</i>	ethnocentricity
<i>tri hita karana</i>	three causes of prosperity
<i>warung</i>	food stall
<i>Wésia</i>	third case in Bali, caste of merchants
<i>wisata puri</i>	tourism to the royal family

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*“In everyone's life, at some time, our inner fire goes out.
It is then burst into flame by an encounter with another human being.
We should all be thankful for those people who rekindle the inner spirit.”*

Albert Schweitzer

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DECLARATION

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. This thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Date:

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purpose and rationale

The past three decades have shown a remarkable increase of the usage of the term ‘empowerment’ in a number of disciplines, such as health (Anderson & Funnell, 2010), education (Taliaferro, 1991), management (Huq, 2010), development (Friedmann, 1992), geography (Coles & Church, 2007; Timothy, 2007), and tourism studies (Cole, 2005). Within development studies – forming the broader context of this thesis – it was particularly the alternative paradigm of the 1980s that made room for notions of participation, citizenship and empowerment to emerge – thereby favouring people-centred over growth-centred approaches to development (Pieterse, 1998). Empowerment therein appeared to be the new hope for a fairer world, in which local communities gain in control and finally experience ‘real’ participation, rather than tokenistic or pseudo-participation, when it comes to initiating and executing development initiatives together with aid organisations and governments (Cornwall & Brock, 2005).

In the context of tourism in less developed countries (LDCs), the word ‘empowerment’ is increasingly employed when talking about assisting community members in becoming active agents in shaping their future (Cole, 2005; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003). Empowerment seems indispensable in tourism initiatives benefitting the wider community, rather than a local elite, the tourist or local – or even foreign – governments. Empowerment has become an over-used terminology in a number of tourism initiatives aimed at stimulating development, particularly when referring to community-based tourism (CBT), a form of tourism that seeks the active participation of community members, with control over how tourism is planned, implemented, managed and performed (Murphy, 1983, 1985, 1988). In CBT, community empowerment is a key factor to success (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Lapeyre, 2010).

However, there are some problems with the notion of empowerment. Most importantly, definitions within both the tourism and development literature are blurred and ambiguous, turning empowerment into a contested and trendy ‘fuzz-word’ (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). Sometimes, the meaning of the word is taken for granted, hence clear definitions do not exist or remain theoretical rather than derived from

empirical studies. In addition, the possibilities of empowerment in CBT usually focus around participation in tourism planning (Saarinen & Niskala, 2009, Timothy, 2007), women's empowerment (Megarry, 2008; UN Women, 2011), or economic empowerment (Mahony & Van Zyl, 2002), but rarely extend beyond these aspects.

Particularly in the context of CBT, empowerment is usually understood in terms of transferring power from governments or the private sector to communities through 'real' participation in tourism (Tosun, 2000), which at the same time creates possibilities for economic empowerment. Even though economic benefits are a key motivation for participation in CBT, it needs to be highlighted that these "do not always compensate for the social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism" (Scheyvens, 2003:248). No in-depth investigation of the social dimension of empowerment in CBT, which acknowledges and analyses the complex interactions between the actors involved, exists to date. I, therefore, agree with Scheyvens's (1999:246) suggestion to look beyond the economic dimension of empowerment: "[c]ommunity-based approaches to [tourism development] therefore need to acknowledge the importance of social dimensions of the tourism experience, rather than primarily focusing on environmental or economic impacts." Therefore, the focus of this thesis lies in an investigation of 'social empowerment', based on an analysis of social interactions within CBT, on the premise that the social ties between tourists, community members and intermediaries bear potential for empowerment (Jensen, 2010).

In the context of this thesis, social empowerment can be understood as empowerment emerging from social interactions and yielding social or personal impacts. The way in which the terminology is used here combines two dimensions of Scheyvens's (1999) widely known empowerment framework in tourism for development: psychological and social empowerment. The former mainly concerns changes experienced by the individual, such as the generation of pride and self-esteem on the part of community members as an aspect of how empowerment can show itself in practice (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Scheyvens, 1999; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). This dimension sheds light on interactions between residents and tourists (i.e. the tourism encounter): supposedly, the appreciation of the community's culture and traditional knowledge by the tourist could lead to a 'psychologically empowered' community (Scheyvens, 1999). This term, however, is largely problematic, given that

understanding research participants' cognitive processes usually lies outside tourism researchers' skillset and intentions. In addition, Riger (1993) argues that psychological empowerment takes the form of a mere 'sense' of empowerment that does not necessarily result in change at community level. Based on the problematic nature of the term, I combine Scheyvens's (1999) psychological and social empowerment into 'social empowerment emerging from social interactions', given that both share the characteristic of being stimulated through social interaction. Based on the argument that the interactions and power relations within communities – and in relation with outside actors – can lead to disempowerment (Scheyvens, 1999), this thesis investigates possibilities for generating social empowerment from social interactions – evolving into community equilibrium, inclusion, cohesion and collaboration through CBT. It does so by analysing the nature of power relations between the actors of CBT at a local level in three villages in rural Bali.

Given the negative impacts and unequal benefits generated by mainstream tourism in Bali, CBT is slowly emerging as an alternative form of tourism (Byczek, 2011). CBT is viewed as a tool to 'empower communities' through the use and preservation of its cultural and natural assets, as argued by the Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA, 2013a), the non-governmental organisation (NGO) implementing CBT in Bali. However, this requires empirical investigation based on anthropological traditions to explore the alternative space of CBT in order to ultimately locate possibilities for residents' empowerment in rural Bali.

Based on a symbolic interactionist position, this thesis takes human interactions as the key point of analysis, consisting of interactions between the actors in CBT – most importantly community members – and interactions with oneself, intended as reflexive selves that interpret and make indications to oneself (Blumer, 1969). Furthermore, this study makes use of the practice of reflexivity in order to analyse the intersubjectivities between myself as researcher and my informants. This is also why throughout this thesis I use the first person 'I' within the text, thereby avoiding the 'scientific rationality' that the usual third-person writing displays (Hall, 2004). Hence, in this thesis, particularly in the empirical part, I deliberately take on the position of the "embodied, situated and subjective researcher" (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003:415).

I regard these human interactions as the social spaces where power for change can lie, given that power is “the capacity generated by our relationships” (Wheatley, 2006:34). The present analysis is based on an understanding of power relations between people as “[r]elational power [that] operates in the spaces where people meet each other” (Eyben, 2009:6). The notion of space in this context can be understood as a ‘relational social space’ (Bourdieu, 1985; Thrift, 2009), an abstract space that is created through social relationships. Drawing on empirical evidence gained through my fieldwork in rural Bali, I suggest that CBT constitutes an alternative space compared to mainstream tourism and a space of powerlessness or disempowerment, which can potentially offer spaces for empowerment. In these spaces, power is understood as generative and dynamic, as power *with*, power *from within* and power *to* (Rowlands, 1997), rather than as a zero-sum game, which is at the expense of others.

It is the ambiguous notion of empowerment within a CBT context that forms the rationale behind this study, which seeks to generate an in-depth and empirically grounded understanding of the ‘social spaces of empowerment’ within CBT.

1.2. Research aim, objectives and questions

Based on the aforementioned rationale, this research seeks to answer two major research questions, which will be expanded into sub-questions after a critical review of the relevant literature (see section 4.4.)

1. To what extent can CBT as alternative tourism space constitute a social space of empowerment?
2. To what extent do further social spaces of empowerment emerge in CBT?

These questions lead into the respective aim and objectives that drive the research presented in this thesis. Firstly, the study seeks to understand the nature of the alternative space of CBT and whether in itself it could constitute a social space of empowerment. Secondly, it seeks to identify whether further social spaces of empowerment can emerge in CBT, such as the tourism encounter and its social interactions, which have largely been criticised to date, with the tourist being accused of exploiting and consuming communities and their culture in LDCs (Caton & Santos, 2009; McCannell, 1992).

The overall **aim** of the study can be summarised as follows:

To explore the extent to which social spaces of empowerment can emerge in the alternative space of CBT in Bali, a potential social space of empowerment.

Objectives:

- a) to critically investigate development paradigms, CBT and the emergence of empowerment theory;
- b) to explore the meaning and components of empowerment, particularly of its social and psychological dimensions;
- c) to conceptualise the use of power and space in connection with empowerment;
- d) to investigate and discuss the tourism encounter as a potential social space of empowerment;
- e) through an empirical analysis of interactions between the actors involved in CBT, to develop insights into the nature of power between actors and the potential for as well as obstacles to empowerment; and
- f) to draw conclusions on the nature, processes and meaning of empowerment in CBT in Bali, and identify future areas of research.

1.3. Disciplinary position

In order to grasp the complexity of empowerment in CBT, this study follows an interdisciplinary approach, “a process of mobilising different institutionalised disciplines through dynamic interaction in order to describe, analyse, and understand tourism’s complexity” (Darbellay & Stock, 2012:453). It sits at the intersection between development studies, tourism studies, social anthropology, sociology and human geography, enabling “a dialogue between disciplines [...] based on the mobilisation of specific competences” (Darbellay & Stock, 2012:454), thereby allowing for the co-production of knowledge through the use of concepts and methods established in different disciplines.

Development studies literature was consulted to establish the broader context for this study, which is empowerment for development in LDCs. Empowerment is a popular terminology in development studies, which forms the context for CBT as an alternative form of tourism for community development. Therefore, empowerment in development – specifically intended as community development – also plays a key role in the tourism literature associated with CBT. To understand empowerment, development, tourism and community psychology literature was consulted, with the

latter deepening my understanding of what is usually termed ‘psychological empowerment’ in and of communities, given that it shows a more nuanced and applied comprehension of the term (Kloos et al., 2002).

When it came to social interactions between residents and tourists, relevant literature on what is referred to as the ‘tourism encounter’ was consulted, being the quintessence of a number of scholarly works in tourism research, sociology and anthropology (Babb, 2011; MacCannell, 1992; Oakes, 2005). The sociology of tourism mainly focuses on tourists’ motivations, their impact on host societies and the tourism encounter (Cohen, 1984). However, there are overlaps with what is addressed by the anthropology of tourism literature, which seeks equally to understand social interactions between ‘host’ and ‘guest’ (Smith, 1989), besides focusing on aspects such as rituals (Graburn, 1977), the role of culture in tourism and how tourism interrelates with people’s everyday life in the communities and countries visited (Burns, 2004). Therefore, both sociology and anthropology are pertinent framing disciplines for this study in particular.

A major difference, however, lies in anthropological works situating local communities in the centre, while sociology emphasises the tourist’s motivation. Obviously, both disciplines draw on different theoretical concepts and methods. Based on these, and while ideas from sociology are used in this thesis, it is mainly *anthropological* knowledge that influences the discussion of the tourism encounter and the use of culture in tourism – particularly in the context of Bali. Ethnographic works were further consulted for methodological reasons, taking a symbolic interactionist position and making use of the practice of reflexivity in order to arrive at an empirically grounded understanding of empowerment in CBT.

Literature on space and power was consulted from the areas of philosophy, human geography, development studies and sociology. In the end, it was mainly feminist conceptualisations of generative power that proved most useful for this study, as well as a sociological understanding of space, understood as ‘relational social space’ – an idea that also human geographers adopt. In the end, these conceptualisations of space and power proved useful to establish the characteristics of social spaces of empowerment, a working definition that gave room for an understanding of power and space to be empirical, fluid and changing.

In addition to the fields discussed above, this study draws on the work of a wide range of social theorists, including, amongst others, Foucault, Bauman, Giddens and Bourdieu, for instance. I refer to social theory first and foremost to generate an understanding of social interactions and social spaces of empowerment by means of discussing, amongst others, the structure-agency debate, the varied understandings of power and space, and the relationship between the self and other. Although the theorists used in this work are at times contradictory in their views, I apply a variety of aspects of their work to establish the notion of social spaces of empowerment and to ultimately investigate empowerment processes as emerging through social interaction. Throughout this work, I clearly state how I interpret and use these theories for the purpose of this research. This also means that the conceptual framework devised in section 4.4. is based on an amalgamation of various ideas, rather than a specific theory that I apply throughout this research.

2. COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM FOR DEVELOPMENT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the notion of ‘development’, which is the broader context for this thesis, in order to trace the emergence of CBT. It does so by examining major development theories, above all alternative development, which introduced notions of participation and empowerment. The chapter then connects the bottom-up development debate to tourism and investigates CBT as alternative form of tourism, which can be embedded in the wider field of community development. This chapter, therefore, creates the broader picture, CBT for alternative development, which forms the space in which empowerment can be empirically investigated.

2.2. Paradigms in international development

In order to establish a connection between CBT and alternative development, it is useful to consider the emergence of a number of paradigms within international development. Since the end of World War II, four major development paradigms have emerged: modernisation, dependency, neoliberalism and alternative development.

Modernisation theory was paramount in the 1950s and 1960s, with development thinking focusing on economic growth after World War II (Potter et al., 2008). Modernisation puts economic progress and industrialisation at the forefront of development to help traditional societies in the transition to modern societies, thereby regarding the West as a yardstick (Rosenstein-Rodan, 1944; Rostow, 1960). Economists such as Rostow (1960) suggested that countries passed through different stages of progress, which turned development into a linear and top-down process, given that LDCs were expected to reach similar levels of development to the West.

Major criticisms of the school of modernisation theory concern its western-centric nature and the rejection of traditional knowledge and values in finding alternatives in development (So, 1990). Based on this criticism, **dependency** theory emerged in Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s as a counter-paradigm concurrent with modernisation theory (Chant & McIlwaine, 2009). Its most important contribution is the idea that reasons for underdevelopment can only be found *outside* rather than *within* a nation by embedding LDCs into the capitalist world system (Frank, 1966;

Prebisch, 1964; Wallerstein, 1979). Economist Andre Gunder Frank suggested that developed countries have never been underdeveloped, making it impossible to apply their history and experience to LDCs (Frank, 1966). Rather, it is the historical and economic *relationship* and interplay between metropolises (centres) and satellites (peripheries) and the development of capitalism itself that leads to the “development of underdevelopment” (Frank, 1966:4).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the concept of **neo-liberalism** emerged, also referred to as a form of *laissez-faire* economy that maximises the potential of the individual by restricting interventions by the state and letting the market regulate a country’s economy (Bauer, 1958). However, in effect, neoliberalism created more investment opportunities for the West and contributed to power inequalities (Harvey, 2005). Investment by the West was particularly supported by initiatives by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which intensified inequalities between rich and poor (Harvey, 2005). Although these supranational institutions provided sources of funding for LDCs, through their structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that boosted economies of LDCs in the 1980s and 1990s (Potter et al., 2008), much harm was done. Public expenditure decreased, disruption to local economic systems was caused and short-term solutions hindered self-reliance and independence (Schoenholtz, 1987).

Given the prevailing top-down approach to development, it was soon realised that a move away from the Eurocentric paradigm with a focus on economic growth as development was needed – with **alternative development** adopting a more people-centred approach. Alternative approaches to development thinking gained in importance in the 1980s, notably with Robert Chambers’s development from below (Chambers, 1983). His work introduced the notion of *participation* to development theory by arguing that ‘putting the last first’ was paramount (Chambers, 1983).

Also with a human dimension at the core of development, Sen (1999) marked a shift from consumption (as promulgated by the basic needs approach¹) to capabilities in his book *Development as Freedom*. According to Sen, development is about removing

¹ The basic needs approach in 1975 set the direction for a more people-centred positive change. Introduced by the International Labour Organization (ILO) it put people into the very centre of development by realising that employment to meet people’s basic needs, such as food or shelter, is more central to positive development than economic growth (Emmerij, 2010).

barriers to freedom (‘freedoms’ in an instrumental sense, such as nourishment, literacy, participation) while poverty is not about a lack of money but a lack of capabilities (Sen, 1999). Sen’s work became the intellectual driver for the creation of the Human Development Index (HDI), a measurement introduced by the United Nations (UN) in 2001. The HDI is a more nuanced approach than the use of gross domestic product (GDP) in measuring poverty and wealth, as it involves other factors such as life expectancy and education (UNDP, 2007). The basis for the HDI was the notion of ‘human development’², arguing that, rather than money, “people are the real wealth of a nation” (UNDP, 1990:9).

Factors such as health, education, sustainability and empowerment further form part of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed by the UN General Assembly at the turn of the millennium (UNDP, 2005). The MDGs impacted on the notion of development as more than the eradication of extreme poverty – however, recent reports show that attainment of the goals in their totality by 2015 is, as yet, unachievable (UN, 2014). It is argued that the MDGs are overambitious and unrealistic, which “could turn real development successes into imaginary failures” (Clemens & Moss, 2005:3). The MDGs are ‘normative instruments’ creating a neo-liberal development discourse of participation and empowerment in order to create “a visionary goal towards which to strive” (Cornwall & Brock, 2005:1055).

Nevertheless, a shift from economic growth to enhancing freedoms through development action can be detected (Potter et al., 2008). This includes ideas of human rights enhancement, participation, empowerment and human well-being (Potter et al., 2008). Notions of empowerment and participation are notably included in a large number of reports by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (e.g. Human Development Report 2011), aid agencies such as the World Bank (Alsop et al., 2006), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) (SIDA, 2009), the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) (ADA, 2006) and NGOs (Amnesty International, 2012). Nevertheless, terms such as ‘participation’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘poverty reduction’ have emerged as the new buzzwords or, rather, ‘fuzzwords’ of the development discourse, holding potential political power to

² Human development “is a process of enlarging people’s choices. The most critical ones are to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and self-respect” (UNDP, 1990:10).

create imposed consensus and often few practical implications (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). They are part of the changing language of development that “evoke[s] a world where everyone gets a chance to take part in making the decisions that affect their lives” (Cornwall & Brock, 2005:1044). Whether this language translates into real differences on the ground remains questionable (Cornwall & Brock, 2005).

The abovementioned arguments highlight the changes in the development landscape that took place in the last half a century, from growth-centred to people-oriented development (Pieterse, 1998). Citizens living in LDCs are now no longer seen as mere beneficiaries of aid or development intervention, but as *active* agents who can bring about positive change in their communities³. Alternative development (as development looking for alternatives from below) stresses the bottom-up nature of development and is undoubtedly connected to notions of participation, grassroots movements, citizenship and empowerment (Pieterse, 1998). This forms the *raison d'être* of the investigation of empowerment within this thesis.

2.3. A critical analysis of community-based tourism (CBT)

The previously-discussed change in the development paradigms can equally be recognised within the tourism discourse, particularly in the literature on tourism for poverty alleviation in LDCs. The tourism sector has a long history of being regarded as the panacea for the problems prevailing in LDCs (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). This idea enjoyed particular emphasis in the course of actions by the WB's and IMF's SAPs in the 1980s and 1990s, where tourism was used as a major engine for development (Reid, 2003). However, scholars have proposed that “these international organizations have isolated a vast majority of the people from their affairs and almost

³ The term ‘community’ is highly ambiguous and complex, with a wide spectrum of meanings and characteristics. It conveys notions of *Gemeinschaft* (i.e. personal social interactions that can be found within the family, for instance) (Tönnies, 1988), networks of sociability (Day, 2006), strong boundedness to a place or territory (Somerville, 2011) and collective action for empowerment (Kloos et al., 2012). While within this research the notion of community forms part of understanding power relations in CBT, this study does not seek to generate an understanding of community as such but of the social processes that characterise it. In this thesis, the term *community* is used to refer to a group of people who share similar traditions, beliefs, activities and/or a certain physical space. In addition, section 5.2.2. offers a discussion on the different layers or sub-communities that can be found in the traditional Balinese village, which I also refer to as ‘communities’ within this thesis. Most importantly, my use of the term is not static, meaning that communities’ physical or social boundaries (if at all they can be called ‘boundaries’) are fluid and changing (Bauman, 2001; Somerville, 2011). I take a critical view of the notion of community, meaning that it is not necessarily a place of security, warmth and shelter, which it often stands for (Bauman, 2001). Instead, this study ultimately shows that communities are often characterised by conflict, rather than cooperation, based on their complex social interactions.

put them out of the economic and political system of these countries” (Tosun, 2005:340). By encouraging foreign direct investment (FDI), they made space for foreign companies and investors, and local firms became unable to compete, limiting opportunities for participation by local groups (Reid, 2003; Tosun, 2005).

As with development in general, it was soon realised that economic pushes generated through foreign direct investment may not be the most sustainable way forward. Furthermore, the negative impacts of tourism started to become apparent in the fact that it was destroying its asset base – the natural and cultural resources – and that it casted only marginal and largely unequal benefits for the people involved (Smith & Duffy, 2003). Alternative and more sustainable forms of tourism grew in popularity, with a number of them producing perspectives with longer-lasting positive effects on the environment and people directly or indirectly involved in tourism. New terms such as ‘sustainable tourism’, ‘responsible tourism’, ‘eco-tourism’ or ‘ethical tourism’ emerged (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Reid, 2003; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). CBT became an increasingly preferred approach to mainstream tourism, with the promising idea of rural and often marginalised communities gaining control over how tourism is planned and managed (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009) and is critically analysed in the following section.

2.3.1. Provenance and definition of the term ‘CBT’

Community-based development emerged in the 1970s from the ambition of involving communities in bottom-up development – an idea that is transferrable to tourism (Reid, 2003). Murphy (1988) was one of the first proposing the involvement of the community in the planning processes of tourism. His idea of ‘community-driven tourism planning’ created the basis for what is known as CBT today by connecting tourism and community development. While his research was applied to the developed world, it did serve as a starting point for a shift in power relations and the fostering of partnerships between community and the tourism industry in LDCs, too.

Decades after CBT became widely adopted, no agreed definition of the term exists within tourism for development, making it a rather contested and fuzzy concept. However, most conceptions of CBT encompass the active participation of communities in the planning, implementation and management of tourism, providing wider benefits for the community (Boonratana, 2010; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009;

REST, 2003). Further aspects involve issues of sustainability, cooperation (on various levels), power distribution and participation (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). CBT is often focused around communities' assets, such as the natural environment and cultural traditions, turned into an attraction for tourists in the form of community-based ecotourism (Byczek, 2011; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Jones, 2005) or community-based cultural tourism (Salazar, 2012). The broad spectrum of CBT cases revives the controversial terminological debate; therefore, “[s]eeking an absolute 'Final Consensus' on all the terms and definitions [...] is difficult and probably not worth the effort” (REST, 2003:14). Hence, this study does not seek to find an ideal definition of CBT; rather, it looks at how CBT operates on the ground.

CBT studies have highlighted a number of benefits, such as the initiation of long-term community ventures (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007), the participation of community members (Lapeyre, 2010), the preservation of natural environment and culture (Boonratana, 2010), socio-economic diversification (Snyder & Sulle, 2011; Zapata et al., 2011), increased resilience for sustainable development (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011) and community empowerment and control (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Lapeyre, 2010). There is also evidence that CBT can strengthen relationships between communities, public authorities, tourism entrepreneurs and businesses and also extend the community's wider networks (Scheyvens, 2003; Timothy & Tosun, 2003; Zapata et al., 2011).

2.3.2. CBT and development

CBT's contribution to development is a contested issue (Goodwin, 2009), given the controversy over whose and what kind of development CBT should contribute to. Criticism on this matter comes, above all, from advocates of 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT). PPT is an overarching approach to tourism that puts tourism into a direct relation with development by “generat[ing] net benefits for the poor” (Ashley et al., 2001:1) and stipulating the adoption of pro-poor practices by mainstream tourism (Ashley & Haysom, 2005). Advocates of PPT criticise CBT based on the idea that it is generally associated with small-scale tourism initiatives and often does not have a significant enough impact for sustainable developmental change (Ashley & Mitchell, 2005; Goodwin, 2009). CBT tends to focus on small and marginalised communities

and so does not yield widespread benefits (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Ashley & Mitchell, 2005; Goodwin, 2009).

This is not to say that CBT ignores the wider developmental context or the socio-political or socio-economic environment, as some argue that CBT seeks “to address a different, developmental question: “[h]ow can tourism contribute to the process of *community* development [my italics]?”” (REST, 2003:11). Therefore, CBT can indeed be regarded as having the power to improve the life of a group of people, even though it may not yield developmental benefits on a macro level. Although CBT generates community (micro) benefits and connects to community development, by placing the community at the centre, it links the community to the wider environment in which it operates and can, therefore, change the structures that trap people in poverty (Blackstock, 2005). In other terms, community development takes a more holistic view of the community and its wider network by understanding the national developmental context, which is necessary to make CBT and tourism planning work (Duffy, 2002; REST, 2003; Reid, 2003).

Taking a wider developmental perspective demands reflections upon the effect that tourism can have on people’s livelihoods (Simpson, 2007), defined by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) as “compris[ing] the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living” (Scoones, 1998:5). A careful consideration of how tourism may fit with traditional livelihoods is particularly useful for CBT, also because it would help avoid dependence on the industry (Tao & Wall, 2009). The sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) follows this particular aim, as it serves to align development with the livelihoods of the poor (DFID, 2000a). The SLA proves particularly useful for tourism in LDCs, as tourism is often introduced to areas and communities that have relied on traditional industries such as farming and agriculture; hence, “it is important that it [i.e. tourism] complements rather than displaces existing activities” to avoid over-dependence on tourism (Tao & Wall, 2009:90).

2.3.3. CBT and participation

Besides discussions surrounding community livelihoods, the notion of participation is one of the most relevant and controversial aspects within the CBT debate. It is concerned with how CBT is initiated and implemented and who has the power to participate in its execution and decision-making process (Scheyvens, 2003; Timothy & Tosun, 2003; Tosun, 2000).

Although CBT is regarded as bottom-up in its approach to community development (Zapata et al., 2011), some argue that CBT can still be tokenistic (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; Tosun, 2005) due to the idea that “[t]he community is co-opted into supporting tourism through an illusion of power sharing but they are not empowered to reject tourism as a development option” (Blackstock, 2005:41). There is a general assumption that communities will agree with tourism becoming part of their lives. Nevertheless, cases have been documented that show the ineffectiveness of tourism initiatives in achieving sustainable community development, such as in the case of Mayan communities in Central America, where sustainable forestry and organic farming turned out as more viable alternatives (Smith & Duffy, 2003). The problem, however, often lies in tourism being profit-oriented and ‘tricking’ people into ‘participation’ (Blackstock, 2005) comes close to Arnstein’s (1969) rungs of ‘informing’, ‘consultation’ or ‘placation’ on the ladder of citizen participation, where citizens gain in voice, but do not have sufficient power to make a change to the current situation. It is argued that communities in LDCs find themselves on the lower rungs of the ladder, although there is an increasing awareness that active participation by communities in tourism is key to the success of CBT ventures (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). After all, it is the community that owns the assets used for tourism and so affects the undertakings as well as being affected by them (Murphy, 1985). However, when it comes to understanding power relations to increase local participation, Reed (1997:569) argues that the discussion on spreading power equally amongst interest groups ignores “why, how, and under what conditions, those with power would be willing to distribute it to others” (Reed, 1997:569). That is to say, power is an element hard to understand within the community, a black box that does not reveal itself easily, especially to outsiders (Iorio & Wall, 2012; Matarrita-Cascante, 2010). In addition, Reed’s conceptualisation of power regards power as an

object, something that can be passed on to others, and thus an idea that this study rejects.

Participation cannot be reached without stakeholders getting together to understand how they are interrelated (Okazaki, 2008). Although the active participation of often rural and/or marginalised communities should be one of the major purposes and pre-conditions of CBT (REST, 2003; Sebele, 2010; Timothy & Tosun, 2003), it is easy to talk about participation in theory, but it is hard to implement it in practice (Okazaki, 2008; Tosun, 2000). LDCs are not heterogeneous entities, as well as communities involved in tourism, making it hard to define or conceptualise participation (Tosun, 2000) – the new “umbrella term for a supposedly new genre of development intervention” (Tosun, 2000:615), which turns the mentioning of ‘participation’ into a must (Okazaki, 2008). One of the most important questions to ask is whether, even if community members may be able to participate in tourism, this can lead to a broader participation to shape the socio-political environment (Tosun, 2000). The power is often with the government, which doesn’t always delegate easily (Tosun, 2000, 2005), making it nearly impossible for communities to remove the “operational, structural and cultural [...] [obstacles] to community participation” (Tosun, 2000:613) and change the “dominant socio-economic and political structure” (Tosun, 2000:626). It is therefore necessary not only to understand who is empowered by tourism policy (and who is not), but to identify ways “in which tourism policy can contain certain social groups” (Church, 2004:565). In addition, there are complex dynamics of power at community level linked to the role of each member, such as caste systems and the patriarchal/matriarchal setting (Tosun, 2000; Equations, 2009). Power in communities is unequally spread and participation is not always representative of the population (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Timothy, 1999), which may lead to community conflict over the benefits of CBT (Robinson & Connell, 2008).

Besides obstacles in the wider political environment, barriers to participation lie in the initial stage of CBT development. Goodwin & Santilli (2009) and Iorio & Wall (2012) have proposed that it is mostly development agencies, NGOs and other organisation, with an interest in tourism and/or development, who discover communities’ potential and assets, and that, even if communities themselves seek to start CBT, funding and assistance from outside are indispensable. This poses an important question on how much outside influence (in the form of funding and training) is required to initiate

CBT (Iorio & Wall, 2012), when the actual starting point may well be a top-down initiative. Nevertheless, participation requires capacity building in order to make community members fully understand and embrace their opportunities (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). Training can lead to increased knowledge and skills, specifically connected to tourism, and constitutes a crucial pre-condition for participation (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Sebele, 2010; Tosun, 2000). Increased capacity can foster ownership, which is key when it comes to the design of CBT projects (Lapeyre, 2010; REST, 2003; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). However, “[i]t takes a long educational process and flexibility since participatory capacity cannot be built like a road or dam; it must be developed” (Tosun, 2006:503). What is suggested here is that developing capacity and skills necessary to plan and manage tourism requires the involvement/understanding of traditional knowledge and skills, another core but often overlooked community asset.

One of the problems with CBT is that it often comes with Western management and planning models that “undermine traditional forms of knowledge” (Wearing & McDonald, 2002:191). It is argued that, instead of *building* assets (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Lapeyre, 2010), *pre-existing* assets should be better used (Dolezal & Burns, 2015; Mathie & Cunningham, 2002; Zapata et al., 2011), in order to more effectively facilitate empowerment (Hipwell, 2009). Nevertheless, a certain basis in tourism skills may need to be provided through training, which “must be of high quality and of an ongoing nature” (Scheyvens, 2003:244). Training is necessary in order to assist community members in occupying management roles and take control over CBT rather than being satisfied with mere and, often minimal, economic benefits (Duffy, 2008; Scheyvens, 2003). Timothy & Tosun (2003) and Lapeyre (2010) suggest that real community participation in tourism can lead to empowerment and, thus, ownership. In the context of CBT, empowerment is about giving communities *control* and *power* in decision-making and over their resources that are utilised for tourism development (Scheyvens, 2003; Timothy & Tosun, 2003; Saarinen & Niskala, 2009). Participation, control and empowerment therefore create the main difference between tourism *in* the community and *community-based* tourism, with the latter’s utmost aim “to change the community from being the ‘target’ of tourism to its ‘manager’” (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008:218). Goodwin & Santilli (2009)

conducted a study asking practitioners what factors would constitute a successful CBT project, whereby empowerment and social capital were mentioned most frequently.

Empowerment is a key aim of CBT (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011) and other forms of tourism that have potential for development (Scheyvens, 2002). Still, empowerment is often understood solely in its economic dimension, in that CBT constitutes an activity casting economic benefit (Scheyvens, 1999). Even though community members are often motivated to participate in tourism for its promising economic benefits and empowerment (Connell & Rugendyke, 2008), there is a need for ‘psychological empowerment’ in order to increase feelings of self-esteem and pride (Scheyvens, 1999), and, in turn, make community members feel capable to participate (Cole, 2005). After all, working in tourism requires that “[t]hose who are trained [to engage in tourism] need the confidence to put their new skills into practice” (Scheyvens, 2003:244). In addition, it is the social relations within communities that can lead to social (dis)empowerment, thus enhancing or limiting possibilities for participation (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002). Community participation, equilibrium and cohesion are key factors of CBT success (Kibicho, 2008; Scheyvens, 1999, 2002), emerging from or being hindered by ambiguous community power relations – an often under-researched obstacle. Therefore, this thesis investigates community empowerment in CBT in its social dimension (or its ‘psychological’ and ‘social’ dimensions as propounded by Scheyvens (1999) and discussed in section 4.2.). The next chapter introduces the notion of empowerment and provides an in-depth understanding of the term in the context of tourism.

3. EMPOWERMENT – SETTING THE SCENE

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth review of ‘empowerment’, which forms the fundamental point of analysis of the present thesis. Empowerment presents itself as a term that finds usage in a number of disciplines. In the area of health, it appears as empowerment of patients (Anderson & Funnell, 2010; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2007); in management studies, it is located within employee action (Herrenkohl et al., 1999; Huq, 2010); and in community work it is referred to as collective empowerment (Laverack & Wallerstein, 2001; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). Much research has been undertaken within the area of psychology, where, above all, the notion of agency and control gained in importance (Rappaport, 1987; Spreitzer, 1995; Zimmerman, 1990). While an understanding of empowerment draws on literature from multiple disciplines (Zimmerman, 1990), this chapter places an emphasis on empowerment in development, which constitutes the broader context of this thesis. This is not to say, however, that literature from other disciplines is not considered for a better and more comprehensive understanding of the term.

This chapter investigates the notion of empowerment in development, followed by an in-depth understanding of the dimensions, levels and nature of empowerment, as well as the components of the empowerment process. Furthermore, the notion of power as the force that drives empowerment is introduced, with a focus on the four dimensions of power, as adopted in this thesis. Power is put into the context of spatial thinking, given the aim of this thesis, which is to explore to what extent social spaces of empowerment can emerge in the alternative space of CBT in Bali. This chapter, therefore, establishes how the notion of ‘social spaces of empowerment’ is used. Within this study, empowerment is referred to as a multidimensional and multilevel concept, with particular attention being paid to community and individual levels. Furthermore, it is seen as both a process and an outcome rather than an absolute state one reaches. The working definition for this study regards empowerment as a process that is based on visible and inner changes that help individuals/groups develop generative power or change the power relations that negatively affect them in order to make a positive change in their life and/or community (see also Eyben et al., 2008; Rowlands, 1997, 1996).

3.2. Empowerment in a development context

3.2.1. Origins, definition and application in development

As highlighted in section 2.2., since the early 1990s, empowerment has formed part of the development vocabulary (DFID, 2001). As “[c]onventional anti-poverty approaches, which focus almost exclusively on income and basic needs, have generally failed to reduce powerlessness” (UNDP, 2004:16), development increasingly put people and their capabilities into the centre (Sen, 1992). The grounds for participation and notions of empowerment were created through alternative development where “[p]eople’s empowerment – their collective self-empowerment – lies at the heart of [development] practice” (Friedmann, 1992:vi). Friedmann (1992) was one of the first to mention social, political and psychological empowerment as factors assisting in breaking free from poverty, with the state playing a crucial role in creating an enabling environment. However, empowerment needs to be traced back to the struggle of the powerless in the context of social movements and conflicts of gender and social justice (Hall, 1995; Rowlands, 1997). Early notions of empowerment can be found in education with Paulo Freire’s (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* seeking to harness power for transformation. By looking at the relationship between teacher and student, he sees ‘conscientisation’, which is the becoming aware and understanding of one’s own situation, as a starting point for positive change led by the oppressed (Freire, 1970).

In addition, much of the contemporary understanding of empowerment is based on feminist theory and women’s empowerment in particular, with researchers such as Moser (1993) acknowledging the necessity of women gaining power and control over their own lives for the purpose of increased self-reliance. The origins of empowerment in the ‘women in development’ and ‘gender and development’ approach (Luttrell et al., 2009; Rowlands, 1997) are still prevalent when it comes to promoting women’s empowerment, one of the major aspects to be tackled on the global development agenda. The UN includes the empowerment of women as one of their MDGs (UN, 2012a) and a number of aid agencies have followed this example by adopting it as part of their major work streams (CIDA, 2004; DFID, 2000b; SIDA, 2009). Women’s empowerment and empowerment of the poor is further adopted as one of the integral parts of *The Future We Want*, the outcome document of the Rio+20 conference (UN,

2012b). Thus, empowerment has a role to play in development (Alsop et al., 2006; Eyben et al., 2008) and is regarded as one of the core dimensions of wellbeing and a key component of poverty alleviation (DFID, 2001), also leading to human development (UNDP, 2004).

Empowerment is also defined in the development context as “the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them” (Kabeer, 2001:19) or, as suggested by DFID (2001:177), as “[t]he process whereby people gain more power over the factors governing their social and economic progress.” By analysing existing definitions, it becomes clear that empowerment is about change (above all in terms of power relations) and enabling people to make meaningful choices in their lives. It “happens when individuals and organized groups are able to imagine their world differently and to realize that vision by changing the relations of power that have been keeping them in poverty” (Eyben et al., 2008:6). This also includes expanding people’s assets and capabilities to enable participation in the political sphere and an influence on political institutions (World Bank, 2002). However, empowerment is not only about visible action and changes in people’s lives. “Empowerment is [...] more than participation in decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions” (Rowlands, 1997:14). Rowlands’s (1997) work on women’s empowerment emphasises the personal and inner processes of empowerment, i.e. power *within*, along with collective power *with* and generative power *to*.

Definitions of empowerment are blurry as they show that it focuses on such a broad area of human life that it encompasses everything and nothing at the same time. Some even argue that it is the new buzzword of the development vocabulary, gradually turning into a trendy fuzz-word (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). This also has political implications in terms of using empowerment as a tool of subtle manipulation as “the nicer [nice-sounding words] sound, the more useful they are for those seeking to establish their moral authority” (Cornwall & Brock, 2005:1056). In addition, there are concerns on whether empowerment by its vague definition and unclear usage has caused any real positive change in development (Luttrell et al., 2009). Its usage is often rejected due to its impracticality for donors as “the empowerment approach is not sufficiently ‘results-oriented’, an important priority in current development

funding” (Batliwala, 2010:118), where measurability is key but cannot always be guaranteed. Some researchers and practitioners even make use of the term without defining it at all, making it hard to understand its application and implications for the respective disciplinary context.

The meanings of empowerment differ between actors and cultural contexts, challenging the development of shared understandings of the term when it comes to partnerships in development (Luttrell et al., 2009). This terminological ambiguity and confusion also stem from the idea that power, as such, is a highly contested concept, understood in different ways by different people (Rowlands, 1996). In fact, “[t]he meaning of ‘empowerment’ can [...] be seen to relate to the user’s interpretation of power” (Rowlands, 1996:87). A more in-depth assessment aimed at the understanding of power as a basis for empowerment is offered in section 3.4. Before discussing power as the basis on which empowerment rests, it is useful to firstly analyse the dimensions, application and understanding of empowerment as found in the literature.

3.2.2. Dimensions of empowerment in development

The development literature reveals that empowerment happens in a number of domains or dimensions, as they are called in this thesis. In a study on how development organisations define and use the term, Hennink et al. (2012) categorise their findings into five ‘domains’: health, economic, political, natural resource and spiritual. These dimensions are interlinked, meaning “that empowerment in one [dimension] can augment, facilitate or be dependent upon empowerment in another [dimension]” (Hennink et al., 2012:2012). Others propose a distinction mainly between social, political, economic (Eyben et al., 2008; Luttrell et al., 2009; UNDP, 2004; World Bank, 2002) and psychological empowerment, with the latter serving as a potential basis for the other dimensions as suggested by UNESCO (Stromquist, 2009). Their interconnectedness is emphasised by the UNDP (2004), when stating that improvements in one area can cause positive changes in other areas. When people are empowered in all areas, they are said to have reached ‘sustainable empowerment’ (UNDP, 2004).

Table 1 presents a summary of the four key dimensions of empowerment as identified within the literature – the social, political, economic and psychological dimensions.

Table 1: Dimensions of empowerment in a development context

Dimension	Definitions and associated aspects
Social empowerment	<i>"Social empowerment [means] taking steps to change society so that one's own place within it is respected and recognised on the terms on which the person themselves want to live, not on terms dictated by others."</i> (Eyben et al., 2008:8)
	building of human and social capabilities to expand social capital (i.e. assets and capabilities of individual and community), access to education, participation (UNDP, 2004)
	considering the individual and the community: "to improve the quality of [...] social relationships and to secure respect, dignity and freedom from violence" (Eyben et al., 2008:8)
	fostering self-representation, speaking for oneself (Eyben et al., 2008)
	targeting of marginalised and vulnerable groups: "providing equal opportunities to all, regardless of sex, caste, creed or religion" (UNDP, 2004:12)
	improving access to information and education (World Bank, 2002)
Political empowerment	<i>"[P]olitical empowerment contributes to pro-poor growth [...] through increasing equity of representation in political institutions and enhancing the voice of the least vocal so that they can engage in making the decisions that affect the lives of others like them [and] [...] engage in the democratic process."</i> (Eyben et al., 2008:14)
	expanding political capabilities: democracy, dialogue, voting rights, representation, good governance (UNDP, 2004)
	creating spaces in politics for marginalised groups, support social movements and grass roots organisations and giving people the change to influence the making of policy (Eyben et al., 2008)
	being able to hold the state accountable for policies and actions (Eyben et al., 2008; World Bank, 2002)
	providing access to/participation in decision making (IFAD, n.d.)
	delegating authority to groups of lower castes (Luttrell et al., 2009)
	institutions creating an enabling environment (Alsop et al., 2006; Hill, 2003)
Economic empowerment	<i>"Economic empowerment is the capacity of poor women and men to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes on terms which recognize the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible for them to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth."</i> (Eyben et al., 2008:9-10)
	creating macroeconomic policies for economic/pro-poor growth (UNDP, 2004)
	creating employment opportunities: fostering the development of skills and labor-intensive work (UNDP, 2004)
	creating room for collective action, e.g. trade unions (Eyben et al., 2008)
	assisting women in gaining in control over income (Luttrell et al., 2009)
	increasing income (DFID, 2001)
Psychological empowerment	<i>"[Psychological empowerment] includes the development of feelings that [people] can act at personal and societal levels to improve their condition as well as the formation of the belief that they can succeed in their change efforts."</i> (Stromquist, 1995:14)
	increasing self-dignity, happiness, assertiveness, sense of autonomy, recognition by others (Luttrell et al., 2009)
	creating a sense of inclusion of marginalised groups (Malhotra et al., 2002)
	fostering psychological well-being (Malhotra et al., 2002)
	feeling worthy and capable to take action; feelings of self-confidence and self-esteem, moving away from helplessness (Stromquist, 1995)
	contributing to human dignity (World Bank, 2002)

Source: author, elaboration based on the sources listed in the table

Social empowerment highlights the importance of education, participation (UNDP, 2004) and, particularly, the targeting of marginalised and vulnerable groups (World Bank, 2002) in order to create a meaningful and respected place for individuals and communities within society (Eyben et al., 2008). These marginalised groups include, amongst others, women or those belonging to the lowest castes within society (Alsop et al., 2006.). Their social empowerment can be fostered through increased participation in social organisations, access to information, knowledge and skills (Friedmann, 1992). Participation, however, is often hindered by access to resources, keeping individuals from taking control over their environment, thereby resulting in social disempowerment and conflict (Kirst-Ashman, 2008; Kraft, 2000). On the contrary, signs of social empowerment include community equilibrium (Kraft, 2000), an increased sense of belonging or connectedness (Laverack, 2001) and marginalised members having a respected place within the community/society (Eyben et al., 2008). Although social empowerment should signify meaningful changes within society or community life (Eyben et al., 2008), a number of organisations, particularly UN agencies (UNDP, 2010; UNECA, 2008; UNEP, 2005; UNWTO, 2005), mention it without clear definition. Therefore, the term oftentimes seems to conflate all aspects that do not form part of economic development or empowerment.

Whereas social empowerment focuses mainly on social relationships, political empowerment concerns the influence of institutions and the government on people's lives (Eyben et al., 2008). For instance, the WB stresses the connection between agency and structure and, hence, connects individual agency – i.e. “an actor's or group's ability to make purposeful choices” (Alsop et al., 2006:10) – to the broader political environment. The WB tries to make sense of how empowerment is influenced (i.e. supported or inhibited) by the institutional environment, given that an enabling structure has the potential to enhance agency (Alsop et al., 2006). By using indicators to measure empowerment, it sees empowerment as rather functional and as a tool that leads to economic growth (Alsop et al., 2006; World Bank, 2002). Besides the institutional context, political empowerment includes the fostering of democracy (UNDP, 2004) and participation (Rowlands, 1996), which means delegating authority to local residents (Luttrell et al., 2009) and creating a space for the poor to influence policy making (Eyben et al., 2008).

These aspects may seem idealistic, if not unrealistic, as good governance in LDCs is often hard to achieve, with corrupted political elites as one of the main causes (Burnell & Randall, 2008). Also, the idea of delegating power and increasing participation of the poor evokes the impression that empowerment may be part of neo-liberal poverty-reduction strategies (Leal, 2010), given the way empowerment and self-help from below assist in decreasing the role of the state (Mohan & Stokke, 2000) and “promote social cohesion” (World Bank, 2002:3). Although participation and development from below have been stipulated for decades, the terms ‘participation’ and ‘empowerment’ are increasingly misused as ideological tools. Both neo-liberal and post-Marxist strands of development thinking put participation high on the agenda based on the belief “that states or markets cannot and should not be solely responsible for ensuring social equality and welfare growth” (Mohan & Stokke, 2000:249). The danger lies in valuing the often romanticised, homogenised and essentialised local over the national and, therefore, by working mainly on the community and civil society level, ignoring the state’s role in development action (Mohan & Stokke, 2000).

Popular participation also forms part of the economic dimension of empowerment, which is concerned with increasing “the capacity of [the] poor [...] to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes” (Eyben et al., 2008:9). This includes creating employment opportunities for the poor (UNDP, 2004) and helping them gain financial control, often supported by micro-finance programmes (Eyben et al., 2008). After all, economic growth remains key to development, which becomes visible when having a closer look at the understanding of empowerment as interpreted by multinational organisations, such as the UNDP (2004) and the World Bank (2002), using the term as equivalent to an increase in income.

More attention to the intangible aspects of empowerment comes from feminist theorists (Moser, 1993; Rowlands, 1996) and the area of community psychology (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Speer, 2000; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). As shown in Table 1 psychological empowerment is connected to stimulating feelings of control, self-dignity, autonomy (Luttrell et al., 2009), self-confidence and self-esteem (Stromquist, 1995). These aspects are regarded as the inner processes that form the basis for fruitful action as they help envisage change (Alsop et al., 2006) and give a sense of feeling worthy and capable to take action (Stromquist, 1995). While psychological empowerment is key to stimulating empowerment in the other domains

and should not be underestimated (Stromquist, 2009), it has received least attention in the development literature. It has, however, received great attention in the community psychology literature as one of the major values guiding the discipline in theory and practice (Kloos et al., 2012).

3.3. Steps towards understanding empowerment

“Empowerment theory is an enigma.”

(Zimmerman, 1990:169)

In order to contribute to an advancement of the understanding of empowerment in the context of tourism for development, a more in-depth analysis of the steps towards and the process of empowerment is required. A number of studies of empowerment have done so by creating frameworks for empowerment that specifically look at the steps within the empowerment process (UNDP, 2004; World Bank, 2002). Examples include the UNDP’s (2004) conceptual framework of empowerment and human development and the World Bank’s (2002) empowerment framework, which are two of the main institutional actors shaping development and using empowerment in their strategies. Within this section, a cycle representing the empowerment process is created, based on the information derived from the literature. It forms part of the conceptual framework that the empirical part of this thesis is based upon; but it does not serve the purposes of testing or validating. The major aim of this section is to outline the nature, the different levels and some of the key (theoretical) aspects of the notion of empowerment and to contribute to a critical analysis of the term.

3.3.1. Nature of empowerment

Scholars in community psychology argue that empowerment can be a *process* – e.g. participating in community organisations and activities – as well as an *outcome* – e.g. gaining in skills or control (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). Theorists and practitioners in the field of empowerment for development hold a similar viewpoint. On the one hand, they regard empowerment as a process that should lead to positive change, dependent on the context (Eyben et al., 2008; Hennink et al., 2012; Rowlands, 1996, 1997). This process presupposes that there is disempowerment first (Kabeer, 2001) for some sort of intervention to be needed and implemented (Alsop et al., 2006). The WB regards empowerment as “mov[ing] a group or a person from a lower to a higher state

of empowerment” (Alsop et al., 2006:3). Rowlands (1996) understands the process of empowerment as “moving from insight to action” (Rowlands, 1996:88), thereby referring back to Freire’s (1970) idea of *conscientisation*, where an understanding and awareness of one’s own situation forms the basis for action.

On the other hand, when one has reached the ‘highest stage’ of empowerment, the term can further be understood as an *outcome* of a process leading to change (Hennink et al., 2012) “in which a person or group enjoys a state of empowerment” (Alsop et al., 2006:3). Regarding empowerment as a result from intervention is popular in development, where an outcome focus helps measure empowerment and decides on the usefulness of development actions (Alsop et al., 2006). While the intrinsic value of empowerment is acknowledged, it mainly serves functional ends, particularly for the WB (Alsop et al., 2006), but also the UNDP and USAID, amongst others (Luttrell et al., 2009). As a consequence, it becomes clear that empowerment in development is used as *means* to an end, which in most cases is pro-poor growth (Eyben et al., 2008; SIDA, 2009).

In many instances, the final goal is to overcome ‘disempowerment’, which – although rarely defined – is regularly referred to as the contrast to empowerment (Nagar & Raju, 2003; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rowlands, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999; World Bank, 2002). Development institutions usually talk about disempowerment in one breath with poverty, turning the former ‘poor’ into the ‘disempowered’ (Alsop et al., 2006; UNDP, 2009). A more nuanced understanding suggests disempowerment includes the *factors* that lead to poverty (UNDP, 2004), the deprivation of capability (UNDP, 2004) or the inability to make choices. As Kabeer (2001:18) suggests: “[o]ne way of thinking about power is in terms of the ability to make choices: to be disempowered, therefore, implies to be denied choice.” In this thesis, disempowerment is therefore understood as the state of feeling powerless, a lack of control and the denial of the possibility of empowerment. Empowerment, then, is about overcoming disempowerment or a certain powerlessness (Kabeer, 2001), which is usually maintained by the exercise of power *over* others rather than by creating opportunities for power *with*, power *to* or power *within*. These forms of power will be further explained in section 3.4.

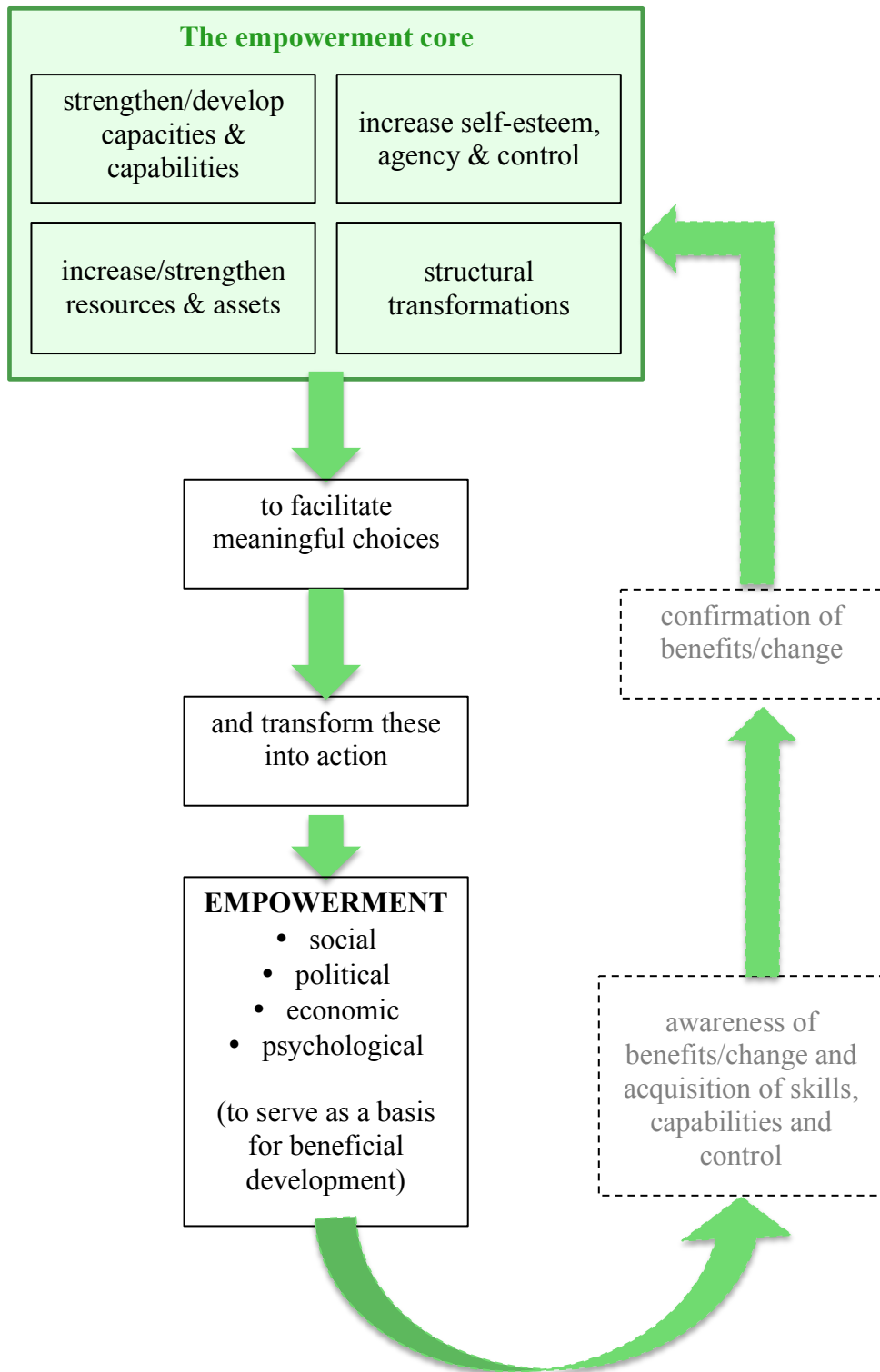
3.3.2. Components of the empowerment process

Four major components that form the basis, or ‘core’ (Rowlands, 1997), of the empowerment process emerged from the review of the literature (see Figure 1):

- *capacity* (increase of) (Alsop et al., 2006; Eade, 2010; UNDP, 2004) and *capabilities* (strengthening and/or developing of) (IFAD, n.d.; Sen, 1989; UNDP, 2004; World Bank, 2002);
- *self-esteem*, (sense of) *individual/collective agency* and *control* (increase of) (Alsop et al., 2006; Laverack & Wallerstein, 2001; Rowlands, 1997; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988);
- *resources* and *assets* (strengthening and/or increase of) (Alsop et al., 2006); and
- *structural transformations* (including political/institutional and socio-cultural structures)/enabling structure (Kabeer, 2005; Sewell, 1992; World Bank, 2002).

This core comprises the areas where fundamental changes need to happen in order to enable processes of empowerment. The idea of the empowerment core is taken from Rowlands’s (1997) work, which includes mainly psychological and psycho-social processes as comprising the empowerment core. Based on the reviewed literature, this core needs to include a richer set of transformations that enable empowerment. Figure 1 presents these as key components of the empowerment process, a diagrammatic explanation that informs the empirical part of this study on how empowerment can be understood in the context of CBT. Section 8.3. revisits this empowerment process in light of the findings presented in chapter 8.

Figure 1: Empowerment as process and outcome



Source: author

‘Capacities’ and ‘capabilities’ are often used interchangeably in the empowerment and development literature. Amartya Sen (1999) was one of the intellectual drivers with his capabilities approach creating the basis for human development and notions of empowerment. At the heart of the capability approach lie the ideas of functionings – i.e. achievements such as wellbeing, being nourished, being happy, self-respect – and capabilities – i.e. opportunities and abilities to achieve functionings. Capabilities can, therefore, also be regarded as having the *capacity* to achieve functionings. The notion of ‘capacity’ – generally defined as an individual’s *ability* or *strength* to do something – is usually used when reference is made to capacity building efforts in development projects, supported by NGOs and/or governments and focusing on the generation and strengthening of skills and knowledge (Eade, 2010; Hennink et al., 2012; World Bank; 2002).

Capacity is closely connected to *agency*, the latter being defined as “[c]apacity to act independently and make choices” (Hennink et al., 2012:206) or as “what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important” (Sen, 1985:206). According to Hennink et al. (2012:206), the notion of agency includes three components: “(a) [the] self-confidence and self-efficacy to set and achieve goals (b) [an] ability to make informed decisions that are recognised and respected [and]; (c) [a] belief in [one’s] own ability to take action to effect change based on [one’s] own goals”. Therefore, agency comes with notions of *control* over one’s own life and destiny (Oppenheim Mason & Smith, 2003). *Self-esteem*, collective/individual *agency* and *control* are part of the inner processes, “the transformation of the individual or the group, [...] [or rather the] ‘key’ that opens ‘locks’ on the empowerment door” (Rowlands, 1997:111). According to Rowlands (1997), key to grasping the complex notion of empowerment is, first and foremost, an understanding of this core and the necessary transformations that unlock empowerment, leading to broader personal and social changes.

Agency is usually understood in relation to structure, portraying the influence of the institutional, social and cultural environment on individuals’ actions. In the context of this thesis, I reject the two extreme viewpoints of the structure-agency debate: the structuralist viewpoint that regards structure as an external and rigid force that impacts on the individual’s agency and the voluntarist viewpoint that regards individuals as being in complete control of their lives (Hays, 1994). I agree with Giddens’s (1984)

duality of structure, in that structure and agency are dynamic interactive concepts: agents (re)create (and potentially change) structure through their daily actions, and structure has an influence on agency, setting certain limitations to one's actions. This conceptualisation regards individuals as having agency in that their actions are based on choices and acknowledges that "structures not only limit us, they also lend us our sense of self and the tools for creative and transformative action, and make human freedom possible" (Hays, 1994:61). Hence, agency is not the only "[source] of empowerment" (Hays, 1994:60) based on the breadth of choices that structure creates for agents. However, certain aspects pertaining to structure can turn out to be obstacles in the empowerment process. In this case, it is key to understand 'structurally transformative agency', i.e. agency for social change that enables individuals to turn restrictive structural aspects into empowering ones, above all of those that occupy less powerful positions (Hays, 1994). Thus, in the context of this thesis, I do not regard agency as absolute freedom, given that "social choices [...] occur within structurally defined limits among structurally provided alternatives" (Hays, 1994:65). Instead, agency is the "individual and collective autonomy made possible by a solid grounding in the constraining and enabling features of social structure" (Hays, 1994:64-65).

As mentioned above, structure not only encompasses the institutional environment but includes also culture⁴ and social structures, with culture being "the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; [and] social structure [...] [being] the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations" (Geertz, 1973:145), including roles and relationships such as class, gender and religion (Hays, 1994, Luttrell et al., 2009). Hence, social structure usually refers to a larger social system that the individual's actions maintain, while culture encompasses the meanings for those who practice it, including aspects of norms, customs, rituals and language (Hays, 1994).

⁴ This thesis adopts the definition of culture as propounded by Geertz (1973:89), who regards culture as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life", as "webs of significance", which the anthropologist decodes "in search of meaning". Culture encompasses both the tangible and intangible, being observable but "go[ing] deeper than observable behavior; it is a society's shared and socially transmitted ideas, values, and perceptions" (Haviland et al., 2011:28). Hence, when talking about culture, I refer to the whole of practiced and lived culture (often commodified in the context of tourism) as well as the underlying meanings for those individuals who operate within the same cultural context.

I do not argue that culture seen as structure reduces individuals' agency in a sense that s/he has no more freedom to act independently or choose from a number of possible actions. I agree with Geertz (1973) in that culture constitutes a structure that assists individuals in defining and constructing their selves. This is particularly the case in Bali, where culture pervades numerous aspects of everyday life, through strong kinship and rituals (Geertz, 1973). Hence, “[c]ulture is both the product of human interaction and the producer of certain forms of human interaction. Culture is both constraining and enabling” (Hays, 1994:65).

Having acknowledged the importance of structure and agency as part of the empowerment process, the connection to the fourth, and rather material component of the empowerment core, lies in agency being largely dependent on a person's asset endowment, meaning that a person's asset base has an effect on how well one is able to make meaningful choices and, hence, empower themselves (Alsop et al., 2006). Therefore, empowerment must also include an expansion of assets (World Bank, 2002), such as material, financial and human assets (Alsop et al., 2006). While the building or extension of assets and control of resources is key to how empowerment is conceived (UNDP, 2004), the usage of pre-existing assets and, therefore, their potential for empowerment are often disclosed. This is also the case for CBT, which, according to Dolezal & Burns (2015), needs to better use existing tangible and intangible community assets in tourism activities.

These four areas of transformation in the core form the basis for action and change, based on meaningful choices made by the actors. The freedom of choice is central as only choices that are meaningful to people consequently contribute to their wellbeing (Sen, 1993). Therefore, empowerment “refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability” (Kabeer, 2001:19). These choices, in turn, can result in tangible and intangible changes – i.e. empowerment as an outcome – in four major dimensions: social, political, economic and psychological. These changes are based on preceding choices, actions and achievements, with the latter meaning that the agent becomes aware of benefits, change or the acquisition of skills, capabilities and control. After all, the “ability to exercise choice can be thought of in terms of changes in three inter-related dimensions which make up choice: resources, [...] agency [...] and achievements” (Kabeer, 2001:19), the first two constituting aspects that were previously mentioned as part of

the empowerment core. Achievements signify the outcomes of choices made and the changes that occurred. The confirmation of this change and/or the acknowledged benefits further strengthen capacity, increase agency and assets, and can even transform structure to start the process anew. Therefore, Figure 1 includes two steps as an addition to what the literature reveals. Hence, some of the confusion with empowerment is that while some consider empowerment to be an outcome (i.e. the end of the cycle), others see it as a means to accomplish further – often more tangible – change.

3.3.3. Levels of empowerment

The reviewed literature highlights four levels of empowerment, pointing towards *who* is or should be empowered. These include

- the institutional level;
- the community/collective level;
- the individual/personal level; and
- inter-personal/relational level (i.e. between people).

Empowerment at the institutional level encompasses aspects of participation and control amongst others within the political or juridical system (Alsop et al., 2006). Empowerment is not only concerned with establishing direct access for the poor in shaping politics, but also about giving them the power to hold institutions accountable for their actions (Alsop et al., 2006). While looking at a macro level, it nevertheless puts people (individually and collectively) at the centre.

Collective empowerment specifically encompasses communities taking joint action to fight social inequalities, making their voices heard and changing power relations in the structure that keeps them in poverty (Eyben et al., 2008; Rowlands, 1997). In this context, it is acknowledged that individuals are also collective actors in society (Alsop et al., 2006) having “collective agency”, rooted in what is known as “group identity”, “group dignity” or “sense of collective agency” (Rowlands, 1997:116).

Empowerment at the collective level is obviously connected to empowerment at the individual level (Eyben et al., 2008; Rowlands, 1997; UNDP, 2004). After all, it is individuals who form communities, which is why individual empowerment can have a positive effect on the collective and vice versa (Rowlands, 1997). Therefore, in

understanding empowerment, it should not be forgotten how the power of one person can have an impact on the power of another person (Hill, 2003). Hence, individual and community levels cannot be analysed in isolation.

The inter-personal or relational level of empowerment means “developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of a relationship and decisions made within it” (Rowlands, 1997:15). While Rowlands’s notion of ‘empowerment in close relationships’ emerged from a work on women’s empowerment, these could equally be applied to a different context, based on the wider importance of the development of negotiation and communication skills to defend one’s rights and to fight societal inequalities (Rowlands, 1997).

Based on the identified levels above, this thesis adopts a multilevel approach, which “requires defining empowerment in terms of both individual capacities and collective action to address inequalities” (Luttrell et al., 2009:16). This goes back to the idea that trying to understand people and their actions needs a thorough consideration of the community as well as the societal and structural contexts in which each individual operates as “the problem is never just the person and never just the situation but a complex mixture of the two, conditioned through the wider processes of socialisation and reproduction” (Kagan et al., 2011:50-51). Therefore, in the context of this study, it is crucial to draw a connection between the institutional level, individual agency, people’s role within the community, as well as contact with those outside the community, such as tourists.

3.4. Power: the force that drives empowerment

3.4.1. Conceptualisations of power

This section establishes the importance of *power* for this study, particularly because tourism research has failed to sufficiently acknowledge or use conceptualisations of power, not least to understand empowerment (Church & Coles, 2007; van der Duim et al., 2006). The literature on power reveals a number of interpretations, such as power as domination (Gramsci, 1971), as resistance (De Certeau, 1984; Foucault, 1982), as false consciousness or coercion (Lukes, 1974), as knowledge (Foucault, 1989), as reinforcing social order derived from the duality of structure (Giddens, 1984), as social struggles constrained by ‘habitus’ and ‘field’ (Bourdieu, 1984), as authority or

even as manipulation (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). However, the problem with many of its conceptualisations is that power is often regarded as an instrumental commodity held by a person who uses it *over* others and, hence, as inherently negative.

This idea has been partly replaced by postmodernists, who argue for a more fluid and productive account of power, such as Michel Foucault (1998:63), who suggests that “[p]ower is everywhere’ and ‘comes from everywhere’ so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure.” Rather than being absolute and belonging to certain actors, power is constantly negotiated, and accumulative rather than zero-sum, given that “[p]ower is not a finite resource; it can be used, shared or created by actors and their networks in many multiple ways” (Gaventa, 2006:24). Departing from a Foucauldian standpoint, one does not simply have power *over* another, but domination is enabled based on the interplay between free subjects and the subsequent alignment of their actions (Foucault, 1980). Therefore, within this thesis, power is understood as relational and constructionist. After all,

[h]uman beings exist within an array of relationships [...]. They do not commence life as single, unitary or self-contained nomads but gain their very capacity to exist in such apparent states (what we call states of individual identity) by virtue of their relatedness. In this sense we are always already in relationship (social and otherwise). (Gergen, 1995:36)

Not only a relational but a *generative* account of power is particularly useful to understand empowerment, which should not happen at the expense of others, but in connection with others, hence as a form of collaborative power (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). Power is not a ‘tool’, an asset or a trait to reach empowerment, but rather the basis on which empowerment rests. It is the force that drives empowerment, or, as argued by Rowlands (1997:9), its “root-concept”. Power is “capacity and agency to be wielded for positive action” (Gaventa, 2006:24) and empowerment means changing existing power relations (Batliwala, 1994).

As Foucault presents it, power is fluid and, while power is not something that is *held* or *possessed*, it can be *used* by individuals given that “[t]hey are not only its inert or consenting target. Individuals are vehicles of power not its points of application” (Foucault, 1980:98). I agree with Foucault’s (1979) fluid and relational conceptualisation of power, which becomes ‘visible’ “only when it is put into action” (Foucault, 1982:788). Nevertheless, his conceptualisation of power is largely

inadequate for studying empowerment. Account needs to be taken of other forms of power that do not take the form of “action upon an action” (Foucault, 1982:789), as this is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, although Foucault (1982:786) himself argues that he is “not thinking of [power as] a zero-sum game” but as operating in networks of people, for him power remains largely an equation between domination and subordination (Cooper, 1994), with potential for resistance and “possible reversal” (Foucault, 1982:794). Hence, Foucault ignores other forms of power that emerge through resistance and do not necessarily ‘mirror’ domination. For example, Foucault does not account for an individual’s internal processes that hinder or favour processes of empowerment, such as internalised oppression, and ignores cooperative actions in his analysis (Deveaux, 1994).

This leads to the second problematic issue with Foucault’s conceptualisation of power, that of freedom and agency. According to Foucault (1982) freedom is the prerequisite for power, in that “where there is power, there is resistance” (Foucault, 1978:95), hence subjects are free to resist power through choosing from a number of options available to them. Nevertheless, this turns his view into an ‘agent-less’ idea of power (Cheater, 1999; Gaventa, 2006), which becomes problematic when trying to explain current power imbalances as a starting point for empowerment processes. Rowlands (1997) stresses that Foucault turns empowerment into a non-issue: “if power is everywhere, if every individual capable of acting upon the actions of others (including when resisting) has power, it becomes quite difficult to account for the imbalances of power relations between particular groups of people” (Rowlands, 1995:20).

Instead, empowerment theory seeks to challenge power *over*, i.e. domination and authority, through resistance and an increase of one’s own or a group’s abilities (Rowlands, 1997). Resistance thereby is not seen as the “antithesis of power”, which mirrors dominant power by combating it with its reverse (Cooper, 1994:442). Rather, I see resistance as opening up possibilities for other, more generative forms of power, by transforming conflict and dominant power *over*. Hence, power *over* plays a role in that it is important to understand the power relations that keep people disempowered. This leads us to Rowlands’s (1997) four types of power – power *over*, power *with*, power *to* and power *from within* – with the last three types presenting a more feminist and generative understanding of power. These types are agent-bound and create

capacity to act, hence they are key to understanding empowerment (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). The following section offers an in-depth discussion of these four dimensions of power.

3.4.2. Four dimensions of power

A number of works on empowerment within development studies use generative conceptualisations of power *with*, power *within* and power *to* in order to find alternatives to repressive power *over*, seeing power as zero-sum game and resulting in win-lose relationships between actors (Alsop et al., 2006; Chambers, 2006; Csaszar, 2004; Eyben, 2004; Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007; Kabeer, 2001; Luttrell et al., 2009; Rowlands, 1995, 1997; UNDP, 2004). Amongst these works, Rowlands’s research on women’s empowerment in Honduras has been widely used and offers a conceptualisation of the four dimensions of power as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Rowlands’s (1997) four forms of power

Power over	controlling power: A holding power over B
Power to	generative/productive power, basis for action and change
Power with	collective power
Power within	power that comes from inside oneself, based on self-respect

Source: author, adapted from Rowlands, 1997

Power *over* is a controlling form of power with negative connotations as it presents itself in the form of suppression with power being a zero-sum game, meaning that an increase in the power of one person will decrease the power of somebody else (Rowlands, 1997). This idea of power precludes possibilities for empowerment (Stewart, 2001) as it is based on the premise of domination, exploitation and control through either coercion or consent (Laverack, 2004). The latter can also be regarded as ‘internalised oppression’, whereby an overt use of power *over* is not necessary due to oppression forming part of one’s reality (Rowlands, 1995). In order to understand the internal processes accounting for internalised oppression, power *over* has to be included in a feminist conceptualisation of power; however, not as desired outcome of actions aimed to achieve empowerment, but as the kind of power that needs to be overcome or transformed (Rowlands, 1995). A feminist conceptualisation of power includes the dimensions of power *within*, power *with* and power *to* as “giving scope to the full range of human abilities and potential” (Rowlands, 1997:14).

Particularly power *to*, as opposed to power *over*, can be regarded as a generative type of power, meaning that “an increase in one person’s power does not necessarily diminish that of another” (Rowlands, 1997:12). The importance of power *to* lies, above all, in action and choices made, which result in change that avoids conflict and domination (Alsop et al., 2006; Chambers, 2006; Rowlands, 2007). This change happens through capacity and agency developed by those individuals who have previously been the ‘receiving’ actors in a power relationship characterised by coercion or domination (Crawford & Andreassen, 2013). Power *to* can, therefore, be regarded as “agency, meaning effective choice, the capability to decide on actions and do them” (Chambers, 2006:100).

Power *with* is connected to the collective, or relational, level, as discussed in section 3.3.3., where the potential for empowerment can be found within the relationships between people in a community or with others from outside the community setting. Power *with* means power for change, action and transformation (Kabeer, 1994). This power is collective in the sense that “the whole [is] [...] greater than the sum of the individuals” (Alsop et al., 2006:232). It therefore creates the basis for collective actions, such as social movements (Crawford & Andreassen, 2013) and social empowerment, which

is a process by which people reclaim their power, the power to shape their own lives and to influence the course of events around them. They use their power against oppression and exclusion, and for participation, peace and human rights. This power is not “power-over”, or domination, but the power to be and to do, “power-with” others that can be used to change oppressive or disempowering circumstances. (Kraft, 2000:35)

Power *within* focuses on the generation of self-esteem, self-worth and an awareness of one’s own capabilities, capacity to take action (Rowlands, 1997), “individual sense of potency” (Friedmann, 1992:33) or “sense of mastery” (Laverack, 2004:37). Thus, the ultimate goal of power *within* is to discover and foster internal strength (Moser, 1989). While self-esteem and agency, as two components of psychological empowerment or power *within*, are key to empowerment, it does not necessarily mean that an increase in self-esteem equals empowerment (Rowlands, 1997). In fact, if this does not translate into some sort of action or change, one cannot speak of empowerment (Rowlands, 1997). This idea also goes back to the process of empowerment as identified in the context of this thesis (Figure 1), where action and change are crucial

to ‘complete’ the empowerment process to stimulate beneficial development and start the cycle anew. One could, therefore, argue that power *within*, on a personal level, can be used as a starting point for positive change based on power *with* as part of community empowerment (Laverack, 2004), leading to a wider redistribution of power within society (Staudt et al., 2002). By contrast, others prefer the idea that self-esteem is an *outcome*, rather than a basis for or antecedent of empowerment (Grabe, 2011; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). For instance, Grabe (2011) proposes that structure predicts agency, which, in turn, leads to self-esteem.

Power *within* is crucial, based on the nature of empowerment itself: “[e]mpowerment is a conscious self-inducement controlled by an individual. It comes from within; it cannot be “given” to [anyone]” (Taliaferro, 1991:1) but, rather, “has to be self-generated” (Kabeer, 1994:229). That is not to say, however, that individuals can empower only themselves, as this would leave the reasons (or even blame) for disempowerment with the individual person, an idea that aligns with the principles of responsibility delegation within neo-liberal politics. Hence, power may not be given to anybody, but the circumstances may indeed be provided, going back to acknowledging the influence that structure can have on spaces of empowerment, also in tourism. However, before moving on to discussing empowerment in tourism, it is necessary to explain what is meant by ‘social spaces of empowerment’. The following section addresses spatial thinking and the idea of space imbued with power, the force that drives empowerment.

3.5. Social spaces of empowerment

In the context of this thesis, space is used in three ways to understand empowerment in CBT, as this section will explain: social spaces of empowerment, the alternative space of CBT and touristic spaces.

The concept of social space is based on social relations, just as the nature of empowerment is in the context of this thesis. Empowerment itself emerges from interactions between people (and/or with oneself, i.e. as part of power *within*) and the complex entanglements of actors within a community, the broader society and the encounter with tourists. These interactions are investigated within CBT as an alternative space of empowerment as opposed to mainstream tourism. I intend to

investigate whether this alternative space can create ‘social spaces of empowerment’, whereby power is understood as fluid, generative and creative rather than as domination or zero-sum game, turning these spaces within CBT into spaces of opportunities to overcome powerlessness. I seek to understand how social spaces of empowerment can form within CBT, hence where the possibilities for empowerment can be located. In addition to ‘social spaces of empowerment’ and the ‘alternative space of CBT’, the terminology ‘touristic space’ refers to a physical space (imbued with meaning through social interactions), a “stage set, a tourist setting” (MacCannell, 1973:597) that has undergone processes of ‘touristification’. These are often the spaces where tourists concentrate, such as within the boundaries of a village, often created intentionally by villagers to manage tourists (Picard, 2011).

Notions of space are increasingly found within geography, anthropology, sociology and other disciplines in order to stress the dynamic and hybrid nature of society and culture, based on, amongst others, influences of globalisation, migration and travel (Coles & Church, 2007; Crang & Thrift, 2000; Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003). The need for spatial analysis emerged given that the social world under study cannot be understood with the help of simplistic dichotomies (Bourdieu, 1989), particularly because power is increasingly regarded as fluid and free-floating, creating the *raison d’être* for spatial thinking (Foucault, 1986). Therefore, within this thesis, spatial analysis proves useful to understand the complexity of CBT, the power relations between its actors and the possibilities for empowerment.

Social space is not a geographical space, but one that is made up of, or indeed ‘produced’ (Lefebvre, 1991) by, social relationships. As Bourdieu (1985:198) suggests: “[w]hat does exist is a *space of relationships* which [, however,] is as real as a geographical space.” Although I use Lefebvre’s (1991) and Bourdieu’s (1985, 1989) terminology of social space, I intend to do so in different ways than analysing group formation through the use of capital (Bourdieu, 1989) or processes of production, as for Marxist thinking (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is employed in this thesis to understand and locate the potential for empowerment in CBT based on social relations, hence the denomination of ‘social space’.

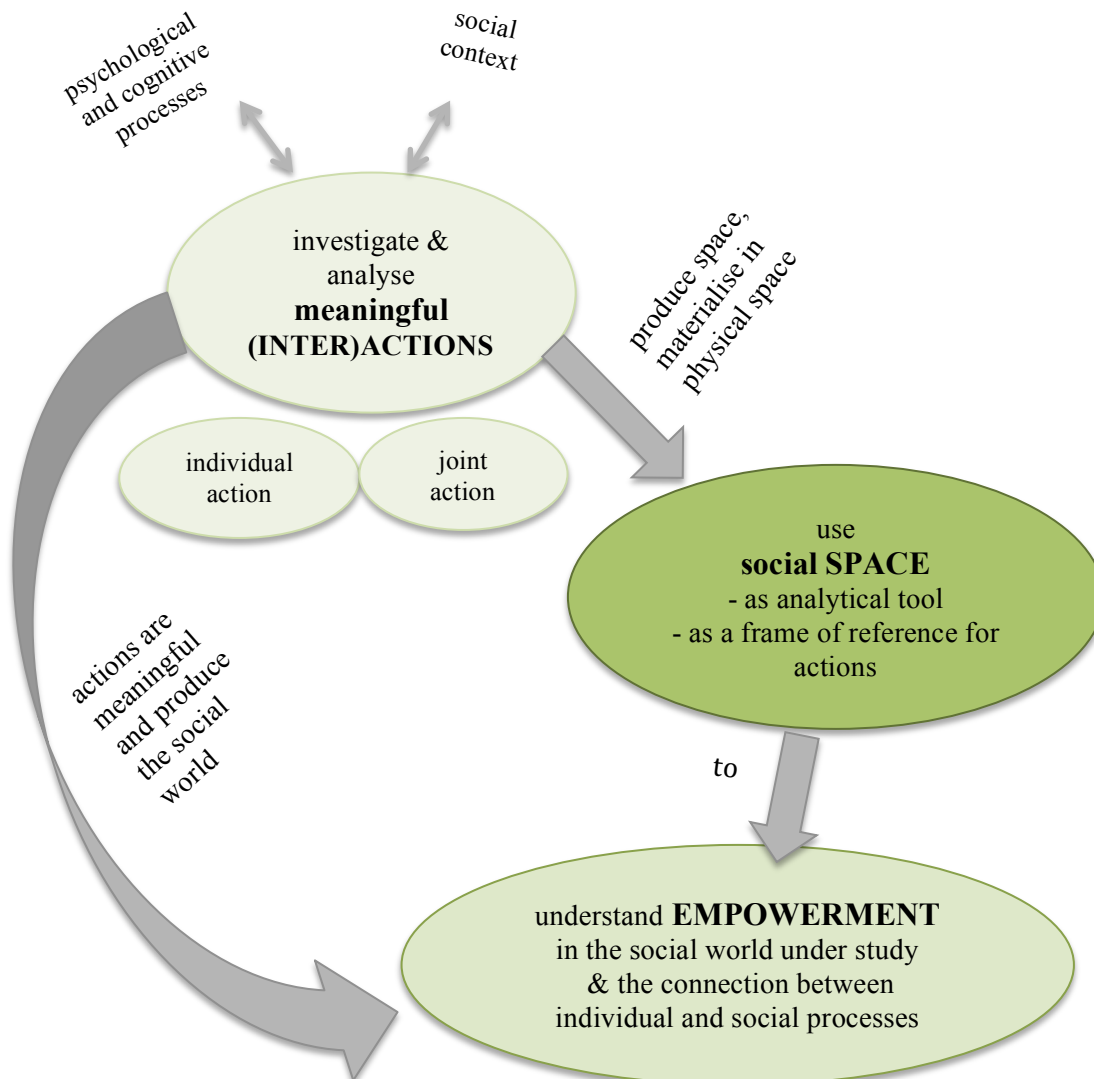
This social space is a ‘relational social space’ in that I reject notions of absolute and relative space, with absolute space being “a condition in which space exists

independently of any object(s) of relations: space is a discrete and autonomous *container*” (Jones, 2009:489). Absolute space exists in itself “before the appearance in it of actors” (Lefebvre, 1991:57) and can, in turn, influence the behaviour of its actors (Jones, 2009). Given that “[w]e do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, [but] we live inside a set of relations” (Foucault, 1986:24), relative space emerges from the relation between individuals or events and space and their actions (Jones, 2009). Rejecting spatial determinism, Simmel (1908) regards space as a *wirkungslose Form* (English translation: empty, neutral and ineffective form (Lipping, 2007)), a space that remains without form and effect in absence of its social actors that imbue it with meaning and action. Nevertheless, while Simmel “shows how space is in some way socially formed, he does not treat space as simply a social construct. It remains a reality of its own” (Allen, 2000:196). Therefore, although relative space creates the context for action (Allen, 2000), it still is an entity that exists in itself (Jones, 2009).

In the context of this thesis, I reject spatial determinism or absolutism and share the idea of space as socially produced (Crang & Thrift, 2000) or socially constructed (Rodman, 2003). Most importantly, I take on a “relational view of space in which, rather than space being viewed as a container within which the world proceeds, space is seen as a co-product of those proceedings” (Thrift, 2009:96), given that relational thinking “dissolves the boundaries between objects and space” (Jones, 2009). Events, objects and agents that constitute space are, therefore, connected in a network that is open-ended, hence relational thinking is about the *becoming* of space (Jones, 2009) rather than a structured and logically organised space as once argued by Bourdieu (1989). Instead of analysing fixed points in space (Doel, 2000), I will pay attention to the processes of becoming (Crang & Thrift, 2000; Doel, 2000), particularly because these can reveal possibilities for change and empowerment. I believe that “[t]hinking space relationally’ is an empowering perspective. It suggests that space and its orders are always open” (Jones, 2009:492).

Given the impossibility of a reification of space (Werlen, 1993), space is not my research object but my analytical tool to understand the social world under study, as illustrated by Figure 2.

Figure 2: The use of space as analytical tool



Source: author

Space is produced by meaningful (inter)actions of individuals (either with themselves and/or with others), which are the focus of analysis in this research. It is necessary to understand space as formed by action, given that “human groups or society exist in action and must be seen in terms of action” (Blumer, 1969:6). This action is meaningful in that we do not only respond to our environment, but we act based on processes of interpretation and interaction with our selves (Blumer, 1969). Rather than being my ontological object, space serves as a frame of reference for these actions (Werlen, 1993) and assists in understanding empowerment as emerging from interactions in the social world under study and the connection between individual and social processes. Actions can take the form of both individual and joint actions,

whereby the latter does not necessarily mean that individuals work towards a common goal. Rather, it can be understood as “the fitting together of the lines of behaviour of the separate participants” (Blumer, 1969:70).

These actions may be influenced to some extent by psychological and cognitive processes of the individual, the embodied subject, which constitutes the source of actions (Werlen, 1993). Actions may further be influenced by the wider social structures (e.g. norms and values). However, based on my symbolic interactionist position, these structures do not directly determine action and behaviour as in mainstream sociology or psychology, whereby social interaction is “merely a medium through which the determinants of behavior pass to produce the behavior” (Blumer, 1969:7). Rather, the processes of interpretation and the generation of meaning through interaction need to be acknowledged, which means that “social interaction is a process that forms human conduct instead of being merely a means or a setting for the expression or release of human conduct” (Blumer, 1969:8).

Based on these arguments, I want to emphasise the social, relational and intangible nature of space as used in this thesis. Nevertheless, I also want to stress that actions must materialise in physical space, which needs to be acknowledged (Werlen, 1993). Even though I do not deny the existence of the physical world, its constitution depends largely on the subjective meaning of actors, as, for instance, objects have different meanings for different actors and, therefore, individuals sharing the same physical space may in fact “be living in different worlds” (Blumer, 1969:11). The physical world is not my point of analysis and will be acknowledged only if it “relate[s] to action in [its] role either of means or of end” (Weber, 1968:7).

In addition to the acknowledgement of the physical world, spaces of empowerment must be placed into relationship with time, given that empowerment itself is not an event but an ongoing process (Kesby, 2005, Williams, 2004). Consequently, these spaces are open to change over time (Kesby, 2005) through changing power relations within space (Bourdieu, 1985). Although Bourdieu (1985) addresses change, his idea of power relations is one that is based on the amount of capital a person possesses, whereby symbolic capital/power (i.e. recognition) becomes a means for domination. Moving away from regarding space as instrumental (Lefebvre, 1991), imbued with power as domination (Bourdieu, 1985, Simmel, 1908), this thesis regards power in

spaces of empowerment as positive and creative, most importantly as power *with* others, rather than *over* others (Kesby, 2005). Social space as something imbued with power that stems from social relationships is the very reason for using spatial analysis in this thesis, given that thinking in spatial terms means reconsidering the meaning of power, and that there is more to it than domination (Thrift, 2009). Therefore, I hold that the possibilities for “empowerment must be seen as spatially embedded” (Kesby, 2005:2038).

Based on the abovementioned arguments, I regard power within spaces of empowerment as stemming from social relationships. Thereby, the *self* is considered in relation with *others*, as having the potential to grow, rather than being a zero-sum game or a commodity that is used at the expense of others. Bakhtin (1984:287) even argues that, for power to be generated, the self needs an other:

I am conscious of myself and become myself only while revealing myself for another, through another, and with the help of another. The most important acts constituting selfconsciousness are determined by a relationship toward another consciousness (toward a *thou*). [...] To be means to be for another, and through the other for oneself. A person [...] is wholly and always on the boundary: looking inside himself, he looks *into the eyes of another* or *with the eyes of another*...I cannot manage without another, I cannot become myself without another.

A discussion of the self is necessary when it comes to agency, given that supposedly spaces of empowerment are spaces where people can “articulate their agency” (Trauger, 2004:291), not at the expense of others. The question that remains is whether empowerment can stem from the individual only, or whether there is a need for an other. In the specific context of this study, the question that emerges is whether community members *need* the tourist (amongst others) for subject formation and a development of agency in order to regard the tourism encounter as one of the potential spaces of empowerment. It is only through an investigation of the potentially dialogic nature of the spaces of empowerment, including the tourism encounter, that more light can be shed on an in-depth understanding of empowerment in CBT and the role of agency.

I suggest that subjects in spaces of empowerment (i.e. community members) are *agents* who can develop control over their lives (and tourism) and whose agency can grow, although at the same time be constrained, through a dependency on interactions with others, and, most importantly, through structure. Even if we may not need others

to form our own selves, as human beings, we take account of others' actions and we do not live in isolation, which, in turn, shapes our own action (Blumer, 1969). Social space as employed in the context of CBT therefore rests on social relations, which are generated through interactions between community members, community and tourists, and governing agents and institutions. CBT as alternative form of tourism, thereby, is regarded as 'alternative space' in relation to mainstream tourism spaces, "which [often] lie outside the control of local residents who work in and inhabit these spaces" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003:23). Alternative spaces constitute alternatives to oppressive mainstream spaces in society (Cassegard, 2012), which can provide shelter for marginalised members of society (Trauger, 2004).

It is as yet unclear whether CBT's alternative space shares the same characteristics with social spaces of empowerment, a question that the empirical work of this thesis seeks to answer. These alternative spaces can turn into or create spaces of empowerment in order to overcome powerlessness and "the overpowering machinery of society" (Cassegard, 2012:n.p.), also associated with the role of the tourist, elites within the community, the government or mainstream tourism in general. Although these alternative spaces seem to create shelter at the local level, they are not isolated from the macro environment. Most importantly, once alternative spaces are created, they can build actors' self-confidence to then make changes in public spaces or even in the personal space (Cassegard, 2012). Micro and macro levels of analysis therefore need to be connected in this study given that social relationships within social spaces include interactions between community and governing actors, thereby acknowledging tourism's intersection between a number of social, economic, and also political processes (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003).

All in all, I aim at understanding empowerment through an investigation of the nature of CBT's alternative space and its (inter)actions to see whether CBT can offer possibilities for the emergence of further social spaces for community members to become active agents in shaping their future, particularly connected to tourism, both at village and destination level (Bali). Potentially emergent spaces of empowerment are different to those spaces of social life that may be dominated by powerlessness or, indeed, disempowerment. Nevertheless, I agree with Eyben (2009:6) that understanding disempowerment is crucial given that "[i]n understanding how empowerment happens, it is important to identify the spaces in which power *within*

and power *with* are developed and translated into action [i.e. power *to*] – and conversely to understand how spaces can be disempowering.” The empirical part of this study will explore the characteristics of social spaces of (dis)empowerment and how they emerge, hence where the possibilities for empowerment, based on the transformation of power *over*, lie in the context of CBT.

4. EMPOWERMENT IN TOURISM FOR DEVELOPMENT

4.1. Introduction

*“In order to achieve socioculturally sustainable tourism in the 21st century we need to examine how empowerment through tourism can be fostered.”
(Cole, 2005:640)*

While empowerment constitutes a major theme in development studies, the notion of empowerment in tourism studies is addressed mainly in the literature on tourism for development, particularly connected to issues of community participation (Cole, 2005; Timothy, 2007), women’s empowerment (Megarry, 2008; Miettinen, 2005; UNWTO & UN Women, 2011), economic empowerment (Mahony & Van Zyl, 2002) and more intangible aspects such as the generation of pride, self-esteem and a deeper appreciation of traditions and culture (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). It is increasingly acknowledged, though, that “economic empowerment through tourism work does not automatically translate into a meaningful redress of power relations beyond a relative improvement in economic conditions” (Ferguson, 2011:246). As a consequence, empowerment through tourism must go beyond acknowledging exclusively financial aspects towards including social interactions as bearing potential for empowerment, thereby creating the rationale for this research.

This chapter analyses the literature on empowerment in tourism, specifically in tourism for development, which is where CBT can be located. It seeks to identify how empowerment is understood in the relevant tourism for development literature and discusses empowerment as emerging from social interactions in tourism. The chapter is divided into two major sections. Section one discusses Scheyvens’s (1999) widely cited empowerment framework by paying particular attention to the psychological and social dimensions of empowerment. These dimensions deserve closer investigation, as they remain an under-researched area in tourism to date, particularly in CBT, and can reveal useful insights into potential social spaces of empowerment. The first section emphasises that both of these dimensions are crucial for understanding social spaces of empowerment, as they are based on interactions (mostly with others, but also with oneself). Section one also discusses the inadequacy of the term ‘psychological empowerment’, since analyses of cognitive processes in connection to empowerment

are difficult to make within the tourism for development sphere. Ultimately, as the literature reveals, this dimension is based on social interactions as much as the social dimension. As a consequence, the terminology ‘social empowerment’ and ‘empowerment emerging from social interactions’ are used in this thesis as I combine these two dimensions.

Section two discusses the tourism encounter as a potential social space of empowerment. Research to date has highly criticised the interactions between residents and tourists (formerly called ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’) for generating an unequal power relationship, largely failing to understand their potential for residents’ empowerment. Scheyvens (1999) implicitly includes these interactions in the psychological dimension of empowerment, with social interactions between residents and tourists having empowering or disempowering effects on residents. However, no in-depth research exists to date that puts the tourism encounter into direct connection with social empowerment – as it is called in this thesis. Section two of this chapter investigates the reasons why the tourism encounter can be disempowering for host communities and then moves towards a more positive outlook by tracing how the interactions between tourist and community could constitute a potential social space of empowerment.

4.2. Scheyvens’s ‘empowerment framework’

Based on the premise that empowerment should focus on more than economic aspects, Scheyvens (1999, 2000, 2002) introduced three further dimensions as part of her empowerment framework – one of the most significant theoretical contributions to the discussion of empowerment in tourism for development. The framework indicates four levels of empowerment: economic, psychological, social and political (Scheyvens, 1999), based on the emerging understanding of development as multi-dimensional (Scheyvens, 2000). It makes a division between signs of empowerment and disempowerment, which Scheyvens labels ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ impacts of tourism on communities (Scheyvens, 2000) (see Table 3).

While psychological and social empowerment will be elaborated in-depth as part of the following sections, Scheyvens (1999) suggests that empowerment in its economic dimension can be understood as economic changes introduced to a community. These

changes are long-lasting and widespread, while economic disempowerment means that economic gains are small and benefit only certain individuals. Political empowerment, as explained briefly in Table 3, refers to decision-making in tourism in terms of the general involvement of the community in policy-making as well as the representation of diverse interests that exist within a community.

Table 3: Scheyvens’s tourism for development empowerment framework

	Signs of empowerment	Signs of disempowerment
Economic empowerment	Lasting economic gains for the community through tourism (shared in the community), visible improvements because of money earned	Only small gains in cash, most money leaves the community, only some people within the community gain financial benefits
Psychological empowerment	Increase in self-esteem of community members (due to an appreciation of culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge by tourists), increase in status for marginalised groups of the community	Feeling of inferiority due to an interaction with tourists, frustration due to impossibility to share the benefits of tourism
Social empowerment	Equilibrium and cohesion of community is maintained or enhanced through tourism and working together, money earned is partly used to improve living conditions (e.g. build schools)	Disharmony in the community, loss of respect for culture due to influence from outside (e.g. values), competition rather than cooperation in the community, jealousy
Political empowerment	Interests and needs of all members in the community are represented, opinions of all groups are gathered during the initiation of tourism and they are represented in decision-making bodies	Leadership in the community is self-interested, the community is not involved in decision-making (on whether or not to initiate a tourism venture and how it should operate)

Source: adapted from Scheyvens, 1999, 2000, 2002

With the help of the framework, Scheyvens (2002) intends to gain an understanding of how communities can gain greater benefits from tourism. Nevertheless, by regarding the framework as determining the “impacts [of tourism initiatives] on local communities” (Scheyvens, 1999:247), it may appear as an instrumental development tool. While Scheyvens (2002) herself rejects oversimplification and talks about the idea to move beyond simplistic impact analysis, regarding tourism as an external force on communities, the empowerment framework does not seem to follow this postmodern *Zeitgeist*. In fact, she criticises postmodern analysis, viewing it as less helpful in practice, where concrete strategies are needed to help communities in LDCs maximise the benefits of tourism (Scheyvens, 2002).

Although Scheyvens's (1999) framework is not based on empirical evidence and the depth of the theoretical basis may be questionable, it remains a theoretical approach for the analysis and conceptualisation of empowerment in tourism. In fact, it is widely used as a yardstick for empirical studies in tourism research (Bith, 2011; Cole, 2006; Dunn, 2007; Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011), as it lists clear 'signs of empowerment' as well as 'signs of disempowerment' (Scheyvens, 1999). By including a psychological and social dimension, Scheyvens's framework introduces intangible aspects to the empowerment debate, thereby extending our understanding of tourism as a sole catalyst of economic change to one that is largely based on human interactions. Given the aim of this research, it is these two dimensions that are worth further investigation. The next section will do so by extending Scheyvens's notion of psychological and social empowerment with the help of further empirical research that either implicitly or explicitly refers to these dimensions.

4.2.1. Psychological (dis)empowerment in tourism for development

Despite some criticisms, Scheyvens's (1999) approach does make an attempt to conceptualise the complexities of empowerment in tourism. Even if only tentatively, she introduces aspects of self-esteem, the role of culture and the tourism encounter to the empowerment debate, which form part of the 'psychologically powerful' or empowered community, defined as a "local community which is optimistic about the future, has faith in the abilities of its residents, is relatively self-reliant and demonstrates pride in traditions and culture" (Scheyvens, 1999:248). Psychological disempowerment occurs when "[t]hose who interact with tourists are left feeling that their culture and way of life are inferior" (Scheyvens, 2002:60). Table 4 presents a number of signs for psychological empowerment as defined by Scheyvens (1999). This dimension is crucial in that a person needs to feel capable of making a change in their life, which points to psychological empowerment being an important predecessor for further positive change (Cole, 2006).

Psychological empowerment is discussed by a number of tourism scholars, either mentioned explicitly with reference to Scheyvens's (1999) empowerment framework (Bith, 2011; Cole, 2005, 2006; Dunn, 2007; Jensen, 2010; Megarry, 2008; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008) or implicitly by referring to signs of psychological empowerment as defined by Scheyvens (e.g. by discussing aspects of pride generation and self-esteem)

(Dolezal, 2011a; Halstead, 2003; Miettinen, 2005; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). Within the relevant literature, a focus on CBT could be identified, which in itself supposedly gives power and control to the community, already in planning and initiating tourism ventures (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Scheyvens, 1999; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008), creating the preconditions for psychological empowerment to emerge. A number of aspects of how psychological empowerment can be stimulated emerged from a review of this literature (see Table 5). These aspects assist in identifying the social spaces of empowerment in practice and will guide the empirical work of this thesis.

Table 4: Signs of psychological (dis)empowerment in tourism for development

Signs of psychological empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • self-esteem due to a recognition of culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge • feeling capable to make changes • increase in status of marginalised members of the community (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002)
Signs of psychological disempowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • frustration, disillusionment and a feeling of inferiority and powerlessness due to tourism activity (Scheyvens, 1999; 2002)

Table 5: Aspects fostering psychological empowerment in tourism for development

Aspects fostering psychological empowerment	Explanation
1. Culture, traditions & local knowledge	an appreciation of <i>tradition</i> and <i>culture</i> from outside the community (i.e. tourists) (Miettinen, 2005; Scheyvens, 1999)
2. Assets & skills	the usage and improvement of <i>assets</i> and <i>skills</i> in tourism (Dolezal, 2011a; Halstead, 2003; Megarry, 2008)
3. Commodification	the commodification of culture (Cole, 2005) and/or underdevelopment (Baptista, 2010); including ideas of self-commodification and appropriation (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010)
4. Self-representation	representation if in the control of residents themselves, creating a space (i.e. a ‘third space, see Bhabha, 1994) for cultural hybridity rather than purity (Hollinshead, 1998a)

To start with, *culture*, *traditions* and *local knowledge* are key to tourism, as it relies heavily on creating and presenting (cultural) difference for consumption (Hollinshead, 1998a). It is argued that presenting culture to tourists, and therefore gaining appreciation from outside, can foster community pride and the re-valuation of local traditions (Miettinen, 2005). The sharing of traditional (cultural) knowledge in the

tourism encounter can create self-esteem stimulated by an audience showing an interest in the life of residents, particularly when, for example, local guides act as mediators between tourists and residents (Jensen, 2010). In a study of CBT in Indonesia, community members reported that they felt proud when tourists come to see their village (Cole, 2006), or, in the case of a study on tourism development in Lappish communities in Finland,

[w]omen were very active in creative industries such as visual arts, arts and crafts production, and theatre. Tourists were providing these women with an audience that the local communities couldn't provide. This benefited their identity construction and feeling of independence through income generation and self-esteem. (Miettinen, 2005:174)

Thus, tourists' interest has proven to instigate young and older generations to preserve their traditions, such as drama in a CBT village in Thailand (Dunn, 2004). However, the idea that "[p]sychological empowerment comes from self-esteem and pride in cultural traditions" (Cole, 2006:632) is highly contentious, leaving some unanswered questions, such as: who, if anybody, decides on the usage and presentation of culture? What is the role of cultural preservation in tourism for development? Who decides on whether to preserve culture and to invest in heritage, which supposedly "anchors people to their roots, builds self-esteem, and restores dignity" (Licciardi & Amirtahmasebi, 2012:xiii)?

Cole's (2007) work on authenticity and commodification is especially useful for this discussion with the central question "[w]ill basing culture on markers related to the past, on tradition as unchanging, or on fixed material elements, work to preserve the residents' underdevelopment rather than being a tool for development?" (Cole, 2007:956). The attempt to preserve culture as highlighted by the empowerment framework may be problematic in terms of the potential use of empowerment as a basis for beneficial community development. This leads into the vital question whether psychological empowerment could also be generated through aspects beyond what has already been mentioned in Scheyvens's (1999) empowerment framework. Therefore, aspects 2 to 4 as presented in Table 5 extend Scheyvens's (1999) rather narrow elaboration of psychological empowerment (i.e. including only the first aspect as mentioned in Table 5) in the context of tourism, or CBT specifically. In addition, section 4.2.3. discusses whether the term 'psychological' is appropriate at all for this research and tourism for development more generally.

Referring to *assets and skills*, culture as discussed by Scheyvens is closely connected to natural or cultural assets (e.g. dances, ceremonies etc.) and skills (e.g. handicrafts, cooking, etc.). The usage of assets and skills has already been identified as a major issue in empowerment for development (see section 3.3.2.). In the context of CBT, it was found that CBT bears higher potential for development if based on existing community assets (Dolezal, 2011a; Dolezal & Burns, 2015; Zapata et al., 2011).

In a study on participatory development in the state of Kerala, India, a number of women discovered their talent for handicraft making, which, by starting their own tourism business, gave them a sense of achievement and pride (Megarry, 2008). As part of a research project on CBT in Thailand, the author of this thesis found that tourism in the village Ban Mae Kampong brought benefits for community members, given that it offered a space for the discovery, usage and presentation of personal talents and community assets (Dolezal, 2011a). In cases where key skills – particularly those necessary to participate in tourism – are weak or non-existent, capacity-building activities have been implemented to foster pride and confidence (Halstead, 2003).

A further theme that bears potential for psychological empowerment is the commodification of culture (Cole, 2005), often criticised in cultural studies and tourism literature. Using culture for economic gain and turning it into a commodity that can be sold is criticised as leading to a loss in ‘real’ cultural value and meaning (Smith, 2003), an idea that goes hand in hand with a loss in authenticity and attractiveness for tourists (MacCannell, 1984). Nevertheless, a number of scholars are convinced of the benefits that cultural commodification can bring through cultural tourism (Cole, 2007) and CBT (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010), based on the premise that commodification is controlled by residents themselves and “understood from the perspective of the local people” (Cole, 2007:945-46). Cultural commodification needs not be disempowering as it can be a powerful tool for residents to create and adopt a newly formed identity and cultural pride (Cole, 2007) as well as enable participation in the tourism market (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010).

In the context of CBT, it is not only culture that becomes commodified, but also residents’ everyday life, particularly when tourists stay in residents’ houses and join in

daily activities (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010). Even (under)development and poverty can be commodified in tourism in LDCs (Baptista, 2010). As Marx stated, “there is one thing which can never be bought or sold: poverty, for it has no exchange value” (Freire-Medeiros, 2009:586). However, Marx could not envisage that in the context of tourism in LDCs, poverty is not only something that is sought to be combated, but, within ‘development tourism’, a marketable resource that attracts tourists, especially when it involves some sort of ‘development project’ helping the ‘poor’ (Baptista, 2010). As with cultural commodification, the commodification of underdevelopment offers opportunities to communities, such as “plac[ing] themselves in the global consumer market” (Baptista, 2010:10), leading to a form of empowerment (Baptista, 2010).

Based on these arguments, there is a need to move beyond simplistic impact analysis, looking at how culture is used in tourism rather than how tourism impacts on culture (Cole, 2005). Culture is never pure, even though it may often be displayed as such in tourism, “the quintessential industry of ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’” (Hollinshead, 1998a:125). To identify possibilities for empowerment, we need to understand tourism not only as an industry that creates otherness in a way that establishes a judgmental difference between a self (i.e. the tourist) and an Other (i.e. ‘locals’) (Said, 1978), but one that can constitute an opportunity for corrective adjustment in terms of cultural presentation (Hollinshead, 1998a). This opportunity relies heavily on the premise that residents themselves can determine their self-representation (Yan & Santos, 2009), even if only to combat the representations created through tourism marketing materials. Tourism could then offer a space for residents to reinvent the self through an interaction with an Other (in this case, the tourist) (Hollinshead, 1998a). According to Lanfant (1995:36), “the reconstruction of its [i.e. the receiving society’s] identity begins with the gaze of the foreigner, and finds within this gaze a point of reference which guarantees that identity. So the evaluation of the affirmation of its own identity can be accomplished only by reference to the Other.” According to Miettinen (2005), these newly formed identities are sometimes different from society’s norms, generated through feelings of acceptance that interactions with tourists offer, which are often absent in interactions within one’s own community. The interactions between residents and tourists can, therefore, form a potential basis for

pride generation and empowerment, deserving further investigation in the context of this study.

4.2.2. Social (dis)empowerment in tourism for development

When tourism activities in LDCs are initiated in rural and often marginalised communities, they become part of a complex net of power relations between the actors directly and indirectly involved in tourism. These power dynamics between residents and outside actors can stimulate social empowerment or disempowerment of residents. A number of works within tourism for development refer to social (dis)empowerment (either implicitly as defined by Scheyvens, or referring to Scheyvens’s signs of social (dis)empowerment), particularly in small-scale tourism projects that impact on rural communities (Bith, 2011; Dunn, 2007; Holden, 2005; Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008; Scheyvens, 1999, 2002; Wearing & McDonald, 2002). Based on these contributions, Table 6 presents a summary of the signs of social (dis)empowerment, followed by a list of aspects in how social empowerment can be fostered, as presented in Table 7.

Table 6: Signs of social (dis)empowerment in tourism for development

Signs of social empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participation of marginalised groups (e.g. women) (Holden, 2005) • community equilibrium, collaboration and sense of community (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002) • community benefits (rather than individual benefits) (Bith, 2011) • strong community groups (Dunn, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002)
Signs of social disempowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conflict and disagreement (Hall, 2003) • competition, jealousy, crime, disharmony (Scheyvens, 1999) • power inequalities and misuse of power by the local leader (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008) • disruption of the community knowledge structures through the influence of organisations from outside (Wearing & McDonald, 2002)

Table 7: Aspects fostering social empowerment in tourism for development

Aspects fostering social empowerment	Explanation
1. Entrepreneurship & creation of job opportunities	increase in local ownership through community-run businesses, reducing the influence from local elites and from outside (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008); using some of the income for community projects (Scheyvens, 2002)
2. Participation	a majority of the community contributing to the community's quality of life through active involvement in tourism planning, management and operations (Timothy, 2007); creation of a common purpose and sense of community through collaboration in tourism (Dunn, 2007)
3. Community groups	the formation of and networking between community groups increases residents' sense of community (Dunn, 2007)

Scheyvens (2002:61) defines social empowerment as the “situation in which a community’s sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by involvement in tourism.” Community cohesion and equilibrium also include the participation of marginalised groups, such as women or residents from lower castes (Holden, 2005). Further signs of social empowerment are widespread community, rather than individual, benefits (Bith, 2011) and the emergence and strengthening of community groups (Dunn, 2007; Scheyvens, 2002). By contrast, social disempowerment refers to issues such as disharmony within the community, loss of respect for common values or culture due to outside influence and competition, jealousy and conflict rather than cooperation (Scheyvens, 1999). Community power imbalances can, amongst other factors, be due to influence from outside or the misuse of power by local elites and leaders (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008; Tosun, 2010).

The issue of widening opportunities for women has been increasingly addressed in tourism, specifically when tourism forms part of development. Tourism bears a potential for the empowerment of women in terms of becoming leaders and entrepreneurs as it “offers significant opportunities for women to run their own businesses” (UNWTO & UN Women, 2011:iii). Empowerment should help women become self-reliant through tourism, particularly in LDCs where gender often plays a role in the distribution of power especially in patriarchal and male-dominated societies, within the family or community (Potter et al., 2008). Tourism can make a contribution to women’s empowerment, given that women are twice as likely to be

employed in tourism than in any other sector (UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). Nevertheless, women still occupy the low-skilled tourism jobs, such as housekeeping and cooking, and equality in pay is still an illusion (Enloe, 1989; UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). It is argued that one way to facilitate women's empowerment is supporting women's entrepreneurship through financial support, such as micro-finance, which can pave the way for women to have an influence in decision-making and politics and shape society's future (Megarry 2008).

The tokenistic nature of women's involvement is worsened by a number of issues. For instance, women are often involved in tourism projects to attract funding or respond to tourists' demands and make tourists (particularly Western tourists) feel more comfortable within an environment where women are not suppressed (Scheyvens, 2000). In the end, however, in certain social settings, women may remain dependent on men (Megarry, 2008), as gender dynamics are deeply rooted in culture and religion (Cukier et al., 1996). Therefore, women's "[e]mpowerment [...] should be largely distinguished from western conceptions of female autonomy" (Megarry, 2008:231) and is better viewed as an increase in self-respect, dignity and a sense of awareness, enhanced through their ability to contribute financially to the family income (Megarry, 2008). Furthermore, being a tourism entrepreneur gives women "pride in their ability to learn and to develop their own businesses, and crucially gaining respect from others" (Megarry, 2008:231). This was noted also in the context of CBT, with women gaining in self-esteem through being able to participate in areas previously closed to them, such as decision-making and training (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010).

Table 7 presents three aspects in terms of how social empowerment can be fostered in tourism. Aspect number one is connected to entrepreneurship and the creation of job opportunities through tourism. It is argued that decreasing influence from outside and giving communities or community members the chance to manage tourism businesses creates the possibility for social empowerment (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). Doing so increases local control and ownership over resources and tourism processes.

The creation of job opportunities is closely connected to participation in tourism – especially in relation to tourism planning (Cole, 2005; Saarinen & Niskala, 2009; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007). Local participation is key as having as many

individual community members contribute to the collective quality of life will increase community equilibrium and tourism success (Timothy, 2007). However, social empowerment can only emerge when participation happens in areas of decision-making and through transparency in information, as well as participating in reaping benefits (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 1999). The problem with empowerment and participation is that the former is regularly equated with “the top end of the participation ladder” (Cole, 2005:97). Despite Arnstein (1969) naming the upper end of her participation ladder ‘citizen control’, it is often used interchangeably with empowerment in tourism planning (Timothy, 2007). Therefore, empowerment in the context of participation includes *control* – control over decision-making as well as the use of resources (natural and cultural) in tourism development and planning (Duffy, 2002; Saarinen & Niskala, 2009). Decision-making, however, is often challenging due to a lack of information and knowledge (Cole, 2005, 2006): “[m]any communities [...] will lack any real understanding what it is they are supposed to be making decisions about” (Sofield, 2003:113). In an empirical study of community tourism villages in Indonesia, for example, residents identified a lack of knowledge and language skills as obstacles to participation in tourism (Cole, 2006).

What emerges from the above is that knowledge largely determines power structures (van der Duim et al., 2006; Sofield, 2003), which, along with control over resources (such as the ownership of land), impact on possibilities for participation (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). A well-known problem with empowerment and participation in tourism in LDCs is the externally driven nature of tourism (Rugendyke & Connell, 2008), given that projects usually need some sort of intervention and expertise from outside to be successful and to assist communities in making more informed decisions (Sofield, 2003). A lack in knowledge and ownership therefore constitute an obstacle to participation in tourism. Further barriers to participation include, but are not limited to: lack of capacity and skills, lack of time to participate in tourism, particularly when success is not guaranteed and basic needs have to be met first (Li, 2004), lack of self-confidence to deal with tourists (Dunn, 2007) and a lack of human, financial and social capital (Mahony & Van Zyl, 2001).

The third aspect of how social empowerment can be fostered, which at the same time can be a sign of a socially empowered community (Scheyvens, 1999), is connected to

strong community groups. Strong community groups can increase the community's sense of belonging and community cohesion in that community members work together to achieve a common goal through volunteering, arts, youth or women's groups' joint actions (Dunn, 2007). According to McGettigan et al. (2005), community empowerment through tourism can happen only through a sense of belonging and a sense of place felt by the community.

In this sense, social empowerment is about collaboration and combining people's knowledge to generate community benefits (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). What often goes unnoticed is that social empowerment is a difficult goal, with tourism activities having the potential to cause community conflict rather than cohesion (Hall, 2003). This can be the case particularly when institutions from outside are involved and "begin to manufacture a 'regime of truth' that undermines the existing knowledge structures" (Wearing & McDonald, 2002:199). When tourism is undertaken in collaboration with NGOs and funders, there is a danger of divisions emerging within communities, between those who collaborate and those who keep a distance (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). Power inequalities are also common when local leaders use their skills and authority to gain individual benefits, often creating jealousy and division (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). A deeper change in values can also happen through the initiation of tourism businesses in communities (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010) and "more individualistic forms of production as new market-oriented economic activities are introduced at the village level" (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008:228). In order to understand how social empowerment through tourism can happen, it is necessary to unravel the complex power relations both within communities and with outside actors.

4.2.3. Sense and signs of social (dis)empowerment

The preceding sections have discussed both the psychological and social dimensions of Scheyvens's (1999) empowerment framework, which prove useful for understanding social spaces of empowerment.

Nevertheless, there are some problems when it comes to psychological empowerment, particularly concerning its terminology and focus. Firstly, Scheyvens (1999) and other researchers (as mentioned in section 4.2.1.) who refer to psychological empowerment

talk of a generation of pride and self-esteem without providing an analysis of cognitive processes. Even though we are reminded that “our understanding of community needs to extend to psychological and intangible aspects” (Cole, 2005:95), no examples are given of how to conduct this kind of analysis in the context of tourism for development. This lack of in-depth research raises the question of whether we can draw conclusions at all on individuals’ (or communities’) inner processes.

What tourism research – and, in this case, a symbolic interactionist approach – can offer, though, is an understanding of social processes, of interactions between individuals. Looking closer at Scheyvens’s psychological dimension of empowerment (see section 4.2.1.) and further related works, as mentioned above, it becomes obvious that it is interactions, particularly as part of the tourism encounter, that form the basis for empowerment processes. It is through the social ties with an audience, the tourist, mediated through cultural brokers, that ‘psychological’ empowerment can occur (Jensen, 2010). While changes within the individual (e.g. self-esteem, pride) may happen, it is the social interactions that constitute the major point of analysis in both dimensions presented here.

As a consequence, I do not intend to study cognitive processes in the context of this research and will refer to feelings of self-esteem or pride only if mentioned by the research participants. I will furthermore refrain from using the term ‘psychological empowerment’ as it is misleading in its meaning. Instead of drawing a distinction between psychological and social dimensions of empowerment, I intend to differentiate between a *sense* of social (dis)empowerment and *signs* of social (dis)empowerment. Usually, it is only the latter that, if based on choices and a change as part of the empowerment process, can take the form of ‘real empowerment’, while the former is a mere *feeling* of empowerment (Riger, 1993). Tables 8 and 9 present an overview of this distinction, as well as the aspects that foster social empowerment in tourism for development (identified in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.). The latter have been combined into one broad category as it can foster both a sense and signs of social empowerment.

Table 8: Sense and signs of social (dis)empowerment in tourism for development

	Sense of social (dis)empowerment at individual level	Signs of social (dis)empowerment at community level
Empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> self-esteem due to a recognition of culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge feeling capable/able to make changes increase in status of marginalised members of the community (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> participation of marginalised groups (e.g. women) (Holden, 2005) community equilibrium, collaboration and sense of community (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002) community benefits (rather than individual benefits) (Bith, 2011) strong community groups (Dunn, 2007; Scheyvens, 2002)
Disempowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> frustration, disillusionment and a feeling of inferiority and powerlessness due to tourism activity (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> conflict and disagreement (Hall, 2003) competition, jealousy, crime, disharmony (Scheyvens, 1999) power inequalities and misuse of power by the local leader (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008) disruption of the community knowledge structures through the influence of organisations from outside (Wearing & McDonald, 2002)

Table 9: Aspects fostering a sense and signs of social empowerment

Aspects fostering social empowerment emerging from social interaction	Explanation
1. Culture, traditions & local knowledge	an appreciation of <i>tradition</i> and <i>culture</i> from outside the community (i.e. tourists) (Miettinen, 2005; Scheyvens, 1999)
2. Assets & skills	the usage and improvement of <i>assets</i> and <i>skills</i> in tourism (Dolezal, 2011a; Halstead, 2003; Megarry, 2008)
3. Commodification	the commodification of culture (Cole, 2005) and/or underdevelopment (Baptista, 2010); including ideas of self-commodification and appropriation (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010)
4. Self-representation	representation if in the control of residents themselves, creating a space (i.e. a 'third space', see Bhabha, 1994) for cultural hybridity rather than purity (Hollinshead, 1998a)
5. Entrepreneurship & creation of job opportunities	increase in local ownership through community-run businesses, reducing the influence from local elites and from outside (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008); using some of the income for community projects (Scheyvens, 2002)
6. Participation	a majority of the community contributing to the community's quality of life through active involvement in tourism planning, management and operations (Timothy, 2007); creation of a common purpose and sense of community through collaboration in tourism (Dunn, 2004)
7. Community groups	the formation of and networking between community groups increases residents' sense of community (Dunn, 2004)

The two categories of *sense* and *signs* of social (dis)empowerment are often connected to individual and community levels of empowerment. Although usually mentioned separately, these two levels of empowerment are closely interconnected, as shown in section 3.3.3., given that it is individuals who form community. An ambiguity can be identified in the literature on tourism for development, one that largely fails to discuss the relationship between individual and community empowerment. Scholars who talk of empowerment in the context of CBT call their focus ‘community empowerment’ (Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2005; McGettigan et al., 2005; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Scheyvens, 1999), but without defining how it differs from individual empowerment. Most importantly, Scheyvens talks of a framework for ‘community empowerment’, even though psychological empowerment focuses on a generation of self-esteem of ‘community members’ – thereby taking an individualistic approach (Scheyvens, 1999). I agree with Cole (2005), who corrects this by including both levels and defines psychological empowerment as “self-esteem brought to individuals and communities” (Cole, 2005:98), showing that the symptoms and signs of social (dis)empowerment at individual and collective level, as shown in Table 8, can sometimes overlap or be blurred.

The solely individual focus that psychological empowerment – coming *from within* an individual – takes is problematic in itself, as it translates empowerment into a personality trait, an idea that puts the responsibility of development into the individual’s hands (Ledwith, 2011). The broader environment needs to be acknowledged, also in community psychology, which offers an in-depth discussion of psychological empowerment (Speer & Hughey, 1995). Psychological empowerment, therefore, should not be confused with individually oriented conceptions of empowerment as “the former includes person-environment fit and contextual issues, while the latter is primarily a trait conceptualization that may be antithetical to the idea of empowerment” (Zimmerman, 1990:169). This argument again shows that empowerment is a ‘multilevel construct’ that concerns the individual as much as the organisational and community levels (Rappaport, 1987; Sofield, 2003; Speer & Hughey, 1995). After all, the personal and the collective levels are closely interconnected, given that self-esteem of the individual can lead to collective self-confidence (Rowlands, 1997).

Nevertheless, one of the criticisms of psychological empowerment in action is that it focuses more on the individual than on the community, hence possibly causing competition instead of collaboration (Riger, 1993). This presents a paradox in empowerment theory as discussed in community psychology, which pays more attention to the collective than to the individual's cognitive processes (Riger, 1993). CBT is a similar example, where overall community benefit and empowerment are most important (Timothy & Tosun, 2003; Saarinen & Niskala, 2009). While emotional, cognitive and behavioural aspects are still key, it is suggested that empowerment should look at the interaction between the macro and the micro levels (Speer, 2000). The claimed over-emphasis on the individual further leads to empowerment studying not actual control, but a *sense of* personal control, hence “the focus of inquiry becomes not actual power but rather the *sense of* empowerment” (Riger, 1993:281). The question that results is whether and to what extent empowerment can be understood as leading to significant change at community level. Indeed, Riger (1993) argues that if a *sense of* empowerment is all that empowerment is, it is an ‘illusion’ rather than real influence exercised towards change.

The abovementioned arguments show that psychological empowerment is a problematic term, ambiguous in its meaning, focus and level of analysis – not only in community psychology but also in development studies. Thus, based on the discussed criticism, this thesis refers to interconnected levels of social empowerment, making a further differentiation between *sense* and *signs* of (dis)empowerment. I agree with Eyben et al. (2008:8) who argue that empowerment is “a process whereby people develop a sense of and capacity for agency – ‘individual power within’ and ‘collective power with others’ – to improve the quality of their social relationships and to secure respect, dignity and freedom.” It is human interactions that this thesis turns to, as a basis for *social* empowerment emerging in *social* spaces of empowerment. Based on human interactions, the following section discusses the tourism encounter as one of those potential social spaces of empowerment.

4.3. Empowerment in tourism encounters

This section offers a critical review of the literature surrounding the tourism encounter. It depicts thematic areas that have influenced the tourism encounter's conceptualisation in order to identify the roots of the often negative connotation of its nascent social relations. This step assists in understanding the forces that create disempowerment of residents, whereby “[t]hose who interact with tourists are left feeling that their culture and way of life are inferior” (Scheyvens, 2002:60). Hence, this section discusses some of the factors that led to the suggested feelings of inferiority on the residents' side as identified in the literature and, most importantly, challenges the paradigm of an inequality in power between tourist and residents. It does so by identifying a number of counter-arguments, which acknowledge residents' agency and constitute more empowering aspects in the tourism encounter.

Within this thesis, the term ‘tourism encounter’ is used when referring to human interactions in tourism (see Babb, 2011; Tucker, 2009). This goes back to scholars becoming increasingly concerned with the uselessness of dichotomies such as in the ‘host-guest encounter’, facing criticism in that it somehow predetermines the relationship between the two – oftentimes marginalising residents and failing to analyse social interactions (McNaughton, 2006). The term ‘host’ evokes feelings of warmth and hospitality, feelings that may not even be observed in all tourism encounters and that “depoliticize these interactions” (McNaughton, 2006:661). In using the terms ‘residents’, ‘tourists’ and the ‘tourism encounter’ instead of ‘host’, ‘guest’ and the ‘host-guest encounter’, special attention is placed on understanding the spaces *inbetween* people, i.e. the spaces they co-create while meeting, both intentionally but mostly unintentionally. Even though tourists and residents remain actors with different characteristics, I analyse interactions and social spaces rather than the difference between the two. After all, “in the articulation of each and every culture, it is not the negation of the Other that counts, but the negotiation and the renegotiation of spaces and temporality between Others” (Hollinshead, 1998a:129). Thus, this thesis addresses the need for a more “nuanced understanding of the production and consumption of tourist spaces” (Meethan, 2006:7).

Scholarly engagement with the tourism encounter for over three decades has provided lively and controversial debate (Babb, 2011; Maoz, 2006; MacCannell, 1999; 1992;

Smith, 1989). In particular, the encounter between the Western tourist and the exotic Other of LDCs has provoked most interest and critique. Topics in the early years include a set of ‘problems’ or negative ‘impacts’ such as cultural commodification, staged authenticity and exploitation of the host (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; MacCannell, 1992; Pattullo, 1996; Smith, 2003). A clear power inequality was identified with the tourist, cast as the baddie, gazing at and exploiting the novel, but ultimately inferior, Other (i.e. residents). Such critiques drew on the notion of consumption, not only in financial but also intangible terms (Frankland, 2009; Urry, 2002; Van den Bergh, 1994).

In addition to the questionable dichotomy of ‘good’ and ‘bad’, or ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’, the terminology of ‘host’ and ‘guest’ reveals yet another dichotomy, characterised by one-sided analyses of either tourists or hosts (McNaughton, 2006). In cases where their dynamic relationship is acknowledged, power is regularly understood and displayed as asymmetrical, with the tourist perceived as exploiting ‘helpless’ residents. Residents’ agency has long been denied, also in CBT projects where residents are often identified as muted victims in need of help and a share of the power base (Flacke-Neudorfer, 2008), “lead[ing] to questions as to whether [...] power should be always identified with the tourist, and whether the exercise of power is one-sided and exclusively repressive” (Cheong & Miller, 2000:372). There is a need to acknowledge locals’ agency, rather than investigate the negative impacts upon residents (Stronza, 2001), by focusing not only “on what tourism does *to* people, but much more on what people do *with* and *within* tourism, how they interact with each other” (Flacke-Neudorfer, 2008:245-246). Thus, the present research adopts a dynamic approach to studying interactions and empowerment.

In order to change the present power ‘excess’ on the side of the tourist, an understanding of the generative potential of power is needed, rather than simplistically attempting to take power from the tourist (i.e. the powerful) and pass it to residents (i.e. the powerless) – also given that I reject the possibility of passing power from one person to another. This thesis seeks to explore a form of empowerment of residents – the once Other (see Said, 1978) or powerless – which does not happen *at the expense* of tourists; rather, it acknowledges residents’ agency with the ultimate goal of finding ways to understand empowerment.

4.3.1. Conceptual developments in the tourism encounter

4.3.1.1 *Orientalism and 'Othering' in tourism*

Research on tourism in LDCs regularly suggests that the encounter between tourist and resident is influenced by superficiality, with the tourist regarded as the superior consuming the Other, hence a post-modern coloniser exercising subtle power over former colonial subjects (Caton & Santos, 2009; MacCannell, 1992; Nash, 1989). This distinction into the superior Self and the inferior Other can be traced back to Edward Said's (1978) concept of 'Orientalism', which has significantly influenced tourism studies for decades. When Said (1978) coined the term 'Orientalism', he defined it as a system of knowledge that the West holds about the East, characterised by stereotypes and misperceptions that the Occident created about cultures of the Orient. The Orient is displayed as backwards, exotic and isolated and represented by the West for purposes of domination (Said, 1978). It seems to be the colonial past that has established a locked asymmetrical power relationship between tourists and residents, based on a presumption that tourists are always white and European while residents are non-white and non-European, which, in modern tourism, is no longer the case.

Considering Orientalism's key arguments and the pronounced binary of *self* and *Other*, parallels to tourism can easily be established. From what the literature tells, the influence of post-colonial theory on tourism shows itself in the encounter between a superior *self* (i.e. the tourist) and an inferior *Other* (i.e. the resident) (Caton & Santon, 2009; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Gillespie, 2007). An argument illustrating Orientalism in practice is that of tourism creating 'reality' *a priori*. Through the use of marketing, travel brochures and imagery, the tourist creates expectations and has perceptions thrust upon him/her before arriving at the destination. These pre-formed expectations influence and frame the tourism encounter (Pritchard, 2000). Hence, the tourism industry preordains the 'tourist gaze' that teaches tourists what to expect and how to make sense of it (Urry, 2002). Thereby, the gaze of the tourist is not untarnished, but comes with expectations and pre-formed power structures. Urry (2002) draws on Foucault's unidirectional gaze related to the prison to illustrate the duality of the gaze. As in Bentham's (2010) panopticon (further used by Foucault), a circular design for a prison that gives the guards a controlling gaze (Foucault, 1979), the tourist gaze presupposes a division into subject and object (Urry, 2002) whereby "[t]he powerful

subject possesses the gaze while the powerless other is completely defined by its status as the object of the gaze” (MacCannell, 2001:29). Hence, tourism can create difference and unequal power structures between people, turning it into an ‘Otherness machine’ (Aitchison, 2001) and a “key site for the construction and maintenance of discourses about people, places, and cultures that perpetuate particular balances (or imbalances) of power” (Caton & Santos, 2009:191). This does not mean, however, that residents cannot gaze back (Moufakkir & Reisinger, 2013), which I will further elaborate in section 4.3.2.1.

It is argued that a subtle exercise of power finds easy acceptance within tourism, as illustrated by Caton & Santos (2009:202) in the context of the ‘Othering’ in tourism:

while racial stereotyping is now widely recognized as problematic, cultural stereotyping [...] continues to go unrecognized because it is cloaked in a romantic aura: non-Western cultures are presented (indeed by the tourism industry most of all) as desirable for their exoticism and beauty, and this aesthetic impulse remains unquestioned. Perhaps “cultureism” is the new racism.

It is simply the desirable and different Other that the tourist needs for self-identification (Meethan, 2006), as “tourists can be considered observers who gaze into the elsewhere and the Other, while looking for their own reflection” (Galani-Moutafi, 2000:220). Within Orientalism, the West defines the Orient as what the Occident is not (Said, 1978), which establishes yet another parallel between Orientalism and tourism.

4.3.1.2 Empty meeting grounds: the tourist as image of (post-)modernity

As suggested by MacCannell (1992), the division into self and Other has an influence on the tourism encounter, which turns it into an ‘empty meeting ground’, where suppression and consumption reign, leading to an impossibility of the emergence of mutually beneficial relationships between people. The ‘emptiness’ in such meeting grounds is mainly due to a difference in motives between the two parties: whereas the resident strives for economic gain, the tourist seeks self-realisation through the confrontation with the Other (MacCannell, 1992). Looking at the tourism encounter as one-sided exploitation, the empty meeting ground can be regarded a ‘social space of disempowerment’ in the context of this thesis.

In his analysis, MacCannell (1992) uses tourism (i.e. the extraordinary) to draw conclusions on the modern society and subject (i.e. the ordinary), which in his eyes is characterised by superficiality and individualism. The tourist thereby manifests an image of modernity, in search of the condition that s/he has lost through the processes of modernity and industrialisation (MacCannell, 1992), hence looking for authenticity in primordial and supposedly preserved societies (MacCannell, 1999). Modernity itself is characterised by rationality, progress and the search for individual freedom (Oakes, 2005), most importantly an ethnocentric and Western form of rationality. The modern subject, at least in Oakes's (2005:37) eyes, seeks authenticity and pureness in order to "unify the world ripped apart by the catastrophic mechanisms of modernity itself, accompanied by an awareness that such unity is forever out of reach." The modern subject attempts to flee from this 'paradox of modernity' (Oakes, 2005). Referring to Foucault, Oakes (2005) argues that the modern subject itself is characterised by a schizophrenic consciousness that needs to maintain a division into self and Other, in order for oneself to become a subject. It is the subordination to power that forms the precondition for modern subjectivity in Foucault's eyes (Oakes, 2005). Therefore,

[i]f subject formation depends upon an experience of subordination to power, it must be expressed in terms of objectification: the subject articulates itself in terms of its experience as an object of power. Subject formation, then, may be said to depend on the construction of an object world, the world of others. (Oakes, 2005:42)

Hence, the only way to subject formation is to "exhibit [...] the other as object – [...] [a] refuge from modernity" (Oakes, 2005:43), which tourism intends to do by Othering the foreign as a form of experiential consumption (Hollinshead, 1998a). This makes such modern subjects dependent on "distinguishing [themselves] from the object-world" (Oakes, 2005:43) through travelling and detaching themselves in order to find "something authentic to view from an appropriately distanced perspective" (Oakes, 2005:44).

Bauman (2000) calls this fluid modernity 'post-modernity' or 'liquid modernity', characterised by restlessness, consumption and a constant mis-meeting between strangers and without any interaction. This comes close to Marc Augé's (1995) idea of 'non-places' characterised by consumption, individuality and solitude, where people stay temporarily; hence the traveller's space is not a place but a frequentation of that

space. Thus, in post-modernity “the idea of travel rather than that of place” seems to be important (Badone & Roseman, 2004:9). It is the increasing mobility of the modern subject, which, in form of tourism, should assist in the search for unity (MacCannell, 1992). Thereby, it is “a sense of loss felt within the ‘modern’ world of mass culture and post-industrial social and economic trauma, and giving rise to possibilities of redemption through contact with the naturally, spiritually, and culturally ”unspoilt”” (Taylor, 2001:10) that is reflected by the travelling subject, the tourist in search of authenticity (MacCannell, 1999).

Nevertheless, the tourist is confronted with staged authenticity, an ‘authenticity’ performed within the touristic space, a tourist setting and stage produced for an audience (MacCannell, 1999). In expressing his idea of the tourist wanting to go native, MacCannell (1999) draws on Goffman’s (1959) ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions. Accordingly, tourists (supposedly all of them) are looking for the ‘real’ in the backstage and personal everyday life of residents – but are ever failing (MacCannell, 1999). Restlessly looking for authenticity and wholeness while travelling constitutes an attempt to resolve the inner conflict of dependency on the object for subject formation (Oakes, 2005). Yet, at the same time, the staged authenticity encountered maintains the duality between subject and object and reinforces the paradox of modernity (Oakes, 2005). However, it is increasingly acknowledged that tourists are aware that real authenticity does not exist and that they are enjoying staged and fake moments, which the term ‘post-tourist’, hence the reflexive tourist, expresses (Feifer, 1985). Even MacCannell (2001:24) himself argues that “postmodern (post-) tourists know better and delight in the inauthentic.”

It is the critical engagement with the role of the tourist (rather than residents) that has impacted significantly on the conceptualisation of the tourism encounter. The tourist is therefore condemned and criticised for travelling for reasons of self-identification, which are – based on Urry’s (2002) tourist gaze – “allied with the ego which insists on its wholeness, completeness, and self-sufficiency” (MacCannell, 2001:35), hence an ego-centric search for a lost ‘primitive self’ (Taylor, 2001). Based on earlier works

(e.g. MacCannell, 1992), the tourist is displayed as a rather naïve refugee from modernity, ‘impacting’ negatively on culture in exotic and less developed countries.⁵

MacCannell’s (1992) idea of the empty meeting ground, paired with Orientalism’s influence on tourism research and the idea of the exploitative tourist, have largely created a view of the tourism encounter that is disempowering for local community members. Much attention has been paid to the part of the tourist or the pronounced difference between the two parties, with residents being “portrayed as passive but grateful recipients” (Aitchison, 2001:137). It is useful to not only look at the agency of the tourist, but also of residents in order to loosen the locked asymmetrical idea of power relations in the encounter (Gotham, 2005). The subsequent section will do so in order to identify potential social spaces of empowerment in tourism.

4.3.2. Shifting paradigms in the anthropology of tourism

Despite the somewhat dark shadow cast over the tourism encounter by the works discussed above, paradigms are shifting within the anthropology of tourism, by allowing for counter-arguments to the presented concepts. This section explores these shifts by revisiting Orientalism in the context of tourism and deconstructing binaries to lay the ground for an understanding of the positive potential that lies within the tourism encounter, most importantly for reasons of residents’ empowerment.

4.3.2.1 Revisiting Orientalism’s influence on the tourism encounter

As discussed earlier, Orientalism’s influence on tourism research has framed a negative approach to the tourism encounter. The Othering in tourism implies not only unequal power relations between tourist and resident but comes with ideas of denied self-representation and consumption of an essentialised Other. Orientalism is criticised for its essentialist approach with the West defined in opposition to a cultural Other (Windschuttle, 1999). In addition, Sax (1998) talks about a denial of agency to the Orient, specifically in response to Said (1978:3), who himself states that “because

⁵The idea of negative *impacts* on culture and society is in itself problematic as simple impact analysis often depicts globalisation and tourism as the destroyer of local traditions (King, 2009). Instead, the global is renegotiated locally to form new distinctive cultures (Gotham, 2005). In the case of Bali, Picard (1992) argues that instead of destroying Balinese culture, tourism became a part of it and creates a ‘touristic culture’, which, in turn, reinforces cultural identity, or ‘Balineseness’. The example of Bali illustrates that simplistic impact-analyses that see tourism as an external destroyer of local, pure culture are not useful to understand the complexities of tourism, culture and society.

of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action.” This criticism is equally visible in tourism research, which

has [...] been framed from the perspective of the, often removed, Western researcher and thus does not taken into account the local issues as articulated, lived, and dealt with by the locals. As a result, although such research has brought much needed awareness to (post)colonial issues, it has sometimes done so without meaningfully involving the Other as voiced. (Osagie & Buzinde, 2011:211)

With tourism studies being influenced by postcolonial theory, counter-arguments to Orientalism also focus on agency and the replacement of essentialist approaches by deconstruction. Presented as objects of the gaze, being ‘used’ for self-identification of the modern subject on the move (Urry, 2002), agency on the part of residents has long been denied (Stronza, 2001). However, residents are also subjects in the tourism encounter, and tourists are also the Other that “can no longer trust that sightseeing will reinforce the subject-object dualism, because his or her gaze is often returned by the others, who increasingly assert their own subjectivity in the encounter” (Oakes, 2005:49) as part of the ‘mutual gaze’ (Maoz, 2006). Although this is a simplistic view of power (i.e. through subject formation), it nevertheless acknowledges agency on the part of residents.

It is increasingly acknowledged that locals are highly conscious of their role in staging and ‘playing’ for tourists (Oakes, 2005) and often are the ones that “will pipe the tune to which the tourists dance” (Sofield, 2003:59). Tourists may find themselves in an insecure position outside their usual environment, putting residents, guides and other brokers into the position of the Foucauldian agent and the tourist into that of the Foucauldian target, who is ‘power-bound’ and influenced by the agent in terms of, for example, receiving essential local information (Cheong & Miller, 2000). The tourist turns into the Other, which, “while symbolically elevated, is subject to domination by the host, and to the rules of being a guest” (Sheringham & Daruwalla, 2007:36).

In addition, by seeing the different rather than the familiar, tourists and residents are provided a chance of reflection of the self, which “provides a stimulus to question the hegemony, or more dangerously, may serve to act as the catalyst of change” (Sheringham & Daruwalla, 2007:36). Therefore, the criticised usage of the Other for self-identification could be turned around into an increased awareness of power inequalities and appreciation of difference. The Other doesn’t need to be negative – a

status, which anyway “is a lingering diffuse effect of the arrogant old Western ego which rated everything *other* as *lesser* by definition” (MacCannell, 2011:8). Ignoring aspects of judging and egocentrism for a moment may turn the once Other, the inferior, into a mere ‘different’, which is how the notion of Other shall be used in this thesis.

Another argument that stresses agency is that residents actively participate in the production of the tourist space and in what the tourist perceives as authentic or not (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007), for example by consciously staging the setting according to their own needs. One of these needs may be to participate in modernity and gain integration and appreciation in the global world through displaying themselves as traditional within the tourism space (Picard, 2003). Picard (2011) uses the metaphor of the garden to express both the natural as well as man-made, staged and controlled aspects of the tourism space, a space where residents, or rather ‘human flowers’, can realise, observe and reaffirm their selves. Although local residents may change their behaviour (Régi, 2012), they regularly do so as agents who are able to choose how to represent themselves, even if as the ever-so criticised exotic and Oriental Other (Yan & Santos, 2009). Self-Orientalism, therefore, presents residents’ conscious representation for purposes of economic benefit and self-identification (Yan & Santos, 2009).

Performance itself is increasingly acknowledged as taking the form of an interactive process (Edensor, 2000) in need of an audience, whereby the self is constantly negotiated intersubjectively (Crouch, 2004). It is a process of becoming, whereby residents and (non-)tourism spaces (i.e. front and back) are entangled with the tourist audience (Edensor, 2000). So, our focus of analysis needs to shift towards understanding processes rather than fixed concepts; interactions between people, rather than studying only tourists or residents. Entangled in webs of constantly negotiated power relations (van der Duim, 2007), both tourist and resident “need each other for the tourists to have that magical experience and for the locals to earn a living and to preserve pride in their way of life” (Graburn, 2011:xi). This dialectic process provides the precondition for a deconstruction of dualisms in the anthropology of tourism, as elaborated in the following section.

4.3.2.2 Deconstructing binaries and 'thinking in spaces'

Based on the previous discussion, simplistic binary divisions that have long influenced the anthropology of tourism prove not only useless but also disempowering for residents. Dualisms become increasingly deconstructed and processes of mixing acknowledged (Gotham, 2005), following a postmodern approach to understanding tourism, according to which distinctions and categories become blurred due to de-differentiation and an abolition of boundaries (Uriely, 2005).

The division into host and guest (if used at all) becomes increasingly blurred, as the host at times becomes a guest himself (Visser, 1991), above all in the context of domestic tourism (Cohen, 2006). Tourists' identities particularly become more fluid as attention is now paid to understanding the varying roles that tourists adopt during travelling, as they are as well as their hosts performing on a number of stages (Edensor, 2000). When it comes to tourism for development as discussed in this thesis, the blurred nature of identities can again be realised: 'developmentourism' replaces the idea of the tourist by that of the 'donor' and, in turn, impacts on the tourism encounter (Baptista, 2010). Further deconstruction in tourism takes place when acknowledging networks of people and things – so-called 'tourismsapes' (van der Duim, 2007), replacing the view that residents and tourists are two separate analytical entities (Aramberri, 2001:747). Hence, a change is sought not only in the object of research (i.e. moving from a focus on the tourist towards residents and the complex web of consumption and production), but also the approach or methodology of inquiry (i.e. a deconstruction of binaries and a thinking in spaces).

To move away from a one-sided analysis of impacts, Bhabha's (1994) idea of the 'third space' is useful, a postcolonial analysis of spaces of cultural ambiguity that breaks down dualistic ideas of cultural difference. While Bhabha uses Said's principal idea of an inequality between the self and the Other, he makes room for agency and resistance (Bhabha, 1994). Spaces of mixing, so-called 'in-between spaces', and 'third space cultures' de-essentialise culture and make room for ideas of hybridisation⁶ (Huddart, 2006). Bhabha's perspective creates room for agency as it "unsettles such 'fixed' identities and empowers new visions of personhood for indigenous/marginalized peoples. This in turn opens new spaces of self/ other

⁶ Hybridisation can be understood as the on-going process of hybridity (Huddart, 2006).

understanding” (Amoamo, 2011:1254). Bhabha (1994) further opts for a deconstruction of *self* and *other*, dualisms that can bear negative effects, given that “[i]f you know only too well where your identity ends and the rest of the world begins, it can be easy to define that world as other, different, inferior, and threatening to your identity” (Huddart, 2006:6). Simply giving more power to the powerless by taking away power from the powerful (e.g. the coloniser) would not be a productive solution (Huddart, 2006).

Bhabha’s (1994) notion of the third space proves useful to understand the (potentially empowering) dynamics emerging from the space inbetween difference or tourist and resident. By breaking down simplistic dualisms, this space is a result of postmodernity’s restlessness and bears potential for empowerment by enabling colonised and often marginalised communities to represent themselves as mixed, hence highlighting diversity in cultural formations (Bhabha, 1994). This thesis follows this *Zeitgeist* by studying interactive spaces rather than differences between people, with the ultimate goal to unravel potential for residents’ empowerment.

While Bhabha (1994) talks mainly about (post-)colonial subjects, such as migrants, the interpretation of the third space is open, therefore making it applicable to tourism. Amoamo (2011), for example, suggests that the new, hybrid identities that form during the tourism encounter can make room for self-representation, resulting in potentially empowering cultural hybridity. While using the idea of a static self to attract tourists is not denied, room has to be made for contemporary interpretations of the self, over which residents have control (Amoamo, 2011). Therefore, there is room for empowerment in the third space through control over representation of a contemporary self rather than a pre-formed tourism discourse (Amoamo, 2011), hence creating the possibility in tourism that “new exciting and empowering forms of identity may be articulated and experienced beyond the boundaries of received representations of difference” (Hollinshead, 1998b:72). Hollinshead (1998a) argues that, in the third space, stereotypes can be challenged and new articulations of the self can emerge, which is why our attention should move towards its possibilities for empowerment.

4.3.3. Empowering vs. disempowering aspects in the tourism encounter

Given the relevance of the tourism encounter for social empowerment in tourism – not last as a potential social space of empowerment – section 4.3.1. discussed key contributions to the anthropology of tourism. The literature has revealed a number of aspects that deny residents’ agency and constitute socially disempowering, or what Scheyvens (1999, 2002) would call ‘psychologically disempowering’, aspects (i.e. what causes feelings of inferiority of locals; also see section 4.2.) in the tourism encounter:

- Orientalism and the *Othering* (Said, 1978; Hollinshead, 1998a);
- cultural representation (Caton & Santos, 2009);
- the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002);
- the hegemonic power of tourism (Caton & Santos, 2009; Giampiccoli, 2007);
- the empty meeting grounds (MacCannell, 1992);
- the modern subject on the move (MacCannell, 1992, Urry, 2002);
- (staged) authenticity (MacCannell, 1999); and
- the negative socio-cultural impacts caused by tourism/tourists (King, 2009).

However, counter-arguments to the above exist, creating room for a more nuanced analysis of the tourism encounter. From section 4.3.2., a number of aspects (see Table 10) emerged in the form of counter-arguments to the disempowering themes on the tourism encounter, creating a more positive outlook on the asymmetrical power relation between tourists and residents that influences research to date.

Table 10: Counter-arguments to the tourism encounter as being disempowering

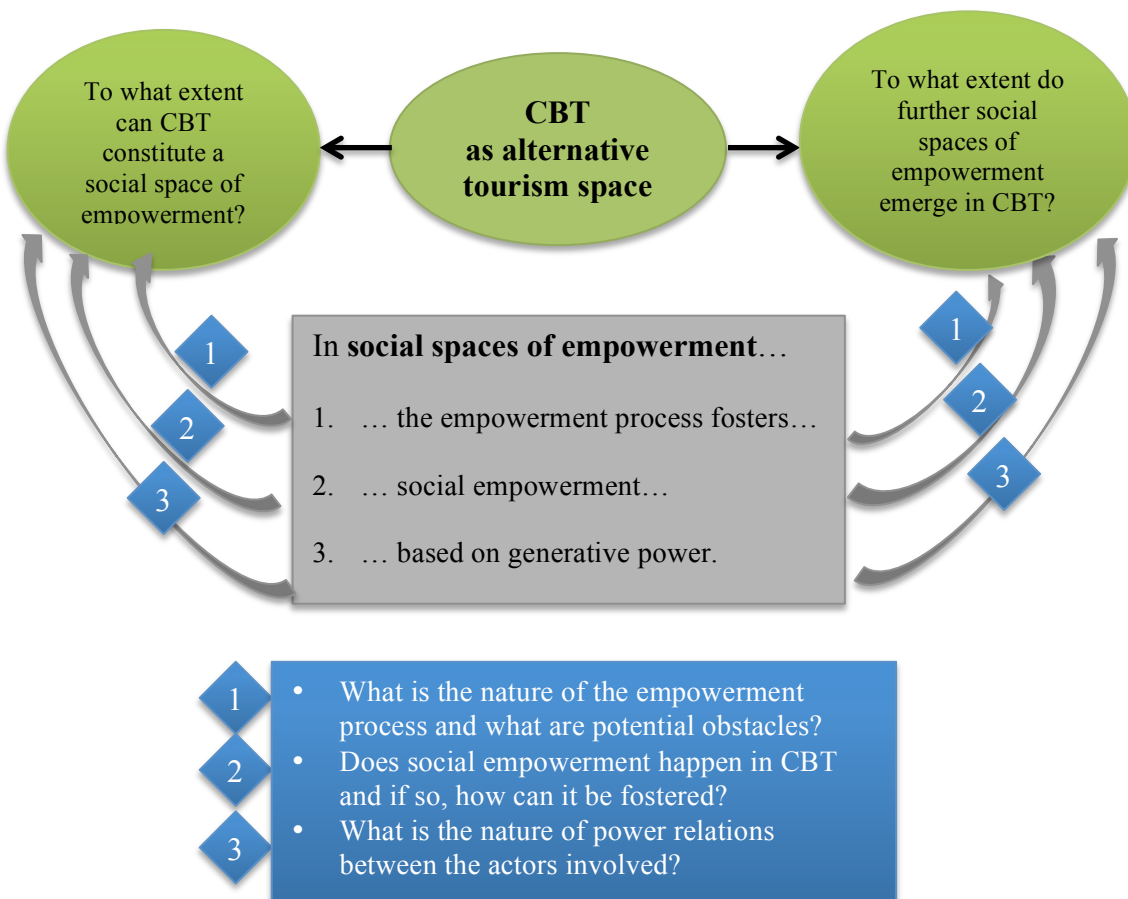
An acknowledgement of agency of residents	De-differentiation & deconstruction of dichotomies
the chance for hosts to participate in modernity through displaying themselves as ‘traditional’ (Picard, 2003)	the acknowledgement of performance as an interactive process (Erb, 2000), in which identities are constantly negotiated (Crouch, 2004)
the realisation that Orientalism itself denied agency to the Orient (Sax, 1998)	a focus on processes rather than fixed concepts (Cohen & Cohen, 2012)
the conscious staging of authenticity by locals (Oakes, 2005)	a focus on interaction instead of isolated parties (van der Duim et al., 2005)
self-Orientalism (Yan & Santos, 2009)	the influence of postmodernism on tourism research (Uriely, 2005)
the existence of a local or mutual gaze, turning the tourist into the Other (Maoz, 2006)	the fluidity and omnipresence of power in tourism (Cheong & Miller, 2000)
the dependence on the host and subordination to local rules by tourists (i.e. the influence of hospitality) (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Erb, 2000; Sheringham & Daruwalla, 2007)	the emergence of hybrid cultures in a third space (Bhabha, 1994), creating possibilities to challenge stereotypes (Hollinshead, 1998a) and generate new understandings and empowerment of the self (Amoamo, 2011)

These aspects create a basis for how nascent social relations between tourists and residents can turn into potential social spaces of empowerment as opposed to the aspects mentioned earlier. Both sets of identified aspects will guide the empirical part and data analysis of this research as they created an understanding of the roots of residents' disempowerment and potential empowerment.

4.4. Conceptual framework

As a result of the critical literature review in chapters 2 to 4, a conceptual framework was devised, illustrated by Figure 3. This framework is structured around three major concepts that guide this research: CBT, empowerment and the tourism encounter, or social interactions in tourism. CBT creates the wider context in which this study is placed and constitutes an alternative tourism space, created through social processes. Two major questions guide this research, as outlined in section 1.2. and illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Conceptual framework



Source: author

Space and power are regarded as two analytical tools, as they are called in this thesis. Space is used as a frame of reference for people's actions and power has been identified as the force that drives empowerment. These analytical tools connect the three concepts and are used in order to understand empowerment in the social world under study. A critical-analytical review of the relevant literature surrounding the three concepts and these two analytical tools allowed a more precise description of social spaces of empowerment, as can be taken from section 3.5. and Figure 3. Summarising these characteristics, social spaces of empowerment are spaces where social empowerment happens as part of the empowerment process, emerging from social interactions that are based on generative power. This definition raises three sub-questions that guide the empirical part of this thesis to ultimately answer the two major research questions raised in section 1.2. A number of insights gained from the literature review are used to guide the empirical part. This means that understanding the three sub-questions (Figure 3 – blue box) is based on the following:

1. Question number one is guided by Figure 1 in section 3.3.2., which illustrates the empowerment process.
2. Question number two is guided by Tables 8 and 9 in section 4.2.3., which illustrates main aspects that define and foster social empowerment in tourism for development.
3. Question number three is guided by section 3.4., specifically Table 2, which summarises the four forms of power.

These three questions, along with the broader conceptual framework, guide the empirical part of this research. Section 8.3. picks up on the conceptual framework and the research questions presented here and draws a more direct connection.

5. THE FIELD CONTEXT: THE ISLAND OF BALI

5.1. Introduction

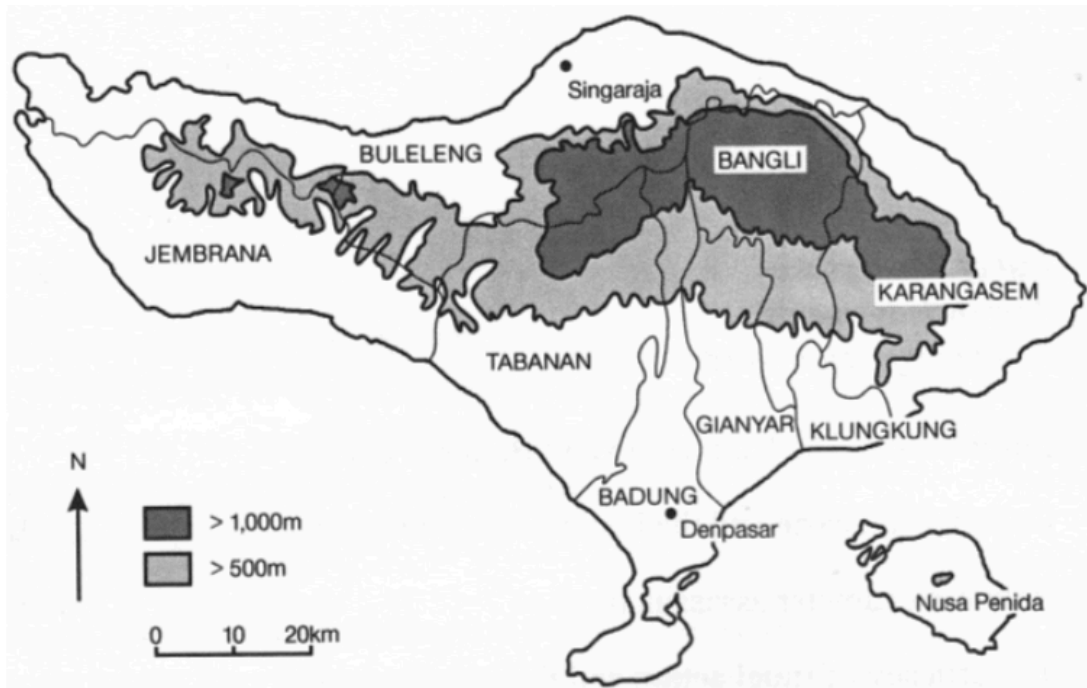
This chapter establishes the field context for this study – the island of Bali, located in the archipelago of Indonesia. It does so by discussing the geo-political, economic and historic background of Bali as one of Indonesia’s provinces, followed by a brief account on the socio-cultural life of the Balinese. The latter includes an acknowledgement of the caste system, village life and social structure, all of which have an influence on tourism in Bali. At the core of this chapter lie Bali’s complex tourism development and the interplay between tourism and culture. This chapter then reflects on the current development of alternative forms of tourism in Bali, particularly CBT. Furthermore, it introduces the Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA), a major player and facilitator for access during the fieldwork. Finally, this chapter introduces the three field sites (three rural villages in Bali) where the empirical research was conducted.

5.2. Bali’s ‘country’ context

5.2.1. Geo-political, economic and historic background of Bali

The island of Bali is situated in the Indonesian archipelago and lies inbetween the main island of Java, with Indonesia’s capital Jakarta, and the smaller island of Lombok. At a size of 5,632 square kilometres, Bali has a population of around 4.2 million. Bali is one of the 34 provinces in the Republic of Indonesia and is again subdivided into eight regencies (i.e. Jembrana, Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, Klungkung, Bangli, Karangasem and Buleleng, see Figure 4), which are divided into municipalities, districts, and villages (UNWTO, 2013b). Bali’s capital, Denpasar, is located in the South and its airport, Ngurah Rai, is only a short distance from the tourist resorts of Kuta, Sanur and Nusa Dua.

Figure 4: Map of Bali's regencies



Source: Howe, 2005:vi

As the only island with an essentially Hindu population in an archipelago with a Muslim majority, Bali has been facing uncertainty and insecurity, one of the aspects this chapter will elaborate, most importantly in connection with tourism (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Howe, 2005). Foreign influence, above all in the form of tourism, investment and migration, has a long history in Bali. Besides international migrants, Muslim migrants from Java and Lombok find employment in tourism, one of the island's most important economic sectors, besides agriculture and manufacturing (Howe, 2005). These migration flows increase influence from outside and insecurity in Bali (MacRae, 2010).

Bali's economy is highly dependent on tourism and agriculture (mainly wet rice), with the latter offering the largest number of jobs to the Balinese: in 2012, around 560,000 people worked in agriculture (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2013) while tourism offered 280,000⁷ jobs in 2011 (UNWTO, 2013a). Tourism is the island's largest economic sector in terms of income, turning Bali into one of the wealthiest

⁷ This number, however, only includes jobs in accommodation services (such as hotels and other similar establishments) and doesn't count the number of jobs in food and beverage, manufacturing and other sectors that are directly or indirectly connected to tourism.

regions of Indonesia (Ministry of Economic Affairs Indonesia, 2011). It makes up for 29% of the gross regional domestic product (GRDP), while agriculture only amounts to only 18%, services to 15%, transport and communication to 13% and manufacturing to 9% (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2011 as cited in Ministry of Economic Affairs Indonesia, 2011). Tourism is further supported by the government's recently published Master Plan for the 'Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development 2011-2025', which seeks to develop six economic corridors in Indonesia and improve national connectivity to facilitate tourism, with Bali as the touristic gateway (Ministry of Economic Affairs Indonesia, 2011).

Today, Indonesia's government takes the form of a presidential constitutional republic with regional autonomy. Bali became part of the republic in 1949 when Indonesia gained its independence from the Netherlands. Looking back at Indonesia's and Bali's history, the political situation has been dominated by colonialism, foreign influence and turbulence. By the beginning of the 20th century, Bali was part of the Dutch colonial empire, an era that proves particularly important in the context of tourism, given that it created the basis for Bali as a tourist attraction and an image of Bali as tourists still know it today.

The colonial period ended with the first president, Sukarno, who led Bali to independence. Although Sukarno was known for xenophobic and violent politics, the Ngurah Rai international airport in Bali as well as the Bali Beach Hotel in Sanur were built in his name, creating a basic tourism infrastructure (Picard, 1990). In 1965, Sukarno was deposed by the new president, Suharto, who remained in power until 1998 and whose reign, also referred to as the New Order regime, marked the real beginning of tourism. In times of the New Order, ethnic diversity was fostered (King, 2009) and Indonesia was opened to the West (Picard, 1990). With the fall of Suharto in 1998, the era of *reformasi* (reform) began, characterised by an increased revival of ethnic identity (Picard, 2009).

Before turning to the development of tourism on the island, I will discuss Balinese social and cultural life, which does not remain isolated from and unaffected by the dynamics of tourism. The next section seeks to establish and offer a sketch of Balinese village life and social structure.

5.2.2. Balinese social and cultural life

“Anyone who purports to write about “the way it is in Bali” is either ignorant or a liar. [...] One of the first things a careful investigator learns is the principle of desa kala patra: that whatever one learns in Bali is largely determined by where he is, when he is there, and the circumstances under which the learning occurs.”
(Eiseman, 1990:3)

Bali is diverse and highly complex and so is its socio-cultural context. It is impossible to draw generalisations about Bali or to allocate certain characteristics or traits to the Balinese (Eiseman, 1990). As Geertz (1959:991) noted: “As all things Balinese, Balinese villages are peculiar, complicated and extraordinarily diverse.” So are the island’s culture, rituals, meanings, ceremonies as well as village organisation – aspects that differ from regency to regency and from village to village (Barth, 1993).

As a consequence, this section does not intend to draw a complete or static picture of Bali. Rather, it directs attention towards issues that are particularly prevalent in Balinese society and that play a major role in the critical understanding of the empirical part of this study. For the last decades, anthropologists have been dealing with aspects such as religion, cock fights, personhood (Geertz, 1973), village life (Geertz, 1959), socio-economic change (Geertz, 1968), ceremonies and dances (Bateson & Mead, 1942), romance and marriage in the caste system (Boon, 1977), the role of ritual in politics and power (Geertz, 1980), ethnographies of Balinese society (Barth, 1993; Covarrubias, 1937; Eiseman, 1990) and tourism (McKean, 1973; Picard, 2009, 2008, 1996, 1992, 1990). This section does not elaborate all of these topics in detail, but uses information on village life, social structure, the caste system and culture to provide sufficient background on the study location.

One of the most visible and polarising issues regarding social organisation in Bali is the aforementioned caste system, which forms an essential part of Balinese Hinduism: “caste is not a government policy, [but] [...] a complex system of social organization historically based on social function – smith, farmer, priest, etc. – which eventually became entwined with Hindu doctrine” (Eiseman, 1990:25). Originating from the Indian caste system, the Balinese system (*kasta*) is made up of four castes (descending privilege): *Brahmana* (i.e. high priests), *Satria*, *Wésia* and *Sudra* (*peasants*) (Eiseman, 1990; Howe, 2005). People are born into a caste, which generally determines their status and occupation within society (Eiseman, 1990). All four castes have their own

dialect and, although cross-caste friendships exist, marriage is strongly controlled according to status (Howe, 2005). Caste in Bali shows itself in practice in terms of names and wealth (Geertz, 1973), although the latter is not necessarily as effective today, as people from lower castes can have pleasant-looking houses as well (Howe, 2005). At the first sight, the caste system may seem unequal to an outsider (Eiseman, 1990). However, it is a form of social organisation that is connected to religion and therefore regarded as “com[ing] from the gods” (Geertz, 1973:381).

Although some seek to change the caste system, the majority of Balinese appear to accept it (Eiseman, 1990). Nevertheless, it is argued that, for the Balinese, more important than the caste system is their belief in an equilibrium between God, man and the environment (*tri hita karana*, i.e. the three causes of prosperity) and “that his actions, his karma, [...] [are] in harmony with his dharma, “duty” or “order”” (Eiseman, 1990:19). The prioritising of doing good, in regard to one’s fellows over status, may constitute one of the reasons why some Balinese want to abolish or reform the highly controversial caste system. Another reason is the high costs of ceremonies and rites of passage (e.g. marriage, cremation and tooth filing when reaching adulthood), which, in Bali, are pompous and expensive – a luxury that not everybody can afford (Tarplee, 2008). Reforms have made ceremonies more affordable to the poor, particularly to peasants of the *Sudra* caste, to which over 90% of the population belong (Howe, 2005). There are disagreements in terms of streamlining ceremonies on the one hand and maintaining hierarchy on the other:

There are clearly contradictory forces in operation. On the one hand is a drive to simplify, standardise and rationalise many ceremonies, especially cremation, with a view to controlling costs, thus allowing poor Balinese to participate fully in ritual life, and to bring Balinese Hinduism into some conformity with world religions.⁸ On the other hand is the strength and resilience of the status hierarchy, which motivates people to maintain difference with others through elaborate and increasingly costly ceremonies financed through rising income from the expanding economy. (Howe, 2005:68).

The dedication to religion and ceremonies in the village is strong and a stark characteristic for Bali. With work opportunities in rural areas decreasing and

⁸ Making Balinese Hinduism a world religion would ensure support and protection by the Ministry of Religion, which, based in Indonesia’s Muslim capital Jakarta, “insisted that only those religions (*agama*) which were monotheistic, possessed a holy book and a prophet, and were not restricted to a single ethnic group, were truly universal religions and thus eligible for state support and protection” (Howe, 2005:64).

expectations and living standards of people rising, the Balinese are increasingly moving or commuting to the city to find employment (Howe, 2005; Picard, 1992). Villagers, however, argue that while their work is in the city, their ‘real’ life takes place in the village, where they are part of a community and its collective rituals (Yamashita, 2003). A consequence of this ‘new’ lifestyle is a forced negligence of religious duties in the village, as employers have a hard time letting their workforce return to the village for every ceremony – of which there are plenty in Bali (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Howe, 2005; Picard, 1992). Ritual work, such as preparing offerings⁹ and ceremonies, often takes a third to up to half of people’s time, particularly of women, often preventing them from engaging in income generating activities (Nakatani, 2003). Hence, there is an increasing tension between earning money and modernisation, which presents itself in the form of the ‘busy city lifestyle,’ and family and village life with its ceremonies and rituals, with the question emerging “how this can be squared with the demands of an industry with totally different concepts of time and rewards” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:52). Nevertheless, despite increasing urbanisation and modernisation in Bali, the village maintains its status and importance for Balinese ritual life, as younger generations living in the city usually return to their home village for rites of passage and other ceremonies (Nakatani, 2003).

What becomes further obvious from the current tensions is that the *desa* (village) is a religious organisation, as the community gets together to cooperate for rituals, whose preparations oftentimes occupy several days or weeks (Picard, 1992). Geertz (1959) argues, that although there is no uniform social structure in Balinese villages, its components are similar. He suggests that the social structure in the village should be understood in terms of layers of social organisation, of which he identified seven:

- (1) shared obligation to worship at a given temple,
 - (2) common residence,
 - (3) ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed,
 - (4) commonality of ascribed social status or caste,
 - (5) consanguineal and affinal kinship ties,
 - (6) common membership in one or another “voluntary” organization, and
 - (7) common legal sub-ordination to a single government administrative official.
- (Geertz, 1959:992)

⁹ Balinese offerings serve the purpose of giving thanks to the god *Sang Hyang Widi Wasa*. *Canang sari* thereby is the most common type of offering, prepared daily and placed on temples, shrines and on the ground. Different types of offerings exist depending on the religious occasion.

These seven layers of social organisation in the village represent ways how communities are formed within the geographical area of the village. To further elaborate some of the most essential of these layers, the community of the hamlet or *banjar* (2), to which usually several hundred families belong, needs mentioning (Eiseman, 1990). The *banjar* has legal functions and its own *Balai banjar* (community meeting hall) and *gamelan*¹⁰ orchestra (Geertz, 1959). Usually, all members of the *banjar* cooperate and provide presents for ceremonies, turning it into “a legal, fiscal and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity” (Geertz, 1959:994). In addition to the *banjar*, caste (4) and memberships in village-based associations (6) further tie the village together. Associations exist for nearly every activity in the village, such as dance, music and agriculture, with residents forming part of one or more of these groups (Geertz 1959).

Notably, music and dance constitute essential elements of the Balinese villages as they are used for ceremonies (Picard, 1992). However, nowadays, dances and performance also prove useful as tourist entertainment, insofar as some dances were invented just for tourists (Yamashita, 2003), such as the *Legong* dance and *Ramayana ballet* (Picard, 1992). What happens in Bali can be linked to the notion of ‘invented’ traditions that “are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983:2). These invented traditions make it impossible to find ‘authentic’ traditions; which leads to questioning authenticity and helps create an artificial distinction between history and modernity (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Most importantly, the paradox in Bali tourism lies in the obvious invention of some of Bali’s ‘traditions’ through the Dutch colonial empire – traditions that are at the same time sold as ‘authentic’ commodities in tourism.

The above-mentioned arguments show that the impacts of tourism concentrate not only on Bali’s tourist resorts in the South, but also permeate into everyday life for those living in the villages. Tourism, along with processes of globalisation, is undoubtedly an engine of socio-economic change, but also one of the most important employment creators on the island. Before moving towards the core critical investigation of CBT in Bali, it is necessary to discuss the development of Bali’s tourism industry as well as the complex interplay between tourism and culture.

¹⁰ *Gamelan* is the Balinese word for orchestra, which usually consists of around 25-50 people playing a number of different instruments similar to xylophones (Eiseman, 1990).

5.3. Tourism in Bali

5.3.1. Bali's tourism development

Bali is without doubt one of the top tourist destinations in South-East Asia and the world. Out of 9,4 million of international tourist arrivals (overnight stayers) in Indonesia in 2014, 3,7 million tourists visited Bali (via Ngurah Rai airport as port of entry) (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2015). By receiving 39% of tourists arriving in Indonesia via its port of entry, it has the largest share of all provinces (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2015) and is the gateway to Indonesia (Nuryanti, 2001) and its “touristic showcase” (Picard, 2009:121). With strong connections to a network of international and domestic airlines (UNWTO, 2013b), the Ministry regards Bali as an attractive entrance point to Indonesia, which should disperse visitors to other parts of the country (Ministry of Economic Affairs Indonesia, 2011).

Tourism in Bali focuses around the major beach resorts of Kuta, Sanur and Nusa Dua in the South (in Badung regency) as well as the cultural capital Ubud (in Gianyar regency), which is only 20km from the capital of Denpasar. Although tourism spreads to smaller cities such as Lovina, Jimbaran, Amed and others, the bulk of tourists concentrate in the South and, hence, it is mainly the two regencies of Badung and Gianyar that receive the majority of financial benefits from tourism (Picard, 2003) – but they also bear the costs of tourism, such as environmental degradation. Although the main tourist activities focus around the South, the Balinese also commute to their everyday work from the villages or even move to the South to find a job in tourism (Howe, 2005).

Tourists are attracted by the island's natural landscape, particularly its white-sand beaches, lush rice fields, volcanic landscape and lakes. At the same time, Bali is renowned for its arts and culture, which are strongly influenced by Balinese Hinduism. One can watch dance or music shows but also witness rituals and ceremonies as they are practiced in everyday life, oftentimes visible to tourists. With its *balian* (healers), belief in spirits of the ancestors and grandiose religious ceremonies, Bali is a magical and mystical place in the eyes of tourists. It is known as ‘the last paradise’ or ‘the island of Gods’ – an image created in colonial times (Howe, 2005). Tourism on the island dates back to 1908 when Bali became part of the Dutch colonial empire – a time when artists and photographers like W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp

and Gregor Krause were attracted by its beauty (Howe, 2005). In the next thirty years, Bali's exoticism and beauty attracted painters such as Walter Spies and artists like Miguel Covarrubias, followed by anthropologists Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in the 1930s, and Clifford Geertz in the 1950s. These works of art, photography and anthropological knowledge constitute the beginning of Bali's promotion as an exotic paradise in the West.

In the late 1960s, accommodation and infrastructure were small-scale – with the Kuta Beach hotel and the Bali Beach hotels offering accommodation to only a small number of tourists (Wall, 1996a). This changed rapidly during the New Order regime with funding from the World Bank in the course of the first tourism development Master Plan (World Bank, 1974). Published in 1971, the Master Plan aimed at constructing a tourist resort in Nusa Dua, on the Bukit peninsula in the South of the island (World Bank, 1974). It included building a road network, hotel training facilities, offering jobs to around 6,000 workers in hotels and stimulating private and foreign investment (World Bank, 1974).

Infrastructure and the subsequent rise in facilities created the preconditions for a boom in Bali's tourism industry, which reached considerable numbers in the 1980s (Picard, 2009). By the 1990s, an increasingly negative attitude towards foreign tourism, but above all towards tourism investments coming from Jakarta, was noted (Picard, 2009), with Bali seen as a “colony of Jakarta” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:22). Investment took the form of real-estate investment in properties that were once used for agriculture, which marginalised the Balinese within their own economy and contributed to the displacement of agriculture by tourism (Picard, 2009).

Having exploited Bali's natural and cultural assets and increasingly opened the island to tourism and migration for decades, a major tourism downturn happened in 2002 and 2005 when two bombings occurred in the tourist district of Kuta, killing a large number of tourists and few Balinese citizens. Although tourist numbers dropped in the aftermath of the 2002 bombing, the image of Bali as a safe destination was quickly rebuilt – until another terrorist attack hit Bali's South in 2005 (Darma Putra & Hitchcock, 2009). According to Picard (2009) and Howe (2005), the Balinese looked for the reason for the bombings within their own society, holding that the bombings were a punishment from the gods for the money-driven nature of tourism in the South.

Highly dependent on tourism, a number of Balinese lost their jobs with the sudden decrease in tourist arrivals. Also, people working in manufacturing and agriculture were affected, sectors that are intertwined with tourism (Turplee, 2008).

While the negative impact of the 2002 bombing is clear, at the same time it was a wake-up call for opinion leaders in Bali, who consequently sought to decrease Bali's economic dependency on tourism and foster agriculture instead in order to create economic balance (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Picard, 2009). Economic diversification and sustainable tourism were high on the agenda (Picard, 2009) as well as basing tourism on the concept of *tri hita karana*. According to the owner of the Bali Post (i.e. Bali's local newspaper), Satria Naradha, the organised *Ajeg Bali* strategy (*ajeg* meaning 'firm' or 'upright') was aimed at "achieving a harmonious holistic development of the island, by avoiding overdeveloping tourism to the detriment of other economic sectors" (Picard, 2009:113).

However, *Ajeg Bali* was also about fighting for the autonomy of Bali and independence from Jakarta as well as preserving it from negative outside influence (MacRae, 2010) – to be more precise, from a 'domestic Other' in the form of immigrants and investors (Allen & Palermo, 2005). When the Balinese realised that the Bali bombers were exclusively Muslims from Java, "there were well-founded fears that an economic crisis caused by the decline in tourism could ignite inter-communal conflict" (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:119). Hence, the strategy also served as a means against migration in the effervescent post-bomb time (Allen & Palermo, 2005) and against cultural influence from outside Bali (MacRae, 2010). The idea of stability and security that came with *Ajeg Bali* (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007) was also about "defend[ing] and preserv[ing] the identity, the environment and the culture of the Balinese people. The problem is that the Balinese have forgotten their 'Balineseness' (*kebalian*), which is based on their religion, their tradition and their culture" (Picard, 2009:114).

However, 'culture' was not a concept with which the Balinese were familiar, just like the terms 'tradition', 'art' and 'religion' were distinctions that the Balinese had not used before as they did not see religion as a domain that had clear boundaries (Picard, 1992). Rather, these expressions were introduced to them by outsiders (i.e. Dutch colonialists). Looking back at the colonial encounter, the *Ajeg Bali* strategy comes

close to a revival of colonial ideas when the Dutch had to teach the Balinese their *kebalian* through *Baliseering* ('Balinization') or even to ideas of cultural preservation during the New Order period (Picard, 2008, 2009). Despite numerous initiatives to promote the strategy via various channels, *Ajeng Bali* remained a catchword and a public discourse rather than an initiative that brought along tangible actions (Picard, 2009). Most importantly, it created "fear that the ideas behind *Ajeng Bali* were essentially conservative and would end up making Bali stagnant" (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:114).

Today, Bali is still popular mainly for its culture, which is promoted through tourism in the form of cultural shows, ceremonies and arts (Howe, 2005). While, in the eyes of the tourist, this is what constitutes 'traditional culture' in Bali, rather, it "is a newly created traditional culture based on the contemporary plans and cultural policies of the Bali regional government, together with the national government of Indonesia" (Yamashita, 2003:52). Culture in Bali has undoubtedly undergone a process of commodification offered for consumption on the international tourist market (Howe, 2005). These 'invented traditions' usually become a part of the history of a group of people until they appear 'authentic' in the eyes of both the community and its visitors (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Most importantly, it seems that the tourist drives the idea of what is authentic, which the Balinese respond to by creating the correspondent supply in authentic cultural production.

Hence culture, or rather 'socio-cultural changes' as they are usually called in tourism, remain at the core of the discussion of tourism's impacts on Bali. The Balinese are confronted with further challenges as tourism on the island keeps expanding further (in the interest of the government, particularly the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy), above all, in an often unsustainable and inequitable manner (Jakarta Post, 2011). Besides environmental degradation and problems of plastic disposal (no official recycling system is yet in place), the Balinese are faced to deal with challenges such as the selling of land after land reform, foreign investment and local disparities (Cukier-Snow & Wall, 1993; MacRae, 2003; Whitten et al., 1996). Once tourism shows negative changes on Bali's economy, environment and society, it exceeds its carrying capacity (Atmodjo, 2012), although the notion of carrying capacity itself is doubtful given that tourism's impacts are difficult to measure (Wall, 1996b).

Tourism in LDCs can be used for purposes of rural diversification to create alternative livelihoods (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007) and, at the same time, can and should connect to existing livelihoods, such as agriculture (Asiedu & Gbedema, 2011) and fisheries. According to I Wayan Windia (professor of agriculture at Udayana University in Bali), tourism in Bali should be based on agriculture, which in reality, though, is sacrificed through tourism (Suriyani, 2013). Tourism increasingly replaces agriculture and not only degrades land and eliminates farming jobs, it disrupts the *subak*, an association of those responsible for the irrigation of the rice fields in a certain area that makes sure that the rice fields receive the right amount of water (UNESCO, 2013). Tourism disrupts the *subak* in the form of construction resulting from the selling of land to investors (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; UNESCO, 2013). In addition to its functional role the *subak* takes the form of an association of villagers, turning it into a sub-community within the village (Cole, 2012). It is believed that it maintains a harmony between god, man and the environment, hence the Hindu *tri hita karana* philosophy (Cole, 2012; UNESCO, 2013). And while the government allocated funds to support the *subak* after the Bali bombings in 2002, the problem of landlessness was soon revived with the selling of land to foreigners and investors being as problematic as before, if not more so (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007).

The first Master Plan for tourism development regarded tourism as a creator of jobs, particularly for those young people who could not work in agriculture (as land could not be expanded further) and pursued a career in tourism (World Bank, 1974). However, that tourism would use and degrade agricultural land even further in the future was unforeseen at this point. Nowadays, the value of agriculture seems to be forgotten, particularly the fact that it can serve as an alternative income in times of crisis, as it did in some rural villages in Bali after the bombings (Tarplee, 2008). Rather, agricultural land is sold to foreign investors to build villas, hotels and restaurants (Sutawa, 2012). Although FDI has been condemned for increasing foreign influence and inequality in Bali, and decreasing the control of the Balinese over their land (Tarplee, 2008), the current Master Plan for economic development seeks to foster new foreign investments in key sectors, with tourism as one of them (Ministry of Economic Affairs Indonesia, 2011). This is happening at a time when around 80% of tourism businesses are already under the control of foreign investors (MacRae, 2010).

Besides the problems caused by foreign investment, environmental degradation and local disparities in tourism revenue, the Balinese face socio-cultural challenges resulting from tourism development. As tourism in Bali is focused around culture and arts, these are amongst the main reasons for tourists to visit rural villages. It is therefore necessary to understand the complex relationship between tourism and culture before proceeding to a discussion of CBT in Bali.

5.3.2. Tourism and culture

Ceremonies and rituals permeate the everyday life of the Balinese and culture undoubtedly is one of Bali's biggest assets for tourism. What is obvious, therefore, is that Balinese culture should be kept 'authentic' or 'traditional' for the sake of tourism and economic profit; an idea that stems from colonial times when the image of Bali as the last paradise was created, an island filled with exotic people and colourful ceremonies that can be discovered (Howe, 2005).

Although the Dutch knew little about Bali, their intention was to preserve its culture or, rather, "make it conform to their preconceptions" (Picard, 2009:114). Hence, "preservation" for the Dutch was about "teach[ing] them [i.e. the Balinese] how to be authentically Balinese" (Picard, 1996:21). The Dutch further regarded Hinduism to be at the centre of Balinese society and, hence, thought that it had to be protected from negative influences (Picard, 2009). Therefore, the cultural policy called *Baliseering* was devised in order to create an 'authentic' image of Bali and a collective Balinese identity (Picard, 2009). At the same time as displaying Bali as a "living museum" for the enjoyment of Dutch colonialists and early European travellers (Picard, 1996:20), colonial policy meant the Balinese remained within their subsistence rice economy to further demonstrate a traditional way of production rather than modernisation, as the Balinese may have intended it (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Howe, 2005).

Indeed, a close connection between tourism and culture exists, which cannot be regarded in isolation from the political system. Cultural policy differed drastically between the political leaders in the past. "Unlike Sukarno, who wanted to forge an Indonesian identity by eliminating the 'ethnocentricity' (*sukuisme*) inherited from the colonial period, Suharto sought to create a national culture based on regional cultural traditions" (Picard, 2009:120-121). Hence, during the New Order period, Balinese

culture was promoted and regarded as a resource for display within tourism, in line with the cultural politics of this period: a “uniformization within each province and differentiation between the provinces” (Picard, 2009:121). Bali as a regional culture (*kebudayaan daerah*) (not ethnic culture which is part of ethnic groups, but regional culture that belongs to Bali as a region) was therefore used to form Indonesia’s national culture and cultural heritage (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; Yamashita, 2003).

In order to protect Bali’s cultural assets, the authorities formulated a cultural tourism policy to avoid cultural ‘pollution’ from outside by showcasing Balinese culture through tourism and using its income towards preserving it in return (Picard, 1996). Hence, culture was an asset that the Balinese used to make a profit (Picard, 2008), based on tourism authorities’ “directives [that] were issued [to] instruct[.] local people in what they are authorized to sell to tourists and what must not under any circumstances be commercialized” (Picard, 2008:160). Interestingly, while the distinction imposed by government between what belongs to tourism and what belongs to culture should have led to preservation from cultural commodification (Howe, 2005), the Balinese confused the distinction between tourism and culture (or at least were thought to confuse it – after all, we are talking about an imposed distinction) – as soon as they used culture for financial purposes in tourism (Picard, 2008). This led to the realisation that culture could not be separated and protected from tourism.

Therefore, cultural tourism and the idea of preserving culture from outside pollution created a so-called ‘touristic culture’: “[i]t seems [...] that one can speak of a *touristic culture* at that point when the Balinese come to confuse these two uses of their culture, *when that by which the tourists identify them becomes that by which they identify themselves*” (Picard, 1996:197). The Balinese were increasingly concerned with their own identity as a consequence of the emergence of touristic culture displayed in tourism and of “‘Balinese culture’ [being] presented as the distinctive marker of Balinese identity” (Picard, 2008:161). The Balinese’s identity was confirmed to them through the encounter with the tourist (Picard, 2008) as tourism created a new marker of Balinese identity: “[t]hus it is that the Balinese, enjoined to preserve and promote their cultural identity in reference to the outside world’s view of them, have come to search for confirmation of their “Balinese-ness” in the mirror held

to them by the tourists” (Picard, 1996:179). In the time after the 2002 bombing, the *Ajeg Bali* campaign relied on the collective identity that unity tourism helped create in order to establish a shelter of solidarity for the Balinese, as protection from negative outside influence (Picard, 2008).

Picard argues that the question the Balinese authorities and intelligentsia asked themselves, whether “Balinese culture [can] survive the impact of tourism” (Picard, 1990:74), is not relevant as tourism neither polluted Balinese culture nor contributed to a cultural renaissance as was hoped for during the New Order period (Picard, 2008). Rather, it made the Balinese conscious that they had something called ‘culture’ and made them self-confident in their ‘Balineseness’ (Picard, 2008, 1992). One of the major insights that Picard’s work reveals is that tourism is not an external force that impacts on Balinese society, but it is an integral part of it, hence “the touristification of a society proceeds from within, by blurring the boundaries between the inside and the outside, between what is ‘ours’ and what is ‘theirs’, between that which belongs to culture and that which pertains to tourism” (Picard, 2008:162). Hence, the Balinese are not in a passive position having to accept negative changes caused by forces from outside, but are well able to renegotiate these forces from within in “an ongoing process of cultural construction” (Picard, 2008:162).

Nevertheless, cultural impacts are still at the core of the discussion of tourism in Bali. In the 1970s, a solution seemed to be to minimise the contact between residents and tourist in large hotel complexes in the South (Nusa Dua) and allow tourists only quick excursions to the hinterlands (Howe, 2005). As stated by the World Bank (1974:5) in the first Master Plan:

To prevent further haphazard development, which threatens to destroy Bali’s cultural and environmental assets, the Government has endorsed the Tourism Master Plan recommendation that future hotel development be concentrated at Nusa Dua [...] The physical isolation of the resort facilities and the institutional arrangements envisaged should ensure a controllable relationship between foreign visitors and local population.

While in these early days of tourism development, the everyday life of the Balinese should be isolated and protected from tourists, the ‘cultural tourism’ policy of the UNWTO and the Balinese government aimed at “allow[ing] much greater access to Balinese culture. The idea is that their [i.e. tourists’] attention and interest stimulates

Balinese pride in their cultural performances and allows Balinese to affirm their identity” (Howe, 2005:135).

It is exactly these rural areas that become attractive for tourists as “the agricultural landscape, the production of handicrafts, and the rich cultural traditions attract visitors out of the major resorts into rural areas” (Wall, 1996a:128). Bali’s tourism industry increasingly turns towards rural areas, with CBT becoming a sought after alternative to mass tourism (Byczek, 2011). The following section focuses on this shift and investigates the emergence of CBT in Bali.

5.3.3. CBT in Bali: a shift towards alternative forms of tourism

Alternatives to mass tourism are slowly emerging in Bali, which has suffered a number of negative effects from the fast expansion of the tourism industry (Philip, 2012; Picard, 2003; Wall, 1996b). Although tourist numbers should be limited (Atmodjo, 2012), Bali fosters the growth of the tourism industry further, with an expansion of the airport and the controversial idea of building a second airport on the island (UNWTO, 2013b). Through alternatives, such as ecotourism, agrotourism and CBT, tourists should be brought to Bali’s rural areas to spread the benefits of tourism more equally (Byczek, 2011; Picard, 2003; Utama, 2007). Although the first Master Plan aimed at allocating a fair share of the benefits of tourism to rural communities (World Bank, 1974), it seems that these promises have not been put into practice and tourism remains an activity benefiting the South of the island (Picard, 2003).

The aforementioned forms of alternative tourism seek to increase links to other economic sectors, such as agriculture (Utama, 2007). After all, “[a]s can be seen through the provision of ‘homestays’, tourism can provide farmers with an additional source of income, helping them to diversify” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:23). As highlighted earlier, the aftermath of the Kuta bombings called for a more sustainable tourism and a balanced economy, decreasing dependence on tourism and revaluing manufacturing and agriculture as fruitful economic sectors (Picard, 2008). Furthermore, given the challenges that the Balinese face concerning tourism development, there is a shift towards other, more alternative forms of tourism (Picard, 2003). Nevertheless, these forms of tourism remain a niche product and unmentioned in the Master Plan for Economic Development or the Master Plan for Tourism

Development (Ministry of Economic Affairs Indonesia, 2011; Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, n.d.).

A shift towards sustainable tourism was already being considered at the end of the New Order in 1998, a time when tourism was controlled from Jakarta (Picard, 2003). With the Balinese completely marginalised in a tourism environment characterised by foreign investment and control, it was time to create spaces for participation and empowerment for the Balinese through CBT (Picard, 2003). This development goes back to the arrival of the ‘new tourists’, who are younger, travel on a budget and want to interact with the locals (Picard, 1992). CBT, or rather *desa wisata* (i.e. village tourism or tourist village) as it is known in Bali, is an answer to this demand (Picard, 1992) and could be one way to spread tourism’s benefits to the North, West and East (Atmodjo, 2013b) and to diversify the Balinese tourism product away from mass tourism (with only short excursions to Bali’s rural areas) (Yamashita, 2003). This form of tourism is based on offering homestays, which should foster an interaction between tourists and the Balinese (Wall, 1996b) to support learning on both sides and to provide “a space for the villagers to present to the world their Bali, unrelated to the distorted international image of ‘paradise’ promoted in tourist brochures” (Asker et al., 2010:20).

Bali’s *desa wisata* are not necessarily a modern invention. Hitchcock & Darma Putra (2007:44) argue that its “concept could easily appear to be a relic of the Suharto era with its commitment to the village as the exemplar of the Indonesian way of life [...] to support the twin projects of nation building and tourism development.” What stimulated the creation of *desa wisata* was mostly “cultural conservation in order to service tourism [...] [given that] tourists might not like a developed and thoroughly Indonesianized Bali [...] the authorities set about conserving what they saw as ‘traditional’, usually opting for the more picturesque villages” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:44-45). This turn towards the village was revived later as part of the promulgation of the *Ajeng Bali* preservation strategy, given that the village is the place where the ‘traditional’ and ‘unchanging’ can be located (Dwipayana, 2003) – hence the *desa wisata* concept is deeply rooted in Bali’s history.

As argued by Byczek (2011), for CBT – or tourism in general – to contribute to sustainable development in Bali, governmental and structural changes in Indonesia are

necessary. With Suharto's successor, President Habibie, creating the basis for democracy (*demokrasi*) and decentralisation (*desentralisasi*) in post-Suharto Indonesia, authority was given to the regencies (e.g. Badung, Gianyar), rather than the provinces (e.g. Bali), to avoid the risk of provinces seeking independence from Indonesia as East Timor did (Pisani, 2014). Although the Law on Regional Autonomy, implemented in January 2001, gave more power and control over tourism to Bali (as opposed to Jakarta during the New Order period), it gave authority to the eight districts rather than the province as a whole (Picard, 2003). Thereby, it caused great confusion concerning the responsibilities of the central government, province and districts and further contributed to regional imbalances (Picard, 2003): the districts found themselves in a competition of obtaining building permits and boosting tourism – a development that is not in line with a holistic and sustainable tourism development in Bali (Picard, 2003). As a consequence, authority in Bali, it is argued, should be given to the provincial governments rather than the regencies, i.e. political power in tourism should be centralized rather than constitute diffuse autonomy (Byczek, 2011).

Nevertheless, one should not forget that *desentralisasi* led to a number of positive changes at village level. Whereas in the Suharto era village heads “could do nothing without the approval of sub-district and district governments [...] the new law clearly states that the basis for regulation on village government is diversity (*keanekaragaman*), participation (*partisipasi*), real autonomy (*otonomi asli*), democratisation (*demokratisasi*) and people's empowerment (*pemberdayaan masyarakat*)” (Hadiwinata, 2003:132). Despite the difficulties that came with regional autonomy and tourism, the Indonesian government supports communities in engaging in tourism by including community empowerment in the national tourism master plan, hence in the guidelines for the national tourism development (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, n.d.). It defines community empowerment as the participation of rural communities in tourism activities and the fostering of small and medium enterprises in communities, which, in turn, should increase capacity and well-being in Bali's rural areas (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, n.d.).

In order to contribute to socio-economic development, Indonesia's rural areas in particular, the government designed the ‘independent national community empowerment programme’ (*program nasional pemberdayaan masyarakat mandiri*)

(PNPM), a national programme in the form of a policy framework for poverty reduction and community empowerment, the latter being defined as creating or strengthening community capacity for increased wellbeing (PNPM, 2013). One of the programme's major aims is to – in line with the MDGs, which should be reached by 2015 – streamline and integrate the different empowerment programmes that exist across Indonesia's ministries and decentralise authority to local governments (PNPM, 2007). PNPM seeks to strengthen local communities and its institutions directly through the provision of funding, training and guidance (PNPM, 2013) and hence make villagers *subjects* instead of *objects* of their own development (TNP2K, n.d.a). The *desa wisata* concept is one of the PNPM programmes through which welfare and employment should be improved in Bali's rural areas (PNPM, 2013).

In addition, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy cooperates with the Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA) in the identification of villages that have the potential to engage in CBT or village tourism (Nurhayati, 2013a). The next section provides an assessment of Bali CoBTA and its role in CBT in Bali.

5.4. Field site details

5.4.1. Bali CoBTA – research gatekeeper and CBT facilitator

Bali CoBTA is a local NGO that coordinates CBT in Bali's least developed areas, promotes sustainable tourism and offers assistance to villages interested in engaging in tourism to become “empowered to earn an additional income by preserving and showcasing their culture and heritage“ (Bali CoBTA, 2013a:n.p.). Currently, Bali CoBTA supports seven villages in Karangasem, Gianyar, Jembrana, Tabanan and Bangli regency (Efrata, 2013). Bank Indonesia (BI) plays a key role in financially supporting these villages and in identifying ways to use tourism as a vehicle to spread wealth more equally throughout the island, particularly in rural areas, as highlighted by the head of BI Dwi Pranoto, with CBT viewed as a tool for inclusive development (Atmodjo, 2013a) or community-based development on the island (Sutawa, 2012).

The aspiration of the Bali CoBTA chairman and founder was to spread tourism benefits more equally amongst Bali's regencies and to take action towards poverty alleviation. Given his background in hotel management, his idea was to apply the

hotel management system to tourism villages by zoning these into information centre, restaurant and accommodation.

Generally, Bali CoBTA's CBT development process can be divided into three broad phases:

1. village expresses interest in being involved in tourism;
2. Bali CoBTA provides key information on CBT and guidance on CBT development, organisation and management;
3. Bali CoBTA provides assistance on information concerning training and funding sources (i.e. sponsorships).

During the first phase, discussions between Bali CoBTA, the village chief and an appointed tourism facilitator from the village take place. This tourism facilitator is asked to promote the programme amongst the most important people in the village and organise a village meeting to which Bali CoBTA is invited as a guest to explain CBT to the villagers, who are usually men, representing the interests of their families.

Phase two of the CBT development process includes the appointment of a village tourism committee (VTC), which consists of three to five villagers with experience working in tourism or hospitality. Their role and responsibilities include:

- a. Operation manager: managing accommodation; managing food and beverage; activities programme for visitors/tourists;
- b. Marketing manager: promoting the tourism village to tour operators/travel agencies/institutions/etc.; creating marketing tools; managing promotion in the media;
- c. Administration/accounting manager: posting cash flow/revenue/operational expenses, etc.; handling administrative matters; composing financial and tax reports.

The villagers forming part of the VTC are the ones who start, develop and socialise tourism in the village. They are also the ones who conduct a preliminary assessment of village resources, i.e. they discover the village's attractions that can be used in tourism and establish the 'seven charms' (*sapata pesona*)¹¹, as suggested by the Bali

¹¹The *sapta pesona* were announced by the Indonesian government in 1990 as part of a tourism consciousness campaign in the form of education through media, including brochures, TV advertisements and newspapers (Adams, 1997; Timothy, 1999). The campaign instigated the different

CoBTA chairman, to guarantee future success. These include security, order, cleanliness, beauty, natural environment, friendliness and positive memory – used as a template to develop a viable tourism product.

As part of phase 3, Bali CoBTA offers assistance on training and funding. This is key given that the VTC and villagers who will engage in tourism are expected to receive training to improve their tourism skills. Bali CoBTA facilitates this process and puts the village in touch with institutions such as star-rated hotels, tourism colleges and tourism associations, which can provide both theoretical and practical training.

CBT funding facilitated through Bali CoBTA comes from three main sources:

1. The central government: in form of a grant, which is transferred to the village tourism committee;
2. Corporate social responsibility (CSR): this form of funding can be in the form of a cash donation or physical material, depending on the needs of the village, and comes from the BI;
3. Private sector: this cooperation with the village takes the form of a fund loan from a company to the village.

The financial help from the central government is channelled through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economies and is part of the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (PNPM) as discussed in section 5.3.3. Currently, CSR support comes mainly from BI. Bali CoBTA identifies and declares the needs of the villages and an estimation of the funds needed to the BI. If the BI decides to support a village, the VTC will be asked to open a bank account in the Bank Pembangunan Daerah (the Regional Development Bank). Each village's account will be registered with two joint signatures, one from a representative of the VTC, the other from a representative of the Bali Tourism Board (BTB), with the latter having a monitoring role. The VTC cannot withdraw money without approval from BTB once BI transfers the funds.

provinces in the country to consider their touristic attractiveness and marketability – ultimately “absorb[ing] the touristic rhetoric” (Adams, 1997:158) and creating the basis for the provinces to imagine themselves as part of Indonesia, a common community, “a potential tourist destination, that is, an imagined Indonesia comprised of a mosaic of equally charming yet unique tourist sites” (Adams, 1997:158). The current tourism master plan incorporates the *sapta pesona* as one of the factors stimulating community empowerment and participation (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, n.d.), with Bali CoBTA following this idea. CBT in Bali could therefore potentially be considered to form part of a broader strategy, through which the Indonesian government has propounded “tourism as the pathway to national solidarity” (Adams, 1997:158).

Before any withdrawal, the VTC will propose the purpose of the expenditure and will seek approval from Bali CoBTA in order to ensure that the funds are used to meet the village's needs. After this, Bali CoBTA proposes to BTB by offering a breakdown of the items that should be purchased with the available funding. When the VTC receives the items, receipts are submitted to Bali CoBTA, who files an accountability report that is submitted to BTB and BI. This process is repeated until all funding from BI has fully been used.

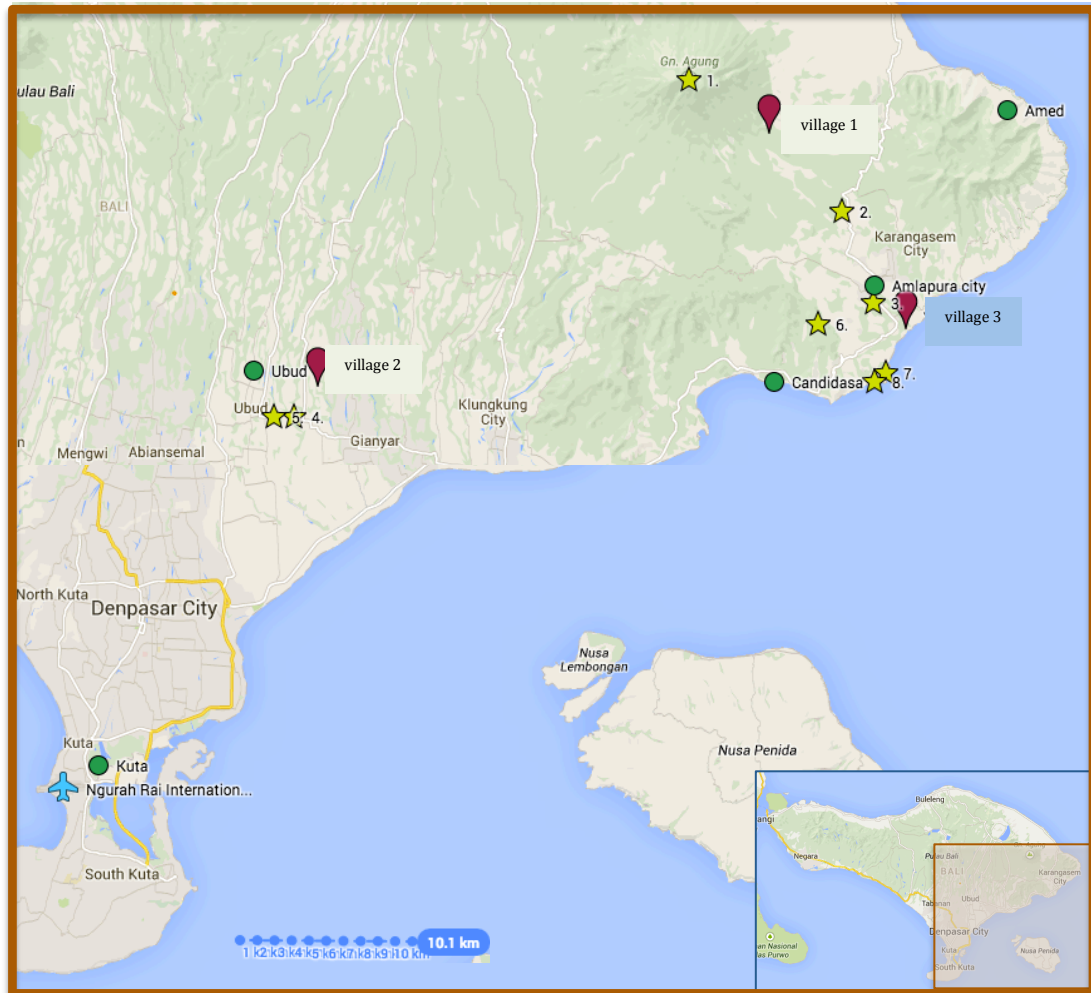
Bali CoBTA not only serves as a middleman between the villages and potential funders or training institutions but also between the villages and tour operators/travel agencies. Bali CoBTA itself does not have permission to send tourists, as it is not a tour operator nor travel agent, hence it promotes the villages and introduces them to tour operators. It engages in sales calls, visits of travel agents and advertises the villages in their brochure and on the official Bali CoBTA website.

5.4.2. Chosen fieldwork locations





5.4.2.1 Village 1

Village 1 is a remote village located in the hills of East Bali in the Bebandem district in Karangasem regency (Figure 5). It is around two hours' drive from the airport of Ngurah Rai and at around seven kilometres' distance from Amlapura, the closest city in the area.

Figure 5: Map of Bali with field sites and surrounding tourist spots



Source: Google maps, 2014

-  villages under study/field sites
-  airport
-  famous tourist areas/cities
-  tourist attractions in the villages' surroundings

1. Mount Agung
2. Taman Tirta Gangga Water Palace
3. Taman Ujung Water Palace
4. Goa Gajah (elephant cave)
5. Yeh Pulu Relief
6. Tenganan village
7. White Sand Beach
8. Bias Putih Beach

The village was established around 1700 by a *Brahman* family and is famous for its high priests, who lead ceremonies and rituals all over the island. The majority of the 4,000 villagers who live in village 1 share Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, based on Shiva-Buddhism, which is a mixture of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism (Sunarta, 2011). In addition, *Banjar Saren Jawa* is a separate community of Muslim religion. The village is divided into further seven *banjars* (i.e. neighbourhood associations), called *Banjar Triwangsa*, *Banjar [village 1]*, *Banjar Saren Kauh*, *Banjar Saren Kangin*, *Banjar Saren Anyar*, *Banjar Pesawan* and *Banjar Dukuh* (see Illustration 1 with the eight *banjars* highlighted).

Illustration 1: Map of village 1



Source: author's collection, April 2013

The majority of villagers in village 1 are rice farmers and craftsmen, but cattle farming also contributes to people's daily income. Besides, a number of villagers have their major or second job outside village 1, also in the tourist centres in the South (i.e. Kuta, Nusa Dua), and commute daily or once every week, spending most of the week away from their families.

Village 1 started to engage in CBT in 2009 with the help of Bali CoBTA and the support of BI. The support from BI was to meet villagers' material needs to launch tourism, such as bed linen, towels, laptop, camera, etc. Further support came in the form of a 170million Rupiah fund from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Nurhayati, 2012), with funds allocated for capacity building and to implement Bali CoBTA's recommendation to establish a tourist information centre in the village, which, however, five years later is not yet in use.

Nevertheless, years before the beginning of CBT, tourists had already had a presence in the village, mainly as day visitors who cycled or drove through the village as a stopover. The CBT strategy was introduced with the aim of maximising tourism's benefits for the villagers by encouraging tourists to stay longer in the village, thereby increasing the opportunities for villagers to engage in and take control of tourism in the village. The head of the VTC in village 1 initiated the idea of CBT in village 1, which started with a village meeting where the village chief and assistants were brought together to discuss tourism. To date, tourism in the village has been managed by the VTC, which consists of four people who share the team's main tasks.

At the moment this research was conducted, 23 rooms were offered in the homestays business, although some of these were not in use as they were not yet 'ready' (for a discussion of this issue, see section 8.1.1.). Bali CoBTA urged villagers to finance the renovation of a number of rooms themselves in order to increase their sense of ownership and take care of their properties in the future.¹²

Tourism in village 1 is still small-scale, with a maximum of around ten tourists per month in the high season. Generally, the village struggles to attract tourists due to its location and issues connected to marketing (according to personal conversations with villagers). As a consequence, an investigation of CBT in village 1 reveals the

¹² information taken from a personal conversation with Bali CoBTA

obstacles to empowerment through CBT as part of the analysis, particularly when visitation is minimal, even though tourism was initiated several years ago.

Tourists come mainly through tour operators who include the village in their packages as well as hotels sending visitors on a day-visit basis. The village is also promoted through the Bali CoBTA website. Village 1 offers a wide choice of attractions and activities to visitors, usually included in a 2 days/1 night or 3 days/2 nights package. Table 11 offers an overview of the packages, which include either all or some of the aforementioned activities. The packages usually include a visit to the local market to buy breakfast ingredients, a village tour, the making of offerings together with hosts and further optional activities such as cycling.

Table 11: Example of activities offered in village 1

Day 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • estimated guest arrival: afternoon; guests are welcomed with a fresh ‘welcome drink’ (special Balinese drink) and two types of Balinese sweets • evening activities: information about the village, then guests are invited to join the village activities • dinner (Balinese food)
Day 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • visiting traditional market for buying breakfast ingredients • breakfast (Indonesian breakfast) • village trekking, visit: village administration office, local school, <i>Balai banjar</i> (meeting point of villagers), rice field & irrigation system, public bathing area, ironsmith (<i>pande besi</i>), goldsmith (<i>pande emas</i>), silversmith (<i>pande perak</i>), painting, traditional weaving workshop (<i>tenun</i>), back to homestay • lunch (traditional Balinese food) • afternoon tea (tea or coffee with Balinese sweet assortment – ‘<i>jajan Bali</i>’) • free program • dinner (traditional Balinese food) • ‘<i>Mejejaitan</i>’ lesson (learn to make Balinese offerings: <i>canang sari</i>)
Day 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • breakfast (Indonesian breakfast: chicken porridge with omelette, etc.) • guest check-out for next destination
Additional activities offered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 days / 1 night packages • cycling (2 hours or 6 hours) • traditional weaving course • learn the process of virgin coconut oil making

Source: Bali CoBTA, 2014b

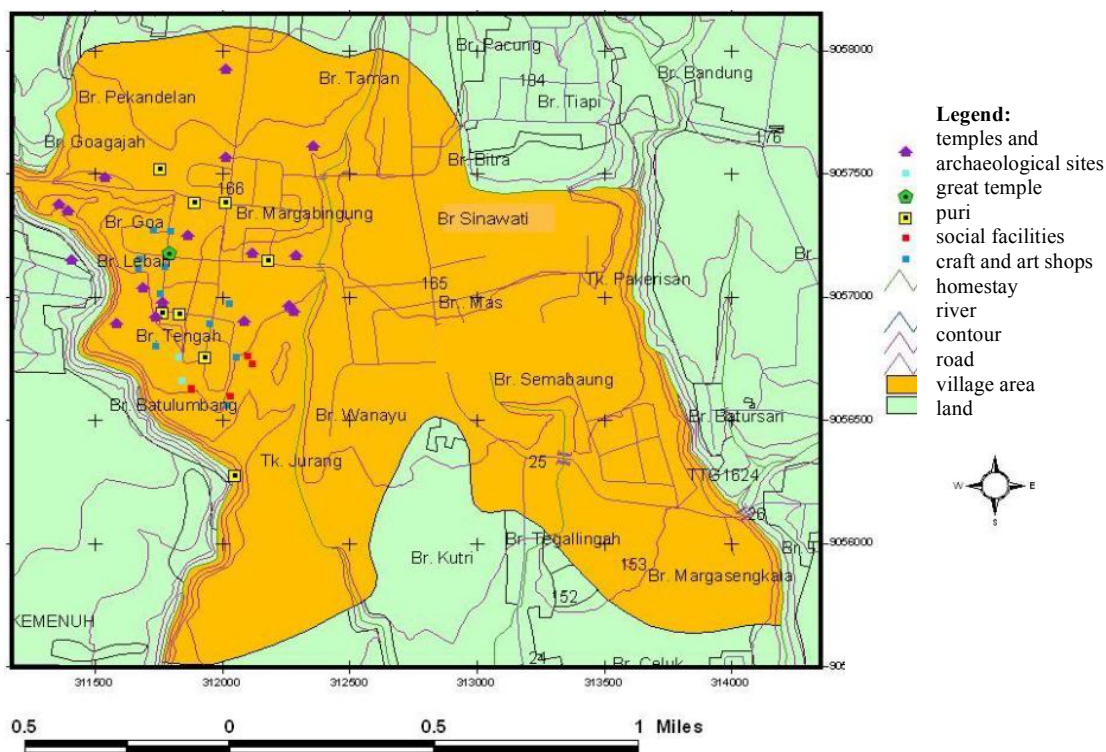
In addition, the village surroundings offer a number of attractions, such as visiting Mount Agung, Tirta Gangga Water Palace, Ujung Water Palace and the Amed city.

5.4.2.2 Village 2

Village 2 is located in the South-East of Bali, in the Blahbatuh district of the Gianyar regency (see Figure 5). It is only eight kilometres from Ubud, the famous centre for cultural tourism in Bali, which turns village 2 into an attractive location for tourism

given its proximity to main popular tourist areas. Village 2 is particularly famous for its architecture, a number of monuments and relics, such as the famous *Goa Gajah*¹³, *Yeh Pulu*¹⁴, the local archaeological museum, and a large number of temples (approximately four big temples and several small village temples). Village 2 is an ancient village, which was inhabited in pre-historic times before the arrival of Hindu-Buddhism, and was one of the former capitals of the Balinese Kingdom (village 2 website, 2014). Around 723 families (3,600 people) live in village 2, which is divided into five *banjars*: *Banjar Margabingung*, *Banjar Tengah*, *Banjar Batulumbang*, *Banjar Lebah*, and *Banjar Goa*. *Banjar Lebah* is home of the *puri*, the royal house in village 2, where the royal family resides (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Map of village 2



Source: Village 2 website, 2014

The villagers' livelihood is based mainly on art (crafting, painting and carving), although local entrepreneurship (e.g. import of wood from Java and local sale) makes an essential contribution to people's monthly income. Tourism generates a

¹³ English translation: elephant cave. A cave that served as a sanctuary, originally stemming from the 11th century AD.

¹⁴ A relief of 25 meters, length and 2 meters, height carved on rock and stemming from the 14th century BC, depicting the villagers' daily life and activities in the woods.

considerable part of the villagers' income given their involvement in the souvenir market at the *Goa Gajah* and other tourist businesses (e.g. accommodation, retail) inside or outside the village.

Although difficult to quantify the role of tourism, it is apparent that tourists' presence in village 2 was registered around 1990. In 2000, the first tourists stayed in guesthouses in the village. Village 2 experiences regular visitation by day-trippers who come to see the village's architectural attractions. While the total number of homestay tourists is hard to quantify due to monitoring challenges, compared to village 1 and 3, village 2 hosts tourist groups quite regularly, who usually consist of up to 15 people. At times, the village hosts two groups at once and hence shows the highest visitation of all three villages. This means that for the data analysis village two serves as an example of advanced tourism visitation through CBT.

Foreign influence in village 2 is apparent and linked to a number of homes owned by foreigners who engage in local business. In 2009 village 2 started engaging in CBT with the support from Bali CoBTA, for the creation of homestays and tourist packages that attract both individual tourists and tourists arriving through tour operators. To date, the VTC of village 2 consists of four male members who share a number of tasks and responsibilities, such as operational management, marketing, administration and promotion. Funding in village 2 came from the BI, which was used to establish a village tourism management foundation, the 'Dharmodayana Foundation', to operate tourism. In addition, a private company called 'PT. Bali Village Resort Development' (PTBVDRD) from Jakarta invested in the upgrade of ten homestay rooms' facilities by giving the foundation funding to buy material. Dharmodayana Foundation runs the CBT programme in the village and cooperates with PTBVDRD on a profit-sharing agreement basis and returns on capital invested.

Tourist activities offered are manifold and include a number of the activities shown in Table 12, some of which had been identified by the VTC when CBT was initiated. These include a tour of the village and its surroundings, participation in pottery making, offerings or Balinese sweet making and performances by the children's dancing group.

Table 12: Example of activities offered in village 2

Day 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • guests are welcomed at the <i>puri</i> (Royal Family's house) with a welcome drink • short information about village 2 by community leader • owner of the house (host) escorts the guest to homestay/guest house • dinner at the <i>puri</i>
Day 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • visiting traditional market • breakfast at <i>puri</i> • Round trip: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. guests are invited to view painting process 2. visiting a local elementary school 3. <i>Pengastulan</i> Temple 4. see the sarcophagus 5. ceramics workshop 6. <i>Yeh Puluh</i> relief 7. painting exhibition at 'Dua Likur' Foundation 8. <i>Pengubengan</i> Temple/<i>Desa Alit</i> Temple In these temples the Shiva Caturbhujas statue (VIII – X century AD) is stored, which is the first evidence of Hinduism influence to Bali. 9. traditional Balinese sweet assortment production 10. lunch (optional) After lunch activities at the <i>puri</i>: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. watching dance (by local children) 12. making Balinese offerings 13. egg painting demonstration 14. cooking class 15. free program in the afternoon <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Guests are recommended to visit '<i>sanggar tari</i>' (dancing school) when the dancers are preparing themselves before their performance. • 16. dinner with Balinese dance performance (optional) (<i>Puspanjali</i>, <i>Cendrawasih</i>, <i>Oleg Tamulilingan</i>, <i>Baris</i> dance and <i>Legong Keraton</i> dance)
Day 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • breakfast at <i>puri</i> • farewell by the community leader

Source: Information sheet from Bali CoBTA

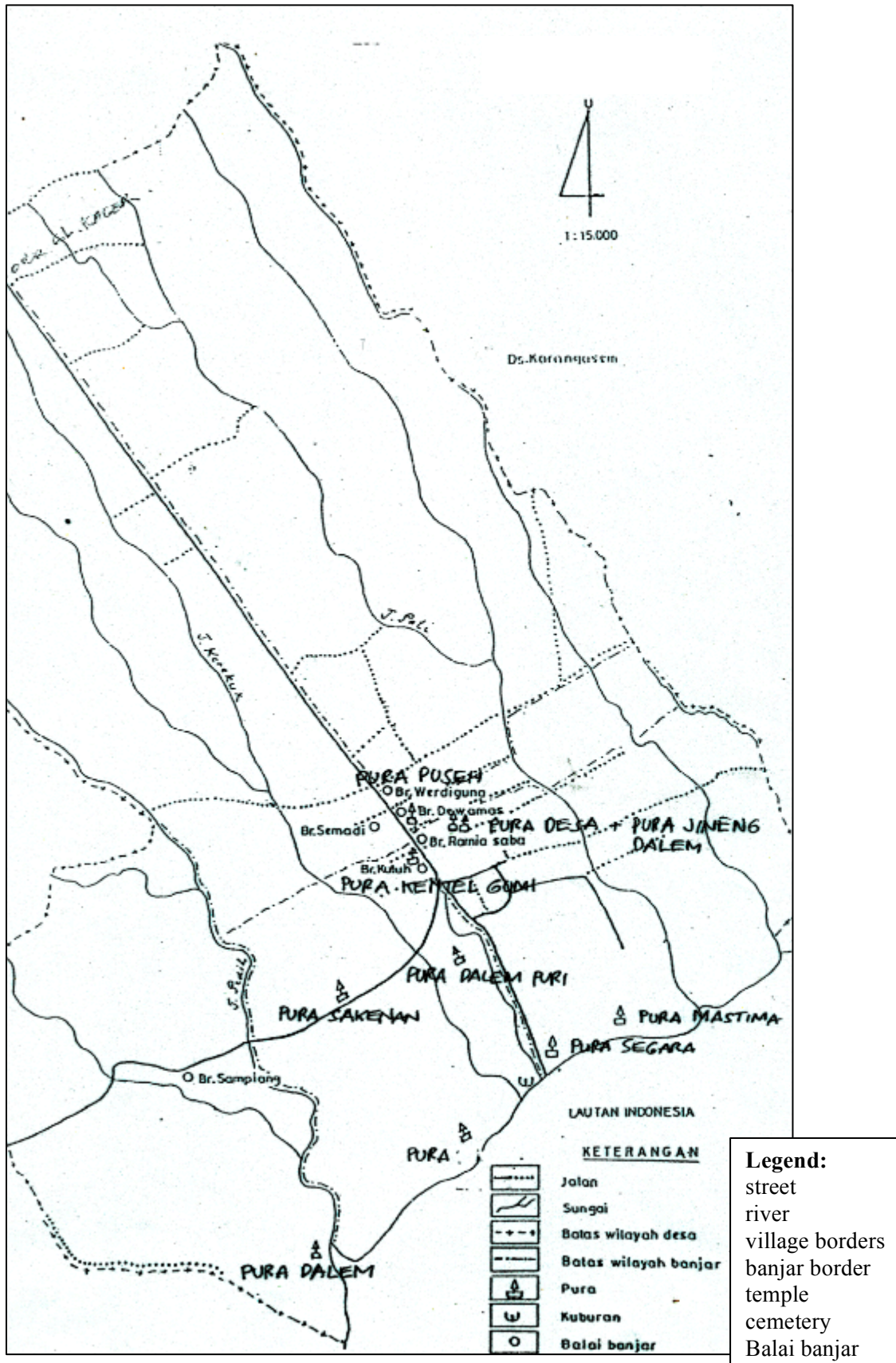
Village 2 is also a pilot project for what is known as the *wisata puri* (*wisata* = tourism; *puri* = palace where the royal family resides) programme. The programme is based on the idea of Bali CoBTA's chairman of turning the main *puri* in some of Bali's districts/regencies into a tourist attraction where visitors can stay and learn about the Balinese royal family's way of life, cultures, wisdom and rules and enjoy cultural activities. Through this, his aspiration was to educate tourists about Balinese culture and simultaneously help villagers and the royal family in preserving culture and the *puri*, participate in tourism and improve the relationship between the royal family and other villagers (Dolezal, 2013; Nurhayati, 2013b). This was done by creating an opportunity to collaborate on a common purpose, a challenging task given the strong caste system in place (a discussion of this issue follows in the empirical chapter 8).

5.4.2.3 Village 3

Village 3 is located on the East coast of Bali in the district of Subagan in Karangasem regency (see Figure 5). Village 3 is around two hours' drive from the airport in Denpasar and is not only close to the Indian Ocean but surrounded by rice fields and the rainforest, which makes village 3 an ideal location for nature-based tourism activities. Two rivers in village 3 help irrigate the agricultural areas and rice fields.

The majority of the 2,700 people living in village 3 are farmers, fishermen, craftspeople and labourers (village 3 website, 2014, constituting the main sources of income. Village 3 is home to villagers of the lowest caste, *Sudra*. Although castes are no longer as strict as in times of the king, anecdotal evidence suggests that a large number of poor people live in the village. Village 3 consists of six *banjars*: *Banjar Semadi*, *Banjar Kutuh*, *Banjar Werdiguna*, *Banjar Dewamas*, *Banjar Ramia Saba* and *Banjar Sampiang* and is furthermore divided into East and West by the main highway. Figures 7 and 8 present a geographical overview of the *banjars*. Figure 8 emerged from a mapping exercise together with the head of tourism, aimed at showing activities included in CBT in village 3.

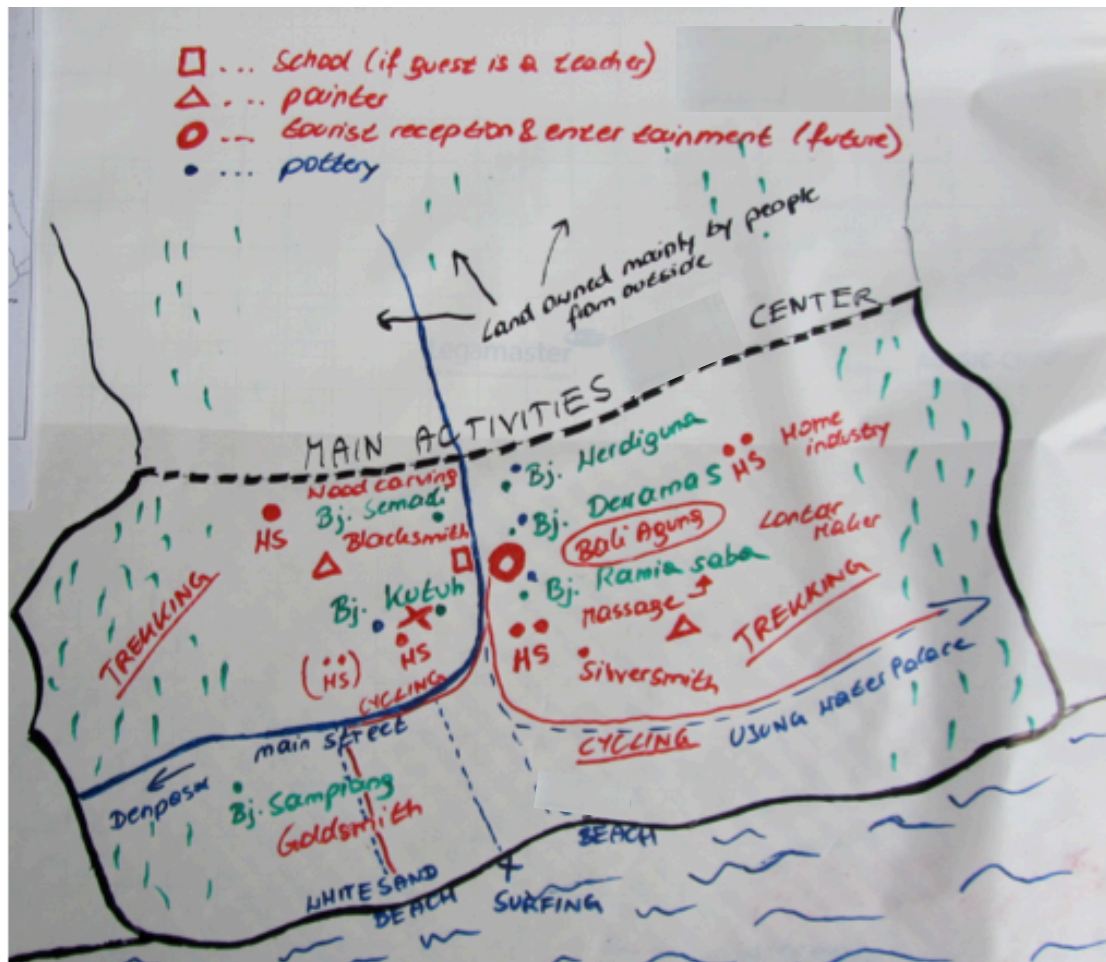
Figure 7: Map of village 3



Legend:
 street
 river
 village borders
 banjar border
 temple
 cemetery
 Balai banjar

Source: map given by the head of tourism

Figure 8: Map of village 3 drawn by the head of tourism and the researcher



Source: author's collection, May 2013

In 2010, village 3 started preparing for tourism, led by a VTC, which consists of six people who share the following tasks: operational management, marketing, administration and accounting. The head of the team was particularly interested in how the village could be developed; and as part of his degree's final project on community participation in village 3, he identified ways in which the village could better engage in tourism. Through cooperation with Bali CoBTA, the village received funding both from the BI to purchase equipment (bed linen, towels) and from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. Although tourist packages were designed, the VTC in village 3 decided not to advertise the village on the Bali CoBTA website in order to be independent from the NGO to create their own strong brand. They started creating their own website, which will be linked to the Bali CoBTA website in the future. At the time of this research, the VTC had started liaising with tour operators to sell their packages. The village is already hosting individual tourists

and small tourist groups to test their CBT product and gradually to help villagers who work in tourism gain more experience and improve services.

At the time of research, six homestays were offered in village 3, with one located in each of the six *banjars*. In addition to homestays, a number of villas offer more luxurious accommodation, which are mostly owned by foreigners, but employ a local workforce and utilise local services. The community tries to collaborate with these villas in order to sell their services (e.g. transport for tourists, massage) and improve collaborating practices for the future. Although the local villas already host tourists, only few homestay tourists were recorded in village 3 at the time of research, given that the CBT programme had not officially been launched yet. As a consequence the analysis of village 3 contains first and foremost insights into the preparation phase and the beginnings of CBT, while less focus is put on the tourism encounter.

The tourism offer in village 3 is broad, ranging from village tours and cooking classes to trekking, cycling and spiritual activities. Table 13 presents a list of activities that tourists can engage in during their stay while Table 14 shows two examples of tourist packages.

Table 13: Example of activities offered in village 3

Village tour:	Tourists explore the village and learn about the daily activities of the villagers. Visit of the rice fields, traditional pottery, blacksmith and meeting with one of the families in their house compound for tea/coffee or a meal.
Trekking tour:	Tourists explore the wide variety of vegetation and plants that grow along the edge of the rice fields and learn about their use in traditional cooking or medication. Enjoy refreshments in the form of a fresh young coconut that will be picked by a farmer. Choice between two nature treks: the east trek (around one hour) and the west trek (for those who are more active and energetic, which is a combination between rice fields, rivers, hills and rainforest).
Cycling tour:	A choice between visiting two sites; Taman Ujung Water Castle or Bias Putih beach. Both sites are around half an hour ride from the village.
Fishing tour:	Tourists go fishing with the local fishermen and then grill the fresh fish together.
Staying with the local community:	Tourists can stay with a family and participate in family activities, such as cooking, farming, preparing daily offerings etc.
Traditional cooking class:	Tourists are taken on a tour to the fields to pick some fresh ingredients to learn the art of Balinese cooking.
Further activities:	Surfing (for experienced surfers only), Ter-Teran (fire war festival; once every two years), Spa, Yoga, meditation, Tai Chi

Source: adapted from village information sheet (and extended)

Table 14: Packages offered in village 3

2 days/1 night: village tour & cycling	
Day 1	<p>Check In Welcome reception at Village Information Center; after the welcome reception and registration, guest(s) are escorted by our Balinese uniformed receptionist to the homestay and introduce them to the family host.</p> <p>Evening Cycling with stopping point at White Sands Beach or <i>Ujung</i> Water Palace, while seeing interesting environments, taking pictures, etc. Dinner at the homestay, served by the family host (fresh vegetables, fish cooked in authentic local ingredients).</p>
Day 2	<p>Breakfast at homestay Village tour Lunch – provided at the home stay, then departure to your next destination.</p>
2 days/1 night: village tour	
Day 1	<p>Check In Welcome reception at Village Information Center; after the welcome reception and registration, guest(s) are escorted by our Balinese uniformed receptionist to the homestay and introduce them to the family host.</p> <p>Evening See some village activities in the evening, walking down to the beach, taking pictures, etc. Dinner at the homestay, served by the family host. See Balinese music lesson, performed by a group of women or dance lesson by children in the village or learn how to make Balinese offerings with family.</p>
Day 2	<p>Breakfast at homestay Village tour Lunch – provided at the home stay, then departure to your next destination.</p>

Source: village 3 website, 2014

Typical offers for tourists staying in village 3 are 3 days/2 nights packages, which include – in addition to the activities mentioned in Table 14 – possibilities for rice field trekking, Balinese dance and music, Balinese massage and cycling. Further tourist attractions in the village’s surroundings include, amongst others: Ujung Water Palace, Tenganan village, the city of Amed, Tulamben beach, ‘*Perasi*’ White Sand Beach and *Bias Putih* Beach.

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodology adopted for this study, which underlines my ontology and epistemology. It starts with an exploration of symbolic interactionism (SI) as methodological position, which “is an approach to understanding and explaining society and the human world, and grounds a set of assumptions that symbolic interactionist researchers typically bring to their methodology of choice” (Crotty, 1998:3). Therefore, SI influences the methodology and the methods chosen for this study. Following a discussion on the planned methods for this study, I elaborate on my methodological changes, including an in-depth explanation of the methods used and the rationale behind it. This chapter further explores the practice of reflexivity, the work with interpreters, ethical considerations and representation. Lastly, it includes a discussion of how I conducted the analysis of the empirical data.

6.2. Symbolic interactionism as methodological position

My methodological position in this study is symbolic interactionism (SI), more precisely ‘critical, post-structural, interpretive interactionism’ (see Sundin & Fahy, 2008), compensating for SI’s longstanding criticism. This section critically discusses symbolic interactionism (SI) in order to trace its influence on this study.

SI, as such, can be traced to the Chicago school and its sociological work, with Herbert Mead significantly forming interactionist thought (Atkinson & Housley, 2003). The ‘real’ founder of symbolic interactionism, however, is Mead’s student Herbert Blumer, who identifies three major premises that characterise SI:

1. human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them [...]
2. the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows [...]
3. these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.

(Blumer, 1969:2)

Meaning and behaviour, on this view, stem from an interaction between self and others (Burbank & Martins, 2009; Plummer, 2000), thereby turning the

epistemological stance of this research into a socially constructed one. The two major aspects that are key to SI are, thus, *interpretation* and *meaning* as well as the dynamic nature of the self (Mead, 1934). The dynamic self refers to the constant process and emergence of meaning, based on a negotiation of self and others (Plummer, 2000). Within this negotiation, *agency* becomes key as people are not passive objects but control their behaviour by seeing themselves from the viewpoint of others (Burbank & Martins, 2009). Cooley (1902) calls this appropriation the ‘looking glass self’, a combination of the way the self sees itself and how it responds to interaction with others, hence how others see it. Within the dynamic process of producing meaning and interpreting meaning, SI further acknowledges room for *change* in that the individual interprets and gives meaning to completed actions, which, in turn, has an influence on future actions (Cocozza Martins & Burbank, 2011). The idea of agency and change are key to this thesis as they are the basis of how empowerment is understood: empowerment theory regards people as agents who can, through interactions, cause positive changes in their lives.

Talking about action leads into SI’s underlying philosophy – that of pragmatism, which “rejects the quest for fundamental, foundational truths and shuns the building of abstract philosophical systems. Instead, it suggests a plurality of shifting truths grounded in concrete experiences and language, in which a truth is appraised in terms of its consequences” (Plummer, 2000:197). Pragmatism, therefore, deals with practical actions and consequences rather than with abstract theories (Plummer, 2000), which turns interactionism into “a down-to-earth approach” and “its methodological stance, accordingly, is that of direct examination of the empirical world” (Blumer, 1969:47).

This study draws upon pragmatism, given that I am looking at practical consequences and seek to gain an empirically grounded understanding of the phenomenon under study. Although the focus lies in the micro level of analysis (i.e. the community), it is closely interconnected with the macro level (i.e. government), which is included in the analysis. In doing so, I address the criticism of pragmatism for dealing with the micro level only (i.e. individuals) while ignoring the bigger picture (Cocozza Martin & Burbank, 2011) and being too uncritical when it comes to culture or structure (Crotty, 1998). Snow (2001), for example, suggests that symbolisation in SI leads to focusing overly on the meaning generated in social life, and ignores how that meaning can

already be embedded in culture and structure. An analysis of both micro and macro levels is particularly valuable for this study as this research on tourism at community level acknowledges the influence of actors such as the government as well as social and cultural structures. Therefore, I agree with Sundin & Fahy (2008), who see the subject as less free than traditional SI does. Based on a post-structuralist perspective, the subject is socially constructed and its agency is constrained through power relations with others, as well as structure, including culture (Sundin & Fahy, 2008).

I agree with those in favour of SI who suggest that while SI does acknowledge mainly the micro level, i.e. the self and other, it has always been embedded within the broader community, politics and the social world (Plummer, 2000). It is argued that the root of the misunderstanding lies in the different approach SI takes. Instead of ignoring the macro level and structure, SI is against theoretical dichotomies such as agency and structure and, rather, seeks to dissolve these divisions by examining how they are interlinked in practice (Plummer, 2000). Hence, it is pragmatism, which turns SI into a paradigm that seeks to dissolve philosophical dualisms.

Pragmatism as underlying philosophy also impacts on the way SI (and this study) deals with issues of power. While some argue that SI fails to address power (Crotty, 1998), SI does indeed investigate power, using a practice- and result-oriented idea of power rather than treating power as a separable ‘thing’ that can be studied (Dennis & Martin, 2005). Therefore, using power as an ontological object proves less useful for this study as “one should not determine *a priori* anything more than is required to facilitate the empirical study of human activities that will, *in and of themselves*, provide answers to theoretical questions” (Dennis & Martins, 2005:206). So, besides offering a conceptualisation of power to establish the characteristics of social spaces of empowerment, power in practice can and shall not be defined before entering the field, making room for an understanding of power to emerge from empirical data and to be fluid and changing. It is the idea of change in connection to power that proves useful for understanding empowerment. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, meanings and situations can be changed through interaction with others, which means that “[i]t is possible that a group of people with little power may organize, redefining the situation for themselves and others in power, and thus increase their own power base within the social structure” (Burbank & Martins, 2009:35). The idea of making power relations changeable through interaction (Cocozza Martins & Burbank, 2011) is

a valuable one when it comes to empowerment as investigated in the context of this study.

In order to make up for its longstanding criticism as mentioned earlier, SI should be enriched with other perspectives (Burbank & Martins, 2009; Coccozza Martins & Burbank, 2011; Plummer, 2000). A new form of SI, ‘critical interactionism’, for example, seeks to combine SI with critical social theory to enable a combination of micro and macro view (Burbank & Martins, 2009; Coccozza Martins & Burbank, 2011; Sandstrom & Fine, 2003). This idea is crucial for this thesis given that empowerment is understood as a multi-level construct. In addition, I adopt aspects of postmodern, feminist, post-structural and critical perspectives, including, amongst others, a focus on oppressed groups, an acknowledgement of the situated researcher in the narrative as well as the open acknowledgement of one’s own values (Denzin, 2001; Sundin & Fahy, 2008). Morality, ethics and politics are thus acknowledged as key to this interpretive research (Denzin, 2001). These ethical considerations go hand in hand with representation, which – through Denzin’s (2001, 1997) work – experiences an influx of emotionality and reflexivity. After all, while traditional SI sees the subject as rational and stresses its cognitive processes, post-structuralism increasingly recognised that the subject is emotional and embodied (Sundin & Fahy, 2008). As a consequence, I as researcher reflect upon my own emotional processes and interactions with myself and with others (which I do as part of chapter 7). On the other side, I do not claim to understand my participants’ emotional world, but acknowledge that their actions may, at times, be the result of their emotions, rather than reason.

I further incorporate dialogue into my research, which “celebrates difference and the sounds of many different voices. It expresses an ethic of empowerment” (Denzin, 2001:4). These aspects, combined with a dedication to thick description of events, seeking societal change, and a postmodern lens (characterised by deconstruction, a messy writing style, subjectivity, self-reflexivity, and the interpretation of stories of ‘everyday persons’) turn Denzin’s work into an enrichment of symbolic interactionism. Although I agree with Denzin’s (2001) postmodern, critical and interpretive form of interactionism, I do not intend to follow his idea of the performative text (inspired by theatrical if not dramaturgical styles of writing) and the importance he attaches to people’s epiphanies, turning points in life or ‘problematic

interactions’, as he calls them. In my study, people’s everyday life matters as much as their problematic or particular experiences – although the latter supposedly identifies key factors for change.

This position leads me to summarise that I will make use of ‘critical, post-structural, interpretive interactionism’ (Sundin & Fahy, 2008), including a subscription to post-structural, postmodern, feminist and critical perspectives. The above-mentioned discussions reveal aspects of more contemporary forms of SI that are useful for this study and will be adopted. Leading on from this thought, I stress my agreement with Denzin & Lincoln’s (2000:6) idea of the ‘theoretical *bricoleur*’:

The theoretical *bricoleur* reads widely and is knowledgeable about many interpretive paradigms (feminism, Marxism, cultural studies, constructivism, queer theory) that can be brought to any particular problem. He or she may not, however, feel that paradigms can be mingled or synthesized. That is, one cannot easily move between paradigms as overarching philosophical systems denoting particular ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies. They represent belief systems that attach users to particular worldviews. Perspectives, in contrast, are less well developed systems, and one can more easily move between them. The researcher-as-*bricoleur*-theorist works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms.

Based on this identification, I hold that my decision is not one of either/or, but one whose purpose is to arrive at a unique and nuanced combination of perspectives, best served by an equally unique study.

6.3. Navigation through the field: methodological changes

The chosen methods for this study are based on its aim and objectives as presented in section 1.2. Ethnographic fieldwork can offer valuable insights into human interactions and meanings by conducting observations and living with a group of people for a period of time (Veal, 2006). In the context of this study, ethnographic methods assist in generating an holistic understanding of empowerment, power relations, the tourism encounter and the way tourism operates in the villages through sensitive understanding of a phenomenon.

Qualitative and interpretive projects – often of an ethnographic nature – are characterised by constant changes due to unexpected factors (Cerwonka, 2007; England, 1994). This tendency towards uncertainty shows that ethnographic research “cannot be reduced to a set of standardized techniques that any practitioner can

implement” (Cerwonka, 2007:20). Ethnographic research and fieldwork are a *process* rather than a *product* (England, 1994) with ongoing developments in research focus, interview questions and even methods used as one proceeds with the fieldwork. These methods are evolving and changing as one proceeds, which makes fieldwork “not so much a method but an anti-method; it must evolve, it must exist in its own context, and thus is always a unique combination of the fieldworker and the field” (Monchamp, 2007:5). This section addresses the uncertain and chaotic nature of fieldwork in terms of methodology, starting with an explanation of the methods I initially planned to use before entering the field and how various – unexpected – factors in the field affected my choice in methods and led to amendments.

6.3.1. Planned methods

During pre-fieldwork preparations, the initial plan was:

- To conduct **semi-structured interviews** and use **informal conversations** as well as **participant observation**, which form part of the toolbox of anthropology (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Wolcott, 2008). This would have included *interviews* with key informants involved in tourism in the villages, people not working in tourism (yet) and tourists who visited the villages; and *observations* of village life in general, how tourism was organised and undertaken and the interactions between tourists and the local population.
- To use **participative methods** that would employ local knowledge to enable informants to benefit from the research and change hegemonic power structures, where the researcher is seen as the true expert. The aim was to cooperate with community members and regard them as co-researchers (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2012:29). A number of methods were identified, such as joint mappings and drawings inspired by the ‘Rapid Rural Appraisal’ (RRA) (Chambers, 1980), ‘Participatory Rural Appraisal’ (PRA) (Chambers, 1994) and ‘Rapid Situation Analysis’ (Koutra, 2010), including a mixture of methods such as observations, interviews and visual data; “from extracting information to empowering local analysts” (Chambers, 1994:1253). Participatory action research (PAR) also proved valid to stimulate the empowerment of participants (Kesby et al., 2007) and equip people with the knowledge and skills to take action to create a positive change in their lives through creative methods (Aziz et al., 2011, Boog, 2003).

I regarded these participatory methods in particular as an inspirational tool to assist in levelling power relations between researcher and informant and to try to enable research participants to inform the questions and issues that were most important to them. This would allow for the research to take a different direction than planned, based on the participants' priorities. They may even have turned into co-researchers collecting their own data that seemed important to them (Allen et al., 2006).

The participatory exercises I prepared focused around:

- mapping the village and its households and finding out more about people's roles within the village, their connections to each other as well as discovering who was involved in CBT;
- 'visualising' power in terms of CBT organisation and the tourism encounter by using the 'power mapping tool' as designed by Schiffer (2007). Through the usage of a game produced with paper, figures and cards, this tool helps to visualise power between the actors involved, although it can simultaneously reveal sensitive issues (Schiffer, 2007);
- mapping of community assets: inspired by asset-based community development (ABCD), an approach to community development whereby the community makes use of its own available assets for development, this exercise should assist in discovering and identifying the community's tangible as well as intangible assets (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993). This exercise was aimed at understanding how far existent assets are already used for tourism or how far they can still empower the community in the future.

I intended to use these techniques as they appeared promising in terms of their potential benefits, such as: empowerment of participants, possibilities for self-representation, inclusion of local knowledge in the final data and community building by sharing stories and creating a sense of place (Corbett, 2009). Although the interpretation of the data may be problematic, as the chance to misinterpret visual data is high (Laws et al., 2003), I nevertheless prepared to facilitate the process by including marginalised people, making participation voluntary, observing the dynamics in the process and, most importantly, taking time to establish trust with the community before starting the exercises (Corbett, 2009).

6.3.2. Actual methods used in the field: a personal reflection

During the three months fieldwork period I undertook 40 interviews, three collectively drawn maps with family members and the tourism committee, a number of unstructured conversations and interviews with tourists and participated in a number of family and village meetings, ceremonies, tourism activities and everyday life situations, where I could observe what was happening in the social context that I was studying. My navigation through the field is discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Upon arrival in the first village in Bali, I intended to start my data collection with the help of observations and informal conversations with the families where I stayed. I joined tourists on their activities in the village and observed their actions and interactions with the community, which also gave me the opportunity to have some informal conversations. However, soon my data collection seemed to come to a halt, as I spent the majority of my time at home in my host family's house while they were at work. I got impatient and started doubting the purpose of my fieldwork. I tried to establish trust before asking for people's help to organise interviews and community meetings and slowly managed to conduct some in-depth interviews. Nevertheless, it was not possible to use the participative methods that I had initially planned. Not only was the community large, but also busy, which made it difficult to organise a community meeting to undertake mapping exercises together.

I changed my plans and focused mainly on the people involved in tourism, starting with the families with whom I lived. One evening, we unpacked a magic whiteboard and pens and started drawing the village together, including its homestays, tourist attractions and planned changes for the future. This 'participatory mapping' was an uncomfortable and strange experience. Although the purpose was for both the community and me to learn about tourism in the village as mutual learning process, this experience emerged as a potentially needless, even inappropriate, participatory technique for the initially intended mutually beneficial exchange. During the exercise, I felt that the family drew the map merely for *me*, hence to make *me* understand the village and how tourism works and to help *me* with *my* research. Also, the questions I prepared for the activity were not really useful for the participants to engage in the drawing, which made me believe that my research plan did not make sense. I thought I had chosen the wrong field – a community where people seemed to continue their

daily life without caring about my research. But why would they care, anyway? After all, I was just another outsider entering the village with an agenda, most importantly an outsider whose ‘services’ were not needed.

I realised that the research ground needed adaptation and that preparing methods in advance can be misleading. I was prepared for change, though, and it was this drawing activity in particular that helped me realise this need. In addition, I got more familiar with the village, gained information on how the family interacted, on the location of homestays, and on what tourism activities took place in the village. However, given the lack of participation on the part of all three villages, it seemed that interviews (and observations) were the most I could ask for. Even this was difficult. People were busy and so were the interpreters. It was tricky to organise appointments with the people I interviewed and, most importantly, I felt like I was stealing their time.

I nevertheless continued my research. I collected 40 interviews with villagers, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Bali CoBTA, the Bali Tourism Board, and the Bank of Indonesia, which were between 20 minutes and one hour long. Interviews were semi-structured in that I established some guiding questions and topics to be covered beforehand. However, there was room for the interview to take an unexpected direction and emerge in the moment (Gray, 2009), given that “all relevant questions are not known prior to the research” (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005:57). They were in-depth in that they usually lasted more than half an hour and aimed at gaining a deep understanding of the participants’ experiences, their view on the topic (Veal, 2006), and on aspects beyond a list of pre-formed questions (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002). All interviews were tape-recorded with prior consent by the participants. In addition to conducting interviews with villagers and institutions, I followed around six individual travellers and three tourist groups of 15 persons each during their time in the village. Long, in-depth interviews were not always possible; hence, I focused mainly on unstructured conversations with tourists.

Within the village, I conducted interviews mainly with people working in tourism – those who formed part of the village tourism committee (VTC) and those who were involved in tourism in other ways, part of the wider village tourism team (VTT). A list of interviewees, the perspective they contributed to this study and the rationale behind choosing them are summarised in Table 15.

Table 15: Interviewees and related roles

Interviewee role	Reason to interview, what perspective/information the person offers
VILLAGERS	
Heads of tourism in the villages	The head of tourism is the person who is in charge of the organisation, initiation and planning of CBT. Interviewing the head of tourism in each village helped me to understand how tourism works, how it is organised and what potential problems there are. As I usually lived in their home, I learned about their life, their motivation to start CBT and their aims. Their perspective is valuable because they have usually more power than others in the VTC in deciding on what direction tourism takes. They can have the power to delegate to others but, at the same time, can have power over others for their own interests.
Village chief	The village chief offers a similar perspective to the head of tourism in terms of the bigger picture of tourism and its impact on the village. Given that he knows the villagers well, he knows who is involved in tourism and how existing associations are connected to tourism. Furthermore, his attitude towards tourism influence how much support the VTC receives from him.
VTC members	The VTC is responsible for all organisational CBT tasks. Every member has a different role (see section 5.4.1.). It is valuable to understand their view of tourism and empowerment as they have most immediate power in involving community members in CBT. Together with the head of tourism, they decide on the direction of tourism in the village. Given that most of the members are involved in CBT in other ways too, such as being homestay owners, their view is also key when it comes to the tourism encounter.
Other roles in tourism: homestay owners (all castes); tour guide, handicraft producers, massager etc.	I interviewed a number of other villagers occupying major tourism roles in the village, most importantly homestay owners. They have direct contact with tourists and can offer a valuable perspective in terms of interactions with tourists and how much support they receive from the VTC. They offer the view of CBT ‘from the ground’ and are indispensable for tourism to run. It is useful to know how far they can use their existent skills in tourism and how tourism impacts on their wider life and their communities.
Marginal roles in tourism: blacksmiths, shop owners etc.	I further interviewed a number of people who do not occupy key roles in tourism, but are still involved. The blacksmiths in the villages, for example, usually serve as an ‘attraction’ during the village tour, where they show their skills and perform for tourists. Given that they interact with tourists – even if only in a superficial way – they are key interviewees as they can offer information on how tourism impacts on their daily work, on how they feel while ‘acting as attraction’ and on how they benefit from tourism.
INSTITUTIONS	
Bali CoBTA: chairman and member of staff	I interviewed the chairman of Bali CoBTA to get an idea of why Bali CoBTA was created, what its aim is, how it supports the villages and what it thinks in terms of CBT and empowerment. Given that Bali CoBTA teaches the villagers how to undertake CBT, their perspective will determine how tourism starts and develops in the villages. I further interviewed a member of staff who is in regular touch with the villages, organises their training and puts them in contact with funding bodies. Her view is valuable in that she is close to villagers and knows the potential local problems and how cooperation between villages, Bali CoBTA and funding bodies works. Her perspective, furthermore, makes a connection between what CBT means in theory with how it works on the ground.
Staff member of the Bank Indonesia (BI)	I interviewed a staff member of BI to find out why and how BI gets involved in CBT and what it wants to achieve. BI’s idea of what CBT and empowerment mean is key in that members of staff have regular meetings with the community to organise funding, which should aim at community empowerment in the end and facilitate independence of the villages.

(Table continues on next page)

Table 15 continued:

Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy Indonesia	The tourism ministry based in Jakarta offers a valuable perspective in terms of what role CBT plays in the tourism landscape of Indonesia and how the ministry supports rural villages in engaging in tourism.
Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy Bali	The tourism ministry based in Bali offered a perspective on what role CBT plays in the province and what kinds of training it offers community members who engage in CBT. Given that their programmes are aimed at ‘community empowerment’, it is important to understand what is meant by it and what the ministry would like to achieve through supporting the villages.
Bali Tourism Board (BTB)	I had an interview with the head of the BTB to understand the role of CBT in Bali as a tourism product. His view is key in that he offered information on the role of CBT in Balinese tourism and the demand of the tourists for CBT. Furthermore, I received information on how the tourism board cooperates with Bali CoBTA.
TOURISTS	
	I interviewed a number of tourists, both individual travellers and groups, who came to visit the villages. Their perspective was key in terms of getting to know their view on the tourism encounter. I was particularly interested in tourists’ opinion on tourism in the village, in what they were looking for during their holiday and in their experience interacting with their hosts and other community members. It was also important to see whether they are aware what CBT means and what kind of tourism they were engaging in.

Source: author

I interviewed people with similar roles in tourism in all three villages in order to enable comparison. I aimed at interviewing both men and women from different parts in the village and from different castes. The problem was, though, that those outside the VTC – the family I stayed with was usually part of the VTC – were difficult to reach due to caste status. Finally, I felt that my observations and conversations focused largely on the members of the VTC and – besides gathering information from others – I started ‘studying’ the social world of my key informants (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). These key informants were my host families, hence the people that I spent most time with, particularly the three heads of tourism, each of whom was usually part of my host family. I regard these key informants as the people who were my tutors in understanding the cultural and village context and who introduced me to other informants (Marvasti, 2004). Certainly, my translators were key informants as well and guided me through my time in the villages and the research.

Interview topics included CBT organisation in the village, community members’ experience of CBT, the use of assets and skills in tourism, the role of culture, involvement in the community and its associations, interactions with tourists, feelings and attitudes towards tourists and tourism in the village, and further aspects connected

to tourism and community life that interviewees wanted to share. Interviews with the government, Bali CoBTA, BI and BTB focused around the role of CBT in Bali, the meaning of empowerment, and the support they offer communities. Conversations with tourists were more unstructured due to their time constraints and included topics such as their motivations to come to the village, their ideas of CBT, interactions with their hosts and further experiences about their travels that they were willing to share.

In addition to interviews, the participant observations I undertook helped me gain a better understanding of the social world that I was studying and the everyday life of villagers (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). I used overt participant observations, given that I revealed myself and the purpose of my study to the people I engaged with, also to enable *ethical* participant observations (Finn et al., 2000). Through participating in people's daily lives, participant observations imply access to the communities I studied whereas merely being an observer would have left me in a position of talking from the outside (Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012), with a focus on *looking* (Veal, 2006). Therefore, I not only observed people and situations but engaged in activities (Spradley, 1980). Although I did not feel that I became a member of the group, I was, nevertheless, accepted as a participant, which allowed me a different view than being in the position of a mere observer (Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012). During my fieldwork, I saw myself progressing through different periods of observation as suggested by Spradley (1980). While in the beginning I focused mainly on descriptive observations, which were rather broad, these became more focused and, in the end, turned into selective observations the more I was sure what information I was actually looking for – while I remained open for information on other topics (Spradley, 1980).

Table 16 shows a summary of the activities and events that I participated in during my fieldwork in Bali. Participation in tourist activities enabled me to speak from the position of a tourist myself, whereas observation only would have offered me a more distanced view. As participant observer, I could “focus on events as they unfold and relationships as they evolve” (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002:212), which helped me understand the social relationships between community members, tourists, institutions and myself. Hence, the embodied experience of participant observation enabled me to also understand “the bodily experiences of [...] [my] participant groups” (Madden, 2010:94), based on doing what my informants – both tourists and villagers – were doing.

Table 16: Overview of events and activities the researcher participated in

Village 1	Village 2	Village 3
Village life (daily village and family life as well as special events)		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> family ceremony at Besakih mother temple yoga with villagers meeting/training of village <i>gamelan</i> orchestra meeting/training of village dancing group excursion to Ujung Water Temple close by 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> praying at the family temple family motorbike ceremony national elections at the <i>Balai banjar</i> royal cremation in Ubud 	Participation in meetings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with BI of the local youth group of the local <i>gamelan</i> orchestra family pre-wedding ceremony in Singaraja of the plastic pickers of the children's dancing lesson
Tourist activities		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> accompanying tourists on their activities: market visit, making offerings, village trekking tour, visit of school, cycling tour etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> accompanied tourist groups: village tour, making offerings, making Balinese cakes, visit of local school, visit of painting and wood carving factory, village trekking tour, making Saté, visit of Goah Gaja and Yeh Pulu 	Participated in all offered tourist activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> cycling trekking Tai Chi market visit and cooking making offerings
Further activities		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> participation in one-day workshop on <i>pemberdayaan masyarakat</i> (community empowerment) and <i>desa wisata</i> (village tourism or CBT) in Bali, organised by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> participation on a trip with Bali CoBTA to meet a community that potentially wanted to engage in CBT 		

Source: author

Using participant observations in my study rather than mere observations further helped me to arrive at a more useful formulation of the research problem or questions, given that “[i]n an observation-based project, a general question may orient the choice of field site, but more specific questions can only be developed as involvement in the field proceeds” (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002:203). Therefore, through participant observations, I could better grasp the local context and in turn also gained a better understanding of what research and interview questions were key to the study context.

Nevertheless, immersing oneself in the field also means that the direction of the research and methods may change. The methodological changes I had to make in the field concerned a number of aspects. Firstly, I focused on those working in tourism rather than the entire community, which would have been an impossible task due to the size of the community, my time constraints, and unavoidable power relations. Moreover, I decided to drop the planned participatory methods after a few attempts.

Still, three maps were drawn in the end by the families with whom I stayed and the tourism team. Two of them took the form of a village map that highlighted the locations of tourism activities, the involved homestays and planned future developments. These maps were geographical and social at the same time in that they highlighted who was involved in tourism activities and who was not (IFAD, 2011). They were drawn with the initial purpose of involving the research participants more actively (Chambers, 1980). Nevertheless, as mentioned, the mappings were useless for this rather irrelevant aim, but in the end helped *me* secure an understanding of the bigger picture of tourism organisation in the village. Also, the first map resulted in a village tour the next day, where I learned about the location of homestays and was introduced to the owners. The third map was part of a capacity building workshop that the tourism head of village 3 and I organised for the VTC. The workshop was aimed at collecting villagers' viewpoints on community empowerment and tourism and, given their request, to give them the chance to ask me questions on my observations in the village. The map enabled a discussion amongst the community members in how their views differed and what they needed to do to work together more effectively. Hence, through communicating themselves, this exercise contributed to community building of the tourism committee (IFAD, 2009).

My experience showed that when doing fieldwork one always enters a terrain of insecurity and unexpectedness caused by issues that need to be addressed on the spot. I dealt with these issues by adapting my methods and by constant self-reflection on my actions, my position and my expectations, to at least overcome my inner ethical dilemmas. I regard this experience as valuable in terms of being able to develop critical thinking about fieldwork methods and the whole purpose of fieldwork. I encountered a number of unexpected obstacles on my way, such as personal disillusionment, culture shock, frustration caused by language barriers, limited access to informants and challenging collaboration with interpreters. As these impacted on my research, I increasingly made use of the practice of reflexivity. I started to become critical and highly self-reflexive, given that my positionality and my identity became a central methodological concern for my study. The next section addresses the practice of reflexivity and chapter 7 applies this knowledge by offering a reflexive account of my own, very peculiar, tourism encounter.

6.4. Reflexivity

6.4.1. The practice of reflexivity

*“[R]esearchers no longer question the need for reflexivity:
the question is how to do it.”
(Finlay, 2002:212)*

Within social sciences, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the researcher being personally involved in the fieldwork, the social world under study and the data and knowledge produced (Coffey, 1999; England, 1994; Finlay, 2002; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Pillow, 2003). This development stands in contrast to earlier ethnographic practices that pleaded for an attainment of objectivist neutrality by avoiding the researcher ‘contaminating’ the data and the studied field (England, 1994). Contemporary anthropology accepts that “the notion of the isolated, autonomous fieldwork site has been something of a convenient functionalist fiction” (Coleman, 2004:26), hence researchers cannot take themselves out of the research any longer, at least if they want to be called ‘interpretive anthropologists’ (Robben, 2012). Therefore, within social science research, as within this particular study, reflexivity is an indispensable practice.

Reflexivity emerged out of the “reflexive turn”, also called the “fifth moment” or the “postmodern period” in the social sciences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:17). With social scientists trying to make sense of the representational crisis and the legitimation crisis (i.e. ideas of generalisability and validity become problematic) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), reflexivity seemed to be a way forward, not least for the sake of a greater understanding of the knowledge researchers produce (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Reflexivity, therefore, is one characteristic of postmodernity – a critique of modernity itself – where formerly established rules for society break down and knowledge is difficult to be claimed, given that the researcher is recognised as the *interpreter* of social phenomena (Hall, 2004). In post-modernity, the broad spectrum of possible interpretations is acknowledged, as “meanings are negotiated within particular social contexts so that another researcher will unfold a different story” (Finlay, 2002:212). This tendency suggests that respondents behave differently based on who the researcher is, thereby creating different interactions (Angrosino & Mays de Pérez, 2000).

Researchers are part of the world they study (Feighery, 2006) and reflexivity assists in critically questioning the researcher's own experience, but, most importantly, how these experiences impact on the relationship with research participants and the data (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Reflexivity grew out of criticisms of earlier ethnographic research, with the disembodied, detached researcher (Feighery, 2006) striving for the authoritative presentation of scientific knowledge (Finlay, 2002). The major aim of research was to arrive at a holistic scientific description of mankind and culture (Bahadir, 2004) for the sake of knowing oneself (or one's own culture) (Said, 1978). Based on these critiques, anthropologists took on a more subjective position, talking reflexively from 'inside' the society they studied (Finlay, 2002). This step should produce more positioned, intersubjective and richer accounts of their fieldwork and data (Robben, 2012). In the end, reflexivity should serve by "making oneself the object of one's own observation, in an attempt to bring to the fore the assumptions embedded in our perspectives and descriptions of the world" (Feighery, 2006:269). Self-reflexivity, therefore, includes aspects such as social background and one's own beliefs and assumptions and uses these to question how one thinks about the research participants and represents them later in the narrative (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Reflexive work is therefore necessary during fieldwork, data analysis and writing up (Feighery, 2006).

Within this study, I will use 'reflexivities of discomfort', i.e. feeling uncomfortable in using reflexivity for knowing ourselves and the research subjects rather than seeking to arrive at a comfortable state of using reflexivity, free of tension and the discomfort of representation (Pillow, 2003). The challenge lies in admitting our own failures, accepting messiness and a multitude of answers, which leaves us in "the uncomfortable realities of doing engaged qualitative research" (Pillow, 2003:193). Inspired by Pillow's work, I seek to follow her example in my research. While I use introspection and discuss how I am situated in relation to my respondents, I intend to avoid using reflexivity to find definite answers. Rather, as Pillow (2003:192) suggests, I shall use reflexive practice to be as critical as possible, "call[ing] for a positioning of reflexivity not as clarity, honesty, or humility, but as practices of confounding disruptions – at times even a failure of our language and practices."

I am not subscribing to reflexive practice in order to make my research more valid or accurate, but to understand better the social world that I study and the social

relationships that form part of it. I understand the research subject and my own subjectivity as multiple, unknowable and constantly shifting (Pillow, 2003). In addition, the acceptance of chaos, multiple answers and the “acknowledge[ment of] the unknowable without making it familiar” (Pillow, 2003:181) can stimulate the reader into questioning his or her knowledge and assumptions that build up while reading (Pillow, 2003).

Reflexivity needs to form a central part of the data analysis, adding to the embodied, subjective and situated style of writing and discussion of my findings. Given that my “data analysis methods [may further be] infused with epistemological and ontological assumptions” (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003:415), I will reflect on who I give voice to and why. Most importantly, in my analysis, I seek to pay particular attention to the fine line between using reflexivity to know oneself or to generate a real understanding of the research process and the social world under study (Finlay, 2002). I am aware it is easy to “fall into the mire of the infinite regress of excessive self analysis and deconstructions at the expense of focusing on the research participants and developing understanding” (Finlay, 2002:212).

6.4.2. Emotion in fieldwork

Based on the acknowledgement of subjectivity in research and the subscription to reflexivity, the analysis of data for this study includes a reflexive account of the researcher’s emotions, during fieldwork as well as the post-fieldwork period. I agree with Monchamp (2007:1) in that “fieldwork is based on information gathered through relationships, and therefore the emotional elements of those associations are relevant to the ethnographic writing that is produced.” The issue of emotion addressed here is in line with the recognition that “fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity *work*” (Coffey, 1999:1), hence emotion is not something that contaminates the field and consequently has to be ‘managed’ or ‘dealt with’ to produce more valid research (Coffey, 1999). Rather, it shapes the self, its identity and, in turn, its relationship with others (Coffey, 1999). Emotion is necessary to understand the social world under study, a task that cannot be completed by cognitive acts alone (Game, 1997).

As part of emotion, culture shock has a particular impact on the collection of data and its analysis as “[t]he individual cannot produce meaning until he or she understands

how to comport oneself in a socially acceptable way” (Irwin, 2007:3). Culture shock occurs “when one is placed into an environment with different symbols and with different notions of types of and acceptable levels of risk than what is ‘normal’ in one’s own culture” (Irwin, 2007:4). These feelings can cause a loss of identity, isolation, depression and even health problems, which in turn impacts on the data (Irwin, 2007). Although anthropologists regularly suffer from culture shock and negative emotions, the idea exists that being ‘trained’ as an anthropologist should actually avoid this (Irwin, 2007). While emotion is often dealt with when it comes to research participants (i.e. how to deal with sensitive issues, vulnerable groups and difficult interview situations), the impact fieldwork can have on the researcher is mostly ignored (Hubbard et al., 2001). As a consequence, in this study, I also pay particular attention to the impact of my emotions on the research, which forms part of my reflexive writing in chapter 7.

6.4.3. Emic vs. etic perspective

Besides emotion, subscribing to the practice of reflexivity entails addressing one’s social background, assumptions and worldview, or one’s positionality (England, 1994), also including the different positions and roles that one takes on while on fieldwork (Merriam et al., 2001). Earlier accounts of anthropological fieldwork made a division into *emic* and *etic* perspective, or the insider’s and the outsider’s view (Geertz, 1973). Since Malinowski’s (1984) idea of fieldwork, the anthropologist pursued an *emic* perspective to become part of the culture under study (Bahadir, 2004:811) – although more recent anthropological works show that one does not necessarily have to ‘go native’ in order to understand another culture (Madden, 2010). Originally, the terms were used for the understanding of a person’s mind (*emic*, which is culturally specific/embedded information and meaningful to the actor) versus the rather detached understanding of their behavior (*etic*, which is cross-culturally valid behavior, and so comparable between locations and used for other groups) (Harris, 1976).

During fieldwork, I collected both emic and etic data to help arrive at an holistic understanding of the subject, with a focus on tourism, a phenomenon that intersects at the micro and macro level. This complexity makes the views of both community members and outside actors important (Burns, 2004; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). In

this case, emic data meant understanding the villagers' social world while etic included gathering more general information about CBT in Bali and talking to actors such as the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. Before entering the field, I wanted to arrive at an emic positionality as I thought this would help me present a most accurate view of the phenomenon under study. However, in the field, my positions were constantly shifting and most of the time I felt I did not belong anywhere and had no constant or personal stability. I realised that I would never be a part of the families, no matter how long I stayed (not that I wanted to, but still, I had the idea that this would give me a more 'true' or 'real' account of the social world under study). Therefore, I took on various roles through the interactions with the people I encountered, which confused me and caused feelings of unease. These various positions (for example, researcher, friend, consultant, spy) influenced the data collection and analysis, which is why a discussion of positionality forms part of my reflexive writing in chapter 7.

6.4.4. On working with interpreters

Although anthropologists rely regularly on working with interpreters in their fieldwork when they cannot speak the local language, they remain largely silent about it (Borchgrevink, 2003). “[T]he silence regarding interpreter use is linked to the anthropologist’s need for establishing authority [in the academic environment, not in the field] and to the position that fieldwork has within the discipline” (Borchgrevink 2003:95). By making use of an interpreter, it seems the anthropologist has failed and hasn’t really got ‘inside’ the society under study (Borchgrevink, 2003). Malinowski’s (1984) romantic idea of fieldwork lasting an extensive period of time (usually more than one year) and of the anthropologist learning the local language to produce proper anthropological knowledge ‘from inside the society’ certainly still influences the way anthropologists think about fieldwork today.

Nevertheless, anthropologists *do* make use of interpreters, particularly because the modern anthropologist often does not have sufficient time, resources or opportunity to arrive at a proficiency of the local language, especially when s/he is a doctoral researcher (Borchgrevink, 2003). Whereas formerly regarded as invisible, detached and as a *medium* used to arrive at exact translations, there is an increasing acknowledgement that the interpreter brings his/her own assumptions, views and

social background to the interview and that these influence the data collection and interpretation (Bahadir, 2004; Temple & Edwards, 2002; Shimpuku & Norr, 2012). Temple & Young (2004:164) suggest that an interpretive or constructivist epistemology implies that “translators must also form part of the process of knowledge production. There is no neutral position from which to translate and the power relationships within research need to be acknowledged.”

Reflexivity is indispensable given that when the researcher doesn't speak the same language as informants, “this means that they have to question the baseline from which they make claims about them” (Temple & Young, 2004:167). Given that the assumptions and positionality of both the researcher and participant shape the construction of knowledge, the interpretation process gets yet more complex when the translator enters the discussion in a cross-cultural environment (Scott et al., 2006; Temple & Edwards, 2002). As Temple & Edwards (2002:6) explain, “interpreters bring their own assumptions and concerns to the interview and the research process. The research thus becomes subject to ‘triple subjectivity’ (the interactions between research participant, researcher and interpreter), and this needs to be made explicit.”

By creating a further layer to social analysis (Shimpuku & Norr, 2012), one may think that cross-cultural research makes the process of data collection and interpretation more problematic. The cultural context adds to these complications: given that there is often more than one meaning for a word and that language is culturally constituted and situated, the understanding of the cultural context is key to translation (Temple & Edwards, 2002). This is also the reason why I follow Temple et al.'s (2006) advice on including terms in the local language (in this case Bahasa Indonesia or Balinese). Based on these epistemological challenges, it is suggested that the interpreter should be a local him/herself (Borchgrevink, 2003), should know how to deal with different people (Scott et al., 2006), and be trained in terms of grasping the context of the study (Bahadir, 2004, Borchgrevink, 2003; Scott et al., 2006). Also, the researcher should understand and document the interpreter's background, assumptions and view on the topic (Shimpuku & Norr, 2012; Temple & Edwards, 2002). The interpreter, therefore, becomes a central figure and a key informant in the research process (Temple & Young, 2004). S/he not only acts as a ‘tool’ to collect data but may also take on the role of gatekeeper, provide moral support in times of loneliness and isolation of the researcher, and help create a relaxed atmosphere during interviews (Borchgrevink,

2003). The latter is especially important as interviews with a third party can appear overly formal at times and the researcher may even feel marginalised (Borchgrevink, 2003).

For this thesis, the interpreters with whom I worked played a central role as their positionality, views and social background had considerable influence on how interviews were conducted and how data was generated. Their influence on the data is acknowledged as part of the data analysis process, the reflexive chapter (see chapter 7) and the empirical part of this research (see chapter 8). In section 6.5.2. I furthermore explain how I dealt with translations and ultimately represented my interviewees' speech in the written text.

6.5. Ethics, responsibility and representation

6.5.1. Ethical considerations

As the present research question involves working with people, it automatically raises the importance of ethical issues that need to be taken into consideration. I considered ethics throughout the entire research process, i.e. during research design, fieldwork, data analysis and writing up of the findings (Loue, 2000).

To begin with, I would like to make a major referral to the ethical guidelines for good research practice as published by the Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA) of the UK (ASA, 2011). They are indispensable for researchers subscribing to anthropological methods, particularly participant observations, and, above all, when entering a cultural context different to the researcher's environment. By consulting these guidelines throughout the entire research process, I hoped to minimise potential ethical problems. Some of the most important aspects of the guidelines are mentioned throughout this section. Nevertheless, I also want to stress that guidelines are somewhat detached from one's own research and in the end "it is at the level of "ethics in practice" that researchers must do the real ethical work in this regard" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004:273)

During the planning phase for the fieldwork I drafted a list of ethical considerations central to this study:

- *Informed consent* is crucial for this research in order to avoid exploiting participants by regarding them as mere informants. Informed consent means that the research needs to be explained in a clear and comprehensible way and participants agree *voluntarily* to participate (Israel & Hay, 2006). For those people who are entering the community spontaneously (e.g. tourists) and are unknown to me, I will “take all practicable steps to be introduced by local participants and identify [myself] as a researcher” (ASA, 2011:2) and will make use of my own sensitivity (ASA, 2011). Moreover, as I am working with communities from a different cultural background, I will translate the study concepts into lay terms.
- *Confidentiality*: “Informants and other research participants should have the right to remain anonymous and to have their rights to privacy and confidentiality respected” (ASA, 2011:5). In terms of confidentiality and the strong feelings that can emerge with community members when talking about past experiences, it is important not to share data with other community members. The issue of confidentiality also includes keeping interviewees’ and participants’ names anonymous.
- *Respect towards research participants & equality*: The way we talk about our ‘subjects’ can contribute to showing respect or not: there is a broad range of names such as ‘participants’, ‘informants’, ‘respondents’, ‘subjects’ and more, which are more or less depersonalising the person taking part (Oliver, 2010). When working with disadvantaged communities, it is important to show respect, which is why I will use the term ‘informant’ or ‘participant’ as it gives “a feeling of a much more democratic involvement” (Oliver, 2010:6).
- *Avoidance of intrusion into privacy*: “Care should be taken not to infringe uninvited upon the 'private space' (as locally defined) of an individual or group” (ASA, 2011:5). The presented research takes place in the close environment and everyday life of rural communities, which could lead to an intrusion into the private sphere of participants. Various precautions help avoid the implied danger:

- I make use of the assistance and help of a gatekeeper, who in this case is Bali CoBTA and their members, who are involved in the participating communities.
- I make use of critical reflexivity, which shall help in dealing with ethical dilemmas and offers support for not intruding too far into the private space of participants (Macfarlane, 2009).
- In terms of asking questions, I have to be absolutely sure that questions are necessary when they are posed, especially if they are personal or sensitive (Finn et al., 2000).

Keeping the above considerations in mind helped me to start my fieldwork in a way that was in line with my personal ethics. Nevertheless, despite extensive preparation, I faced a number of ethical dilemmas in the field, which are further elaborated in chapter 7.

6.5.2. On representation and ‘giving voice’

An account of ethics in anthropological research needs to include a discussion of the representation of participants by the researcher. Post-colonial theorists are critical about representation and hold that the ‘culturally others’ should speak, thereby replacing dominant discourses with alternative ones (Spivak, 1988). Anthropology seeks to deal with this criticism by not only listening to people’s stories but by actively giving voice, for example through advocacy (Hastrup & Elsass, 1990). Giving voice also includes letting people’s voices be heard in ethnographic writing through the use of direct quotations or joint working on prepublications, solutions that England (1994:250) regards as essentially problematic:

[w]hile we can revise our work in response to the reactions of the researched, surely the published text is the final construct and responsibility of the researcher. For example, it is the researcher who ultimately chooses which quotes (and, therefore, whose “voices”) to include.

Therefore, when it comes to the writing up of the data, we should not forget that what people say is usually selected, and some voices will always be silenced (Feighery, 2006). Nevertheless, in some cases, if we let the marginalised speak, our approach “can help give the voiceless a voice” (Pratt & Loizos, 1992:17) by listening to their stories. Therefore, cross-cultural research can also be fruitful: when moving from

seeing participants as “mines of information” (England, 1994:243) towards dialogue between researcher and informant, socially disadvantaged groups could experience empowerment, given that the researcher directs attention to their opinion (e.g. women who have previously been excluded from community activities) (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000).

The question is whether the ethical dilemmas that researchers are facing in cross-cultural research can ever be solved – leading some researchers to completely withdraw from conducting research after having asked themselves whether they have the right to represent people of another culture (Kobayashi, 1994) – or whether they have a right to represent people at all, even if from the same cultural background. However, giving voice seems to make research more ethical and the knowledge created more ‘authentic’ (Lather, 2009). The use of empathy can make the researcher-participant relationship more egalitarian by entering and understanding participants’ experiential world, thereby connecting the self and other more closely (Bondi, 2003).

Representation further connects to my own position in the field. As argued earlier, I did not position myself at either an emic or etic perspective, so neither as a part of the community nor as a complete outsider. Even though Malinowski (1984) recommended writing from the viewpoint of the native, I am aware that even though I tell somebody else’s story (maybe even based on a glimpse from the ‘inside’), in the end the story is written from my own point of view. As Geertz (1973:14) argues, the emic approach “leads to the notion that anthropology is a variety of [...] long-distance mind reading”, which has to be used with care as anthropology, after all, is an interpretation:

Normally, it is not necessary to point out quite so laboriously that the object of study is one thing and the study of it another. It is clear enough that the physical world is not physics [...]. But, as in the study of culture, analysis penetrates into the very body of the object – that is, *we begin with our own interpretations of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to and then systematize those.* (Geertz, 1973:15)

Hence ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ have to be understood as being located on a continuum of positions, which may constantly be shifting (Merriam et al., 2001). Taking a perspective that is not completely emic may seem distanced; however, I am not doing so to create difference or authority, but rather to admit to myself and to the readers the impossibility of letting somebody speak in a narrative that is not theirs.

This ultimately leads me to the representation of informants in my written work, whereby I faced a common anthropological dilemma. Although I make use of direct quotes as part of the discussion to follow, I am also aware that these are interpretations, given the problematic of translation and triple subjectivity as discussed earlier. Hence, I am aware that I cannot possibly ever fully capture the villager's worldview. Nevertheless, direct quotes enable participants, to a certain extent, to 'speak' themselves, at least those who I could converse with without the need for an interpreter (given that they either spoke to me in English or in a language I was fully competent to translate myself, including French, Spanish and German). In some of the situations where an interpreter was involved, I acknowledge triple subjectivity by presenting the writing in form of a dialogue (Temple & Edwards, 2002) and counter-voices to try disrupt my own authority and singular meaning (Lather, 2009) and to make social events and interactions more 'real' (Coffey, 1999). Hence, as Alcoff (2009:128) states, by employing direct quotes and fragments of dialogue I will make use of "the practice of speaking with and to rather than speaking for others" in order "to allow both self and other to appear together within a single narrative that carries a multiplicity of dialoguing voices" (Tedlock, 2000:471).

Nevertheless, in most cases where an interpreter was needed, I acknowledge the difficulty of letting my informants speak, leading me to paraphrase and directly analyse informants' arguments, with the person(s) acknowledged in brackets. I opted for this way of presenting my data to avoid the distortion of my informants' voice, ultimately expressed through the voice of the interpreter given that "participants might feel that they are not fairly represented, when they see their spoken words in written form. Translating the quotes to another language enlarges this problem, because in the translation the words are literally not their own anymore" (van Nes et al., 2010:316). Given the problematic of losing meaning through translation to a certain extent (Gupta, 2014; Ficklin & Jones, 2009), the analysis presented in the paraphrased parts of my writing is further based on triangulation of participants and methods (Esposito, 2001). This is to say that the number of people I interviewed as much as my own observations contributed to my own 'cultural translations' and understanding of the local context in the widest sense (Leavitt, 2004).

In the written presentation of the data all informants' names are anonymised, only giving away some necessary information, such as their role, gender and age group

and, for tourists, their nationality and whether they were individual or group travellers. Appendix I includes this information and a list of codes I used for my interviewees. I decided to replace interviewees' names with codes to avoid misrepresentation through pseudonyms. Balinese names are highly complex and reveal a number of characteristics of a person, including caste and clan (Geertz, 1973) whereas other, maybe Western, names would completely misrepresent the person's identity. I agree with Coombe (2013:37) in that the use of codes, thus, "resolved a strong discomfort [of] [...] allocating a name to someone who already has a name and an identity associated with that name". The chosen codes in Appendix I therefore reveal information on the village and whether the person forms part of the VTC or VTT in villagers' case and, for tourists, which of the three villages they visited as well as their gender.

6.6. Data Analysis

The data I analysed is comprised by interviews, observations, visual data (mappings), diary entries and personal emails. For the data analysis I followed the steps of detecting themes in the data, coding the themes and discovering potential patterns, connections, relationships and contradictions (Laws et al., 2003; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). The analysis of this study's data was not a linear process but worked in analytic cycles, from managing, reading, classifying and interpreting to visualising the data (Creswell, 2013). Even while I was writing up the data, I continued analysing and making connections between themes and events. I often went back to my spreadsheets and conducted further rounds of analysis.

During fieldwork I kept a clear organisation of the types of data I collected in my field diary. I used different colour codings for conversations, observations and personal reflections, which consequently eased the data analysis process. These were my first steps of analysis, given that during fieldwork, I constantly analysed what people told me and what was happening around me (Spradley, 1980). Rather than using data analysis software (e.g. NVivo), I conducted the data analysis with the help of Microsoft Word, creating tables containing the narrative (e.g. observations, interviews emails) and two further columns where my themes and categories emerged, along with a summary of the information in the text.

For my reflexive writing (see chapter 7), I analysed personal reflections from my diary and emails that I sent to supervisors, friends and family. These emails were sent either in English, German or Spanish and were translated into English language. My bigger categories (and themes) included, for instance: starting difficulties (village size, language translation issues); disillusion (expectations, disappointment of CBT in practice); role conflicts (feeling exploited, identity, outsider) and ways forward (routine, getting involved, completing my mission). I followed Law et al.'s (2003) idea of critical questioning where my created categories or themes come from, such as from my aims and objectives, my interview questions, the data itself or my theory. In this case, the categories and themes emerged from the data and helped me to structure my reflexivity chapter accordingly.

Regarding the analysis of interviews, conversations and observations, I followed similar steps, but was confronted with a larger amount of data. To organise the data, I used different documents and tables for each village and colour coded categories and themes (Grbich, 2013). Table 17 offers some examples for the categories, themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data analysis.

Table 17: Examples of categories/themes/sub-themes emerging from the data

Categories	Themes	Sub-themes
The tourism encounter	Tourists' motive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • experiencing Balinese village life • village: see the real Bali • authenticity
	Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • too old to learn English • communication through wordplays • seeking to communicate with tourists
	Interactions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interactions are limited • interactions are monetary • interactions demand self-confidence
	Tourists' role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • donor • investor • promoter of local business • an agent of empowerment & hope
	Authenticity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • needs to be preserved • the villages are not authentic • authenticity as a characteristic of the village
The world of CBT	Organisation of CBT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • initiation & preparation • <i>potensi</i> • funding • challenges
	Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism experience • local knowledge • transfer of skills • lack of skills hinders participation • pride through the display of skills
	Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • obstacles • choosing not to participate • who participates? • how to increase participation • participation as empowerment
	The contradictory world of CBT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tradition vs. modernity • the nature of CBT • aim of CBT • ...
The broader village context	Village vs. mass tourism	...
	Influence from outside	
	Selling of land	
	Family	
	Caste system	
	...	
Cooperations and actors in CBT
Empowerment

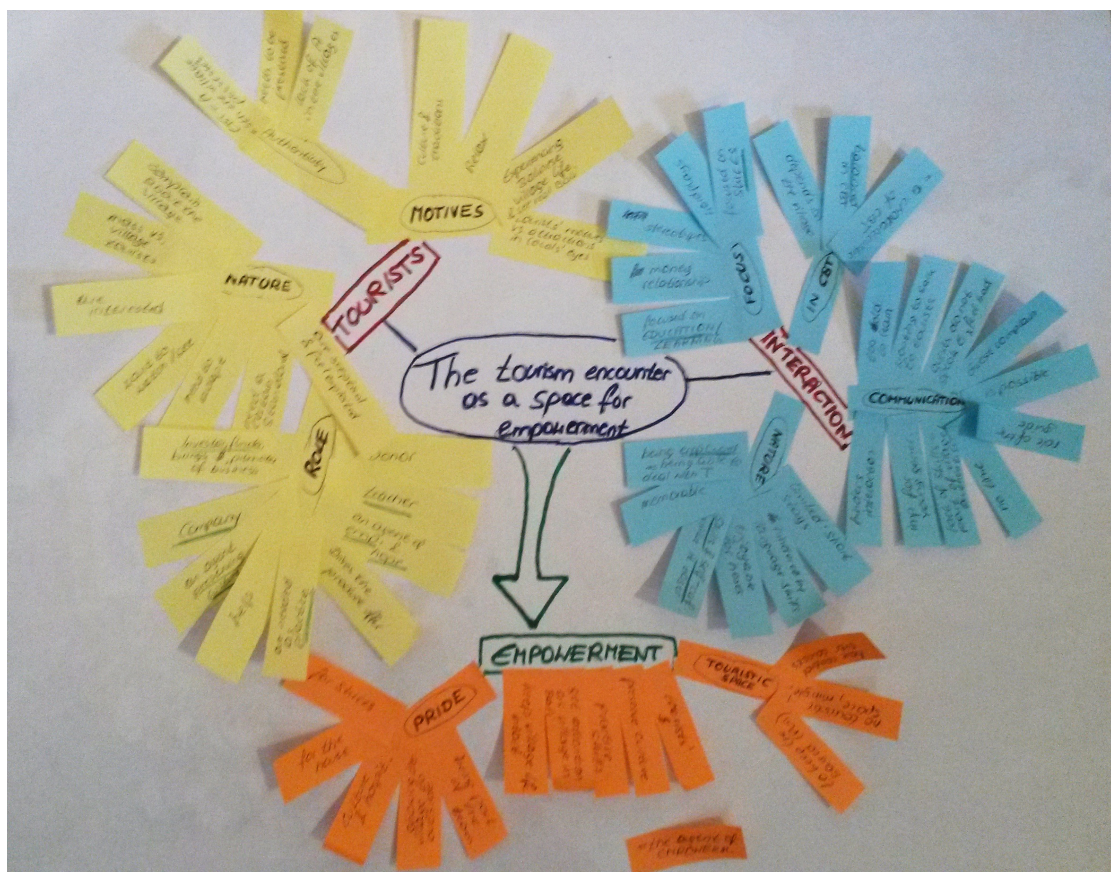
Source: author

Once these categories and themes were created, I tried to 'saturate' them by filling them with as many cases as possible (Glaser & Strauss, 2012). Again, these categories and themes emerged from the data and were only partly guided by my research

questions. After all, the “data segments are categorized according to an organizing system that is predominantly derived from the data themselves” (Tesch, 1990:96). Consequently, the bigger categories formed a new spread sheet, containing themes, sub-themes, more detailed information about the informant and connections to other categories/themes.

Having *reduced* my data into manageable chunks, I *displayed* my data to draw first conclusions on what direction my analysis takes (Miles & Huberman, 1984). In order to understand the relationships between themes, I created mind maps that helped me visualise connections and contradictions (see illustration 2 for an example). In turn, the themes and categories guided the structuring of the findings in chapter 8.

Illustration 2: Mindmap emerging from the data analysis process



Source: author’s collection

Regarding the analysis of participatory mappings, participants interpreted all of the drawn maps themselves in order to avoid misinterpretation (Laws et al., 2003). I asked a number of questions on the meaning of people’s drawings already at the moment of doing the exercise. This helped me understand whether the map was complete, how people understood what they drew and what were the most important aspects about it

(Corbett, 2009). Part of the analysis was also the interaction between the participants at the time of doing the exercise. Moreover, the maps offered data in the form of facts (i.e. where are the homestays located, which parts of the village are open for tourists, who is involved etc.). This type of data was also useful insofar as it created the basis in the field to ask further, more specific, questions.

I also aimed at avoiding one of the most obvious problems with existing qualitative data analysis techniques, which is their functional, linear and objective nature (Coffey, 1999). The researcher often uses these techniques detached from any personal engagement with the data, given that “[t]he imaginative, artful and reflexive aspects of data analysis are far less easy to codify, describe and teach”(Coffey, 1999:138). Based on the argument that the interpretation of data needs to be more reflexive, I considered my own role and assumptions in the research (Fontana & Frey, 2000), turning reflexivity into an indispensable part of data analysis. This step included paying attention to the relationships and interactions with others as well as my own emotions (Angrosino & Mays de Pérez, 2000). Particularly because this research is based on a triple subjectivity due to language barriers between myself and participants, reflexive thinking means considering my own, my interpreters’ and my informants’ background and assumptions, as what they say in interviews does not provide direct access into their world (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). After all, “[r]espondents’ answers and comments are not viewed as reality reports [...]. Instead, they are considered for the ways that they construct aspects of reality in collaboration with the interviewer. The focus is as much on the assembly process as on what is assembled” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003:79). This is why the interactions forming part of the process of meaning making and the relationship between what is said and how it relates the interviewees’ lives are equally important as statements in themselves (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003).

As a consequence, I question and critically discuss my own (and partly my interpreters’) assumptions and the interactions I was part of as part of my reflexive writing in chapter 7. Further reflexive work was done by questioning the information that was given to me as well as analysing in how far interviewees’ backgrounds and interactions between myself and interpreters had an impact on the process – all of which I listed as part of my spread sheets.

Having organised, displayed and interpreted the data and drawn some first conclusions, I verified my data through the use of data triangulation, whereby certain themes emerged through a number of different sources (i.e. informants) and methods (i.e. interviews, observations, mappings) (Decrop, 1999; Olsen, 2004). Once I started to write up the data, I drew connections to the literature to further enable interpretation of the data in relation to theoretical frameworks (Creswell, 2013; Ely et al., 1997). This was also done in the following chapter, which focuses on my own reflexivity as part of the data analysis process.

7. REFLEXIVITY & EMOTION: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF A PECULIAR TOURISM ENCOUNTER

“Our uncooked “facts,” gathered so carefully in the field, are infected with the bacterial subjectivities of our own as well as our informants’ particular biases. [...] Reflexive anthropology, the latest treatment for our disease, seems to do little more than expose our wounds to light.” (Wolf, 1990:343)

“What happens within the observer must be made known.” (Behar, 1996:6)

It is widely known to field workers that within anthropology and the practice of ethnography, the field teaches you lessons that you believe would have been useful to know beforehand. The very nature of anthropology is characterised by unpredictability, chaos and a rollercoaster of feelings, changing emotions and emerging, but at the same time dispersing, relationships with the people one meets (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007). As researcher, one cannot deny the impact of those personal relationships, one’s emotions or the changing roles on the participants and, hence, most importantly, the direction that the research takes (Behar, 2003; Parr, 2011). Given the ethnographic nature of this research, this chapter offers a reflexive account of my experiences in the field, reflecting on challenges and limitations while entering, being in and leaving the field. Most importantly, it analyses the way the intersubjectivities between me and my interlocutors shaped our behaviour towards each other and, as a consequence, the data I collected and the way I understood and analysed it. I am convinced that I, as a researcher with my own worldviews, ideologies, past experiences and emotions, cannot remove myself from my research, including the underlying assumptions and emotions that I brought to the fieldwork and that emerged in situ through interaction (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007; Behar, 1996, 2003; Goodman, 2000; Owens, 2003, Warren, 2000).

Leading on from these arguments, the present reflection forms the basis for my intellectual argument by creating a link between my methodology and my data analysis. Based on my symbolic interactionist position, I am convinced of the intersubjective nature of the tourism or fieldwork encounter (Behar, 2003; Bruner, 2005; Crapanzano, 1980; Ely et al., 1997). Bruner (2005), also departing from a symbolic interactionist position, calls this the ‘touristic borderzone’; that is, the space where meaning for both tourists and locals emerges through a dialogic interplay. Within this encounter, we find ourselves not just *gazing* at the other, the interlocutor,

our host or the ‘exotic Balinese’: rather, we are *active selves* who *interpret* the worlds we find ourselves in, be it as tourist, ethnographer, tour guide, interpreter or homestay owner (Bruner, 2005). It is this particular negotiation of self and other that this chapter discusses, raising the question of how free or *empowered* we really are in presenting ourselves in such encounters. The discussion of anthropology’s epistemological claims, therefore, takes us to our *experience* in fieldwork as the place where knowledge production happens (Borneman, 2009). We can only discover meaning in the empirical world (Blumer, 1969).

In addition to being methodologically valuable – in that it helps me to understand what I would do differently in retrospect – it offers a *personal* account of a tourism encounter in a CBT setting. After all, this is what I was – a peculiar kind of tourist – in addition to all the other roles that I played and fulfilled while trying to find and constantly rediscover my own identity in the field. While anthropology historically regarded self-revelation as a taboo and emphasised the speaking of the other (Behar, 1996), I do not intend to hide the challenges, failures and emotional aspects of fieldwork. This is not to say that my own fieldwork experience serves as a source of authority (Clifford, 1983); rather, I share the view that the field cannot be limited to an essentially external reality, holding an “outside objective truth” but that we must “trust[...] the subjective realities within” (Ely et al., 1997:16). The paragraphs that follow present my own *experience of being there* rather than a mere analysis of text – be it in the form of literature or interviews (Borneman, 2009). Nevertheless, I want to remind the reader that while I may be able to offer a more or less complete picture of my own reflexive work (Plummer, 2000), my informants’ reflection will always remain limited (Clifford, 1983; Crapanzano, 1980; Borneman, 2009). Crapanzano (1980:23) noted this limitation when he introduced his Moroccan informant ‘Tuhami’ to the reader:

Tuhami will speak directly; he will not share my self-reflective stance. His reflection must inevitably remain a silent undersong to his discourse. His text, too, however accurately I can present it, is in a sense my text, I have assumed it and afforded myself, as narrator, a privilege he has not been granted. I have had the privilege of (re)encounter.

It is this very re-encounter with the people, experiences and data to which I now turn.

7.1. Starting difficulties and limitations of the field

I have always been somebody who wanted to get away, and it was always the different, the yet unknown and foreign that attracted me. Bali as field site was such a destination. I left the comfort of my home and friends in the UK to start studying in practice what in theory I was drawn to: community-based tourism (CBT). My expectations were high after months of preparation, reading and planning. I felt I had a clear idea of what was awaiting me, of what I was going to do, had communicated my intentions to my gatekeeper and was prepared with a list of guiding questions that I wanted to ask my informants. In my eyes, I was in complete control.

Upon arrival in Bali, however, I encountered a different reality, spending some challenging days full of desperation, loneliness, being homesick and frustrated about a cultural context that I believed I could never possibly understand:

I feel lonely, insecure, far away from home in a country that I don't understand and will probably never understand, full of symbols that mean something – but not to me. I am struggling. (diary entry)

Trying to overcome this culture shock, I was soon determined to collect my data, talk to the people that I was to meet – in short, do my *work* (i.e. completing the fieldwork) or rather complete my *mission* (i.e. to contribute to an understanding of empowerment through my PhD):

I will do this work and I won't let this country ruin my PhD. I will work hard. I have to be strong - I have so much work in front of me that I need to organise and do. I have a mission to complete and that is why I am here. (email to friend)

It is exactly this mission that helped me keep going, reminding myself of the purpose of my stay and of how much work and energy I had put into this project up to this point. In retrospect, however, I realise how my mission had to adapt in order for my fieldwork to succeed (see section 6.3.). At this point, I did not think yet that moving from dreaming to being realistic would impact on the social relationships that I was to build in the months to follow. However, in retrospect, regarding fieldwork as a mission to complete tells me about how I regard the 'time of fieldwork'. As Crapanzano (2012:550) argues, "the anthropologist's sense of time, marked as it is by a beginning and an ending – an arrival and a departure – is telic. It has a goal, in fact a

moving goal.” Fieldwork was a journey for me, a destination I would go to and depart from again. During this time, I was convinced of my identity as a foreigner – and that this was inherently a bad thing – and, therefore, the potential limitations of my study:

I won't go to the villages any more with the illusion that I can become one of the community members, that I will maybe make friends, or that I can make a change. I have arrived in reality. I am a foreigner and not more than that. I will never understand this country with its religion, symbols and meanings. Not even if I am here for one year. (diary entry)

Especially in the beginning, my fieldnotes were infused “with difference, since indeed [...] [I was] quite different from all or a class of those under study” (Warren, 2000:193). I put myself into the position of the *stranger* (Simmel, 1950), being unable to identify myself with ‘the field’, a construct that I created myself, consisting of the local context, its culture and the people.

Upon arrival in the first village of my fieldwork, a number of challenges arose.¹⁵

- ***Reaching the people:***

Upon starting my fieldwork, I realised that the community welcoming me with open arms to conduct interviews and organise village meetings was nothing but an illusion. This can be attributed to self-delusion and to a misleading idea that my gatekeeper gave me. The ‘community’ that I imagined was in reality a number of sub-communities – families, societies in the village and different village parts (i.e. *banjars*). However, not only was size an issue, but the people’s interest in tourism and particularly in my study:

I feel people are so busy with their life and jobs that they don't care much about tourism and of course not about my research either. (diary entry)

I am observing village life whenever possible and I try to mingle, but it is barely possible. I am staying with a family - the child is at school, the dad at work and the mum lives elsewhere for work. In fact I am alone at home the whole day. There is this man who helps me translate and comes to see me whenever he has time. But he himself is busy. (email to supervisors)

¹⁵ Some of these persisted throughout the entire fieldwork and can be regarded as limitations of the study, while I tried to address as many issues as possible on the spot and made changes that enabled me to continue my fieldwork. A number of these changes have already been addressed in section 6.3.2. and will not be discussed in detail here.

I felt that the village did not care much about me and my research, similar to what Geertz and his wife experienced initially when living in Bali: “For them, and to a degree for ourselves, we were nonpersons, spectres, invisible men. [...] except for our landlord [...], everyone ignored us in a way only a Balinese can do (Geertz, 1973:412). Nevertheless, encountering a community that feels indifferent, particularly in the entry phase of the research, is not surprising in anthropological fieldwork. The misinterpretation lies in “mis[taking] an indifferent reaction for a negative one” (Shaffir, 1991:76), just because villagers are not enthusiastic about the research, which I only understood as a “result from the literary reencounter” (Crapanzano, 1980:140). I traced the lack of villagers’ enthusiasm back to my own failure in the field as I was worried that – for some reason – I may have approached my participants ‘incorrectly’ or I may have failed in transmitting the potential value of the research to them. To be able to continue the fieldwork, I made some methodological changes in terms of choosing my interviewees and organising my time. Reaching the people in the village remained a limitation of my study, though, in that I usually needed to schedule interviews well in advance. Hence, spontaneous interactions and conversations were only possible either with those speaking English or forming part of the VTC or the family with whom I lived.

- *Language and translation issues*

Upon arrival in the first village, I started to work with a female interpreter who was a journalist for Bali CoBTA. I encountered two major difficulties and frustrations as she did not translate what people said, but gave me an approximate idea a few hours later and I was not getting involved in the conversations, making me feel marginalised and redundant. I was convinced that the interpreter’s role was to mediate between me and my informants, who at the time of entry into the village were unfamiliar and strange to me, as much as the local context (Crapanzano, 1980). I felt frustrated about my inability to understand the people I was dealing with:

Would I speak the language, I could mingle so much better with the people, get close to them, maybe even become a short-term friend. (diary entry)

Luckily, it happened that a man in the village who was part of the VTC had excellent English language skills and promised to help me conduct interviews. Nevertheless, he was rarely available and, most importantly, his views on the topic seemed to be biased

as he was part of the VTC, trying to promote tourism. In addition, a more central issue emerged after a few interviews. He was from the highest caste in the village (i.e. *Brahmin*), which (as their body language and responses showed me) made interviewees feel intimidated.

I am unsure about the work with my current interpreter as interviewing *Sudra* people is a bit difficult. He is pretty dominant and convinced of the idea of tourism, which he wants to transmit to others. (diary entry)

Being involved in tourism himself, the interpreter and his role seemed too political. Obviously, interpreters never translate from a neutral standpoint (Temple & Young, 2004). From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the interpreter forms part of knowledge production, given that it is never just the two, the anthropologist and the interlocutor, but the ‘third’, who mediates between and shapes the interpretive process between strangers (Crapanzano, 1980). Although the process of conducting interviews with the help of this interpreter helped me gain insights into power relations, in this case the interpreter’s role appeared too large an obstacle.

I began realising that what I was collecting were views of village life from several perspectives and that all I could ever secure were limited perspectives from various social spheres. But what every experience – be it positive or negative at the time – offered me was another piece of the puzzle, of understanding the greater picture of tourism, empowerment and power relations in the village. Therefore, in the empirical chapter to follow, I seek to “embrace, incorporate and ‘translate’ the effect of these interactions rather than try to avoid them” (Goodman, 2000:152), even though they may have seemed then a waste of my valuable fieldwork time.

So, I started to look for somebody else – this time from the lower caste so that I would have easier access to lower-caste interviewees, in order for my interviewees to be representative of the larger population. I got to know the local tour guide in the area, who helped me with interviews. For the first time, I had the impression that I really had access to my respondents. People seemed to feel comfortable with him and tell him openly about their experiences, even if they were negative, and he seemed sensible and diplomatic in dealing with people from different castes and gender. This means he could speak the dialects of every caste and was – at least according to my cultural norms of interpersonal relations – respectful with interviewees at all times.

We developed a friendship over the weeks and he an interest in my study. We met regularly for interviews and lunches and had discussions about what people said and what was going on in the villages. He taught me about Balinese culture, customs and the role of the caste system. He was a teacher as well as a friend and helped me through times of loneliness by caring for me and checking daily on how I was doing. With him, I could feel comfortable, I could be myself as he would understand the purpose of my stay and share some views on CBT while, at the same time, we could have lively discussions and arguments.

In addition to that, he tried to bridge the gap between the interviewee and myself by introducing my study and background to the people. He did help me in all three villages that were part of my study. Although interviews worked out fine with him, I also worked with an additional interpreter due to time constraints and availabilities of my previous translator. The third interpreter worked in the capital in a luxury hotel and came to one of the villages to help me translate interviews. He was not Balinese, but from Java, and so he could not speak the local dialect. Nevertheless, he tried to translate ‘properly’ each and every sentence. To have a long chat over lunch helped me to understand his background and views better, which influenced the way he interpreted what people said – which I acknowledged as part of the data analysis.

- *Time and money*

Fieldwork that takes place away from home usually implies time and money constraints as study limitations (Crapanzano, 2012). I, too, felt these pressures during my time in the field, trying to complete my fieldwork as ‘efficiently’ as possible. As the days passed, I got increasingly impatient:

I am wasting lots of my time here and I hate wasting time. (email to supervisors)

After all, I wasn’t collecting any ‘real’ data and had conducted only a few interviews within the first few days. I tried to use my time more efficiently, without, though, being too demanding or impolite in the socio-cultural context that I found myself in:

I need to be stricter with this, because it is my time, my money and my PhD and I don’t want to just be sitting around. (email to supervisors)

All of a sudden, time became a major factor that influenced my thinking – and I became somewhat obsessed with time pressure. I tried to make myself be occupied, to think less about how lonely I felt in the field. However, at the time, I was not aware that this strategy may have made the social relationships with the people around me suffer. It is not only the short time that makes deeper relationships impossible to forge (Wolf, 1990), but, in my case, it was the pressure I put myself under that partly caused impatience and a certain distance from my side towards local people. Eventually, however, I arrived at the point where I stepped away from being strict with myself and acknowledged the learning process I was going through to better engage with the field context:

The research is progressing, I am conducting interviews and I am learning a lot about the village. Sometimes, I am telling myself that theoretically I could do 10 interviews in each village within 2 days. Yes, but I am also observing, learning and asking questions... after all I have to understand the village. Still, on the other side, my efficient self asks me ‘Claudia, what are you doing here for such a long time?’ (email to friend)

Hence, while I tried to be efficient in my work, I also started acknowledging that the hours I did not spend on interviews were equally valuable. I had the possibility to observe village and family life and anything else that happened around me.

7.2. Doubts and disillusionment

My efficient self was constantly telling me to collect the ‘right’ data in order to be able to find answers to my research questions. I wished to have spent more time with tourists, following them on their way through the village and joining them in activities in the hope of observing tourism encounters. I was disillusioned when I learned that the villages had only a few bookings for the time I was there. I was convinced that I had chosen the wrong field, where people not only had no interest in my study, but where I could not focus on what I had planned. How can tourism possibly empower people if it is that small-scale? How could I ever find out about the issues that the literature mentioned so gloriously without being able to bring the community together, without (seemingly) being able to discover answers to my questions in the interviews? I had great doubts about my research, people’s honesty during interviews and the whole concept of empowerment:

Probably those doubts are normal, but I feel that since I have entered the field, empowerment seems more irrelevant or unimportant. I am afraid that although I will have a lot to say and write, what I really want to explore in depth is sort of impossible. (email to supervisors)

I feel I will never understand the villages. I have doubts, because I know that some people may not be honest with me, but I also believe that they never will. Why would they be anyway? (email to supervisors)

I had to lower my expectations and locate my work within what was possible, and so turn the local context into a beneficial setting rather than a limiting one. Soon, I realised that, in fact, from day one onwards, I was studying exactly what I needed to know. It was about facing self-doubts with normality and accepting ambiguity and uncertainty in what I wanted to find (Friedman, 1991). States of self-doubts and anxiety are not surprising in the first weeks of fieldwork, but, nevertheless, impact on how the researcher presents him/herself and what roles s/he takes on (Shaffir, 1991). I found myself confused and in a constant role play due to my own insecurity, which, in turn, made people wonder about the real purpose of my stay.

As a consequence of accepting chaos and ambiguity, my research priorities shifted towards more prevalent issues, amongst others power relations between the villagers and between villagers and the government. The field taught me what was important and where to focus my attention – through listening and observing what was happening while *being there*. I started to value interlocution more than the reading of texts or relying on interviews and spoken words from which to derive my knowledge (Hammoudi & Borneman, 2009). In a diary entry, I reflected on these changes:

My research focus has slightly shifted in the last weeks I feel. While I wanted to look only at the tourism encounter, I feel that the encounter has slightly moved aside and other issues, also concerning the government and power structures in the village got more important. (diary entry)

Once I accepted that the navigation through the field would not be as smooth as I had imagined, I started to deal with challenges as they arose, and gradually accepted the messiness that, in the end, made my research so valuable.

I started becoming disillusioned about what I discovered and observed in the villages where I stayed. Particularly the first two villages focused on a form of tourism that, according to theory, did not qualify as CBT. I witnessed power inequalities between the castes, a lack of participation by villagers, an unequal sharing of benefits, and

tours that would take tourists to discover surrounding tourist areas, and inhibiting community benefit. I was disappointed: how I could ever possibly discover and understand the meaning of empowerment in CBT, if what I witnessed did not even qualify as CBT (according to the literature)?

The idea that I have of CBT looks totally different here in practice. (diary entry)

I am trying my best to get access to people, but this family is pretty dominant here and what we understand under ‘community-based’ tourism is not really what is the case here. (email to supervisors)

I have no interest in working with those communities, I have no respect for this way of doing business and even doing research with them is hard – it makes me angry to see what I am seeing here. (email to supervisors)

I got the impression that CBT was only about money, it was a *business* just like any other tourism venture. Even though this is, on the whole, the nature of tourism, tourists expressed their concerns about a lack of ‘real’ social relationships. Although tourism is largely an economic transaction, CBT should evoke more romantic feelings of ‘real’ interactions and relationships with residents (Salazar, 2012).

My own feeling of being exploited for money was triggered by the realisation of the amount of money I contributed to the family income, which was a similar price to other tourists. Even though there was no reason for me to be treated differently to other tourists, deep inside I felt that as a researcher and anthropologist I would – at least to some extent – be treated like a family member. Money, then, contributed to the creation of a ‘business relationship’ between us, rather than an ‘innocent’ social relationship – at least, this is what it was for me. In an interview with one of my host fathers, I asked him “How do you like it when tourists stay in your house?” and he replied in laughter “Yeah, we get money!”, whereupon I reminded myself “Oh, I have to pay you today”, drawing an immediate connection between myself and other paying tourists. These feelings were paired with great disillusionment in terms of how CBT, which, in theory, should be a *community* business, was managed and organised. I felt confused and angry about how the VTC managed and organised CBT, which seemed to be an elite activity. These emotions were triggered by my own values of community and togetherness that were under threat from what I saw in practice. As a result, I felt yet more like an outsider, similarly to what Kleinman (1991:192) admits

about his experience of fieldwork in a health center: “[i]f you are not “on their side” then you cannot fully understand why they do what they do. I did not mind experiencing negative feelings; the problem was that these feelings were directed against the group. My disappointment and anger made me feel like an outsider.” How can we ever – as open and non-judgmental as we wish to be – feel empathy for a group of people who act quite differently to our own personal values? Clearly, this could “violat[e] our valued self” (Kleinman, 1991:192) and cause great inner ethical conflict, one of anthropology’s notable challenges, which I discuss in the following section.

7.3. Emotion in the field: identity, loneliness and ethical conflicts

My own emotional life had an impact on the research, which I address by reflecting on my emotions towards the fieldwork, the field site, my informants and myself and how these emotions eventually altered people’s behaviour towards me. What I mean by this is that the people I engaged with tried to make sense of my identity and so allocated certain roles to me. I took on these roles and performed them in the various contexts that I found myself in in order to ease my entry into the field. These shifting roles caused great confusion inside me, a feeling of loss of my own identity.

However, much deeper than that, an intense feeling of loneliness dominated my fieldwork. I felt a “unity of nearness and remoteness” (Simmel, 1950:402) with others, which Simmel (1950) describes as the ‘stranger’ – close because s/he shares certain attributes with a group, such as being human and certain basic human values in my case (e.g. helping others, respect of the elderly etc.), but simultaneously remote because s/he realises that these attributes do not stem from the respective interaction or relationship. Most importantly, however, I felt isolated spending so much time by myself, even if people were around me. Even though I spent time together with the families, joining them for meals and having long talks in the evening, telling jokes and stories of life in Bali and in Europe, I was fighting against that feeling that kept haunting me:

I am fighting my daily battles here. This is not home and it will never be, I also don't want it to be my home. (email to friend)

I always felt that I was by myself, not belonging to any group, not even to the family. 'Home' emerged as a central theme during my fieldwork, or, rather, the lack of feeling at home. I used to express my loneliness in conversations with my host families and experienced great understanding. It seemed that, to some extent, talking about relationships and loved ones was the icebreaker, an opportunity to show my human nature, emotions and vulnerability. Hence, while my host families did not directly represent home to me, similarity and identification between us were increasingly acknowledged through realising shared values. The safety that similarity and identification gave me were key in that the anthropologist's "entry into the field is a separation from his world of primary reference – the world through which he obtains, and maintains, his sense of self, and his sense of reality" (Crapanzano, 1980:137). Thus, surprisingly, it was the ambiguous and culturally defined topic of love (for family and partners) – in addition to views on tourism we sometimes shared – that, at times, created a common ground for our encounters. I realised that I was less a stranger for them as time went on, but I still *felt* like a stranger, forming part of the family only temporarily. As Simmel (1965:343) suggests, we need "psychological distance and objective judgment, which are [...] bases for representing another." I found myself confronted with the paradox of feeling close and distanced from my host environment at the same time, which resulted in great emotional confusion. As a consequence of my position of the non-native anthropologist, I started "to learn more in order to overcome distance" (Hammoudi & Borneman, 2000:271) and started "fishing for facts" (Crapanzano, 2012:551).

There was also my efficient self – reminding me of the completion of my work – which impacted on social relationships. After all, the family was aware that I would leave soon and that I was heading to the next village to continue my work. I still tried to understand why people were so extremely pleasant with me. I am aware that Balinese villages are renowned for their hospitality, but my self-doubts and insecurity made me believe that I did not deserve friendly treatment without giving anything in return. After all, I felt guilty for exploiting my informants for information as I was not used to hospitality as I experienced it in Bali. In my cultural background (Austria), people tend to behave so hospitably and friendly with others only when they become familiar and close. Hence, the only explanation that would make sense to me was that they saw me as a source of income and behaved like that just for my money.

Discussions about how much life in the UK or Europe would cost always left me with the impression that, in the family's eyes, I was 'rich':

Sometimes I have the feeling this is all about money and that then is the reason for me not to open up too much and to get involved with the people too much or to let relationships develop. (diary entry)

I feel treated as a tourist or somebody they want something from (such as money e.g.). (diary entry)

There were some key moments that caused these feelings to intensify. One was an encounter I had with one of my host mothers, an older lady who lived by herself as her husband died and her children had left the village. She communicated to me how happy she was to have a guest in her house, to have somebody to look after and feel less lonely. I was touched and thought that a homestay for her meant far more than just money – it was a personal enrichment, it seemed. One day, I joined a meeting in the village and put on my *sarong* in order to be properly dressed for the occasion. *Ibu* (mother in Balinese, i.e. my host mother) asked me whether I would want to wear one of her traditional blouses and, indeed, I did – after all, I liked the idea of being dressed just like all the other girls and women in the village. Given her gestures and communication, I thought she wanted to give it to me as a present, as a souvenir for my time in the village, so to speak. However, then, she told me the price for the blouse. The money was not a problem for me, but I felt disappointed because I thought that she saw a friend or part of the family in me rather than a tourist. For me, this event quickly reminded me that, after all, I was just another tourist to my hosts. In addition, the encounter made me realise that tourism remains a commercial transaction between residents and tourists, or rather supplier and client.

In addition, my status as 'wealthy white foreigner' somehow qualified me as a potential investor. In one of the villages, I was asked to become a future partner for a rafting business, that should soon be started as part of CBT in the village. I was shocked, but started to perform this role, given that I did not want to break the relationships with my key informants. While I did not agree with their way of doing business, I did not express any behaviour against it in order to avoid trouble. Nevertheless, I felt great inner conflicts. After all, I did not want to invest in a business that I did not support or believe in. My values were under threat again as I realised that my informants wanted something from me, and vice versa, and so one

may say that our encounter was never innocent or totally truthful, from the very beginning.

These conflicts became more intense when I was offered the opportunity to purchase a rice field and build my own tourism business in the village. Given my conviction of CBT yielding its greatest benefits when based on complete ownership by the community, I was shocked by the offer, I did not agree, and although it was never my intention to become an investor, I said that I would think about it, in order to buy time and complete my research in the village. However, soon Bali CoBTA needed to step in and turn down the investors from the village. This was when the relationship with the village broke down due to the unfeasibility of a potential business cooperation between us and the need of a third party to settle the conflict. As a consequence, I could not rely on the head of tourism any longer to receive accurate information or to schedule interviews.

Although the purpose of my stay had been clearly communicated by Bali CoBTA and reiterated by me on my arrival in each village and to every respondent, I got the feeling that I was clearly identified as a researcher only when Bali CoBTA took action. Being a researcher seemingly meant ‘somebody who collects information’, which was not necessarily perceived as good or fully graspable for villagers. My confusion intensified: so long did I fight for my identity as a researcher, for the possibility to be who I really was in the field, but I finally realised that my more or less obvious and open way of collecting information as a researcher may have been uncomfortable for the community:

The relationship with the people is strange... And of course the people are realising that I am studying them or their life. I start feeling uncomfortable doing it. (diary entry)

I even got the impression that some believed that I was a spy for Bali CoBTA. I stopped introducing myself to people as a researcher cooperating with the NGO, given that I realised the complex power relations between Bali CoBTA and the villagers. Although I tried to be on nobody’s side, I started to take a standpoint that was more on the community’s side in order to make my life in the villages easier. In addition, looking back now, I realise that while I regarded some of the villages, or, rather, villagers, as exploitative in the beginning I started to be ‘on their side’ increasingly

once I understood the bigger picture of CBT on the island. I felt greater empathy for villagers, and particularly the heads of tourism, once I “became more involved with their world and they began to ‘humanize’ in my mind” (Friedman, 1991:114). I understood how my fieldwork was characterised by an interplay between distance and closeness, difference and similarity. Looking back, I can say that unconsciously, even though I sought to be non-judgemental at all times, I became emotionally closer to some of my informants, particularly to those who shared my core values of community benefit and togetherness. My host father in village 3 is an example of an individual I could empathise with. Coming from rather poor circumstances, he exhibited real passion for making a change in his village, based on the values of participation and community benefit through CBT. I remember having long discussions with him about how CBT projects fail and what could be potential factors for success. We understood each other and shared similar views, which eased the research process in this particular village and made me feel more empathetic towards my interlocutors. This did not mean that the encounters with people who I respected less for their ways of doing business were less relevant. Simply put, they just made me feel uneasy with myself.

In addition to being a tourist, a researcher, a spy or a potential investor, I was also seen as a help with tourism promotion, a model and an outsider. Usually, this kind of labelling is something we experience every day in our societies (Goffman, 1959) and we have a choice of whether we accept what people label us or not. However, my own insecurity, self-doubts and disempowerment (which I will discuss at a later point) during fieldwork, paired with role-playing mentioned earlier, led to my own confusion and an *urge* for stability and belonging. Accepting the labels given to me and performing the different roles allowed me to ‘be somebody’ in the eyes of others and, in turn, temporarily eased the fieldwork encounter.

Quite often, villagers asked me for help with tourism promotion of the village. The VTC not only asked me how their village could be promoted most effectively to tourists, but at times expected me to create contacts with travel agents. My feelings were divided, given that I did not want to promote tourism in the villages. I was struggling with ethical conflicts:

I feel responsible when I help them advertise so that more tourists come and destroy this beautiful place. Maybe one of the last 'real' Balinese villages... (diary entry)

While I had studied CBT and had a clear idea of its core values (such as community benefit, participation and sustainability), at least in my eyes, I encountered a different reality on my interlocutors' side, where CBT was seen mainly as an income generator, often for privileged members of the community. While at the time I felt uncomfortable with this idea, only now I realise that I learned much more about my informants' understanding of empowerment and CBT than I ever expected. In the end, I saw promotion as the only possible way to make the villages benefit from my presence, if at all. After all, tourism can never possibly be empowering if there are no tourists. Therefore, in one of the villages, I started to make a list of attractions and shared my opinion with the villagers on what in my eyes was special about the village as compared to other sites in Bali. After all, I could offer them the perspective of the outsider, the tourist, hence their 'target group'.

One of the villages had just started to engage in tourism and wanted me to experience their touristic offers to receive feedback. Although I continued my research at the same time and received important information, I started to feel 'used' and 'exploited' again:

Today I went on the trekking tour with three of the members of the tourism team, they were nice with me but after a while I felt uncomfortable. All of them had a camera and didn't stop taking pictures of me. I was the model for their tourism promotion and I don't like the idea of it. (email to friend)

I felt like an outsider, unable to communicate in the local language, being identified by my look as white foreigner:

What bothers me most is that everybody looks at me and talks about me. I don't want to be such an attraction and I would like to have a proper conversation with the people. I am asking myself if as an outsider I will ever be able to understand the villages. (diary entry)

I am getting quite annoyed because every single person on the street looks at me and shouts 'hello!' when I ride the bike. I am aware that in fact it is a friendly thing to do and I would usually be happy about it, but again it qualifies me 'only' as a foreigner and as an attraction. (diary entry)

It is the fact of being objectified through the gaze of others, rather than treated as a fellow human, which I disliked. Interestingly, this is exactly what the literature defended in the last decades – that, in tourism, residents are objectified through the tourist gaze (MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 2002). In my case, however, I felt like the Other, who in my eyes was judged based on preconceived stereotypes about Westerners:

In the evening XY [anonymised] said something that I didn't like. We had food (or rather I had food by myself) and I asked about the *sambal* (sauce). She said 'it is hard to explain it like that because you never come to the kitchen. Don't you cook?' And then she said to her husband 'Well, in her country she probably takes ready made sauce from the bottle, salt and pepper and that's it.' I feel insulted. But more than that I feel excluded. I always eat alone and then after this the family ate in the kitchen together while I was still at the table. (diary entry)

I experienced that stereotyping was not exclusively an activity reserved for tourists, and not necessarily done for purposes of criticising Westerners, given that the Balinese “also make use of this dichotomy [between ‘us’ Balinese versus ‘them’ Westerners] to simultaneously [...] articulate views on Balinese traditions and culture” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:91). It seemed like I experienced ‘Occidentalism’ first hand, a type of reversed Orientalism, which may constitute a conscious way for the Balinese to clarify that “the Balinese are open in their socialization with Westerners, but are not easily westernized” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:93). To understand my feelings of objectification and exclusion, the symbolic interactionist point of view proves useful, given the power that interactions with others had *over* my own self. As Shaffir (1991:78) notes: “[p]resentation of self as well as the research are not organized in a vacuum but are shaped by the people in the setting with whom the researcher interacts”. I felt as though me and my own presentation of my self were controlled from outside, in “a dialectic of self and other” (Warren, 2000:185), thereby leading me into the limbo position of the stranger, caught up between distance and closeness.

Even though, at times, I was identified (and also identified myself) as a tourist, I did not even get a sense of belonging when joining the tourist groups. One day, I joined a French tourist group in the village from breakfast onwards to spend the day with them and engage in conversation. When I arrived at the breakfast pavilion, I realised that there was no spare place for me and I felt unwelcome. I was neither a tourist, nor a

community member, which made me feel rejected by both groups. I reflected on my experiences upon my return in the evening:

I felt it was a horrible thing [the village tour] and me being part of this group, I felt so stupid and primitive, I got no information whatsoever about the village, all we did was walk around and look and take pictures. (diary entry)

Perhaps a part of me was hoping to find acceptance and a sense of belonging amongst other tourists, Europeans, who would remind me of 'home'. Nevertheless, I ended up feeling yet more lonely and confused, as I could not even identify myself as a tourist. Again, I was caught in the limbo of the stranger, fighting the battle of loneliness, while trying to get closer to the people I was supposed to be 'studying'. At the same time, I realised that identifying myself with others (villagers, tourists) and representing their world the way they understood, it would always remain a utopia as a researcher, or whatever I was for them. I was also fighting the objectification of people, both of my own under the locals' gaze and of locals themselves under the tourist gaze, a group who I did not want to belong to. In fact, I realised I was fighting the 'touristic process'.

Even in the family, I felt like an intruder at times:

I often feel uncomfortable and redundant here. I feel as if I would intrude into a family, steal the kids' time with their dad and the wife time with her husband as he is busy showing me around and explaining things to me. I cannot really get active in the house in terms of cooking and sometimes I get the idea I should not, because I am a paying guest. I am somewhere between the paying guest, a help in terms of tourism development and a family member. (diary entry)

Given that the families I stayed with were my primary gatekeepers, key informants and help for anything I needed personally and for my research, I started feeling uncomfortable asking for help every single day of my stay. I was motivated by a deep desire to give something back in return, but I was unable to identify what and questioned whether this would be appropriate:

I am not relaxed and I feel uncomfortable. All the time I am thinking that the family is talking about me or that I am disturbing them. The truth is that I signify *work* for them. I don't know what to say or to ask and I feel bad asking for more information because I know that my presence will not directly benefit them in the end. (diary entry)

These days are very hard. My host dad is sick and I feel yet more like a burden for them. I feel uncomfortable and I feel they don't want me here any more. We barely speak and I don't even dare to ask for help (to arrange interviews). (Email to friend)

I struggled being dependent on the people around me and, in the end, found myself as a *disempowered* researcher in the field – ironically, though, it was *me* who was supposed to be studying their ‘empowerment’.

7.4. The disempowered researcher: challenges and ways forward

From my arrival in Bali onwards, I gradually realised how dependent I was on the people around me, in order to know how to deal with the local context, to schedule interviews and even for some basic needs such as food and accommodation. The truth was that I needed the help of my host families for simply everything. I felt like I had nothing under control, not even my own research. I had started with the conviction that the researcher should be the one in control of the research process (Parr, 2011). However, I experienced the opposite. I was often unable to influence the time of interviews, as I was dependent on the availability of the people around me, which is common in any research situation.

Most importantly, I did not only feel disempowered with my research due to ambiguity and uncertainty, but also in my everyday life I struggled to feel comfortable, mainly given the confusion about my identity and my inability to get active in my host environment. I had a hard time turning my temporary residences into a short-term home, which, in turn, influenced my emotional state. I found myself doing the things that my host family would point me to or allow me to do, rather than keeping asking for permission. This limited my choices and, therefore, agency. I struggled to accept that I needed my host family or the interpreter for everything I wanted or needed to do, which – paired with loneliness – made me feel uncomfortable and disempowered.

It was mostly a feeling of a lack of *control* that dominated me, also because my emotions were influenced by an insecure relationship I had left behind. I was unable to create a feeling of home in the field as my home was far away, embodied also in a person who I could not even be in touch with regularly. At the same time, I felt that I was controlled unintentionally by the people with whom I interacted – or rather, I

allowed others to dominate and have power *over* my feelings. I allowed acts of labelling due to my insecurity and my desire for belonging and acceptance by others. I was confused as to who I was and so performed different roles according to different field encounters.

I normally tend to feel uneasy with myself, not only during fieldwork, especially when I realise what other people think about me, which, at times, dominates my presentation of self and my own view I have of myself. This problem I have with *agency* also constitutes one of the reasons behind my interest in studying empowerment. I believe that, although we need others to fully experience ourselves and interpret our actions (Mead, 1964), at times we need to free ourselves from the destructive powers that others have *over* us, when constructive powers turn into great feelings of unease and disempowerment. At the same time, I believe in the power *with* others and of togetherness and community to make a positive change in one's own and others' lives. Empowerment is about having choices in life, and while I certainly feel lucky for having a range of choices based on my socio-economic circumstances, I often feel disempowered in my emotional life. Understanding my own (dis)empowerment in the field helped me gain a better understanding of the concept of empowerment in general in that I realise how its meaning and value differs between people and contexts. Only by learning about myself, I learned a great deal about others, and vice versa, in the belief that "in writing the other, we write the self" (Warren, 2000:196).

Analysing my own disempowerment is not to say that I never felt comfortable in the families with whom I stayed. I identified a number of factors that kept me going, trying to empower myself and continue with my research. I tried to make friends and borrowed the family bicycle on occasion to discover the local area. There were many days, indeed, where I felt comfortable in the families and the villages, particularly when I got involved in what was happening around me:

I went to a Balinese dancing and *gamelan* lesson today and it was a great experience. I felt that I was really *inside* this community, with so much happening, so much fun, enjoyment and socialising. I felt good and I could get a taste of what village life in Bali is really like. (diary entry)

I feel like I want to stay longer, become a part of village life, learn the language and understand the village well. I think the reason may be that slowly

but surely I feel like indeed I do become a part of Bali in some way and that it is indeed possible to understand. (diary entry)

There were some key circumstances in the villages, when I was not looked at as a spy or investor, in which I felt part of the villages. The more I mingled, the more I understood people's worlds and the more points of identification I found. Most importantly, in the beginning of my stay, I used to spend a few days in tourist centres, which made me feel less lonely and closer to 'home' than in the village, which was so foreign to me. However, as the weeks passed by, I started feeling safe and secure in the villages, being isolated from crime, capitalist tourist businesses and superficial contacts with locals – despite all the issues and doubts I was still dealing with:

In the beginning, spending a day in a tourist city helped me to feel better, get away from village life now and then. But to be honest now it doesn't benefit me any more. I feel more comfortable and secure in the villages, I feel a little bit like they are my family. (diary entry)

Over the weeks, I got used to being in nature, being part of the family and living in calm surroundings. At times, I found exactly what I was looking for: a feeling of belonging to a family or community and getting lost in nostalgic childhood memories, even if only temporarily. It seemed that, in the end, I realised that in the villages I could be myself far more than in tourist centres, where I was anonymous and where social relationships were absent. During my stay with the last family in village 2, I felt particularly comfortable:

I feel really comfortable in this family. I think it is because I have enough privacy and because they are all just very normal with me. I feel they don't want anything from me for the first time. (diary entry)

While the other families gave me privacy in their own ways too, I only ever felt privacy in one of the villages – at least privacy according to my own cultural norms. In addition to having days where I seemingly became a part of the families and villages, I gained in control by getting immersed in the research, creating a daily routine when possible and keeping busy. In retrospective, I would not say that I felt empowered during my fieldwork, but in the end I certainly felt *pride* in what I had achieved. I eventually realised how I went beyond my personal and professional limits, particularly on the last day in the third village, where I suffered from serious food poisoning. I became aware again of how dependent I was on the people who surrounded me, as they accompanied me to the hospital and held my hand in a

moment when I felt desperate and closer to my limits than I ever had before in my life. At the same time, I felt proud of how I finished the last interviews despite my health condition and realised how, after all, the fieldwork succeeded not only because of all the people who supported me while I was there, but also due to my own will and determination:

I am so happy. I have again gone beyond my limits and I am proud of myself.
(diary entry)

Despite all the emotional pain, anxiety and self-doubts, my informants and I found moments of togetherness – topics, values and aspects of our lives that would enable identification with the strange and make our encounter ‘easier’. Nevertheless, it is the difficult moments, the moments of difference, of confusion and conflict that supplied me with most knowledge on my research topic. It is only through an analysis of my own self in *interaction* with the selves of others that enabled me to capture my informants’ views on CBT and empowerment, notably through my own lens as a young, female, white researcher. It is exactly these “complex intersubjective negotiations and exchanges” (Behar, 2003:22) that the data and stories presented in the following chapters emerged from and that form the ‘playground’ for my analysis.

And so begins our work, our hardest work – to bring the ethnographic moment back, to resurrect it, to communicate the distance, which too quickly starts to feel like an abyss, between what we saw and heard and our inability, finally, to do justice to it in our representations. Our fieldnotes become palimpsests, useless unless plumbed for forgotten revelatory moments, unexpressed longings, and the wounds of regret.” (Behar, 1996:8-9)

It is now, after my return, that I realise the abyss between the complexity of my fieldwork experience and the written results that follow.

8. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

8.1. Empowerment in the alternative space of CBT

Having analysed my own disempowerment in the field, in part resulting from interactions with my interlocutors, leads me now to understand and discuss the possibilities and processes of villagers' (dis)empowerment. With certain parallels to my own experience highlighted in the preceding chapter, this chapter explores agency as a basis for empowerment as well as the obstacles and complex power relations that prevent villagers from realising and articulating their agency. These obstacles can generally be found in ourselves, in interactions with others and in wider structural limitations. Regarding the former hindering factor, I am able to understand my own emotional and cognitive processes, but could not do so for my informants, leading me to study their interactions and power relations as observed in action and in speech.

This chapter therefore generates insights into the nature of the alternative space of CBT, with its major aim to analyse how it could be viewed as a social space of empowerment. It further seeks to contribute to an understanding of the processes of, as well as obstacles to, empowerment in CBT. It does so through analysing CBT organisation, with a particular focus on issues surrounding participation, operational processes and control. CBT as an alternative tourism space as opposed to mass tourism supposedly should foster villagers' control, power and agency above that of outside actors. Based on the empirical evidence, this idea deserves in-depth analysis, as the community is formed by complex interactions between villagers and outside actors, such as the government, Bali CoBTA, funding bodies and tourists. This section therefore contributes to an understanding of social empowerment in the alternative space of CBT.

Throughout chapter 8 I make reference to a number of Tables and Figures (particularly Tables 24 to 30 and Figure 9) that follow in section 8.3. In this last section I embed the findings within the conceptual framework that I devised in section 4.4. and present a revised version of the empowerment process, a summary of *sense* and *signs* of social (dis)empowerment as well as a visualisation of the power relations in CBT in Bali.

8.1.1. Empowerment through participation: opportunities and inequalities

Analysing the opportunities and obstacles to participate in CBT is crucial when it comes to understanding community power relations and the potential benefits that CBT generates at individual and/or community level. Departing from the premise that social empowerment through CBT can be fostered first and foremost through participation in tourism (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Timothy, 1999), this section analyses the dynamics surrounding participation to create insights into possibilities for social empowerment. Exploring how community members are able (or not) to enter the space of CBT reveals useful insights into power relations for reflecting upon the nature of the alternative space of CBT and to ultimately understand possibilities for empowerment. While opportunities to participate may exist in the villages, these come with different degrees of control and ownership and largely differ between villagers. Although CBT in Bali – part of the government’s PNPM empowerment programme – ought to foster ownership and create equal opportunities for all (PNPM, 2007), empirical evidence showed that this idea remains largely a utopia. In order to analyse the previously-mentioned inequalities, it is first of all necessary to discuss the variety of possibilities for participating in CBT.

Villagers participate in CBT in a number of ways (often adopting multiple roles), which can be grouped into four categories: VTC members, homestay owners, guides and those who participate marginally through the use of a special technical skill (e.g. masseuses, artists, dancers, blacksmiths). Participation is voluntary, although it comes with some basic prerequisites, which are decided by the VTC on one side and Bali CoBTA on the other. According to the chairman of Bali CoBTA, in order to be a member of the first group mentioned, i.e. the VTC, villagers require some tourism or hospitality experience and skills; hence, most of the VTC members have worked or currently work in the tourism industry in Bali or abroad. In order to be included in the second group, i.e. as a homestay, the house has to meet specific standards in terms of ensuring hygiene and privacy for tourists. It emerged that these standards are not clearly defined (yet) and are implemented only to a certain degree. It is the VTC who has control in deciding on these ‘standards’ and therefore creating the broader structural conditions that enhance or inhibit participation for those who do not belong to the VTC.

In this context, one issue was the fear of jealousy emerging from the infrastructure available to accommodate tourists: *“I put the system in place. If you want to have a guest in your home, you have to have your house like this and that, with your cleanliness. It is a very clear concept. But of course there are some people that may be jealous”* (V1_VTC2). The homestay standards should avoid creating jealousy in the village (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V3_VTC2) – and indeed, some villagers accept the fact that their house cannot be offered for tourists or that they do not own land to build a new house (V1_VTT1). For some of the villagers in village 1, these structural conditions constitute obstacles to reaping benefits from tourism. One villager expressed discontent that his bamboo house in the rice fields was not offered to tourists for accommodation as part of CBT (V1_VTT3). The only possibility for him to secure visitors is through word of mouth via his friends from Europe (V1_VTT3), given that he cannot become an official homestay according to the VTC. On the other side, the majority of the 23 houses that are denominated homestays in village 1 are not even in use yet or owners are not aware that their house is a homestay (V1_VTT5). It emerged that the houses chosen as homestays generally belong to the wealthier castes (*Brahmin* and *Ksatriya*), in particular in village 1 and village 2. Thus, I discovered caste playing a role in terms of who has the opportunity to participate, especially as tourists usually stay in *Brahmin* or *Ksatriya* houses. Nevertheless, even though the VTC holds the power over participation in homestays, VTC members themselves claim that caste does not play a role in terms of whose house becomes a homestay:

Whoever wants to join us – they are welcome. And then we start to register people and then we check the houses to see what we need. We decide you need this, you need that... then we try how to get the money, make a proposal and then approve... we give it to them. Anybody can participate, so don't see it from the caste... That would be discrimination. (V1_VTC1)

According to the VTC's guidelines, there are no limitations for villagers of any caste to participate as a homestay. Nevertheless, reality looks somewhat different in that most villagers had no information on what is needed to participate, especially as at the time of fieldwork many did not host tourists. It is unclear how the situation will develop, but with more tourists in the village, participation may increase and visitors may spread more equally between homestays. The reason for the current concentration of tourists in the houses of the VTC may well be the lack in tourists and the power of the VTC to keep small numbers of tourists in their own house complex,

where they can ensure a certain standard of service quality. In fact, tourists are accommodated in other homestays in the village only when the number of tourists exceeds the capacity of the family of the VTC (belonging to the caste of *Brahmins*' in the case of village 1) or of the *puri* (i.e. descendents of the royal family, in the case of village 2). This somehow contradicts Bali CoBTA's principles of CBT, where villagers need to "*accept every person no matter what caste they come from. This programme is open to everybody. If they come from higher caste or lower caste, they can get involved together*" (CoBTA_ST). Nevertheless, VTC members want to show the best of their village to outsiders by making sure that tourists receive an adequate level of hospitality during their stay, which, in turn, limits opportunities to participate for a larger number of villagers.

Currently, only in village 3 the space of CBT is opened up to the wider community, based on the tourism leader's commitment and understanding of CBT. There, homestay owners are from the *Sudra* caste only, with the head of tourism seeking to have homestays in all *banjars* in order to spread benefits as equally as possible within the village (V3_VTC3). For him, establishing clear homestay standards is part of the future plans of tourism, given his knowledge about existent homestay standards in other countries in South-East Asia, such as in Malaysia and Thailand (V3_VTC3). His idea is to create appropriate standards for the village by ensuring quality, but at the same time avoid this being an obstacle to participation for poorer villagers (V3_VTC3). Through the implementation of a rotation system, whereby one homestay after another receives visitors, the VTC ensures that benefits are spread as widely as possible for tourism to become a true community activity. Even I, who stayed with the head of tourism for the first few weeks, was asked to move to another homestay at a later point, in order to help villagers practice their hospitality skills:

I want the people to prepare the homestay from their own motivation and not because I told them... Otherwise, when I cannot bring guests, they are angry at me. I created around six homestays now and I always put guest in every homestay, like for example with you now, you are with Mrs. XY. She said "Yeah, I think it will be a better future". So other people will see that. And there is already two families that came to me now and asked me to change their room to be a homestay. (V3_VTC3)

This rotation system does not only allow all homestays to reap benefits, but most importantly creates hope for and confidence in the future, so that tourism can work

and bring positive changes for all. Witnessing these benefits first hand and having the possibility to practice the hosting of tourists may, therefore, increase agency, control and confidence to participate. These aspects form part of the empowerment process discussed in section 3.3.2. and revisited in section 8.3.

Hence, participation alone does not equal empowerment (Cole, 2005), which becomes obvious in relation to the third group that one can participate in, i.e. that of tour guides. In this group possibilities for increased community control and agency are limited and possibilities for participation are largely unequal (with the exception of village 3). Again, the VTCs have control over who receives training or not and who is employed as guides in the villages (see section 8.1.3.2. for a discussion on training). When I asked one of the VTC members about who would do the guiding if more tourists come to the village, he argued:

I have to train others [...] but if there is no practice, it is not useful. [...] At the moment, it is me, V1_VTC1 and V1_VTC3 who help me with CBT. [...] Because we used to work in the hotel, so it is nothing new for us, maybe for other people tourism is something new. (V1_VTC2)

I could observe an absence of training and skills development of guides locally, which – along with knowledge of the geographical area and the tourism product (flora, fauna, history of the village etc.) reduces chances for participation and empowerment for villagers in Bali (Wardi et al., 2013). For example, the VTC in village 1 employs a tour guide from the neighbouring village, who, if unavailable, can be replaced by the head of tourism, while other villagers have no or limited chances to date to train as guides (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2). In village 2, tourist groups even have their own external guide, who is Balinese and at the same time speaks the tourists' language (usually French). He is accompanied by the local guide, who leads the group through the village, but does not offer many explanations due to language barriers (see section 8.2.1.1.), leading to limited and superficial interactions between the two (Jensen, 2010). Hence, influence from outside the community is noticeable, reducing possibilities for empowerment locally.

In village 3, I noticed a more systematic approach to organising the guides' training in the form of task delegation and possibilities for training, strengthening the empowerment core as a fundamental basis for empowerment (see Figures 1 and 9). The head of tourism in village 3 seeks to train VTC members or others who are

interested in participating as local guides during village and hiking tours, where they can observe interactions and practice their skills, paired with English training courses, to do their own guiding in the future. I noted a clear difference to village 1, given that the head of tourism in village 3 aims to delegate tasks and responsibilities to others (V3_VTC3), whereas in village 1 he takes over nearly all tourism activities (V1_VTC3).

Those villagers who already possess a skill that can be used in tourism (not to be confused with tourism skills), such as Balinese dance, arts, massage or knife production, form part of the fourth group. Participation in this group is highly ambiguous in that certain *banjars* in the village have more possibilities than others, at least in village 2 and village 1. This inequality often goes back to villagers' degree of professionalism – often tied to modern education and experience in tourism – with CBT being known for offering more possibilities to those that can perform professionally rather than those who still need to practice their skills (Tosun, 2000).

In village 3, these villagers come from different *banjars* to spread benefits, while in village 2 and village 1 decisions on which dancers or smiths may participate in tourism are random and usually focus on the same *banjar*. At the point of research, in village 1, it was mainly the members of the VTC who participated in tourism. This highlights the somewhat elitist nature of CBT in general (Tosun, 2000) and, in this case, in village 1, in light of the limited participation of the wider community in the space of CBT, with a small number of villagers from one *banjar* serving as silent attractions, while the VTC takes over the majority of tasks and responsibilities. The blacksmiths and silversmiths marginally form part of CBT in that they perform their skills when tourists visit as parts of their village tour – without, though, communicating with the tourists. Further, it is unclear, whether these villagers receive financial benefits. When tourists have the possibility to watch children during their dance or *gamelan* classes in the evening, this does not officially form part of the tourism programme and no financial benefits reach these dance groups in village 1 as yet (V1_VTC3). Hence, the activities that form part of the tourism programme in village 1 (as listed in Table 11 in section 5.4.2.1.) are almost exclusively executed by the VTC, and benefits stay in *Banjar Dinas Triwangsa*. As discussed in section 5.2.2., this inequality can be traced back to organisation of the Balinese village, which is stratified in socio-economic terms, with the *banjar* as one of the “Balinese institutions

that most correspond to the Western notion of a territorial village or community” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007). Based on this specific way of defining ‘community’, the question that arises is whether, in this sense, tourism could be regarded as a community activity, despite the aforementioned inequalities.

In village 2, a much larger number of villagers participate in tourism as dancers, as waiting staff or to showcase their skills, such as crafting pottery, painting eggs and making Balinese sweets. They usually receive financial remuneration – e.g. the dancers have received money since the start of CBT (V2_VTT4) – or get the possibility to sell their products (paintings, pottery, Balinese sweets). This is the case also in village 3. While homestays in village 2 are located in different *banjars* and spread benefits more equally in the village, it is usually one dancing group and *gamelan* from the same *banjar* that are used for tourist performances, even though every *banjar* has their own group. Exceptionally, one of the homestay owners suggested having the first dance for a tourist group in the *puri*, but to have the second dance take place in other *banjars*, in order to spread the benefits of tourism more equally (V2_VTT4). Still, it is the best dancers and *gamelan* that are used for performances in order to create a positive image of the village. The head of tourism in village 3, by contrast, seeks to involve the wider village by locating homestays in different *banjars*, and designing a number of village tours that involve different villagers each time (e.g. different blacksmiths).

It is only through lifting prerequisites and structural limitations constraining agents (i.e. villagers) (Parpart et al., 2002) that CBT can become a more open space for participation of the wider community. In fact, CBT should afford opportunities to non-professionals in particular, as stated by the chairman of Bali CoBTA:

I can give you an example when I was criticizing the community because they do not understand the concept [of CBT]. One day, I saw the community show a Gamelan orchestra. [...] suddenly you see a master there playing the instrument. You think, “Wow, that looks professional!” And then I asked the community leader, “Who is that person?” – “Oh, that is our master, our best man! He already went all over the world, he is very famous!” – “So why do you let this person perform in front of the community?” – “Because if it is not this person, we are ashamed, not proud.” – “So that’s a rich man, he went around the world!” – “So we made a mistake?” – “Yes, you should give the opportunity to the farmer who works in the morning as a farmer and has spare time and has a skill, who has a talent and can show it to the tourist, that is something original! Not the person who has already studied

and learned and is professional for that.” And then they realize. Therefore, CBT ideally would be to create the opportunity to let these people work who are not professionals. [...] sometimes they are not given the opportunity, because of the leader, the political leader. They are afraid, “If I let this farmer play, you know, the outcome will be bad.” And that is what I criticize. And this has to be understood by the community. (CoBTA_CM; Dolezal, 2013)

According to Bali CoBTA, the VTC needs to create opportunities for non-professional community members to practice their skills, rather than increase benefits for the professionals. A certain awareness amongst VTC members that CBT involves training the local workforce and giving opportunities to the poor exists (V2_VTC4, V3_VTC3). Nevertheless, to date, it is mainly the professionals that play a key role, with only a few non-professional players, who still lack the necessary skills and training to deal with or perform in front of tourists on a regular basis. And while CBT planning supported by institutions runs the danger of imposing knowledge on communities, “manufactur[ing] a ‘regime of truth’ that undermines the existing knowledge structures” (Wearing & McDonald, 2002:199), Bali CoBTA’s guidelines in this case, as stated above, seem too weak to override the power of the VTC in deciding on the organisation of CBT locally.

This reveals insights into the nature of the space of CBT, which may take the form of a relative space, shaped by rules, regulations and ideologies of those actors that initiate the idea of CBT in a destination (e.g. NGOs, governments). Nevertheless, the space of CBT becomes meaningful only at local level, where it is shaped and appropriated through (inter)actions, given that “[a] network or an institution does not function automatically because of some inner dynamics of system requirements; it functions because people at different points do something, and what they do is a result of how they define the situation in which they are called on to act” (Blumer, 1969:19). Through partly ignoring Bali CoBTA’s structures and guidelines, the VTC (not the village in its totality) empowers itself by articulating their structurally transformative agency (Hays, 1994) and valuing their own, alternative ideas (Wearing & McDonald, 2002), which, when it comes to professionalism, are at the expense of certain other villagers. This is not to say that Bali CoBTA’s ideologies do not influence “‘the interactive space’ [of CBT on the ground,] [...] a place where institutionalized beliefs, worldviews and intuitions come into play” (Wearing & McDonald, 2002:200) – which I will show later in this chapter.

Empirical evidence shows that the number of villagers participating in CBT to date is small and in many cases ‘tokenistic’ in nature (also see Tosun, 2006). The VTC makes gestures in terms of presenting CBT as an open space to villagers and the outside, but they remain mere gestures, and, as Novelli & Gebhardt (2007) put it, a ‘window dressing exercise’. In village 1, villagers are supposedly invited to join the VTT: “*we try to invite them to join what I am doing right now. Then some of them want to join us and then, after few of them want to join us, we call it community*” (V1_VTC1). The most active VTT members, though, are the VTC members who initiate and organise tourism. Interviews and observations revealed that in village 3 only, the idea is to involve the larger community in tourism, through announcing possibilities in public village meetings. Hence, as the quotation above shows, while in village 1 the VTT (or rather the VTC) is seen as the ‘community’ (V1_VTC1); in village 3, tourism should become a village activity, integrated into villagers’ daily life, occupations and village associations (see section 8.1.4. for a discussion of village associations) (V3_VTC3).

The data, therefore, reveals first insights into the nature of the alternative space of CBT, which differs between the villages. While, in village 1, villagers see CBT as a secluded space that one can participate in if certain preconditions set by the VTC are met (i.e. skills, homestay standards, caste to some extent), in village 3, CBT is an activity that is incorporated into different social spaces within the village. Before taking this argument further, it is necessary to analyse economic benefits as the major reason for villagers to participate in the space of CBT, and its impact on possibilities for social empowerment.

8.1.2. Hope for economic benefit: incentive to participate and impediment for social empowerment

This section discusses economic benefits as incentive for villagers to engage in tourism activities. An analysis of the reasons for villagers to participate is key in so far as it reveals insights into empowerment at community and individual levels. It further contributes to an understanding of the empowerment process, with one of the major conclusions that the hope for economic empowerment (or, rather, benefits) can compromise opportunities for social empowerment in the villages under study. Lastly, insights are gained into the nature of the alternative space of CBT, which is largely

dominated by CBT's business-driven character, compromising empowerment in its other dimensions.

Even though CBT is an activity that villagers participate in for a number of reasons, villagers expressed that financial benefits are a major incentive (selection: V1_V2; V1_VTC1; V1_VTT4; V2_VC; V2_VTC1; V2_VTC3; V2_VTT2; V2_VTT5; V3_VTC2; V3_VC; V3_VTT3). According to Scheyvens's (1999) empowerment framework, these economic benefits gained from tourism form part of the dimension of a community's 'economic empowerment'. Nevertheless, when taking a closer look at villagers' statements, the fine line between economic empowerment and disempowerment can be perceived. In the villages in Bali, one can speak of economic empowerment (or benefits) brought to a few individuals, rather than economic community empowerment. Economic disempowerment may be a better term, if only a few individuals in the community reap the benefits, which remain periodic rather than long-lasting (Scheyvens, 1999). After all, most villagers mentioned financial benefit in terms of individual benefit and only a small number talk about money being used for the common good: tourism can financially support ceremonies in the village (V3_VTC2), create multiplier effects locally (V2_VTC1; V2_VTC3) – such as farmers selling products to homestays (V3_VC) – give villagers the chance to create small businesses (V2_VTC2), and generally help the community prosper (V3_VTC5). On the one hand, tourism is seen as an activity that benefits the entire community, or at least CBT should generate community benefits: “*CBT is based on the community, so everybody has to get something from it*” (V2_VTC2). On the other, income should go only to those who actively work in tourism (V2_VTT2; V2_VTC2; V2_VTC1). Hence, even though interviews revealed that there is the widespread opinion that CBT generates community benefits, particularly for the poor (V2_VC; V3_VC; V3_VTT3; MoT_B), these financial benefits are largely unequal and CBT remains dominated by individual interests (Blackstock, 2005).

Bali CoBTA is aware of this inequality and condemns the fact that some members of the VTC keep money for themselves rather than distributing it in the village (CoBTA_ST). What is worse is that the fieldwork raised the issue that there is no transparent monitoring system in place in the villages, which would enable Bali CoBTA to know who receives income and who does not (CoBTA_ST). Again, even though Bali CoBTA is convinced of CBT's role to yield widespread community

benefits, local elites have more power over its organisation on the ground (Tosun, 2000). Even though Bali CoBTA started monitoring finance and tourism progress by employing a member of staff to go on regular visits to village 2, financial accounting remains a problem. Notably in village 2, members of the VTC fail to supply regular records, causing problems for Bali CoBTA in relation to providing evidence to the funders (CoBTA_ST). Due to a lack of transparency and regular information, which is required by the NGO and funders, the VTC manages to increase its power base by dominating, amongst others, the financial aspects of the *desa wisata*.

The reaping of financial benefits is the most important factor that drives participation, and its absence can hinder further involvement and chances for social empowerment. Without any immediate signs of economic benefits when ‘entering’ the space of CBT – or at least hopes for it in the future – the choice of ‘leaving’ the space of CBT is often made, disrupting the long-term empowerment process. Villagers get engaged first and foremost to earn money and they choose not to participate if they cannot see immediate financial benefits: *“Many of them they don’t want to get involved, they just wait and see until they really know they will get some money from it”* (CoBTA_ST). These benefits, however, are not guaranteed, particularly when tourism is still in its infancy, such as in village 3 and village 1 (B2_VTC2; B3_VTC3). As a consequence of the lack of immediate benefits, further involvement in tourism is unlikely and, thus, reduces the likelihood of reaping further, more intangible, benefits in the future. At the same time, it emerged from the data that villagers are often satisfied with economic gains and consciously decide not to engage in any further activities that could foster transformative changes, such as training (as further discussed in section 8.1.3.2.) (CoBTA_ST; V2_VTT3; V2_VTT5; V3_VTC3). In that way, financial benefit can further impede social empowerment.

After all, some villagers, particularly those who worked in tourism outside the village in the past, regard CBT as a viable option to enable making a living in the village (V1_VTC2; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4). The creation of direct benefits without leakage to big tourism players (e.g. hotels) – even if only on an individual basis – is one of the main reasons for VTC members to initiate CBT (V1_VTC2; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4). CBT, therefore, becomes a potentially safe and alternative space to earn an income, reduce economic leakage and limit foreign influence, aspects that characterise mass tourism operations in Bali (Byczek, 2011; Hitchcock & Darma

Putra, 2007). From a macro perspective, CBT turns into a social space of empowerment – with the goal of increasing community self-reliance and autonomy (PNPM, 2007) – whereby community agency is stronger than the influence of big (foreign) tourism players. It is used as a side or main job (V1_V1; V1_VC; V1_VTT6; V3_VTC5; V3_VTT4) and, according to villagers, has potential to create job opportunities in the village, particularly for the young generation at times of general low employment rates in Bali (V2_VTT1; V3_VTT1), but also for the older generation, with certain members of the VTC hoping to engage more in CBT after their retirement (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC3).

By participating in CBT, villagers seek to show the villages' potential and agency to the outside world – an idea that the tourism ministry and Bali CoBTA transmit to them (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy & Bali CoBTA, n.d.; TNP2K, 2014; TNP2K, n.d.b). By employing village attractions such as *Kecak* and *Legong* dance, the natural surroundings, archaeological sights, Balinese culture and rural village life (e.g. rituals, cremations, rites of passage) (V1_VTC2; V2_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V2_VTT1; V2_VTT4; V3_VTC3), CBT turns into a space where villages' skills and unique features are integrated within the touristic landscape of Bali, to ultimately articulate community agency. Villagers showed a general awareness of what the village has to offer to tourists, particularly those who have left the village to work in the contrived tourist centres (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V1_VTT5; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC1; V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3) – so-called “cosmopolitan locals” (Iorio & Wall, 2012:1442) (see section 8.2.3. on a discussion of the notion of authenticity and the ‘real Bali’).

Also, other actors, such as Bali CoBTA, BTB and the Ministry of Tourism, are aware of the value of the village, where supposedly the ‘real Bali’ and Balinese culture can be found (BTB; CoBTA_CM; CoBTA_ST; HD; V1_VTT2; V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC1) (Howe, 2005; Nakatani, 2003; Picard, 1992). A strong discourse surrounding the *atraksi* (attractions) and *potensi* (potential) that make the village special emerged, in that villagers need and want to exploit their potential to engage in tourism – again with the major incentive of turning CBT into a source of income (CoBTA_CM; V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC1, V2_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC3). This discourse can be noticed equally when it comes to the Tourism Ministry's idea of tourism and empowerment as part of the PNPM programme in

terms of using the *potensi* of villages and Bali as a whole to attract tourists (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, n.d., TNP2K, 2014). The villages' potential (including cultural assets) is thereby the basis for empowerment and development, given that “[t]he empowerment approach is meant to enable the poor with an escape from poverty by making use of the potential and resources they possess” (TNP2K, n.d.b:n.p.).

The discourse surrounding the village's *potensi* usually emerged in direct connection to the benefits that tourism creates (BTB; MoT_J; V1_VC; V2_VTC1; V3_VC). A connection between showcasing the village's assets and stimulated economic empowerment as reason to participate in CBT clearly emerged, illustrated by a quote of the village chief in village 3: *“Our potensi... the potential... it becomes a support for my community. We can get something, we can get money... it is like a multiplier effect. But the question is how to increase the potential?”* (V3_VC). Also, village 2 is seen to hold great, however underused, potential that can be used for financial benefits (V2_VTC1). It is the villages' unique attractions that make tourists visit and, in turn, generate money for the villages. Nevertheless, those villagers who have not been involved in tourism before are less aware of their village's potential, as argued, for example, by the head of tourism in village 3 (V3_VTC3). In turn, I could notice a generally limited understanding of the economic potential that tourism holds, while at the same time I observed that time can increase this awareness. It is mainly through the interest tourists show in dance, handicraft production and traditional knowledge that the local perception of the village's potential changes.

8.1.3. Obstacles to social empowerment in the space of CBT

A number of obstacles to the empowerment process emerged from interviews and observations, most evidently obstacles to social empowerment (see also Figure 9). These are also connected to issues surrounding participation, a major prerequisite to experience social empowerment. Understanding these obstacles is necessary to understand the spaces of (dis)empowerment in CBT as well as the obstacles impeding the empowerment process.

8.1.3.1 *Lack in skills and self-confidence*

Based on interviews and observations, I could identify a lack in skills, particularly tourism skills, as a major obstacle impairing the empowerment process (V1_VTT4; V1_VTT6; V2_VTT2, V2_VTT3; V2_VTT4; V3_VTC1; V3_VTC2; V3_VTT4) – and compromising the success of CBT (Halstead, 2003). These skills form part of the empowerment core, where – in order to enable empowerment processes – significant changes need to happen (see Figures 1 and 9). The strengthening of skills and capacities includes, first and foremost, a focus on language skills, given that *“whenever you cannot speak, whenever you don’t have skills, it does not work. The programme is good, but you cannot communicate with the guest. It means less”* (V1_VTC1). In the three villages under study, language training is limited to date and it is mostly VTC members who are able to speak English and communicate with tourists (see section 8.2.1.1. for a discussion of skills in the tourism encounter).

Besides language skills, certain tourism or technical skills are key in villagers’ skills set (Bonifaz et al., 2010; Zapata et al., 2011), such as appreciating tourists’ needs and knowing how to serve and cook for them (V2_VTT4; V3_VTC1). However, the *puri* in village 2 and the VTC in village 1 are convinced that most homestays in their village are not ready yet to host tourists (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V2_VTC4):

If you want to try outside food, there is nothing wrong with it, but I don’t want you to say ‘oh my god, I got poisoned’. This is a very sensitive topic, it can ruin the whole thing, if somebody gets sick. The main thing is the image. I don’t say that our food is better, there is nothing wrong with it, but you just have to get used to it. (V1_VTC2)

Mainly due to the need for guaranteeing food safety and hygiene, tourists have food either in the *puri* or in the house of the head of tourism in village 1, with future plans to serve food collectively to all tourists in the *Bali banjar*. Only in village 3 do homestay owners have the chance to cook for their guests and practice their skills. Most other homestay owners are not given the opportunity to serve food by the VTC, thus shrinking the space of CBT further and making it impossible for villagers to use their skills and potential to the fullest.

This exclusion of the majority of villagers in particular tourism tasks creates feelings of self-doubt and a lack of self-confidence. A lack in skills often appears directly connected to a lack of awareness of one’s opportunities and an absence of confidence

to put skills into practice (Halstead, 2003; Scheyvens, 2003) – problems that are usually addressed through means of capacity building (Aref & Redzuan, 2009). One may say that it is only through a combination of creating opportunities for training, practice, raising villagers’ awareness of their abilities and stimulating feelings of capability (as part of the empowerment core in Figures 1 and 9) that empowerment can occur. V1_VTT3, one of the homestay owners in village 2, for example, argued that it is mainly members of the *puri* family who have tourism skills, expressing his own feeling of inadequacy to cater for tourists. I observed a general lack of awareness in terms of what specific skills were required to be able to cater for tourists or get involved. Also, the village chief in village 3 was convinced that a lack of awareness of possibilities to participate in tourism was the reason for limited community support: *“I feel that a few people do not support tourism here. Because they don’t know what they can do, not because they don’t want to participate”* (V3_VC). Villagers feel that they can only participate either as a homestay owner or with a technical skill that can be turned into a tourism attraction. V2_VTT2, one of the members of the VTT in village 2 works as a waitress and stressed that because of a lack of other skills, such as Balinese dancing, she cannot participate more in tourism. Even the tour guide in village 1, who has advanced English skills, was convinced of his limited opportunities when I asked him why he liked being a tour guide: *“I have to like it, it is my job. I have no other skills. Because I know some English, that’s why I try to be a guide, a good guide”* (V1_VTT6).

8.1.3.2 Lack of training

Acquiring the necessary skills to work in tourism, or strengthening existing skills, is what the term ‘empowerment’ means, even for a large number of villagers themselves (V1_VTT1; V1_VTT2; V2_VC; V2_VTT1; V2_VTT2; V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3) (also see Table 19 in section 8.1.5.), who regard their lack of skills as one of the major hindrances to participate fully in tourism. Training and capacity building help equip villagers with the necessary language and hospitality skills (Halstead, 2003), even though training is largely unorganised in the villages under study.

Bali CoBTA partly takes over the task of organising training by putting the villages in contact with tourism institutes and hotels that offer training for free, given the chairman’s affiliation with the Bali Hotels Association (CoBTA_CM; CoBTA_ST).

However, I could identify a number of problems with training. Firstly, it takes place on an irregular basis and is usually of a short-lived nature. When I asked villagers about training, it was unclear how much really took place, with what frequency, and what results it yielded. Secondly, Bali CoBTA offers tools in terms of training that are not necessarily accepted by the communities. Bali CoBTA has struggled in the past with putting villages in touch with hotels as ‘foster parents’ to provide training programmes, covering aspects of housekeeping, food and beverage and front office work (CoBTA_ST). Through this scheme, villagers are expected to come to the hotel to participate in training. However, in the past, villagers from village 2 have not turned up to their training, shedding a negative light on Bali CoBTA and making hotels unwilling to offer their support. A member of staff of Bali CoBTA sees the problem as lying in a lack of interest on the community’s side:

In terms of training, the community doesn’t want to get involved, even though we told them we will do training for free and we will issue a certificate, but they don’t want it. They just want to get the tourists and money. So that’s the biggest challenge. Because from the tourist perspective they want to come to the village if they guarantee that they get a good service from the community. That’s the challenge. [...] I guess as Bali CoBTA we are inbetween. And that’s our challenge. On one side, we want the community to get the opportunity to build their capacity but then, on the other side, they themselves don’t really care about it. (CoBTA_ST)

According to Bali CoBTA, the striving for quick economic benefit through tourism impedes capacity building efforts, with villagers failing to realise the need for training. After all, economic benefits need to become visible for villagers before engaging in any further tourism or training activities. At the same time, Bali CoBTA’s view on training is somewhat ambiguous, if not contradictory: on one side, the NGO seeks to offer the tools for empowerment; on the other, it is convinced of the villagers’ potential for self-empowerment. After all, autonomy and limited assistance from outside actors are often characteristic of the CBT ethos in order for tourism activities to be “truly community-based” (Iorio & Wall, 2002:1442). Bali CoBTA’s role is confusing, claiming on the one hand to support villages in terms of training, but trying to be involved in CBT as little as possible in order to enable independence on the other: “*That’s why we teach them, we guide them to be independent. We just give them guidance but it’s not us who is supposed to do everything*” (CoBTA_ST). The Bali CoBTA chairman is convinced that the community will succeed and manage to train itself: “*I cannot expect that the community can serve as good as I can. Because*

they are not hoteliers... However, I am sure, perhaps another 5 years, 6 years, when they train themselves, this will be different”. In any case, the community supposedly does not need a lot of training, given that “*they are in the village [...], they are talented”* (CoBTA_CM).

Indeed, the villages have started to organise training themselves, at least to some extent and mainly for members of the VTCs. In village 2, there are plans to offer training channelled through the foundation or by the head of tourism, who wants to show villagers how to clean rooms and cater for tourists (V2_VTC4). To date, this training in village 2 and village 1 is limited in scope, both in terms of frequency and in who receives training. Only the members of the VTC regularly attend CBT workshops organised by the Ministry of Tourism in Denpasar, for example. In village 2, a VTC member argued that other villagers do not need training given the VTC’s work experience in tourism and hospitality, which is sufficient to undertake CBT (V2_VTC3). Also in village 1, the VTC holds that – despite the wish to train villagers – there is no need for training:

I would like to train more people, delegate. But if I train people and there is no practice, it is of no use. At the moment, we need to practice. [...] It is difficult with the people in the community, to involve them, they don’t understand tourism and there are no tourists, we cannot promise any benefits. [...] We need a system inside to run this thing. Well, a system like a committee. [...] The committee is working, people understand each other and what they are doing, but at the moment there is no guest. (V1_VTC2)

According to the VTC in village 1, what is needed for CBT to work is, first of all, a well-functioning ‘system’, which can be understood as the VTC itself, as well as tourists to practice the VTC’s skills. The VTC is seen as the basis of tourism in the village, wary of involving others as long as wider community benefits are difficult to deliver. Given that the VTC works well, training is unnecessary in their opinion.

Instead, support is needed from Bali CoBTA in terms of promotion and the supplying of tourists. While the VTC generally intends to reduce Bali CoBTA’s influence, it does welcome Bali CoBTA’s help when it comes to promotion, showing the need to open up the space of CBT to the outside and delegating a certain amount of responsibility and control to Bali CoBTA:

We thought CoBTA acts as a travel agent and brings us tourists. [...] You train us, you give us education, we produce a lot. But who is going to buy

it? No one buys it. [...] [The government and CoBTA] give us a lot to make this thing happen. Yeah, but get the tourists to come here. We have to do it on our own. It is like when you are on the rice field, give us a tool, then guide us until we can harvest. (V1_VTC2)

The quotation above illustrates the need for delegation of certain tasks and responsibilities to overcome personal limitations (Lupia, 2001) and to attract tourists ultimately to enable the practicing of skills (Scheyvens, 2003). To date, only limited possibilities exist to practice in village 1, given the small number of tourists visiting the village.

In village 2 and village 1, power in terms of training and participation is with the VTC, which makes it hard for other villagers to participate and generate power *with*, *within* or *to*. Here, the VTC regards CBT as an exclusive space that is limited to the members of the VTC, who are the ones in need of training. In village 3, however, responsibilities tend to be delegated, or, rather, possibilities are created that enable villagers to create power *with*, *within* and power *to* (see Table 24 in section 8.3.2.). The head of tourism's intention is oriented towards the training of as many villagers as possible to create a basis of human resources to make tourism a true community activity. Hence, villagers' 'self-empowerment' has become a reality in village 3, with the VTC supplying the necessary tools for the improvement of skills, as part of the empowerment core. I observed regular training efforts and discovered that training is a major component of developing CBT. For example, the young generation receives tourism training in the local tourism college, a massage course taught by one of the VTC members and English courses funded by the government (V3_VTT1; V3_VTC3; V3_VTT5). The head of tourism has sought to train the younger generation and publicly announces possibilities for participation and training, such as in the regular meetings of the youth association. The VTC attends workshops organised by the Ministry of Tourism on a regular basis, which helps the head of tourism to delegate his responsibilities to other VTC members (V3_VTC3). In addition, he organises study trips to other CBT villages in Bali in order to offer the possibility to learn about CBT management, cleanliness and community motivation (V3_VTC3). After all, empowerment through tourism can only happen through widening participation:

Empowerment for me is how to make all people in [village 3] participate. Because if they can all participate in the programme of the tourism village,

we will be successful faster. Because if all the people can join, it will be very easy to me to organise the programme. If we need something, I just call and ask the people 'please help me' and they will. (V3_VTC3)

The alternative space of CBT in village 3, therefore, is more open to participation, through offering training possibilities that are publicly announced, based on the head of tourism's wish to widen participation.

8.1.3.3 Lack of financial capital/resources

A general lack of financial capital further hinders social empowerment. There is a need to increase financial capital as part of the resources in the empowerment core (see Figure 9) in order to enable participation and the reaping of further intangible benefits. For villagers who do not belong to the VTC, have no special skills or receive no training, the option remains to participate in tourism as a homestay owner. This usually generates great financial benefits, but often needs financial capital to adapt houses and meet certain – in this case, locally-defined – homestay standards (Connell and Rugendyke, 2008, Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). However, this capital is not always available to poorer communities (V2_VTC1; V2_VTC2; V2_VTT2; V2_VTT4; V3_VTC3; V3_VTT1). In fact, the funding to support the initiation of CBT has not reached the poorer or lower castes in the village (yet) to make changes in their houses (V2_VTC1). When I asked villagers whether they believed that the poor would have a chance to participate in tourism, they usually mentioned the lack of funding. For V2_VTT2, a female villager who participates as a waitress, her limited skills along with the lack of capital present obstacles to engaging more in tourism:

Researcher: *Would she like to engage more with tourists?*

Interpreter: *Yes she is interested. But the training, the English training, it is only for the kids, the students, but not for the staff. So there is no empowerment... no training, no empowerment.*

Researcher: *Does she want to participate more in tourism?*

Interpreter: *She says she wants to be a dancer, but she cannot dance. She wants to have a homestay but she doesn't have the space or capital for it.*

A lack of available capital to invest in changes in the house therefore constitutes one of the obstacles to participation, which is well documented in the literature on CBT (Connell & Rugendyke, 2008; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008; Tosun, 2000).

8.1.3.4 *Lack of information and knowledge*

A lack of information on CBT, its nature, operational processes and possibilities to participate emerged as a further obstacle to participation and social empowerment. Knowledge forms an indispensable element of empowerment, and it is only when knowledge is shared and combined and information is accessible that social empowerment can happen (Friedmann, 1992; Kibicho, 2008; Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). By excluding villagers and creating a system of knowledge that allows the VTC to dominate the alternative space of CBT, power *over* is created rather than power *with* (see Table 24 in section 8.3.), contributing to the impossibility for the space of CBT to take the form of a social space of empowerment. Information and knowledge must, therefore, form part of the empowerment core, as resources that the individual needs access to in order to make meaningful choices (e.g. participate in tourism) and turn these into action (see Figures 1 and 9).

Empirical evidence revealed that the VTC tends to monopolise information and refrains from sharing its knowledge on CBT, resulting in a large number of villagers without or with only limited information about tourism in the village – particularly in village 2 and village 1 (V1_VTT3; V1_VTT4; V1_VTT5; V1_V2; V2_VTT1; V2_VTT2; V2_VTT3). This is particularly the case for those who participate only marginally, such as blacksmiths, painters and handicraft producers (V1_VTT3; V1_VTT4; V2_VTT1). One of the villagers even stated that village meetings have never been organised to talk publicly about tourism (V1_VTT3), an argument that the VTC repudiates, claiming that tourism was announced publicly in the beginning (V1_VTC3). Public village meetings would offer the possibility to learn about ways of participation in tourism, as stated by one of the villagers in village 1:

I just know that they have a programme to make tourist objects here in [village 1], but I don't know much. I read in the newspaper that there are three villages ... maybe [village 3], [village 1]... and I don't know. But if the head of the village makes a meeting with all people together... Until now, I don't know what I can do with the programme. (V1_VTT3)

It also happens that those who have knowledge sometimes do not want to share it with others and speak openly about it, as argued by a homestay owner in village 1 (V1_VTT5). The unwillingness to share information and make tourism a transparent business can exclude others from participating in the planning of tourism (Cole, 2006; Hall, 2003; Scheyvens, 2003, Tosun, 2000), such as in village 1, where the VTC

members tend to keep information to themselves. The situation looks somewhat different in village 3, given that the head of tourism is dedicated to using *sosialisasi* for public consultation and the provision of information, which will be elaborated further as part of section 8.1.4.

8.1.3.5 Age

Age emerged as an obstacle to participation and social empowerment in that the elderly tend to be marginalized from tourism activities, or, rather, they marginalise themselves. A number of villagers mentioned feeling too old to learn English or to engage more in tourism (V2_VTT3; V2_VTT4; V1_V1; V1_VTT4; V3_VTT1; V3_VTT3). This marginalisation often happens consciously when villagers choose not to participate or not to develop their skills further. Rather than speaking of disempowerment, which means “to be denied choice” (Kabeer, 2001:18), the choice not to engage in tourism – or to a limited extent only – also means that the individual unconsciously chooses not to experience potential empowerment from tourism. Nevertheless, the mere fact of having choices and, hence, agency, can be a form of empowerment (Alsop et al., 2006; Kabeer, 2001).

For a number of villagers, tourism is an activity that offers job prospects mainly for the young generation in order to earn money while at the same time being able to stay in the village (V1_V1; V1_VTC2; V2_VTT1; V3_VTC3; V3_VTT1; V3_VTT4). It is therefore mainly the young generation who should receive tourism training to become the future tourism workforce, with CBT turning into a potential tool to avoid emigration from rural to urban areas (Dolezal, 2011a). In order to do so, training in entrepreneurial skills is crucial to enable villagers to turn CBT into a business (Bonifaz et al., 2010) and increase empowerment (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). However, this was not observed in the villages.

At the same time, I witnessed that the older generation does play a role in tourism, by acting as teachers in the transfer of traditional knowledge, such as playing the *gamelan*, making offerings, weaving, Balinese cooking and dancing (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V3_VTC3). Hence, although some villagers may feel too old to participate in tourism, they unconsciously play an indirect role in being the teachers of the next generation, hence they bring certain assets that can be useful in CBT and must be acknowledged (Dolezal & Burns, 2015). They may, thus, be regarded as agents of the

empowerment of others, based on their ability to transfer and preserve traditional skills that form part of CBT's asset base. Grandparents usually share a house compound with their children and grandchildren and transfer knowledge in daily village activities. They have a key role to play in the village, as the village chief in village 3 explained:

In [village 3], young men also try to learn gamelan. And the old people have many abilities, they can play gamelan well. They must transfer all of their knowledge to the young. If they don't, everything unique will be gone. (V3_VC)

One of the VTC members in village 1 confirms this idea:

Granny contributes a lot. Whenever I do activities with the tourists, like making offerings, actually most of the time Granny does it. She shows the tourists. She is the expert, actually. While I do it only sometimes, Granny did it her whole life. (V1_VTT1)

In fact, a large number of older people participated in tourism activity through offering homestays or performing their skills in front of tourists. The lack of awareness of what is important to visitors and self-confidence paired with a sense of feeling unable to learn English hinder these villagers from engaging further, causing feelings of disempowerment, rather than feelings of ability (Rowlands, 1997). If true empowerment is to be stimulated, feelings of capability and agency are necessary predecessors to unlock possibilities in the empowerment core for positive change to happen (Cole, 2006; Rowlands, 1997; Stromquist, 2009). The problem seems to lie in an unawareness of a person's usefulness and skills in the context of CBT, a concept that needs to be extended by a conscious appreciation of the contribution of all generations and groups in a community, as is the case in asset-based community development (Dolezal & Burns, 2015). This unawareness and feelings of inability hinder participation and are further paired with structural limitations, due to the VTCs power in opening or closing the space of CBT for certain people.

8.1.3.6 Caste system

The caste system emerged as an obstacle to social empowerment as villagers from the lower caste tend to have fewer possibilities to participate in CBT and, thus, often experience marginalisation. Caste largely determines wealth and status in the villages and most villagers in village 1 and village 2 who are able to participate actively in tourism are from the highest caste in the village. This observation reinforces the idea

that hierarchical orders such as caste “divide the poor and undermine their chances of making a united challenge to the position of powerful elite groups” (Tosun, 2005:338). Inequalities such as caste hinder social empowerment, which is about “providing equal opportunities to all, regardless of sex, caste, creed or religion“ (UNDP; 2004:12).

The caste system in Bali is regularly seen as difficult to change (V2_VTT3; V1_VTT6), meaning that, “*when people are rich, they stay rich, when they are poor, they stay in that class, they never move up*” (V1_VTT6) – an inequality that appeared to be largely accepted in the villages. V3_VTT1, the blacksmith in village 3, for example, argued that there is no jealousy of the highest caste, given that everyone earns their money differently and differences in wealth are ‘natural’ in Bali. Opinions on that matter are divided as others argue that the caste system is not as decisive any more as in former times (CoBTA_CM; V1_VTT6; V3_VTC3). One can become wealthier by working hard, such as V3_VTC3, the head of tourism in village 3, who belongs to the lowest caste but has increased his standard of living by working hard and by being able to study at the university. It is only in village 3 that I could observe an active involvement of members of the lowest caste, while in village 1 and village 2, caste seems to be an obstacle to reap benefits from tourism, given the dominant power of the higher caste in deciding who participates and who does not.

The concept of CBT itself is based on the active involvement of – even marginalised – community members (Sebele, 2010). Also for Bali CoBTA, CBT ought to involve villagers from any caste (CoBTA_ST). However, no particular efforts are made on the part of Bali CoBTA to support villagers from the lowest caste, although there is a general awareness that “*most of the time the important persons [who initiate tourism in the village] come from the higher caste*” (CoBTA_ST). Caste remains an obstacle to community participation, stratifying society and leading to social exclusion (World Bank, 2002).

Given that Bali CoBTA does not create the necessary guidelines or structure that allows or urges an active involvement of the lower caste, efforts to do so develop locally in the communities – if this is sought by the VTC. This proved that certain guidelines and structures that come with CBT as decided by outside actors are not necessarily constraining. After all, structure can be empowering and enable people to

live their potentials (Hays, 1994). CBT can indeed foster social empowerment through the active involvement of the lowest caste, rather than its marginalisation. The VTC's efforts focus mainly on extending tourism's benefits to the wider community, e.g. through offering support for expensive ceremonies. In village 3, the head of tourism is convinced of the value CBT can have for the lower caste, based on the insights he gained from his thesis on participation in CBT in village 3 and his own caste status (V3_VTC3). While in fact villagers in village 3 are nearly exclusively from the *Sudra* caste, a larger diversity in castes can be found in village 1 and village 2, where the lower castes tend to be marginalised from tourism activities.

Even though Bali CoBTA is aware of inequalities in the village in terms of participation in CBT, it consciously uses the caste system as part of the attraction in the context of *wisata puri* and so contributes to the reinforcement of local inequalities:

What I am trying to do now [...] in [village 2] – I am doing Wisata Puri, tourism related to the royal family. We have to use the opportunity; we have to utilise this caste system [...]. I don't have the intention to awaken feudalism, but forty or fifty years ago, the royal family had a lot of land and the community worked on that land. The money they earned they gave to the king. So what happened after the land reform: The money comes, and who should maintain the temple, the puri, or the house where the cultural and economic activities happen? Only the royal family, who has a sense of entrepreneurship, can survive, just like the Ubud royal family, because they use the puri as an icon, and tourists come. The king invites the tourist to the village, to the royal family house, to the palace, for dinner, dancing, and so on. It is more attractive for the tourists, right? And if people in the community want to do tourist activities, yes, we can schedule for the guests who will stay in the royal family house to visit the community. So with these activities, the community will respect the king again. (CoBTA_CM; Dolezal, 2013)

The caste system thereby becomes a means to an end, an attraction used in the space of CBT to maintain financially the *puri* and at the same time create respect for the royal family (CoBTA_ST; CoBTA_CM). Nevertheless, even though the programme is advertised as leading to cooperation between the royal family and the wider community (Novita Purba, 2013), it was found that there were great power disparities, potentially taking the form of jealousy, between the *puri* and other villagers, who tried to spread rumours during interviews of the *puri* connected to money and illegal activities (V2_VTT3; V2_VTT4). Hence, the *puri* dominates tourism in village 2, leading to discontent in the village.

The structural context that Bali CoBTA creates for CBT, particularly in the form of *wisata puri*, avoids the emergence of generative power *with* due to generated inequalities (see Table 28 in section 8.3.2.). *Wisata puri* turns CBT into a yet more elitist space, closing it for the wider community. While CBT may offer a social space of empowerment for a few, supported by the structural conditions set out by Bali CoBTA, the majority of villagers experience disempowerment, or at least the denial of opportunities for empowerment. Instead, local resistance is fostered, fighting the power *over* other villages that the *puri* holds. However, rather than mirroring power *over* by producing yet more inequality (Cooper, 1994) – an idea that goes back to Foucault’s (1982) understanding of power and resistance – resistance happens in the form of power *with* and power *to* (Chambers, 2006), fighting the power *over* other villages that the *puri* holds. Power *to* happens when a “group sets its own agenda. It is a form of power which can persuade or open up new possibilities” (Rowlands, 1998:13), “achieved by increasing one’s ability to resist and challenge “power over”” (Kelly, 1992:n.p.). Members of the VTC who are not part of the *puri* have shared concerns with Bali CoBTA in terms of not receiving any remuneration for their work, with some of them even blocking roads to avoid trekking tours from taking place in the village (CoBTA_ST). If villagers cannot participate or “*if they work for free, some day they will stop working or even boycott the programme*” (CoBTA_ST). The programme even leads to disapproval in other villages, such as in village 1: “*CoBTA has so many villages and they make more and more CBT villages. They should better focus on a few and help them sell [...]. Instead they are doing wisata puri now, this is what they focus on*” (V1_VTC3). Tables 24 and 28 in section 8.3.2. visualise these complex power relations.

8.1.3.7 Other priorities

In section 8.1.2., I discussed the importance of economic benefit as incentive for villagers’ further involvement in tourism. Closely connected to this issue is villagers’ struggle to participate in the business of tourism when other priorities or ways of earning income prevail. Therefore, drawing on the empowerment process in section 3.3.2., resources as part of the empowerment core must include not only financial but also time resources to afford taking the risk of participating (see Figures 1 and 9). Tourism is a terrain that a large number of villagers are not familiar with; and, after all, other priorities, such as meeting basic needs, may be more important

(CoBTA_CM; V1_VTC2; V3_VTC3), than dedicating one's time to a risky and new village activity (Li, 2004; Tosun, 2005). Villagers have little time available to dedicate themselves to activities beyond their main jobs, as V1_VTC2, one of the VTC members in village 1 highlights: *"I cannot rely 100% on tourism, because if I do this, my family will die. Promotion also takes a lot of time. If we do intense promotion, what about our life during that time?"*

As a consequence, this argument sheds a different light on the status of the VTC. While being part of tourism, and of the VTC specifically, can be prestigious and cast a number of benefits and a certain degree of control over tourism, the heads of tourism also struggle to find villagers to join the VTC when initiating CBT (V3_VTC3). Even Bali CoBTA is aware of this obstacle to participation:

Of course their main job is priority. For example the royal family, Mr. XY, he is still in charge of other things. If the governor calls him, of course the guest is number two. Maybe we have to use a professional team in the management. You know that they welcome the guest and so on, but the actor is still the community. Like in a hotel chain, the management is professional, but the supplier is the community. But it is wrong if from the beginning, there is no nice try from the community. (CoBTA_CM)

Bali CoBTA is aware of villagers' priorities, leading the NGO to suggest a 'professional team' working in the village, while the community presents an 'actor' in the context of CBT. Neither in line with the principles of CBT, implying complete community control (Lapeyre, 2010), nor the PNPM programme's aim of community ownership and self-reliance (PNPM, 2007), this idea turns villagers into passive actors who serve as silent attraction, while others appropriate the space of CBT for their own benefit. And, indeed, even though Bali CoBTA's assistance may be regarded as limited at times, there are some 'nice tries' by villagers, fighting the influence from outside by keeping local control over CBT. Particularly in village 3, the VTC seeks to increase participation in the village, trying to overcome the obstacles to social empowerment, based on his conviction of CBT presenting a space of complete community control and ownership. In the following section, I turn to the strategies the VTC employs on its way to foster social empowerment.

8.1.4. *Sosialisasi*: opening the space of CBT for social empowerment

In this section, I analyse the VTC's attempts to increase participation and enable social empowerment of villagers, particularly in village 3. Not all the VTCs actively seek to turn the space of CBT into one of inclusion and collaboration, hence a social space of empowerment, based on the potential that lies within the social ties between villagers. Through the use of *sosialisasi*¹⁶ and the activation of community associations in the context of tourism, the space of CBT in village 3 turns out to be a potential space where power *with* prevails, minimising some of the discussed obstacles on the way towards social empowerment (see Table 24 in section 8.3.2.).

Rather than being an empty concept or tokenistic in nature, as is the case in village 1, I discovered that participation in village 3 is actively embraced by the VTC. The head of tourism in particular takes a number of actions to increase villagers' motivation to engage in CBT, based on his own thesis that examined CBT in village 3, revealing people's motivation and cleanliness as the greatest challenges (V3_VTC3). According to the VTC, it is villagers' pessimism about tourism in the village that needs to be changed to make tourism successful (V3_VTC1; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4; V3_VTC5). Motivation often goes hand in hand with self-confidence and agency and so needs to be a key part of the empowerment process, which forms the basis for villagers to make meaningful choices, i.e. to participate in tourism motivated by their own conviction (see Figure 9).

In order to strengthen motivation and community agency in the empowerment process, the head of tourism is convinced that *sosialisasi* is needed (V3_VTC3). The tourism ministry defines *sosialisasi* as part of public consultation and one of the first implementation steps of the PNPM programme (TNP2K, 2014). It is a tool to awaken understanding, concern and support for the programme, based on communication and the supply of information through a number of media channels (PNPM, 2007). This is equally applicable to a CBT context in Indonesia (forming part of the PNPM programme) in which, however, it runs the danger of taking the form of "information provision rather than discussion" (Sudarmo, 2005:172), a form of 'participation by

¹⁶ A note on the terminology has to be mentioned at this point. Rather than using the English translation of socialisation to explain *sosialisasi*, I attempt to let its definition emerge from the empirical data, consisting of interviews, conversations, observations and a capacity building workshop on community empowerment in village 3 together with the members of the VTC.

consultation' rather than 'citizen control' or empowerment (Tosun, 2004). Even though drawing conclusions on the nature of participation that *sosialisasi* enables lies beyond the scope of this thesis, I want to highlight the need for transparency and the supply of information as stimulated by *sosialisasi* as a prerequisite for wider community participation in CBT (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Tosun, 2005).

Through observations and interviews with VTC members, I noticed that *sosialisasi* is a twofold concept, consisting of supplying information publicly to assist villagers in gaining knowledge about tourism, and creating/strengthening villagers' sense of belonging to the *desa wisata* (tourism village) and the community more generally (V3_VTC1; V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4; V3_VTC5). Through a strong sense of community cooperation, power *with* can emerge (Iorio & Wall, 2012), turning *sosialisasi* into a potential tool that creates the precondition for empowerment. The ultimate goal is to create community cohesion, i.e. to turn village 3 into a community with a common goal, which, however, has proved challenging due to the different characters in the village (V3_VTC3; V3_VTC5). Hence, the VTC's ultimate aim is social empowerment through tourism, (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002), in specific *pemberdayaan masyarakat* (community empowerment), which means helping villagers become active agents in tourism through participation rather than being passive observers (V3_VC). The concept of CBT in village 3 is, therefore, based on an inclusive philosophy that sees *pemberdayaan masyarakat* as tourism's ultimate aim. As part of the first observed aspect of *sosialisasi*, i.e. supplying information and increasing awareness of CBT, the head of tourism speaks openly about the *desa wisata* in village and association meetings, where he is usually invited along with other VTC members to talk about the importance of tourism and possibilities to participate. Illustrations 3 and 4 show two examples, the youth association and the children's dancing group, both of which can get involved in tourism through performing with and for tourists in the future.

Illustration 3: *Sosialisasi* in the children's dance class



Source: author's collection, June 2013

Illustration 4: *Sosialisasi* in the youth association meeting



Source: author's collection, April 2013

Based on observations and interviews, it is without doubt that the VTC in village 3 actively seeks to offer information on CBT – as opposed to village 1 and village 2, where tourism operations are less transparent. What is more is that the VTC tries to connect the activities of existing village associations to tourism in order to widen participation (V3_VTC3). Based on my observations and interviews, Table 18 presents an overview of the relevant village associations that are involved in tourism or should be involved in the near future. Tourism forms part of this list insofar as it can be regarded as one of many village activities, although one that seeks to draw connections with other associations, particularly in village 3.

Table 18: Village associations with a connection to tourism

Association	Connection to tourism
Tourism	Village 1/village 2/village 3: Tourism constitutes a village association as it is one of many village activities, consisting of those who are directly and indirectly involved in tourism (the VTC and VTT).
Plastic collectors	Village 3: Created with the initiation of CBT, this association enables villagers to earn an additional income through selling collected plastic to the Indonesian government, particularly for those who are already retired or have few/no qualifications. This association is key for the success of CBT, which relies on the village's cleanliness, with pollution being a general problem in Bali. Members of the association contribute to increasing the general awareness of the importance of cleanliness in the village.
Dance	Village 3: The children and adult dance groups should be connected to tourism in that tourists should be able to watch the children dance during their classes as well as participate themselves in the future. For this purpose, the head of tourism organised a dance teacher coming to the village, while before the children had to leave the village to attend their classes. Future plans also focus on training a dance teacher in the village to increase community control. Village 1: The dance association may be connected to tourism in the future in that tourists can come to observe children's dance classes and mature dancers may be used for performances in the <i>Balai banjar</i> . Village 2: The dancers' association is already used to perform in front of tourists in the <i>puri</i> , even though it is always the same group.
Gamelan	Village 3: The <i>gamelan</i> should be used for tourist performance in the future. Village 2: The local <i>gamelan</i> is already used to perform as part of CBT.
Youth	Village 3: This association is partly involved in tourism, in that a number of teenagers in the village receive tourism training. The activities and competition that this association organises may be used as tourist attractions in the future.
Surf	Village 3: The surfing association has already benefited from tourism in that some of the funding from the BI was used to build a shower on the beach. Further plans are to create parking spaces close to the beach and offer surfing classes to tourists. This association experiences local criticism in terms of negatively influencing the younger generation, by distributing their 'Surf & Sex' T-shirts that children and teenagers of all ages wear.
Transport	Village 3: This association was created with the start of tourism, supplying transport services to tourists. Before, privately owned villas in village 3 used transport from other villages.
Massage	Village 3: By using a local workforce (e.g. the massage teacher who has worked in the massage business for a long time; students that train in massage in village 3), this association offers massages to tourists locally.
Women	Village 1/village 2/village 3: Women's associations can be found in most Balinese villages. In the three villages under study, these associations are not directly linked to tourism yet, although a number of women are involved in CBT.
Weaving	Village 1: There are only a few villagers left in village 1 who possess the skill of traditional Balinese weaving. This association hopes to be able to sell their products to tourists, or even – through tourists' interest and promotion – show their work in a gallery.
Black- /silversmith	Village 1/village 2/village 3: The smith community is connected to tourism in that they perform for tourists on village tours and sell products to tourists, such as knives and jewellery.

Source: author

I witnessed that village associations exist in all three villages under study. However, only in village 3, I realised an exceptional awareness of the potential of these associations. Observations revealed that power *with* others can lead to power *to* achieve a tangible contribution to village life and tourism. It is the networking between village groups and the existence of a common goal, such as presenting the village as clean to the outside, that can foster social empowerment (Dunn, 2007), based on the ability to collectively “act on issues of concern” (Laverack, 2004:48). The plastic collector association, for example, contributes to the village’s cleanliness and a general awareness of its importance, which forms an important basis for tourism. In addition, these associations form part of daily village life and a social space where the power *with* others is used as power *to* strengthen villagers’ skills and interpersonal connections (e.g. learning Balinese dance in a group).

The head of tourism seeks to increase community control and outside influence through the use of these social ties as attraction (e.g. *gamelan*, dance) or to provide specific services to tourists (e.g. transport). It is the social ties between villagers as well as their skills that can lead to cooperation rather than competition, i.e. social empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999), turning village associations into an existent, but underused, social space of empowerment. Particularly tourism as one of the village associations constitutes a potential social space of empowerment for those who participate and use their skills, ideas and power *with* to make a meaningful change. Nevertheless, what is special about tourism is that it can pervade other village associations, and has the potential to strengthen existent village activities and social ties:

With the organisation of the tourism village, I tried to organise other groups too. Like surfing, we collected all the people that usually work here with surfing and made an organisation for the surfing. And there are other ones: an organisation for plastic collectors or for the home industry. It all belongs to the tourism village.” (V3_VTC3)

Ultimately, through drawing a connection between tourism and village associations, these may turn into further social spaces of empowerment.

Table 18 further indicates women’s associations as one of the associations found in the Balinese village, a space exclusively reserved for women, in which they socialise with other women and prepare for religious ceremonies (V1_VTC1; V3_VTT3). To

date, these associations are not connected to tourism and women's involvement in CBT is generally limited. Although a number of women are involved in CBT, it emerged that women generally occupy traditional female roles. They usually take over the role of the host, cooking for tourists and cleaning the house, while men take family decisions:

The man is the head of the family, the wife manages the money, both take care of the children. Normally the woman cooks and the man makes decisions. If the woman would control the family it would break. In business, yes, the woman can manage and be in control, that is not a problem, but not in the family. (V1_VTT6)

While women supposedly are welcome to participate in CBT (V1_VTC1; V3_VTC4; V3_VTC5), they rarely form part of the VTCs and do not participate in village meetings, where topics such as CBT are discussed. What is more is that I did not witness any evidence for *sosialisasi* penetrating women's associations. It emerged from interviews that women seemed to accept these inequalities in decision-making and their roles (V1_V2; V1_VTT6; V2_VTC4; V3_VTT4), also because gender relations in Bali are slowly changing:

Men go to work, women cook, but now most of the women also work, go to the office ... so it is equal. Only when family decisions are made, it is men's decision. But we also have a women's community... But of course now we can give them input. What is my opinion? And then we can discuss, so the final decision just comes from the man. (V1_VTC1)

Despite persisting inequalities in terms of engaging in CBT, CBT offers women a chance to contribute to the family income, usually regarded as 'easy' work that enables women to look after their children while taking care of tourists – a simple addition to the extended family (V3_VTT4; V3_VTT5). Moreover, in the long run, CBT could have the potential to change the longstanding notion that women's work (making offerings, cooking) does not classify as 'real' work (Nakatani, 2003), given that, in the space of CBT, women's work turns into an income-generating activity at family and village level. At the same time, CBT's focus on 'traditional culture' pressures women to fulfil the expectations of what it means to be a 'traditional Balinese woman', i.e. to be able to dance and to cook (V3_VTC2; V3_VTC4), and thereby reinforces traditional gender stereotypes (Dunn, 2007). Based on the arguments above and given the limitations of this research in reaching women and participating in association meetings, further research is needed that specifically

investigates gender roles and the potential that women's associations bear for empowerment.

Closely connected to strong community groups is the second aspect of *sosialisasi*, the creation/strengthening of a sense of belonging. This is key in that it increases a sense of ownership regarding the *desa wisata* programme, thereby preventing community members from viewing CBT as an activity that concerns only others and not themselves (Lapeyre, 2010; Li, 2004). Time will tell whether this will avoid tourism in village 3 from turning into a competitive activity, which is often the case when individuals realise the potential benefits that can be gained from CBT (Iorio & Wall 2012). To increase a sense of belonging, the VTC in village 3 distributes *Desa Wisata [village 3]* tourism T-shirts, which should give villagers a sense of ownership in connection to the *desa wisata* programme (V3_VTC3). Even I, as a guest and researcher, received a T-shirt to help me feel that I was part of the village and tourism. The VTC distributes these T-Shirts first of all to those directly working in tourism, e.g. the VTC (see illustrations 5 and 6) and broader VTT, and to members of other associations, such as the massage association (see illustration 7) and the plastic collector association.

Illustration 5: VTC meeting in village 3



Source: author's collection, April 2013

Illustration 6: Capacity building workshop with the VTC



Source: author's collection, April 2013

Illustration 7: Massage course in village 3



Source: author's collection, May 2013

While I could not identify a direct connection between the use of the T-shirts and enhanced community agency, I did notice villagers' general sense of ownership of the CBT programme in village 3, with most interviewees referring to "our" or "my" programme during interviews (V3_VC; V3_VTC1; V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3). The head of tourism hopes that the distribution of the T-Shirts will increase villagers' self-esteem and sense of belonging to the village and the tourism programme at large. Again, although this was not specifically mentioned by interviewees, I noticed that – both in photographs shown to me and during my own observations – villagers tended to wear the tourism T-Shirts for trainings, work situations and in everyday life. When I took pictures of villagers, some jokingly 'showed off' with their T-shirts. Given the T-shirts' popularity and the suggested positive effect the VTC could observe, future funding in village 3 will be directed at the production and distribution of more T-shirts in the village (V3_VTC1; V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4; V3_VTC5).

Based on the arguments above, the space of CBT in village 3, embedded in and penetrating everyday village life, can activate and strengthen existent social ties to create a sense of belonging and community cohesion. It is therefore the VTC's responsibility to discover and foster the potential that these social ties, also as part of village associations, bear to ultimately turn the space of CBT into a social space of empowerment, going beyond opportunities for the VTC. While I could identify village associations – "organizational elements in which people come together in order to socialize and to address their concerns" (Laverack, 2004:51) – as potential social spaces of empowerment, it is impossible at this point to draw conclusions on this matter given the scope of this research. Hence, future research needs to address this gap and focus on the potential that village associations, particularly also the women's associations, bear for social empowerment in CBT.

8.1.5. CBT's paradoxical space: community control or outside influence?

A number of paradoxes in the space of CBT emerged from the data, allowing insights into the very nature of the space of CBT. The paradoxes discussed here include the influence exercised by outside actors versus the village's wish for independence and the true meaning and applications of CBT (as understood by Bali CoBTA, for example) as opposed to the meaning of *desa wisata*. Analysing these paradoxes reveals valuable insights into understanding community control and the nature of the

alternative space of CBT in Bali to ultimately see whether it can constitute a social space of empowerment.

Influence from outside usually forms part of CBT to some extent, given that a certain amount of training and funding is needed to launch tourism in rural areas (Halstead, 2003; Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008; Scheyvens, 2003). Nevertheless, some paradoxes could be identified between the need for outside influence and its resistance. First and foremost, CBT for villagers signifies control and ownership over operational processes and resources, which is usually not the case in mass tourism (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC1; V2_VTC2; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC1; V3_VC). It allows villagers autonomy and to keep financial benefits to themselves rather than losing income to multinational hotel chains (PNPM, 2007). VTC members are convinced that also staff in CBT needs to come from the village in order to avoid villagers becoming passive spectators (V2_VTC1; V2_VTC2). This view is in line with the PNPM programme's aim of making villagers subjects instead of objects of their own development (TNP2K, n.d.a), illustrated by a quote of the tourism ministry in Bali: *"Before the programme of the tourism village, the people in the village were only objects but now since the government has the programme of the tourism village, villagers should be subjects"* (MoT_B). Essentially, villagers becoming subjects in tourism is part of what empowerment means for the tourism ministry (MoT_J).

Therefore, on the one hand, the space of CBT offers room for villagers' control over tourism – at least the hope for it – as incentive to participate. The observable local resistance against power *over*, exercised by actors that do not form part of the community, suggests that villagers regard CBT as a space that should encompass complete community ownership. After all, the influence of local hotels and travel agents often generates few local benefits and causes unease when they offer independent cycling and walking tours to the villages:

Let us do the cycling, the guiding... like this we can earn money and for the tourists it is more touching. We know our village best. But they [i.e. the hotels] think that we are not professional and all the money goes to the big investors in the hotel. I have to fight the investors. (V1_VTC2)

The VTC in village 1 expressed their concern with hotels, which supposedly regard villagers as unprofessional, thereby reducing community control and ownership. It is private investors in general, particularly from Europe and Jakarta, who are regarded as

negative influences in the tourism landscape of Bali (V2_VTC4) (MacRae, 2003; Sutawa, 2012). Even if control may be with VTC members rather than the wider community, CBT still presents a space of resistance against mass tourism and outside influence: “[Village 3] should be a destination that is still natural but also a tourist destination, that is very important for my village. [...] In Kuta, I experienced that everything is about money” (V3_VTC1). Observations and interviews revealed a discourse that puts the village into stark contrast with the ‘evils’ of mass tourism, where money goes to big businessmen and the real Bali is hidden in a contrived and standardised tourism product that gives little control to villagers (selection: BTB; HD; V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V1_VTT5; V2_VTC1; V2_VTC2; V2_VTT1; V3_VTC1; V3_VTT4).

These dynamics can also be noticed in village 3, home to numerous villas that are privately owned by businessmen from Europe. These villas usually use tourist services such as transport from outside the village and tend to be seen as an exploitation of the local workforce, paying low wages to butlers and masseuses from the village (V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4). The VTC, however, managed partly to turn the investors’ power *over* villagers into power *with* and power *to* achieve a change for their own benefits (see Table 27 in section 8.3.2.). It did so by creating the village’s own transport association and cooperating with villas based on a contract that guarantees the sole use of transport from village 3 (V3_VTC2; V3_VTC3). It is thus through the creation of village associations – driven by villagers’ entrepreneurial spirit – and the cooperation with businessmen, used for their own advantage, that villagers in village 3 have taken a first step towards dealing with influence from outside, trying to increase community control over tourism.

A similar way of dealing with conflicts of interest could be observed in village 2, with a villa that is privately owned by a man from Switzerland. The VTC uses the villa to accommodate tourists when the number of guests exceeds the capacity of homestays, helping village 2 to cater for a larger number of guests (V2_VTC4). As a consequence, villagers tend to resist influence from outside to a certain extent, although a complete denial of outside influence is never possible, given the prevalence of foreign investment in Bali (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007; MacRae, 2010). This leads villages to transform the power *over* that outside actors can have into collaborative power *with*.

In addition, it emerged that villagers are aware that the village is not isolated, given that CBT is a space that is open to, and partly dependent on, the outside (Iorio & Wall, 2012). Even though CBT relies on the use of tradition as attraction, for example, innovation and modern equipment are needed to make CBT function and to rise to a certain standard for tourists (V1_VTC2; V3_VTC2). CBT's success relies on international tourists, funding and villagers' expertise in tourism. I noticed that the skills of those who had tourism work experience abroad were of particular use within CBT, given that these villagers understand the tourism industry and tourists' needs (V1_VTC2; V3_VTC3). In a conversation with V3_VTT5, a massage student in village 3, it became obvious that, in fact, the younger generation often seeks to leave the village to work elsewhere, for example on a cruise ship, to guarantee a good income. The VTC, in turn, tries to keep the young generation in the village and persuade those who have left to return (V2_VTC2; V3_VTC3). CBT, therefore, turns into a space that depends on outside influence while at the same time presents a tool to teach the value of the local and offer job prospects in the village.

Particularly when looking at the benefits that cooperation with hotels, tourists, and other outside actors brings, it becomes obvious that influence from outside is neither avoidable nor exclusively negative. Villagers seek to cooperate with hotels and travel agents to attract tourists (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC3), to make CBT work and to reap financial benefits. After all – even though tourism in Bali has a number of negative consequences – it gives possibilities to entrepreneurs to start their own business (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007). CBT is one such example, whereby villagers hope to find potential business partners and investors in tourists (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC1), an idea that is propounded by Bali CoBTA (CoBTA_CM). The chairman (CoBTA_CM) suggests the villages, for example, to sell or sublet land through tourism for swifter financial benefits:

If they use only tourism, it takes ages – but if you can create trading or investment and there is still a piece of land that you can build on... That is my challenge! [...] This is what I teach them. [...] I never tell them to sell. Collaborate, yes! It is good for the investor; it is also good for the community. That is why I said to you, if we can synergise tourism and trading and whatever can be invested, we can make the poor get rich faster.

The idea of CBT that Bali CoBTA transmits is one where outside influence is necessary to reap financial benefits. Bali CoBTA seeks to stimulate investment and

cooperation despite the fact that the tourism ministry prohibits the buying or leasing of land as part of the *desa wisata*¹⁷.

Even though Bali CoBTA suggests attracting investment and trading through CBT, these collaborations can lead to local conflict. One of the VTC members in village 1 argues that tourism – and the kind of partnerships it brings with it – destroys people’s sense of collaboration with their fellow villager, making them greedy and selfish (V1_VTC2). These are two characteristics that the Balinese frown upon, represented through the tooth filing ceremony as a rite of passage to adulthood, which takes away the sharpness of the teeth, a symbol that stands for greed as embodied by the Balinese daemon. After all, CBT should lead to cooperation and “limit the influence of individual entrepreneurs, both the local elite and outsiders, in controlling such economic activity” (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008:230). Nevertheless, CBT often remains a competitive activity driven by individual interests (Iorio & Wall, 2012).

Further community conflict arises through the selling of land as part of CBT. CBT serves as a tool that enables villagers to enter the world of foreign investment by asking tourists to buy land and invest – I was approached various times by villagers during my stay to buy land. Even though local regulations pose restrictions on the selling of land, it is the right of landowners to decide what happens with their land (V2_VTC1). Partnerships (i.e. renting rather than buying land) are often the way forward to bypass legal restrictions (V1_VTC3), and even though joint ventures between community members and private investors can enable participation in decision-making and revenue sharing (Ashley & Roe, 1998), a number of villagers regard the selling of land as largely destructive. It interrupts the *subak*, which is not only one of Bali’s cultural heritages but also takes the form of a village association that supplies the rice fields with water (V2_VC; V2_VTT1). A quote by a farmer in village 2, who returned to agriculture after he had lost his tourism job through the Bali bombings, illustrates his disagreement regarding cooperation:

I don't like it [i.e. the selling of land]. Because I am a farmer, I disagree. Otherwise, the system of agriculture is gone. We have the agricultural system called subak, it is our world cultural heritage. Back here, my subak is already extinct, because there are no more rice fields. (V2_VTT1)

¹⁷ This information is taken from a tourism ministry workshop on community empowerment in Denpasar, Bali on May 18th 2013.

The loss of agriculture, in turn, constitutes a problem for CBT, whose product is based on the traditional village lifestyle, including farming, and the sheer existence of rural villages:

One of the problems in Bali is now that farmers keep selling their land to build villas. And if we don't do anything to avoid this [...], everything is going to be gone. So at the end of the day, there are villas everywhere. So the owner of the villa one day will realise "oh my god, I see nothing else besides villas, I don't want to live in Bali any more, I will sell everything". And the price of the land will go down. [...] And if many people think about it that way, nobody will take care of community-based tourism and someday soon it will be forgotten, forever. (BI)

The selling of land further impacts on traditions and ceremonies, given that land is usually used for cremation ceremonies, making it difficult to get access to large land (V2_VTT4). Now only the richer villagers (e.g. the *puri*) can afford big cremations (V2_VTT4). CBT, therefore, turns into a space that destroys its very asset base, the land on which it operates, the villages' richness in tradition and ceremonies, as well as villagers' ties and sense of collaboration with each other (Dolezal, 2011a). When CBT does turn into a space of collaboration (as a sign for social empowerment, see Table 8), one can speak of collaboration between individual villagers and investors, rather than between villagers themselves. As a consequence, this collaboration may lead to economic empowerment on an individual basis, while it compromises wider social empowerment within the space of CBT. Hence, while CBT should constitute an alternative to rather than a replacement of agriculture (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy & Bali CoBTA, n.d.), it revives the same problems that the Balinese have been dealing with for the past few decades: landlessness. Thus, rather than making tourism in Bali more sustainable and preserving Bali's cultural distinctiveness (Wall, 1996b, Byczek, 2011), I argue that CBT is 'sustainable tourism in disguise', attracting particular attention to the 'untouched' with future investment prospects.

Cooperation with outside actors goes beyond the need for immediate financial benefit and takes the form of advice on how to develop tourism and discover the village's assets, which sometimes appear hidden to villagers (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC3). All of the three VTC's have approached me to offer advice on these issues, as well as promotion to attract tourists. This could be due to the fact that it is often outsiders who first see the opportunities for a potential tourism business

(Iorio & Wall, 2012). There is a need for a certain influence from outside, also from the Ministry of Tourism in the form of funding and training, but, most importantly, from Bali CoBTA, in terms of promotion (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC3). Promotion is needed to attract tourists and offer CBT practice to villagers in order for tourism to become a viable and economically sustainable business to ultimately enable empowerment (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008). Even though VTC members complain about a lack of help from Bali CoBTA, the NGO itself regards independence as part of the nature of CBT:

For promotion, we help them to do sales calls, we visit travel agents, we help them to make brochures and to build websites. But, actually, based on the principle of community-based tourism, they have to do it by themselves. But because they haven't got a capable person to do it, for the time being, we still help them. (CoBTA_ST)

While the VTC opens up the space of CBT for outside help to some extent, the guidelines that Bali CoBTA provides regard CBT as a space of autonomy, signifying independence and control just as much as villagers' feeling of being lost:

It feels like throwing us into the desert and then leaving. We do exist, we are a soldier with weapons, but no enemy. I am ready, it does not matter how many groups, how many guests come, [village 1] is ready. Just be natural. But we need to get people. And then we can work. (V1_VTC2)

And, in fact, as villagers realised that the NGO's support with promotion is not what they had expected, all three villages started to create their own websites, some even their own brochures, to be independent from Bali CoBTA. After all, delegating tasks, responsibilities, and, in some way also power, comes with the risk that the one to whom power is delegated does not act in the interest of the one delegating it (Lupia, 2001). A quote by a village 1 VTC member exemplifies this:

So the wording [on the brochure] is not really touchy and the address at the bottom is not saying our address, it is Bali CoBTA. This is OK, we are run by Bali CoBTA, but as a partner [emphasis], so we have to be independent. We cannot depend on CoBTA, I don't want to depend on CoBTA. You support us, you give us advice on how to run this thing, you help us in terms of promoting. You come with the guest, then we are selling something. If you bring us guests, we sell, if you don't, we still sell. (V1_VTC2)

Paradoxically, even though the VTCs appear powerless when it comes to promotion and seek Bali CoBTA's assistance, they express the wish and need for independence. This detachment from Bali CoBTA can be traced back to a general discontent in the

existing villages, which has grown as the NGO has continued to create yet more tourism villages. Supposedly, Bali CoBTA forgets to help existent CBT villages attract visitors to not only initiate but sustain CBT in the future (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V3_VTC3):

CoBTA should introduce us to the hotels. What about the Bali Hotels Association? It is connected to CoBTA, but is the same shit on a different island. They know so many hotels... but what CoBTA does is only wording. Why are they called "CoBTA"? What are they doing besides giving us money? They know about tourism, they know hotels, but when it comes to the villages, they have no idea. They cannot even promote us, because they don't know the villages, they never come visit. (V1_VTC2)

As Leksakundilok & Hirsch (2008:230) remind us, promotion is a well-known problem with tourism “at the community level; hence communities usually try to create relationships with outsiders [...] [and rely] on help and support from outside, especially from government agencies and sometimes from commercial operators and NGOs, [...] [creating] some external dependence.” Through the creation of their own websites, villages can reduce this dependence, although promotion remains a challenge without help from actors outside the village.

VTC members also expressed the wish to – through showcasing the villages’ assets in CBT – receive more attention and promotional help from the government, particularly from Bali as province (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V3_VC; V3_VTC3), which lost authority as part of processes of *desentralisasi* in Indonesia (Pisani, 2014). It is mainly the national government that assists the villages, given that the regencies have little tourism knowledge and training (V1_VTC3; V3_VTC3). In the end, however, the villages are seeking independence from the government (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V3_VTC3), which is what the PNPM programme stands for, after all: communities should be self-managed with assistance from the government as ‘facilitator’ (PNPM, 2007). Hence, “PNPM is the village-level flagship program for democratization and decentralization reform in the post-Suharto era” (McCarthy et al., 2014:234-235). And, even though democracy and autonomy are the goal, at times the limited assistance that forms part of *desentralisasi* is problematic: “*I really appreciate the idea of the government [...] to announce this village a tourist destination [...] But we have to do it on our own. It is like you throw us in the middle of nowhere without light*” (V1_VTC2).

Even though the VTC needs assistance from outside, it generally seeks to minimise the influence of outside actors. Nevertheless, attractions that do not form part of the villages are indeed used in the touristic offer. This is the case in village 2, where the tourist programme takes place outside the village to a large extent, visiting attractions, craft shops and restaurants in the tourist city of Ubud. And again, Bali CoBTA teaches villagers the value of opening up the space of CBT, by looking beyond what the village has to offer: “*If you think there is not enough attractions, you have to exploit the neighbourhood, three or four villages. People stay in the village but they visit the other villages*” (CoBTA_CM). In village 2, leaving the village with tourists is regarded as good practice (V2_VTC4), although it obviously leads to leakage and reduced community ownership.

The aforementioned confusion connected to what CBT really means and how much independence or support villagers should have can also be traced back to a terminological confusion. While Bali CoBTA, and to some extent the BTB as well as the MoT, talk about ‘community-based tourism’, the prevalent discourse on what villagers understand as CBT is centred around the idea of ‘*desa wisata*’ (i.e. tourism village). While CBT signifies community control and ownership in all aspects of tourism planning (Timothy & Tosun, 2003; Lapeyre, 2010), *desa wisata* does not imply this immediate connection in its terminology. It is widely known that CBT is oftentimes confused with other types of tourism *to* or *in* communities (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008), “regardless whether they have actively participated in its development and management and/or if the communities have collectively benefitted from it” (Boonratana, 2010:280).

Observations and conversations revealed a lack of awareness of Bali CoBTA and the meaning of CBT, amongst villagers as well as tourists. This unawareness of CBT may be traced back to the existence of a number of other *desa wisata* in Bali (Bali Post, 2010; Wisata Bali, 2014), which are not under Bali CoBTA’s CBT umbrella. These villages attract tourists by advertising the villages’ potential for trekking, amongst others online, but without indications of a systematic tourism planning approach to ensure community control and ownership. They are mere *objek wisata* (tourism objects) that tourists visit, i.e. tourism *to* and *in* communities rather than CBT; and yet the same discourse can be traced in the villages supported by Bali CoBTA (V1_VTT3; V1_VTT6; V2_VTC4; V2_VTT5; V3_VC; V3_VTC3).

The perception of the nature of the space of CBT is, therefore, ambiguous and differs between the actors, with Bali CoBTA regarding CBT and empowerment differently from the VTC or other villagers. Table 19 offers an overview of the different understandings of empowerment amongst villagers and institutions involved in CBT. What becomes obvious is that, although the MoT, Bali CoBTA and villagers themselves regularly use *pemberdayaan masyarakat* as terminology, no unitary or singular understanding of the term exists in Bali's CBT landscape. As can be taken from Table 19, definitions vary in terms of *who* empowers, *how* empowerment happens and *what* it entails, including aspects such as skills development, interactions with tourists and financial benefits.

Table 19: Villagers’ perspectives on empowerment in CBT

Role	Empowerment means...	Quotations (examples)
Heads of tourism in the villages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. improving people’s knowledge through guidelines; the government has to create an enabling environment and empower (V1_VTC1) 2. being able to deal with tourists, receive training; he empowers, trains and creates opportunities for participation, creating local capacity (V2_VTC4) 3. widening participation (V3_VTC3) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Empowerment means giving people guidelines. And of course this is what the government has to do.” 2. “In [village 2] not many people know how to serve tourists. I don’t want to look for people from outside the village to work in [village 2]. So I empower. I ask ‘Who wants to join?’ and then maybe a young man says ‘I don’t know what can I do with the tourists.’ ‘Ok I will teach you.’ That is pemberdayaan, like learning how to clean the room. Yes I will teach, because they don’t understand.” 3. “Empowerment for me is how to make all people, especially in [village 3], participate in the programme.”
Village chiefs	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. improving knowledge and skills through training (V1_VC; V2_VC) 2. being able to handle tourists (V1_VC) 3. participation, becoming active agents in the village (V3_VC) 4. the government must empower (V3_VC) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. “Empowerment means when villagers become actors, when they do not only watch. When they contribute to activities in the Desa Wisata.”
VTC members	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. using/increasing skills/potential (for financial benefit) (V2_VTC1; V2_VTC3; V3_VTC2; V3_VTC4) 2. the VTC empowers (V1_VTC2; V3_VTC4) 3. can be achieved through <i>sosialisasi</i>, increasing motivation and enabling participation (V3_VTC1; V3_VTC3) 4. being able to interact/deal with tourists and practice skills; being confident in interactions (V1_VTC1; V3_VTC4) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “It means giving power. If you want to become a good guide, give some licence and practice.” (V3_VTC2) 1./2. “Pemberdayaan means we can improve people’s skills... like English, we can make them stronger, and they can become a guide.” (V3_VTC4) 2. “I share my knowledge with others. That is empowerment for me. To teach people to do this and do that is part of empowerment.” (V1_VTC1) 3. “How can tourism empower? Firstly, by preparing ourselves for guests, secondly, by giving training, thirdly by socializing tourism and fourthly by enabling participation in the programme so they can learn little by little.” (V3_VTC3) 4. “Empowerment means that they are confident in themselves whenever they have to host the guest in their house.” (V1_VTC1)
Other roles in tourism: homestay owners; tour guide, handicraft producers, massager	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. improving skills & knowledge through training (V2_VTT1; V2_VTT2; V1_VTT1; V1_VTT5) 2. increasing quality of life (V1_VTT1) 3. financial benefit through tourists’ interest (V2_VTT3; V1_VTT3; V1_VTT6) 4. equality, but the caste system is an obstacle (V1_VTT3) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. “When the people are rich people, are rich. And the poor people are poor people. They still stay in that class, they will never move up. When they have no money, they can’t do anything.” (V1_VTT3)

Table 20: Institutions' perspectives on empowerment in CBT

Role	Empowerment means...	Quotations (examples)
Bali CoBTA: chairman & member of staff	CoBTA_ST: 1. building capacity CoBTA_CM: 2. using talents 3. financial benefits going to the right people 4. Bali CoBTA empowers and delegates 5. independence 6. is a process	1. <i>"Well for us empowerment means if the community can build their own capacity. Let's say if they are farmers, they are just not working as a farmer, because maybe they have more talent to do some more things."</i> 4. <i>"Bali CoBTA empowers and delegates. And the people think 'Hey, Bali CoBTA you are responsible, you recommend us to go there!' That's the problem."</i> 5. <i>"Empowerment is when they can implement what I teach them, without me being there."</i>
Staff member of the Bank of Indonesia	1. the BI empowers with CBT 2. enhancing the economy, fostering self-sufficiency in the villages	1./2. <i>"We try to empower villagers to make the economy grow so they have the ability to transform what they already have to be more creative, to sell more."</i>
MoT Indonesia	1. financial benefit through using the villages' <i>potensi</i> in CBT 2. the villages turning into a subject in tourism	-
MoT Bali	1. the villages turning into a subject in tourism	-
Bali Tourism Board	1. using the villages' <i>potensi</i> to get financial benefit and preserve the village 2. somebody influential and experiences empowers locally (i.e. the VTCs)	1. <i>"To me it is very important to empower the villagers. To preserve what we have there in the village and after that empower the people so that they are ready to participate. To develop all the potentials in the village."</i>

Source: author

Based on the arguments discussed throughout this chapter as well as the information presented in Tables 19 and 20, it seems that, on the ground, the actors involved in CBT create differing ideas on an individual basis of what CBT and empowerment mean. Consequently, this ambiguity creates confusion among rather than collaboration between the actors involved in CBT, impeding collective effort to achieve a common goal. While power *with* may be created in the villages to some extent (at least amongst VTC members), collaboration between the village and Bali CoBTA or the village and investors constitutes a challenge. Given the open nature of the space of CBT, which – to some extent – is dependent on influence and help from outside, collaboration with outside actors – to an extent that does not damage CBT’s asset base – is key to enabling power *with* and to deal with the highlighted paradoxes on the way towards social empowerment.

Having analysed these paradoxes in the alternative space of CBT allows initial conclusions on its nature. While the concept of CBT comes with notions of village independence, control and ownership, tourism’s very nature is dependent on influence from outside. CBT allows villagers to fight against mass tourism on the one side, while on the other it is reliant on using mass tourism’s promotion channels. It is a space through which villagers try to articulate agency and control in Bali’s tourism landscape, but yet remain disillusioned about the inability to operate the business of CBT without any outside assistance and cooperation. It is the gap between hope (i.e. CBT as a space to articulate agency) and reality (i.e. CBT as a space in need of outside influence and cooperation) that forms a challenge for villagers to strengthen community agency and, ultimately, social empowerment. Only through the creation of power *with* villagers as much as with outside actors can community ownership continue to be fostered in the space of CBT to lead towards power *to* make meaningful changes.

8.2. The tourism encounter as a space of empowerment in CBT

The encounter between tourists and villagers forms, without doubt, a crucial aspect of the tourism product in rural Bali, as much as in many other tourist destinations. It not only serves as an attraction for tourists who visit Bali and want to meet the ‘locals’, but, most importantly, it presents a window into understanding the power relations between the actors that are part of the CBT landscape. These actors are, above all, the

tourist and villagers, although the tourism encounter can reveal further valuable insights into power relations between villagers themselves as well as outside actors, such as the government and Bali CoBTA. Tourists and villagers are agents who co-create social spaces, hence this chapter's aim is to critically investigate whether the encounter can be a space of empowerment, based on an analysis of interactions in CBT and tourists' as well as villagers' roles and expectations.

In this section, I discuss the different forms of social spaces that the tourism encounter creates based on the types of power dynamics resulting from the observed interactions. In some of these spaces, given that power is understood as fluid and not fixed, "the possibility exists that the gains made by the powerful need not to be at the expense of the less powerful" (Coles & Church, 2007:17). The three dynamics I identify in this section offer possibilities for villagers' agency and empowerment to different extents, depending on the nature of the social relationships. I put an emphasis on understanding empowerment as a *process*, given that power relations in these spaces are constantly changing and re-negotiated. The aspect of time, therefore, becomes key in understanding empowerment in social spaces, in the present as well as the future.

To support the discussion on the tourism encounter, I make regular referral to sketches of resident-tourist interactions that I observed in two of the studied villages (village 1 and village 2, given that tourism in village 3 had not officially started at the point of research). These are indicated as numbered and bracketed 'themes' in the present narrative, which refer to *précis* of my field diary included in Appendix II. They serve the purpose of underlining the critical analysis that is to follow by resurrecting the tourism encounter in the present writing.

8.2.1. Agency and control in the tourism encounter

8.2.1.1 Communication skills: a basis for social empowerment

In this section, I take the argument of the importance of skills (as addressed in section 8.1.3.1.) further and put communication skills as a basis for social empowerment in connection with the tourism encounter.

Although I observed that in all three villages interactions and communication with tourists were generally enjoyable for the hosts, they were often hindered by a lack of

language skills as well as self-confidence on the hosts' part, two aspects that form part of the empowerment core (see Figure 9). While certain villagers participating in CBT – usually part of the VTC – have past work experience in tourism, others lack sufficient communication skills to engage fully with tourists or to know their needs. Although some tourists lacked language skills in terms of communicating in either Balinese or English, it is residents who appeared to regret being unable to communicate, with a number of villagers stating that they would wish to speak the tourists' language (V2_VTT2; V3_VTT2; V3_VTT3; V3_VTT5). To them, language skills are essential in a tourism employee's or entrepreneur's skills set. A number of villagers involved in tourism (V2_VTC2; V2_VTC3; V3_VTT4) wanted to inform tourists about the local context, the village or their family, but the language posed an insurmountable barrier. One homestay owner in village 2, a retired expert on archaeology, said *"I would like to explain the archaeology of [village 2] to tourists, but that's the problem, my English is not good"* (V2_VTC3).

Given the lack of language skills, responsibilities and tasks are often passed to others (i.e. external guides), which makes the tourism encounter less meaningful, both for residents and for tourists. Although the cultural broker enables interaction between residents and tourists to some extent, the need for a broker turns the local guide into a limited agent in the tourism encounter, which remains dominated by an outsider. A retired village teacher in village 2 (V2_VTC2), for example, assists as a guide, but does not speak sufficient English, which is why the external guide accompanying the tourist group needs to serve as an interpreter, a cultural broker (see themes 1.2. and 1.4). The external guide often fails to translate all of the tourists' questions, thereby leading to incomplete and/or incorrect information exchanged between the tourist and resident. After all, the guide's task is not necessarily to become a cultural broker, mediating between the two parties, as "guides are not altruistic mediators by vocation [...]. Instead, they sell images, knowledge, contacts, souvenirs, access, authenticity, ideology and sometimes even themselves" (Salazar, 2012:15). Their job is usually the selling of pre-packaged information and to "(re)construct, folklorize, ethnicize, and

exoticize the local, “‘authentic’” distinctiveness and uniqueness” (Salazar, 2005:642) – at least according to their view of what tourists regard as ‘authentic’.¹⁸

In village 2, the external guide accompanies tourists on their entire tour on the island. He is the one who has agency in terms of creating images of the distant villagers, the ‘other’ (Salazar, 2012), mainly based on his ability to communicate fluently in French. Based on the evidence from observations and interviews, I argue that while it is acknowledged in the literature that tourists are ‘power-bound’ in that they are influenced by agents such as homestay owners and guides during their trip (Cheong & Miller, 2000), villagers themselves are subject to power of a number of agents in the CBT landscape, such as that of guides and also of the VTC, as I will discuss in section 8.2.1.2. After all, a number of other actors and intermediaries who form part of the complex picture of power relations influence the tourism encounter – despite its well-established dichotomy of resident and tourist (Coles & Church, 2007; Chambers, 1997). Hence, when looking at ways for villagers’ to articulate agency in the tourism encounter, a mere analysis of interactions with tourists does not suffice. Communities themselves are not homogeneous and some villagers turn out to have power *over* others. In addition, actors who are only marginally involved in the tourism encounter, such as cultural brokers, contribute to the picture of power dynamics.

The lack of language skills, therefore, is the main reason for a voluntary transfer of responsibilities from villagers to external guides in village 2. Forming a central aspect of the empowerment core, these skills, as well as general tourism knowledge, form the basis for the tourism encounter to be a space of empowerment. In village 1 and village 3, the situation looks slightly different from village 2. In village 1, the tour guides are local to the village, trained through participating in village tours together with tourists and the head of the VTC, who seeks to secure further training from outside to enrich villagers’ language skills and knowledge about the environment (V3_VTC3). In village 1, the tour guide comes from the neighbouring village, knows most of the villagers and so understands the village. His knowledge of the local culture, natural environment and English skills are regarded as outstanding in tourists’ eyes (V1_TM2; V1_TF2; V1_TF3), turning him into an agent who not only has strong ties with the village but who has control over information and representation in the

¹⁸ In section 8.2.3.4., I show that whereas the use of staged authenticity can increase residents’ agency, it may as well limit possibilities for self-representation when conducted by a third party.

tourism encounter (Jensen, 2010). The VTC plans a ‘train the trainers’ approach with the help of the guide by transmitting his specialist knowledge, language and general tourism skills to others interested in becoming a guide (V1_VTT6). The guide himself is convinced of the value of the training:

It is important that they can understand how to handle the tourists. For me, I have no problem, that's a good thing. Let people know how to serve people. I agree... I also have to share sometimes what I know and I can tell them how it works exactly, especially to handle the foreign people when they come to their village. (V1_VTT6)

Language skills are part of the core skills set of tourism employees in the village and a number of reasons for the lack in English skills emerged from interviews. Firstly, villagers, particularly homestay providers, often retired, perceive themselves as too old to study English (V1_VTT4; V2_VTC2; V2_VTT3). Learning English is important mainly for the younger generation, not only for those who want to work in tourism (V2_VTC3; V3_VTT1). In all three villages, English forms part of children’s education in school and opens up opportunities to work in tourism, interact with tourists or emigrate. Secondly, the possibility to receive English training for the older generation is limited or training is unorganised or non-existent. Educational institutes and hotels offer training, usually once for a few days but not on a continuous basis. Thirdly, the lack of guests hinders practicing basic acquired skills on a continuous basis. Fourthly, as tourism is usually a side job for many villagers or a free-time activity, people do not have the time to attend language classes (V2_VTT5; V1_VTT6).

Based on these issues, it becomes obvious that the younger generation tends to receive English training and leave the village to work elsewhere, while the older generation, lacking English skills, stays in the village and engages in CBT. This paradox points to a strong need for organised and sustained capacity building, given that the community does not have the skills to operate tourism on a day-to-day basis (Laverack & Thangphet, 2007). This capacity building needs to reach also the older generation – even if they are ‘only’ homestay providers. After all, some basic skills in tourism are necessary to move from being a limited agent to being an active one in the tourism encounter and maximise community benefits in CBT (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Sebele, 2010; Simpson, 2008). The building or strengthening of skills – usually going hand in hand with feelings of capability (power *within*) – therefore, is indispensable

for all generations in the empowerment process, as Figures 1 and 9 show (Alsop et. al., 2006; Rowlands, 1997).

Despite limited communication skills, interactions turned out to be a worthwhile and memorable experience for residents, particularly for those who had not had a large number of guests yet (V1_VTT1; V1_VTC2; V1_TM2). Some, above all female, homestay owners manage to explain to tourists how to make offerings or handicrafts without any language skills and still feel proud in doing so, as they mentioned in interviews (V1_VTT3; V1_VTT6; V2_VTT1; V2_VTT5; V2_VTC2; V3_VTT1; V3_VTT2; V3_VTT4). However, I also observed that explanations on the religious act of offerings, for example, is only possible for those who speak at least English or French, which makes the encounter a more enriching experience for both villagers and visitors.

Nevertheless, it emerged that not being able to communicate creates a barrier and distance between tourists and residents. The fact that tourists in village 2 usually keep to themselves and interact with villagers only in a *superficial service dynamic* (as further discussed in section 8.2.2.1.), leads to a lack of understanding on both parts, making the tourists sceptical about issues such as where the money goes (V2_TM2), intentions of their hosts (V2_TF4) and power relations in the village (V2_TF1). While tourists in village 1 were fully able to communicate with their hosts, given that the VTC who hosted tourists spoke both French and English, tourists in village 2 tended to feel uncomfortable with their hosts, being “*unable to integrate*” (V2_TF6). After all, they found themselves in a strange and unfamiliar environment and realised that they would never understand power relations and the cultural context in the village as “*Bali is too complicated to understand*” (V2_TM4, theme 1.6). I was myself a tourist at the time and often felt uncomfortable when I was unable to speak the language. I felt impolite and guilty and arrived at a point where interaction was seemingly impossible and unwanted. V2_TM4, a male French tourist felt the same, arguing that it is difficult when you cannot integrate: “*I don’t want more contact with the people because you cannot understand each other*”. Communication may, therefore, be perceived as an issue, an obstacle to getting closer to the Other, the ‘Balinese people’ (V2_TM3; V2_TM6; V2_TF5), who remain distant and foreign for the tourists in village 2 – and vice versa.

8.2.1.2 Residents as Foucauldian agents

Communication problems and the rather distant position that residents occupy in tourists' eyes goes hand in hand with the foreign, unfamiliar environment that tourists find themselves in (V1_TF1; V1_TM2; V2_TF2; V2_TM3; V2_TM6). This evidence, paired with my own experiences in the villages (see chapter 7), reveals first ideas of a different side to power relations in LDCs, which have long been regarded as one-sided. Tourists potentially take the position of the Foucauldian target, being dependent on the power of the agent (i.e. residents) (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Foucault's idea of power may seem repressive in terms of regarding the target (the tourist in this case) as subordinate. Nevertheless, it acknowledges residents' agency and also the target's agency in terms of resisting the subtle power exercised by the agent (the resident), which manifests itself in a knowledge system created through the agent (Foucault, 1988, 1989). The question that arises is whether one could argue that the tourism encounter can be a space of empowerment for residents, having complete *control* in their familiar environment. Conclusions on this matter have to be made with caution, given that this form of empowerment would be based on regarding power as an equation between domination and subordination, with residents gaining in power due to a subtle domination over the guest and a simple shift in power from one side to the other. In the context of this research, I define power in spaces of empowerment as taking the productive form of *power with, within or to* rather than *power over*, which is at the expense of others (see section 3.4.2.). After all, no absolute amount of power exists, given that "its creation is a function of the relativities between agents" (Coles & Church, 2007:17); hence, it is socially produced. Foucault, however, does not account for the first two forms of power, i.e. collective power and power as stemming from within an individual (Deveaux, 1994) given that for Foucault, power essentially is "the organisation of inequality" (Cooper, 1994:445).

Interviews with villagers revealed that villagers were not necessarily conscious of the superior position they may take in the tourism encounter as seen from the tourists' viewpoint (V1_VTT1; V1_VTT6; V2_VTT2; V2_VTT3; V3_VTT3; V3_VTC2). As a consequence, we have to make a careful distinction between members of the VTC and the VTT, with the latter being caught in a system of practices, created by the VTC. These structural constraints limit agency of other VTT members, also in the tourism encounter. Therefore, communities are not homogenous and power is not

simply divided between two parties (residents and tourists). Power is free flowing and dynamic without a “one-sided, fixed flow of power from one individual to another” (Cheong & Miller, 2000:379). As discussed above, in the context of CBT, these individuals include not only residents and tourists, but further actors who shape the encounter. An analysis of the space of the tourism encounter therefore needs to include cultural brokers, VTT members, more privileged villagers (such as the VTC), and even Bali CoBTA, which creates CBT guidelines to some extent.

While agency and power as understood by Foucault are not useful to understand spaces of empowerment, Foucault’s idea of power as domination (power *over*) or knowledge, being fluid and ever-shifting in a web of people assists in analysing dominant power relations (Cooper, 1994), which could also be observed in village 2. Drawing on Foucault makes the complexity of webs of power obvious while simultaneously pointing to the impossibility of denominating the tourism encounter a space of empowerment for all villagers involved in tourism. Based on Foucault’s ideas, I argue that although members of the VTT may be in power from the tourists’ viewpoint, they are subordinate to an operational and knowledge system created by a local elite. It is the VTC who owns information and has control over the direction CBT takes in the village, and, in turn, dominates the space of the tourism encounter.

8.2.1.3 The VTC – a local elite dominating the tourism encounter

The unequal power relations in the VTT reduce possibilities for social empowerment in the tourism encounter yet further. Observations and conversations revealed that the VTC decides on some of the broader structural conditions of CBT (e.g. who becomes a homestay; possibilities for interactions with tourists), while other VTT members tend to serve as silent attractions and service providers. The VTC engages most with tourists while homestay owners see tourists as mere visitors, using their accommodation but doing little more with their guests, particularly in village 2. What reduces interactions for VTT members in village 1 is that tourists stay mainly in the houses of the VTC, with most of the members belonging to the same family. Most existent homestays are to be used in the future: “*Yes they will have food there when the homestays are ready*” (V1_VTC1). To be ‘ready’ means to be able to serve food according to a certain standard (not too spicy and hygienic) and to ensure cleanliness and proper access to the house (i.e. streets to transport the luggage) (V1_VTC1;

V1_VTC3). Based on my observations during a village tour – accompanied by two members of the VTC – as well as the village mapping activity (as discussed in section 6.3.), I realised that the VTC had plans for future involvement of these homestays. Nevertheless, at the point of research, most of these denominated ‘homestays’ were not used. A homestay owner in village 1 (V1_VTT5) was not even aware that his house was a homestay, which resulted from an interview a day after the village tour visit:

Researcher: *Has he already had guests?*

Interpreter: *Not yet, this is just the start of the process. That was the first time that you came with [V1_VTC3].*

Researcher: *So [V1_VTC3] never came here?*

Interpreter: *Never, he said never.*

Researcher: *Did he know he was part of the programme?*

Interpreter: *No, he didn't know yet. That is why he doesn't really care, he doesn't need to clean. That is why when you came here with [V1_VTC3] he knew that finally his house will be used as guesthouse and he needs to keep it clean.*

Although during the interview it seemed that the house owner wanted to be part of the programme, it did not become clear whether he had discussed this with the VTC. The questions that also arise is why the VTC fails to inform homestays of their status and whether the VTC is, in fact, willing to delegate tasks and ‘share’ power, or rather – to take a more empowering view – to create the conditions that assist villagers in enlarging their power base (Burbank & Martins, 2009:35). Even though there may be future plans for participation, without some basic tourism training these villagers will have difficulty being as ‘ready’ as the VTC team. The observed lack of information, the inability to participate in CBT and the limited chance to acquire and practice tourism skills turn the tourism encounter into a space that is largely dominated by the VTC. For the VTC, who has the opportunity to interact with tourists, the tourism encounter can constitute a space of empowerment, allowing the reaping of both tangible and intangible benefits, while denying this possibility to others. It is only through the delegation of responsibilities and control, as well as enabling training and practice opportunities, that the tourism encounter can turn into a space of empowerment for the wider community – provided there is a willingness to participate.

The VTC's domination of the tourism encounter could also be observed in village 2, where homestay owners complained about the fact that all tourist activities were centred around the *puri* and the royal family (V2_VTT3; V2_VTT4). The following excerpt is taken from an interview with V2_VTT3, one of the homestay owners:

Researcher: *What does he do together with the tourists when they are here?*

Interpreter: *Nothing. Because all the day the tourists will have their programme.*

Researcher: *So they are busy?*

Interpreter: *Yes, in the morning they go and are on the programme and then in the afternoon ... sleep again maybe to take the dinner over there, not here, in the puri, sometimes they see dancing over there and then at around 10 at night they come again and sleep.*

Researcher: *Would you like to cook for them?*

V2_VTT3: *No, no. Because I think that is difficult... the guest... I cannot, don't know, maybe what's the food, maybe what European food is like, I don't know.*

Interpreter: *He doesn't want to, because the puri knows well how to prepare for the foreign people, it is easy for them, he just wants to relax within his pension.*

It is the control exercised by an elite in the villages that makes it difficult for others to interact with tourists. Evidence from interviews indicates complaints about this injustice (V2_VTT3; V2_VTT4), possibly taking the form of jealousy, when one of the interviewees even tried to spread rumours about the *puri* during the interview (V2_VTT4). Reportedly as in village 1, the homestays are not yet ready to serve food and undertake activities with tourists (V2_VTC1; V2_VTT4). And yet, despite existent complaints, we should not assume that all villagers feel the same. Not everyone involved in tourism wants to engage more but instead may want a less stressful life after retirement, as the interview excerpt above shows (V2_VTT3). Hence, while a local elite dominates the tourism encounter, other homestay owners are not only unable but also unwilling to engage more in tourism, resulting in a lack of commitment to tourism. Given that money is seen as one of the major benefits of CBT (see section 8.1.2.), homestay owners are often satisfied by providing accommodation – after all, participating as a homestay generates more revenue than any other form of involvement in CBT. And while economic benefit may be the only benefit that

villagers seek, inequalities become obvious again, with the *puri* and VTC rooms being occupied first.

8.2.2. Resident-tourist interactions in CBT: three dynamics

Three dynamics in terms of interactions between residents and tourists could be observed: the *superficial service dynamic*, the *skills admiration dynamic*, and the *educational dynamic*. The power relations that form the basis of these dynamics create three different types of social spaces as part of the tourism encounter. In turn, they also create different contexts for empowerment. Considering the *superficial service dynamic*, it is unlikely for villagers to experience empowerment, while the *skills admiration dynamic* enables some significant changes in the empowerment core – although it may not necessarily lead to power *to* take action and make a change. Lastly, the *educational dynamic* was found as bearing potential for villagers to play an active part in tourism, based on the use of specialist knowledge and language skills, enabling a bilateral relationship with tourists, whereby meaning is co-constructed and the challenging of stereotypes is possible.

8.2.2.1 The superficial service dynamic

The first type, the *superficial service dynamic*, could be observed particularly in village 2. Here, the tourism encounter is focused on service relationships similar to those in a hotel. Villagers who form part of this dynamic are unlikely to experience social empowerment as emerging from interactions with tourists, given that these are limited, if not impossible, and based on economic transactions. Possibilities to communicate take place only between tourists and their own tour guide as well as a few skilled individuals in the village, such as the tourism leader and the head of the royal family. Interactions with other villagers are limited to the service encounter such as: being served food and drinks, buying local products and being accompanied silently on the village tour (see theme 1.1, 1.2 and 1.4). Tourists themselves realised the limited interactions during their stay: “*The people with whom we do not have a money relationship, we do not have any contact with*” (V2_TF4), which turned CBT into a simple ‘business’ for the tourists (V2_TM2).

As part of this dynamic, villagers manage the tourism encounter in that there is a coherent pattern to tourists’ stays: tours are planned, without any chance for ad-hoc

encounters or unplanned events. The touristic product is standardised and sold to the tourist in the context of a tourism system inspired by the management of a hotel. The Bali CoBTA founder and chairman regards CBT as following the organisational principles of a hotel in terms of having some members of staff share key responsibilities and zoning the village (see section 5.4.1.):

I have a lot of experience in opening hotels. And, I said – why not, you just move the management system in a hotel and bring it into the village, into the rural area. A hotel has a lobby, an information centre; there is a restaurant, and also accommodation. [...] Perhaps I am the first who tries to apply the system of the hotel in the village. For example, imagine the hotel; if you bring it to the village, the system is the same, but the situation is different. (CoBTA_CM; Dolezal, 2013)

Villagers deal with tourists in certain touristic spaces, such as the entrance to the *puri*, where villagers serve meals and performances take place. While some closer interaction may happen in the homestays, the role of the tourist is one of an agent who brings money to the village, a simple ‘service encounter’. After all, consumptive spaces such as tourist resorts “encourage action, not *inter*-action” (Bauman, 2000:97). We can therefore understand the superficial service dynamic as a detached encounter, where the power of looking is stronger than the power of acting or understanding. Evidence from observations revealed that taking pictures of traditionally dressed *penari Bali* (i.e. Balinese dancers) or of the children in school (see theme 1.2) – humans as an attraction in themselves – becomes the major purpose of the tourist’s stay. This type of dynamic produces a social space that is the prime example of the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry, 2002), a uni-directional notion of power applied by a subject in the form of power *over* an object, the Other, which turns into an attraction in the context of tourism. The literature identified this idea as failing to acknowledge residents’ agency (see section 4.3.1.), turning the tourism encounter into a space of disempowerment.

This is not to say, however, that villagers cannot return the gaze (Maoz, 2006) (as I experienced myself, see chapter 7) and do not also have control over how they sell their village and services. Observations revealed a conscious management of the tourism encounter for financial ends by those participating in tourism. It is the difference in motives between tourists – consuming people and places – and residents – seeking financial benefit – along with a lack in interactions and understanding that

turns the tourism encounter into MacCannell's (1992) 'empty meeting ground', denominated a 'space of disempowerment' earlier in this thesis. While it may foster economic empowerment, this space inhibits further possibilities for empowerment due to the absence of power *with, to* or *within*. The relationship between people is economic rather than social, where, paradoxically, social relationships emerge between commodities that are reified by actors (Marx, 1867, 2007). I noticed this commodity fetish mainly in village 2, where a money relationship dominated the tourism encounter (see section 8.2.3.2. for a discussion of commodity fetish).

The superficial service dynamic is furthermore characterised by a lack of information that tourists received, for example in village 2. For instance, one group felt that the guide's knowledge was inadequate (see theme 1.4), leading to some level of dissatisfaction: "*In fact, in the village, we cannot say that we learned a lot of things*" (V2_TM2). Some felt they were leaving the village somewhat empty in terms of new knowledge about Balinese rural life, and lacked real understanding about who benefits from tourism. A number of tourists became sceptical towards the organisation of CBT, leading them to conclude that the head of tourism owns all the homestays: "*We do not know who is the owner. I think it is [V2_VTC4]... I think this belongs to [V2_VTC4] and he is the owner of the houses*" (V2_TF1). Tourists started to believe that a local elite reaped most of the benefits: "*But does it generate a living for the village or for some people only? That is the question!*" (V2_TM2). Tourists lacked information on the village and were not even informed by their guide or travel agent that they were part of CBT – in fact a 'different', supposedly more responsible type of tourism. Although Bali CoBTA gives instructions to the villages in terms of offering information on that matter upon tourists' arrival in the village, villagers appeared not to follow the advice in practice:

I don't know if they really give the correct information about the programme or not. [...] in the village, we from the organisation are not there all the time, so when the tourists check in, it's just the community to handle them... In [village 2], I think they don't give tourists correct information about CBT. We already suggested them to make a guest directory book about the village's history, about the programme, about the activities. And if they put it in each room, the tourists can get the right information about the programme. But they didn't put it, right? (CoBTA_ST)

Although Bali CoBTA seeks to spread information on the concept of CBT amongst tourists, I observed that tourists were not informed about the type of tourism they engaged in or where the benefits go. To add to the confusion, the guide informed tourists that locals were sufficiently paid; yet some tourists were asked for tips:

They are well remunerated, yes. I have asked if we should give something to the people who have hosted us, a little tip, he said to me “no, they are paid enough. Except when there are children and then, no money. You have to give them candy, not money.” They are paid as if they had a hotel room. But a lot of us think that the staff are waiting to get money from the tourists, although the guide said they are being paid. (V2_TF3)

This contradiction led to a feeling of discomfort on the tourists’ part and caused scepticism and a feeling of being exploited for money. The superficial service dynamic thus can turn the tourism encounter into a space of scepticism rather than understanding (see theme 1.7), due to a lack of information and knowledge, which creates a yet-bigger barrier between tourists and the distant Other (see theme 1.6). It thus compromises possibilities for empowerment as emerging from social interactions in the tourism encounter.

8.2.2.2 *The skills admiration dynamic*

The second dynamic focuses around *skills admiration* and was noticeable to different extents in the three villages. Hereby, the tourism encounter is characterised by tourists’ admiration of villagers’ knowledge and skills in fields such as the arts – making handicrafts, painting, dancing or playing music or producing silver and gold (see themes 1.3 and 2.5). A large number of villagers involved in CBT participate to earn money, and this type of dynamic encourages tourists to buy local products. Examples of products that tourists buy include knives, jewellery, sweets, paintings, painted eggs and pottery – often part of local home industries and sold usually after the demonstration of villagers’ skills. Although these products could serve as a basis for local entrepreneurship and, hence, social empowerment (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008), I did not witness great efforts to start local businesses, maybe due to the fact that entrepreneurial skills are often forgotten as part of training (Bonifaz et al., 2010). In addition to tangible benefits, this dynamic generates further intangible benefits, such as the generation of pride and self-esteem (i.e. power *within*), which a number of villagers mentioned in interviews (V1_VTT3; V1_VTT4; V1_VTT6; V2_VTT5; V3_VTT1; V3_VTT2; V3_VTT4). It is a dynamic where economic gain does not

inhibit processes of social empowerment, which the following paragraphs will explain.

According to villagers, for a feeling of pride to happen, tourism skills are not necessarily needed. Indeed, most villagers showcasing their skills to tourists referred to a sense of pride when tourists watched as an audience – even with the absence of verbal communication (selection: V1_VTT3; V2_VTT1; V3_VTT1). A villager in village 2 (V2_VTT1), for example, participated in tourism through showcasing her skills in the demonstration of handicraft production and felt proud based on the interest tourists showed, which will hopefully preserve her traditional knowledge and skills:

Researcher: *How does she feel when she demonstrates her skills to tourists?*

Interpreter: *She likes it very much. She feels very proud and fortunate.*

Researcher: *And why does she like it?*

Interpreter: *She can learn more about hospitality, how to welcome the tourists. And meeting people, foreigners – she likes it very much. Even though she doesn't speak English, but in her heart she likes it very much. [...] Before, she used to go to the market to sell pottery, there was great demand. People bought it for holy water, for religious purposes. But now most people use modern ceramic or also glass for the holy water. But tourists now are interested and buy the pottery.*

Villagers do not necessarily need to be able to communicate verbally with tourists to stimulate pride and power *within*, given that observations and conversations revealed that villagers can feel proud even without the use of certain skills, e.g. for owning a beautiful and clean house (V1_VTT5; V2_VTT3), for the villager's culture and hospitality (V1_VTT2; V3_VTC4) and generally to show the village to the outside (V1_VTT3; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC5). Scheyvens (2002) defines this intangible benefit from tourism as 'psychological empowerment', which, as explained in section 4.2.3., forms part of a 'sense' of social empowerment at the individual level in the context of this research and can be fostered through the appreciation of culture and traditional knowledge. Scheyvens's definition does not explicitly include the use of skills though; instead it regards culture as a static concept in need of preservation to serve as an attraction within the community. In describing the 'empty meeting ground', MacCannell (1992:178) calls this a 'museumized' image of a community that serves tourists' educational purposes: "When a destination is sold as ethnic attraction, it

ceases to evolve naturally. The group ceases to develop, it is museumized and a frozen image of itself, it does not develop itself but contribute to the development of white culture.” In combination with the usage of skills, this static idea of culture turns into a dynamic conceptualisation of culture (Dolezal, 2011b), which is *lived* and *practiced* and involves villagers as *agents*.

The second type of dynamic *may* therefore turn the tourism encounter into a space of empowerment based on the resulting generation of pride on the part of villagers. Based on parts of the conceptual framework (see Figure 3 in section 4.4.), the use of skills and assets is one of the themes that needs to be included to extend and re-define Scheyvens’s rather narrow concept of psychological empowerment, or, rather, social empowerment in this thesis. In addition to being an outcome of the empowerment process, the generation of pride and confidence in one’s abilities forms part of the empowerment core as power *within*, as a basis for further changes, e.g. further social empowerment (see Figure 9). Whether these very intangible aspects are an outcome or a predecessor of empowerment largely depends on whether this power *within* leads to power *to* take action and make a change.

Nevertheless, tourist-resident interactions in this social space are limited, given that villagers involved in the demonstration of skills rarely have foreign language skills – neither do tourists speak Bahasa or Balinese – and, therefore, the transmission of knowledge and information becomes impossible without a cultural broker, who creates yet another barrier between the two. It seems that the Other – mainly villagers but also tourists – remains unknown and distant within this space, even though tourists may participate in the demonstrated activities (see themes 1.6 and 1.8). Both villagers and tourists are agents (in terms of having control over their actions) who create fleeting possibilities for co-production in a physical-practical sense (i.e. the co-production of handicrafts). Nevertheless, the generation of meaning is difficult, given that these encounters are swift and shallow, putting the visual appreciation of skills into the centre rather than the co-construction of meaning through a real understanding of the Other. Based on the lack of verbal communication and information and the consumptive nature of tourism (MacCannell, 1992), this space remains a

meeting of strangers [, which] unlike the meeting of kin, friends, or acquaintances [...] is, by comparison a *mis*-meeting. In the meeting of *strangers*, there is no picking up at the point where the last encounter stopped, [...] no shared recollections: nothing to fall back on and to go by in the course of the present encounter. The meeting of strangers is *an event without a past*. More often than not, it is also *an event without a future*” (Bauman, 2000).

Even in CBT, a type of tourism that should foster interactions between tourists and villagers (Salazar, 2012), human interactions create social spaces that come into being as quickly as they disappear – after the show, the demonstration, the quick conversation or the co-production of handicrafts. They are ‘temporary’ relationships between strangers (MacCannell, 1992). Tourists are visitors who come and go, keeping the possibilities of long-lasting relationships to a minimum but at the same time enabling the creation of positive feelings for the agents involved, such as pride and self-esteem. The skills admiration dynamic can, therefore, lead to changes within the empowerment core, increasing villagers’ power *within* and confidence, as well as offering room for the articulation of agency.

These can further be strengthened through the opportunities CBT creates for villagers to connect their former job to tourism or even to turn their hobby into work (V1_VTT3; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC2; V2_VTT1; V3_VTC1; V3_VTT5). Hence, while interactions emerging from this dynamic may be short-lived and limited, the use of villagers’ skills and hobbies can create changes in the empowerment core that form the basis for empowerment, including social empowerment (see Figure 9). One such example is V1_VTT3, the goldsmith in village 1, who paints as a hobby in his free time. He sells his paintings to tourists, hoping to be able to dedicate more time to his hobby by selling even more paintings through CBT and having other painters as guests who could give him feedback on his skills (V1_VTT3). Another example is V1_VTC3, the head of tourism in village 1, who uses his personal interests in sports, plants, herbs and health for tourism:

Today, we went on a cycling tour with [V1_VTC3]. He looked so happy, he was fast and he said he enjoys it so much to show and explain to the tourists what plants, trees and fruits grow in the area and what you can use them for. Later, at lunch, he showed me his books about herbs and health and explained what benefits which food and ingredients have. It seems to me that this is his hobby and he is combining hobby with work. (diary entry, village 1)

For him, the activities that he engages in as part of CBT, including cooking, cycling etc., are enjoyable, which makes it hard for him to delegate tasks to other villagers (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC3).

8.2.2.3 *The educational dynamic*

The *educational dynamic* focuses specifically on educating tourists and equipping them with new, local knowledge. This dynamic, which I observed in village 1 and village 3, may lead to empowerment based on possibilities for self-representation, the challenging of stereotypes and the active use of skills and knowledge in the tourism encounter. These possibilities are, however, limited to a minority of villagers, as I will explain in the paragraphs that follow.

In village 1, the touristic programme is oriented towards education, starting by making offerings with the family of the tourism leader (its female members in specific), who carefully explains offerings' religious meaning i.e. what contents, colours and shape mean in religious terms as well as details of the praying process (see theme 2.2). Evidence showed that tourists had an interest in Balinese culture, religion and food, asking a number of questions during activities, such as a visit to the market (see theme 2.4), and at dinner. The host family (part of the VTC) was happy to share details of their daily way of living (see theme 2.3). During a village tour, the local guide impressed tourists with his knowledge on plants and their medical and culinary purposes (see theme 2.5) (V1_TM1; V1_TF1; V1_TM2). Showing plants to tourists as they grow in their natural environment (e.g. cinnamon tree, cocoa tree and the Aloe Vera,) constituted a special tourist experience in villagers' eyes, as supposedly visitors would know these products only from purchasing them in the supermarket back home (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC3). Indeed, tourists expressed their interest by asking questions, along with taking pictures. The tour guide feels particularly proud when sharing his knowledge with tourists:

I can show the plants [...], I can show everything I know. Let them know what people grow in this area. Of course I am very proud. Because, for example, when you buy fruit, when I am on a tour with them and I show the tree, the exact plant and fruit... The important thing is that they enjoy my [emphasis] tour, that is on my mind. Then I will be very proud, because they can enjoy my [emphasis] tour. I hope I can teach them something about our culture. (V1_VTT6)

A generation of pride through the deployment of skills is a characteristic that the *educational dynamic* and the *skills admiration dynamic* share, although the former is bilateral while the latter is unilateral. Being bilateral means that effort, interest and commitment to learn comes from all parties directly involved in the encounter, with both residents and tourists being active agents who shape the encounter. Tourists have control over the choice of their activities and can get information by asking questions. The educational dynamic is a bilateral relationship in that residents want to learn from tourists too, for example language (English, French and others), and get practice through interaction, as a member of the village 3 VTC and head of transport association argues:

Not only the guest gets some benefit, but also we can learn. [...] For example me, our community, our association... we want to learn English. Because in my association, same with me, the English knowledge is not very good, they need practice. You can drive if you are a good driver, but our English is not very good. Sometimes we do not understand what the guest says. [...] The French people they don't speak a lot of English. That's why next time I want to learn another language. (V3_VTC2)

It is the ability and willingness to communicate that creates the difference between dynamics two and three. Communication makes interactions that focus on education possible, while at the same time it gives agency to those who are at the centre of the attraction – villagers themselves, rather than external third parties (e.g. tour guides). By being able to speak foreign languages, the voice is with homestay owners and tour guides, who have control over representation and the choice of what serves as an attraction and how: *“For me, I like talking to other people. Thank god, they blessed me with a little bit extra English than other locals here. [...] I can sell everything that I have to the guest” (V1_VTC2)*. By interacting with villagers, tourists did not necessarily regard their hosts as the exotic Other, fixed in time in space, based on an encounter influenced by stereotypes and *a priori* knowledge (Said, 1978). Rather, the knowledge that villagers and tourists transmitted stimulated a relationship characterised by admiration and novelty. Observations and conversations highlighted that tourists were surprised by and admired their hosts for their dedication to ceremonies, their language, cooking skills and ability to use the natural ingredients that their surrounding offered (V1_TF1; V1_TF2; V1_TM2).

In addition, the educational dynamic (partly along with the skills dynamic) implies that the subject of attraction shifts from people in themselves to people's skills and knowledge. A reverse dynamic of the construction of human zoos – which was observed in the superficial service dynamic (see theme 1.2) – emerges, given that human zoos “place a man, with the intention that he should be seen, in a specific reconstructed space, not because of what he ‘does’ (an artisan, for example), but because of what he ‘is’ (seen through the prism of a real or imagined difference)” (Blanchard et al., 2008:23). By putting education and learning into the centre, those who have decision-making power (i.e. the VTC) avoid being seen as a silent attraction – an opportunity that not all villagers share.

The village 1 VTC emphasised that tourism in the village comes “*from the heart*” (V1_VTC2), based on real human relationships rather than a service encounter, which generates the idea that the tourism encounter is a social space with ‘real’ human interactions. One of the VTC members in village 1 asserted “*I want to give tourists my real self, what is inside my heart... show the real Bali*” (V1_VTC1). When I asked what the main reason to initiate tourism was, another VTC member argued that tourism is a ‘barter’ and that money is a only ‘gift’:

I see money as something I get as a gift, because you take care of them. It comes from my heart. You buy the feeling in your heart, it is not like a customer and salesman. [...] The other one is the guest, it is a blessing when people can come and stay in the house. We do not mind foreigners, they should feel the spirit of the village, they should experience something different. We also experience something different, it is a barter, because we can practice English. And then the tourists say “thank you for everything, this is for you”, this is not the price but this is how to show our respect to you. That’s a different touch, a different meaning. (V1_VTC2)

The VTC’s discourse indicates an emphasis on the conscious avoidance of tourists’ exploitation, as much as avoiding the objectification and commodification of villagers’ lives by tourists. The former idea could also be observed in interactions. On the first evening of tourists’ (V1_TM1; V1_TM2; V1_TF1; V1_TF2) stay, members of the VTC joked about the importance of money in mass tourism (see theme 2.3). Supposedly, the VTC seeks to avoid exploitation in CBT, focusing on “*education and cultural learning*” (V1_VTC2) rather than having villagers “*like hunting dogs. Just be natural and you earn money*” (V1_VTC2). Hence, a strong discourse against the exploitation of tourists for money was observed, in favour of ‘real’ human

relationships – even though money remains a major drive to participate in tourism. This was the same in village 1 (V1_V2; V1_VTC1; V1_VTT4; V1_VTC3).

In village 3 and village 1, the educational dynamic comes with a less strict management of touristic spaces, if these can be called touristic spaces at all. In contrast to village 2, village 1 and village 3 create room for unplanned activities, allowing the tourist to see and participate in whatever activities they are interested in, be it the production of cakes (V3_VTT2), participation in religious rituals or meditation circles (V1_VTC2), teaching in the school (V1_VTC3) or learning to dance and play *gamelan* (V1_VTC3, V3_VTC3). The tourist can choose between a range of activities – even if these are not yet part of the touristic programme. There are no clear physical tourist spaces; rather, tourists can explore any part of the village, provided they are accompanied by a member of the host family. The house of the head of the tourism team (V1_VTC3) is the only place that could be denominated the centre of tourism, although, in the future, a tourist reception and information area are planned to be created at the *Balai banjar*, where tourist groups will have dinner and enjoy dance performances.

The head of tourism in village 3 was convinced that tourists should be integrated into their family and learn about the Balinese village: “*When tourists come they stay in the house of the family, they are part of the family. They come to learn about village life, to see how people really live*” (V3_VTC3). Tourism becomes an activity that should be integrated into the village and into people’s lives:

Those who do not want to go biking, they can do a cooking class with [V1_VTC3] or, also, if you want to learn dance or playing gamelan... that is our life here. Everybody has to be a part of tourism, even if just kids on the street say hello. Even if this is the only thing they know. They can also visit the school... because tourists are strangers, we have to make them familiar with tourists. (V1_VTC2)

Based on this dynamic between tourist and villager, CBT seems to fulfil its role, which is to “enhance the opportunity for spontaneous, rather than contrived, encounters between destination communities and tourists” (Salazar, 2012:11). The question that remains is how far this dynamic may change in the future with more tourists entering the village. Village 2, for example, has longer standing tourism experience, one of the reasons for managing large tourist groups in touristic spaces. And even though tourists in village 1 are integrated into the village – or, rather, family

– the first signs of trying to ‘manage’ tourists can be noticed: “*We have to manage and organise properly before the tourists come... have only a certain area that is for tourists*” (V1_VTC2). This idea is contradictory to the observed situation at the point of research and only the future can show what direction tourism will take.

With tourists concentrating on the VTC’s house complex in village 1, the question arises as to who has the privilege to be part of the educational dynamic and, thus, experience possibilities of control and agency. It became apparent that tourists in village 1 only ever interacted with those villagers who had at least some basic English skills, who were usually their two hosts and the tour guide. The head of tourism was able to accommodate the small number of tourists that visit village 1 in their own house complex (see theme 2.1), with other VTC members visiting for dinner and the tour guide accompanying them on a village tour. It is the VTC family who undertakes all activities with tourists. They themselves say they are “*crazy*” (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC3) to share all the tourism activities amongst themselves, but they also find self-fulfilment. Obviously, the VTC wants tourists to have a positive village experience, which is why they decide not to delegate unless others are ‘ready’ to welcome tourists (V1_VTC2; V3_VTC3). Other villagers who have a certain skill that is attractive to tourists can be part of tourism in the village. Nevertheless, they remain the silent attraction, as discussed in the skills admiration dynamic, or the homestay owner whose house is needed when tourist numbers exceed the capacity of the *puri* (in village 2) or the family of the head of tourism (in village 1). These homestay owners are often unable to communicate and sometimes even hide from tourists. In both village 2 and village 1, I did not meet any of my hosts when I stayed in houses that did not belong to the VTC, and the same was for some of the tourists. The contact with homestay owners is kept to a minimum and tourists are pulled back towards the centre of tourism, the VTCs or the *puri* family, where they can meet the skilled tourism team prepared for interaction with foreigners.

The *educational dynamic*, therefore, creates a space where meaning is co-constructed in a play of words and mutual learning about languages or general knowledge of the Other – i.e. the tourists’/villagers’ origins, country, habits or culture. This dynamic can challenge pre-formed stereotypes through villagers’ possibility to articulate agency and enable self-representation. It can generate pride in one’s skills, knowledge and life through closer and more spontaneous interactions with tourists. Nevertheless,

this space of empowerment belongs to the privileged and skilled few, the ones who are part of the tourism team or are ‘ready’ to take over tourism responsibilities and tasks. A delegation of possibilities to others – or, rather, the increase of villagers’ total power base or capacity to work in tourism – is only possible through organised training and a willingness to lift constraining structures to invite the unskilled into the spaces of empowerment.

8.2.3. Authenticity as empowerment tool

This section discusses the concept of authenticity, based on the empirical evidence gathered. While tourism academics were busy during the last decades finding a definition of authenticity and understanding what it entails (Cohen, 2004; Lau, 2010; Taylor, 2001), this section explores “processes of authentication” (Cohen & Cohen, 2012:1295) and adds to Cole’s (2007:943) suggestion that “the debates about authenticity should examine how the notion is articulated, by whom and for what purposes, to reveal in what circumstances cultural tourism leads to positive responses and empowerment.”

This section analyses the variety of roles that authenticity plays in the tourism encounter: as a key characteristic of CBT, as commodity fetish, as a weapon against modernity, as a tool to articulate agency and, lastly, as the commodification of underdevelopment. In doing so, this section advances our understanding of the broader space of CBT, and the social interactions and power relations above all between residents and tourists. It analyses whether authenticity can be a tool for villagers to articulate agency as a basis for empowerment to occur. As a consequence, this discussion contributes to an understanding of the tourism encounter as a potential space of empowerment.

8.2.3.1 *Authenticity as characteristic of CBT*

In this section, I argue that the idea of authenticity turns into a characteristic of the village, co-constructed in the tourism encounter, a space where villagers sell themselves as residents of Bali, which is exactly what tourists hope to find. Authenticity is something that can be found only in the village, something that the village possesses – at times, even taking the form of a commodity fetish (see section 8.2.3.2.).

Even though authenticity is a highly subjective concept (King, 2009; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006), both residents and tourists regard it as a key characteristic of CBT (selection: V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V1_TM2; V1_TF2; V2_TM2; V3_VTC3). It emerged from interviews and observations that villagers and residents regard CBT as the opposite to mass tourism, where staying in a hotel as anonymous individuals enables interactions over the counter only (selection: BTB; V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V1_HD; V2_VTC3; V3_VC). In fact, in village 1 and village 3, the tourists I interviewed regarded the closeness to their hosts and other villagers as one of the most enriching parts of their holiday (V1_TM2; V1_TF2; V3_TF1). Even the limited verbal communication turned into a key characteristic of the village experience. One of the members of the village 1 VTC (V1_VTC2) is convinced that this is what makes the village so special and so different from hotels, where everybody speaks English and communication is straightforward, although rather impersonal. The interactions that form part of the tourism encounter in CBT therefore turn into a key characteristic of the authentic village experience. Authenticity emerged as one of the major reasons for tourists to visit the villages – but, also, villagers themselves and Bali CoBTA play with notions of authenticity, as section 8.2.3. will discuss.

Villagers are convinced that tourists visit to experience Balinese rural life and mingle with their hosts (V1_VTC2; V2_VTC1; V3_VTC3). They come to discover the ‘Balinese soul’, which supposedly can only be found in the village and needs to be preserved, as argued by the Bank Indonesia (BI). When interactions are limited, though, tourists tend to be disappointed. This was the case in village 2, where the VTC once decided to accommodate a tourist group in a private accommodation called ‘Bodensee’, which is owned by a man from Switzerland, given the limited availability of homestays. Tourists were surprised both positively and negatively: *“In our programme, it said we would stay with the local people, but it is rather like a holiday resort. But of course it is nice”* (V2_TF6). Their expectations of staying in the village were, above all, to interact with locals and experience living with villagers, rather than staying in an accommodation that resembled a hotel with private pool, which was not what they were looking for.

However, even the homestay tourists were disappointed as they wanted to get closer to their hosts, which included preparing food and eating together, rather than having dinner in a discreet area amongst other tourists (V2_TM1; V2_TM2; V2_TF4).

Obviously, tourists had different expectations of the village and put this utopian idea in stark opposition to mass tourism: “*CBT is individual tourism. It is not mass tourism*” (V2_TM1) because “*mass tourism [...] destroys everything*” (V2_TF1). These preformed expectations, which Urry (2002) refers to as the ‘tourist gaze’, put pressure on residents to meet tourists’ expectations, which are usually created through external parties. In this case, a French tour operator ‘supplies’ the tourists as part of a package, sold under the slogan “I meet local people in Indonesia”, promising a “stay with the locals” and to participate in daily village life (Nouvelles Frontières, 2014:n.p.).

The number of other tourists that crossed the visitors’ way and the lack of contact they had with residents resulted in a lack of authenticity, according to them (V2_TM2; V2_TF6). One of the tourists argued, “*if you cross tourists’ way in the streets, it is not really a village. This is not what we are looking for*” (V2_TM2). This idea of authenticity confirms that, for tourists, authenticity is often found in the places where there are few other tourists (Steen Jacobsen, 2000). The village, therefore, turned into a touristic space for them, a “*guesthouse*” (V2_TF6), a “*hotel*” (V2_TM2), a “*tourist village*” (V2_TF6) or even an ‘unreal’ village: “*This is not the real village. In a certain way, it is like a stage, you see, it is a theatre... But it is a great experience, it just lacks a bit of authenticity*” (V2_TM2). If staged authenticity is what can be found in the CBT villages in Bali, the question that arises is whether it denies agency to locals through the emergence of an empty meeting ground (MacCannell, 1999) or whether it enables control and an articulation of residents’ agency (Picard, 2011). In order to answer this question, the following sections will further analyse the dynamics surrounding the notion of authenticity.

8.2.3.2 Authenticity as commodity fetish

While offering a certain accommodation standard to tourists is key (V1_TF2; V3_VTC3), it is what appears as traditional, novel and yet unknown to tourists that serves as attraction in the tourism encounter, where it is sold for money, ultimately taking the form of a commodity fetish. Balinese culture and traditions form part of the villages’ characteristics that qualify it as authentic or real in the eyes of tourists (V1_TM2; V1_TF2; V2_TM2). As a consequence, villagers seek to keep culture and tradition intact for two major reasons.

On the one hand, I observed that traditions are so engrained in Balinese everyday life, and hence in the space of CBT, that first of all, villagers seek to preserve them, and secondly, tourists need to adapt and assimilate. As argued by one of the village 1 VTC members, it is necessary for tourists to bring an interest in culture and in the ceremonies that take place in the village, otherwise they should choose to stay in a hotel instead (V1_VTC2). Villagers who share this view are convinced that tourists need to adapt (V1_VTT2; V1_VTC2; V3_VC), because villagers do not plan to change their lifestyle and habits for tourists. The village chief in village 3 confirms from his own experience with tourists:

One day I saw a tourist, he came to [village 3] and used a camera, making a documentary of my ceremony in my desa [village]. And he was wearing shorts. And I say to him “please use the sarong” but he says “I am not Balinese!” I do not agree with that. He must also adapt to my habits. (V3_VC)

Villagers argued that tourists need to stick to cultural, sometimes unspoken, rules such as wearing *sarongs*, not entering houses without permission and respecting the caste system (V1_VTT2; V1_VTC2; V1_VTT4; V1_VTT6; V3_VC). Even though tourists may complain about the way of living in the village, such as the animal sounds in the early morning, some villagers, such as the tourism leader in village 1, were convinced that tourists need to accept the ‘village style’: “*Yes, tourists have to adapt to our lifestyle, we won’t change for them. It is special to hear the animals, and this is not a five star hotel*” (V1_VTC2).

The VTC’s strong opinion on this matter stems from the idea of preserving culture for the future. However, the question is why should the traditional village lifestyle be preserved? This question leads to the second reason of why – particularly the VTC – seeks to preserve culture. In village 1, even more than in the other villages, evidence showed that the VTC is aware of the economic value of culture in the context of tourism – which also the tourism ministry teaches them (PNPM, 2007):

Tourism can support our culture, not spoil it. It supports our culture in terms of how to energise young people today to understand their own culture, how important their own culture is and to be a real Balinese. [...] If we destroy culture, we have no attraction any more.” (V1_VTC2)

It is, therefore, key to question to what underlying ends certain individuals in the village use their power for (Coles & Church, 2007), which, in this case, is to guarantee

future financial benefits from tourism. Hence, on the other side, I found that the traditional and authentic, which makes Balinese villages so unique, turns into a commodity fetish that is sold to the consumer in the tourism encounter. According to a hotel director in Karangasem regency, after all, “*tourists book the packages because they like to get the personal touch, the real hospitality and the real food, which is in the Balinese house*” (HD). Authenticity and the ‘real’ village experience turn into a commodity in the context of CBT, which villagers sell and the tourist reifies, who “endows them [i.e. commodities such as authenticity] with a life of their own” (Watson & Kopachevsky, 2002:285). Given that one aspect of authenticity for tourists is the interaction with hosts, tourists reify these interactions as well, which, through the process of commodification, become things that can be bought in CBT for money as means of exchange. Tourists “*want contact with the locals*” (V2_TM2) and yet complain when their interactions take the form of “*money relationships*” (V2_TF4). Through this exchange, commodities enter into a social relationship – not the producers (in this case residents and tourists), but the products – a ‘commodity fetishism’ according to Marx (1867, 2007).

Therefore, relationships between objects or things (e.g. authenticity and money), rather than people, characterise the tourism encounter. Through tourism experiences, then, “real social relations between people in time mimic the social necessary appearance of relations between things” (Watson & Kopachevsky, 2002:285), making it impossible to find ‘real’ authenticity once the tourist becomes part of the world of touristic commodification. So, while it is obvious that we can speak of a commodity fetish, particularly in the *superficial service dynamic*, section 8.2.2. has shown that the *educational dynamic* and *skills admiration dynamic* – where villagers sell skills, information and ‘real’ human relationships to tourists – equally turn the used attractions into commodities – less obviously but equally effective.

Although this section has shown that the idea of authenticity remains a tool used in CBT, its status as commodity fetish turns it into an illusion that in fact is out of reach. Even though the tourist may be searching for the ‘real’ while mingling with their hosts, there is a general awareness that what they see often is a play performed on a stage in touristic spaces, sold for money (V2_TM2; V2_TF6). Rather than presenting the ‘backstage’, people’s daily life (MacCannell, 1999), tourism in the villages often is a simple show, whereby the tourist is managed according to a certain routine in

touristic spaces. After all, the villages are taught to sell the paradox of authenticity (Connell and Rugendyke, 2008), also by Bali CoBTA:

The committee in the village should be smart enough to know when the group will pass through the rice field, for example. So, on the way, the Balinese farmer woman should already stand there and know – when from far away she sees the tourists coming – that she has to go there. Beforehand, she already prepares a big bag of rice. So when the tourists come, the woman will take the bag and put it up on her head and then the tourists will say: “Oh, Balinese women are very strong!” And then they take a picture. This is something you will not see in your country. After they have left, you put it back and go back to work. Not that suddenly the tourists come and they say: “Oh, in the program it says that we will see the farmers work, but where are they?” This is why you have to be creative in using the program without disturbing the regular job of the farmer. The farmer can work over there, but if the guests come from the road without passing by the farmer, it is not efficient, right? The timing has to be right. Therefore, you have to make a show, that is reality. (CoBTA_CM)

The NGO teaches villagers to identify exactly those features that make village life in Bali unique, served to tourists for instant consumption to satisfy their pre-formed expectations. And while villagers may use their everyday activities as a stage to act on for tourists, they don't necessarily alter these. In village 2, for example, certain villagers are part of CBT to perform a show, such as dancers, musicians and artisans – activities that form part of their job as much as of their everyday life in the village. In village 3 and village 1, where CBT was only recently launched, interactions may seem more spontaneous and less planned, which, however, is not to say that activities performed in village 2 are less natural. In village 3 and village 1, tourists may still feel that they are part of village life, not a simple show, given that these villages have not yet entered the commercialised and playful world of tourism.

8.2.3.3 Authenticity as weapon against modernity

Observations and conversations revealed that authenticity is also a weapon against modernity, whereby selling the village as 'authentically Balinese' as an alternative to mass tourist destinations ensures a preservation of the village lifestyle for residents, including family spirit and, most importantly, their dedication to ceremonies. This notion sheds light on villagers' agency in that authenticity as part of CBT is a tool that residents use consciously to preserve their village lifestyle to combat outside influence.

Villagers who work or have worked in hotels in big tourist resorts in order to financially support their families developed particularly strong feelings against the impersonal relationship with tourists and the development of mass tourism on the island (V1_VTC1; V1_VTC2; V2_VTC4; V3_VTC1; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4). Based on their own work experience, members of the VTC in village 1, for example, hold that “*dropping tourists to the hotel is artificial, not the real Bali, we have to change something*” (V1_VTC2) and that “*the village is different to the hotel, where the counter creates a communication barrier. Here, we can sit at a table and speak eye to eye*” (V1_VTC1).

In addition, employment in tourist areas does not allow villagers to return home for ceremonies and religious occasions, of which there are plenty in Bali. The dedication to ceremonies in Bali has been emphasised in a large number of anthropological works (Bateson & Mead, 1942; Barth, 1993; Eiseman, 1990; Howe, 2005; Covarrubias; 1937; Picard, 2008, 1992), but also through my own observations while living in the village it became clear that ceremonies play an important part in people’s daily lives, as reflected in a field diary entry:

The family bought a new motorbike and organised a ‘motorbike ceremony’ that should keep the son safe and sound when he is driving. So many offerings, so many hours and days of preparation for the ceremony... We all sat together and prayed and then a priest came and prayed with us for around one hour. This again shows me how important religion, ritual and ceremonies are in the village and nothing really can disturb this. It is part of people’s everyday life. If I look at the old generation.. but also for the young people it is important. In the village, I feel that ‘life is still okay’ and people don’t want tourism to expand like in Kuta. But are villagers aware of the power and impacts of tourism? (diary entry, village 2)

Ceremonies are not only crucial in the life of those who currently live in the village. Even family members who have moved away from the village and live in other regencies return for important ceremonies (V3_VTT3) (Nakatani, 2003).

VTC members have the strongest arguments amongst residents for creating job opportunities in the village and, in turn, be able to dedicate themselves to their families and ceremonies. In village 1, the VTC is convinced that traditional values should not be contaminated by modernity, a lesson that children should learn in their *gamelan* group: “*I need to make them stay away from today’s problem, give them some idea of how to face problems in the way our grandparents told us to face the*

problem” (V1_VTC2). Hence, the past experience of those having worked in tourism outside the village generates a strong wish to return and to preserve traditional values. For these villagers, playing with ideas of authenticity could be seen as a means for the revival of nostalgia or the preservation of an appreciated lifestyle that they had lacked at some point in the past. CBT, therefore, is a possible solution to the controversial question whether “indigenous Balinese [are] unable to realize their full potential in the tourism industry because their religious obligations keep them away from work” (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007:52). CBT turns into a tool that preserves the idea of the traditional village lifestyle for villagers themselves, wrapped up in the packaging of authenticity and sold to the modern tourists. In doing so, however, agency is with the VTC again, who can decide whether or not to play with notions of authenticity for their own benefit, as part of the tourism encounter.

8.2.3.4 Authenticity as tool to articulate agency

While initial ideas emerged in that using the notion of authenticity can acknowledge agency of certain villagers, deciding to sell yourself as authentic or being regarded as authentic by somebody else are different things. The latter can impact on villagers’ possibilities for self-representation and ultimately reduces agency, thereby impeding the empowerment process.

Bali CoBTA views the villages as authentic and teaches them to use their authenticity to sell CBT. Therefore, according to Bali CoBTA’s chairman, there is only limited need for training “*because of the authenticity, they already can do it, because they are talented*” (CoBTA_CM). One may argue that being able to play the *gamelan*, dance *Kecak* and read the Balinese calendar does not mean that residents are also able to deal with tourists and fully meet their expectations. When Bali CoBTA clarifies the basic characteristics of CBT in the implementation phase, it puts an emphasis on the discovery of the community’s attractions, explaining that the village’s cultural uniqueness stands in opposition to the ‘sea, sand and sun’ notion of mass tourism (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy & Bali CoBTA, n.d.). According to Bali CoBTA, it is the distinctive appeal of the villages, such as physical attractions and its socio-cultural life, which can turn the village into a tourist attraction. The chairman is convinced that in the villages “*you have to utilise, you have to exploit what you have, what is authentic and original*” (CoBTA_CM).

Through the power that Bali CoBTA has in creating certain CBT guidelines in villagers' minds, or "*conditioning the community*" (CoBTA_CM), the question arises as to whether the NGO sees the villages as a living museum, a human but static attraction, "a place where people live and tourists visit" (MacCannell, 1992:176). MacCannell (1973:596) defines the notion of a living museum as "a staged back region", hence a tourist setting where staging has taken over not only the front region, i.e. what is obviously presented to tourists as an attraction, but where the private and day-to-day life of villagers becomes an attraction in itself. This leads to a blurring of MacCannell's (1999) once-established separation between front and back stage in tourism settings, a process that seems to be out of residents' control. After all, "the backstage is as staged as the front-stage or alternatively [...] both are as authentic as each other when both constitute the explicit experience of the tourist" (Edelheim, 2005:252).

While village 2 seems to deal with tourists in the front stage, i.e. touristic spaces, offering them only glimpses into the backstage, village 1 and village 3 do not create clear physical and social boundaries between tourist setting and village life. In the context of CBT in Bali, the living museum can, therefore, be understood as a metaphor for villagers losing control over what is sold in tourism and what is kept for the Balinese themselves. It emerged that villagers have difficulties making a clear division into front and back stage by deciding which aspects of their life can be commodified and which cannot. In fact, however, it has never been usual for the Balinese to make a division into the sacred and the profane, or into what aspects of culture can be sold in tourism and what should be kept for the Balinese (Picard, 1992). As Picard (1996) argues, after implementation of the cultural tourism policy, the Balinese could not deal with the imposed division between tourism and culture, resulting in a 'touristic culture' (see section 5.3.2.). What can be observed in the villages under study is that while villagers seem to identify themselves as 'real Balinese' or 'authentic', given that tourists perceive them as authentic, the discourse surrounding authenticity is co-constructed by the tourist, the villagers, Bali CoBTA and further actors such as the BTB. Agency in terms of creating the notion of authenticity is, therefore, shared between these actors, rather than held by the tourist, the VTC or Bali CoBTA only.

The denomination of rural villages as authentic places that can successfully be sold on the tourist market is not new in South-East Asia. Thailand's hilltribe villages were already an attraction in the 1970s, included by travel agents for their exotic appeal, which became endangered with increasing tourist numbers (Trupp, 2009). Despite being sold as a living museum at times (Trupp, 2009), a difference to the CBT villages in Bali could be observed. A number of hilltribe villages in Thailand have little agency in decision-making in terms of how they sell themselves, gain little benefit from tourism and have few other possibilities for employment (Novelli & Tisch-Rottensteiner, 2012; Trupp, 2009). The dominating actors are travel agents and tour guides (Trupp 2009), while in Bali, villagers are given decision-making power in the first phases of the planning and implementation of CBT, although the idea of what CBT should look like in practice is influenced by Bali CoBTA.

Nevertheless, given that CBT in Bali is still in its early stages, it is yet to be seen which direction it will take and how much agency and control villagers can claim for themselves as opposed to tourists' demands and Bali CoBTA's guidelines. What is already obvious is that the interest of tourists and other actors such as Bali CoBTA, BI and BTB make villagers become aware of their exotic status and the uniqueness of the village lifestyle in a Bali that is increasingly becoming modernised. As shown in section 7.3.1.2., there is a tendency in the CBT villages to structure the touristic offer around a mix of cultural and natural attractions, based on education and the appreciation of skills. As Dearden (1996:211) argues: "In such tourism, ethnic people are no longer the prime focus of interest, but constitute just one item of interest within a broader landscape." It is when villagers themselves as well as their way of living – the back stage – are sold as attraction that they run the danger of turning into a human zoo or living museum. This development would not be the first time for the Balinese, who experienced being turned into a 'living museum' under the Dutch colonial regime (Picard, 1997), which was continued in a subtle way through the formation of *desa wisata* – supposedly the places where the 'real' Bali can be found (Howe, 2005; Nakatani, 2003; Picard, 1992).

8.2.3.5 *Authenticity as the commodification of underdevelopment*

Villagers, Bali CoBTA, BTB and BI hold that this ‘real’ and ‘authentic’ Balinese way of life needs to be preserved as tourist attraction. The tourist as customer shares this view and regards the village as lying outside modernity:

No, we do not have contact with the people, only with our eyes. But it is a different mentality, they are okay living by themselves, they don't need us, there is nothing they need to learn from us... It is good that they are by themselves, because with globalisation and modernity culture is changing and that destroys authenticity. (V2_TM6)

This tourist takes on the position of an agent of modernity and development, having the power to change and destroy the rather undeveloped – or less modern – and authentic village life. S/he reifies authenticity as something that can be found in the village, a place disconnected from the outside modern world through clear yet porous boundaries. After all, it all comes back to the major ‘problem’, which is, according to one of the tourists in village 1, “*if they develop, they could lose their authenticity*” (V1_TF2). As the paragraphs above have shown, development for tourists equalises modernisation, a threat to authenticity, destroying the attraction for tourism and putting people’s livelihoods at a risk.

This, in turn, makes CBT a paradox: while empowering communities through CBT should contribute to their development, the current state of ‘underdevelopment’ turns into an attraction that has to be preserved (Cole, 2007). After all, presenting oneself as traditional and untouched by modernity is often the only way to attract tourists (Novelli & Tisch-Rottensteiner, 2012). Thereby, Andre Gunder Frank’s (1966) theory of underdevelopment becomes applicable at local level and in a tourism context: CBT villages – by being put into comparison with the tourist’s ‘Western world’, which, according to Frank (1966) has never been underdeveloped – become a ‘pleasure periphery’ (Turner & Ash, 1975), which finds itself in a dependency relationship with the metropolises. It is now the tourist, the ‘West’, but also local decision-makers in Bali’s tourism industry, who take the role of the ‘metropolises’, as Frank (1966) called them, being responsible for the “development of underdevelopment” (Frank, 1966:4) of the villages. The village, in being more backwards compared to mass tourist destinations, is also home to ‘real Balinese culture’:

That's why to me it is very important to maintain what we have in those regencies, in those villages. Leave them like that. Cultural tourism is coming from the people and is based on the activities of the community. That is why it is important for us in the tourism industry to maintain this. This is our capital. If there is no village and no people living in the villages practicing all the daily activities, there is no culture. (BTB)

You know, actually, what makes tourists come to Bali is culture, the environment, because it is still natural. When those things are gone, I don't think that people, foreigners, will come to Bali. That is why we want to preserve the desa wisata concept. (BI)

These statements reveal the highly political nature of CBT, an arena where villagers' interests interplay with those of the BTB and the BI, two influential players in Bali's tourism for development landscape. Regarded as backwards and as a place that holds the very basis of Bali's culture, the villages need to be preserved to guarantee a prosperous future for the tourism industry in Bali – an idea that was propounded in the post-Suharto era (Hitchcock & Darma Putra, 2007). This view rubs off on villagers, selling their own 'underdevelopment' and culture in a partly modernised Bali characterised by mass tourism, such as in Kuta, where *"culture is pre-packaged, it is like fast-food. You cannot really feel and see, it is shown to you, you open it, eat it, throw it away"* (V1_V3). The commodification of culture or underdevelopment is often conflated in the notion of authenticity and secures the villages a place to participate in the global consumer market (Baptista, 2010). And while the statements above point to the influence that certain actors have in shaping villagers' self-image, CBT is a tool that villagers themselves use to combat the overpowering effects of mass tourism on the island. As a consequence, at village level, some form of agency can be identified, with a potential stimulation of empowerment in the alternative space of CBT. One can speak of community empowerment in a sense that, together, villagers develop power *with* in order to "become more integrated in a worldwide (market) system" (Baptista, 2010:14), based on a – perhaps unconscious – entrepreneurial use of authenticity (Di Domenico & Miller, 2012). Picard (2003) calls this a 'communication strategy' to receive recognition from the outside world.

This is not to say, however, that communities sell a static picture of themselves as underdeveloped or 'purely' Balinese. I could observe that villagers who do not 'perform' (i.e. dance, make handicrafts, perform a certain skill) refrain from wearing traditional costumes but openly show their 'modern' items, such as mobile phones and

blue jeans. In doing so, villagers show how the influence of modernity mixes with the lifestyle of the village. They are aware of and make use of modernity's influence, as one of the village 1 VTC members argues: "*Culture is changing, yes, but the core stays the same. For example, when we go to Besakih, the mother temple in Bali, we used to reach the temple walking. But now, because of technology, we can go there by car*" (V1_VTC2). When it comes to CBT, there is an awareness that the touristic offer needs to include a mixture of modernity and tradition, based on Bali CoBTA's idea of comparing the village to a hotel: "*The tourists that come to Bali are higher class, so we have to offer a better room. If the dance, ritual or ceremony is the way it is, this is OK, but the room can be more modern, so we need to combine the traditional and the modern*" (V3_VTC3). And while villagers regard some changes as positive, changing or losing the core aspects of Balinese culture would be a problem, as this would mean losing a major tourist attraction (V1_VTC2).

Members of the tourism team share 'glocal' (Salazar, 2005) characteristics based on their tourism experiences in Bali or abroad while other villagers present themselves as more traditionally Balinese in the space of CBT: the blacksmith's traditional way of making knives is as much an attraction as the *penari Bali's* (the Balinese dancer's) costumes, while VTC members themselves watch 'Indonesia's got talent' on television and make contact with foreigners via Facebook. It should not be doubted that both VTC members and other villagers engaging in tourism have control over how they present and sell themselves to the tourist. Nevertheless, given that VTC members do not directly serve as tourist attractions, they do not need to hide their 'modern selves'. Other villagers may not necessarily have this possibility in the future, being restrained in their self-presentation by CBT's reliance on 'authentic' attractions. What emerged from observations and conversations with the VTC members is that they – given their work experience outside the village – are aware of cultural mixing. They have the possibility to use these emerging hybrid spaces to break down simplistic dualisms between 'them' and 'us' in order to make room for contemporary interpretations of self (Amoamo, 2011; Bhabha, 1994). These new self-representations turn the tourism encounter into a space of empowerment for villagers who have the chance to present their partly hybrid selves through communication and agency, rather than playing 'authentic' on a touristic stage.

8.2.4. The ‘CBT tourist’ in Bali: agent of empowerment and hope

In the preceding sections, I established that the tourist in CBT plays the role of an agent of change and modernity, as well as a consumer who enables the community to increasingly become part of modernity and its global consumer market. Thereby the tourist – and tourism itself – contributes to the villages’ increasingly hybrid state, “where traditions have not yet disappeared and modernity has not completely arrived” (García Canclini, 2001:1). As consumer, the tourist makes a contribution to the village’s economy – at least to a few privileged individuals. S/he is seen as the agent who brings the money – having more tourists in the village or in the homestay means reaping more benefits (V1_VTC1; V1_VTT4; V2_VTC3; V2_VTC4; V2_VTT5; V3_VTC1; V3_VTC2). Even if tourists come to buy from the local *warung* (shop), they still contribute to the local economy with villagers realizing that tourists are willing to spend money (V2_VTC2). The head of tourism in village 3 is convinced that villagers need to be persuaded of the benefits that can be reaped from tourists’ presence, thereby creating hope for the future:

When I cannot bring guests, they will be angry at me. But now, after I made around 6 homestays and I put some guest in every homestay, like for example you now, I put you with Mrs. XY [anonymized], she said “Yeah, I think it will be a better future.” So other people will see that. And there are already two families that came to me and then asked me to change their room to be a homestay. (V3_VTC3)

Allocating this role to the tourist is key in terms of increasing motivation amongst villagers to participate in tourism, given that “[i]t is difficult with the people in the community, to involve them, they don’t understand tourism and if there are no tourists, we cannot promise any benefits” (V1_VTC2). Given that tourists signify financial benefits, most homestay owners want tourists to stay more often in their house, some every day if possible (selection: V1_VTC3; V1_VTT2; V1_VTT5; V2_VTC1; V2_VTC3; V2_VTT3; V2_VTT4; V3_VTC3; V3_VTT3). In *wisata puri* in village 2, tourists are even regarded as a tool to make money in order to fund the maintenance of the *puri* (the royal palace) and *para* (the market), which would not be possible otherwise. Hence, as argued by the Bali CoBTA chairman, “by having *Wisata Puri*, it is the same like 40 years ago. But the difference is that the community is now utilising the tourists to make money” (CoBTA_CM; Dolezal, 2013).

The tourist is allocated a role of financial help, needed to make CBT work and to enlarge one's financial resources. The presence of tourists, therefore, needs to form part of the empowerment process, which goes hand in hand with the stimulation of hope and motivation in order for villagers to engage further in tourism (see Figure 9). Villagers also see tourists as financial donors who bring gifts to the school. They are either asked to do so in advance by their guides, approached in the village or tourists themselves initiate the donation. Through supporting the school or paying certain children's schooling fees (V3_VTT3), tourists turn into agents of change in the village, a form of patronage and a position that they enjoy taking on: *"The village is better than the hotel because you are close to the people. You really have the feeling that you help the people"* (V1_TF2). This leads to a paradox in terms of the tourists' position: they feel exploited for money, yet they are happy and content with the idea of assisting the village in its development, particularly when children are involved.

In addition, villagers regard the tourist as potential investor, who cooperates with villagers on their business or buys local produce or land: *"My expectation is, as we have silver [...] [and so on] and some investor comes, some big sales men, and says 'I want to buy this much every month and we want to work together and do this', this is going to help them [i.e. villagers] grow the economy"* (V1_VTC2). While in some villages, residents approach tourists directly concerning investment opportunities, others are convinced that the tourist should not be disturbed on their holiday – unless they themselves have an interest to invest (V1_VTC3). The role villagers allocate to the tourist is not surprising given that Bali CoBTA teaches the villages that ideal CBT consists of tourism, investment and trading, because *"the trading through tourism and the investment generates more revenue for the community and makes the community become rich faster, compared to tourism"* (CoBTA_CM). Even though the NGO teaches villagers to reach out for cooperation, there is a certain local awareness in that investment can impact negatively upon the village's potential (V1_VTC3). Paradoxically, a large number of villagers (V1_VTC2; V1_VTC3; V2_VTC1; V2_VTT1; V3_VTC1; V3_VTC3; V3_VTC4) and even the Tourism Ministry in Jakarta and Bali (MoT_B; MoT_J) oppose foreign investment, given the limited benefit for the local population. Even the same villagers who are convinced that tourists should invest in the village hold that *"all the money goes to the big investors in the hotel. I have to fight the investors"* (V1_VTC2). Hence, tourists can signify a

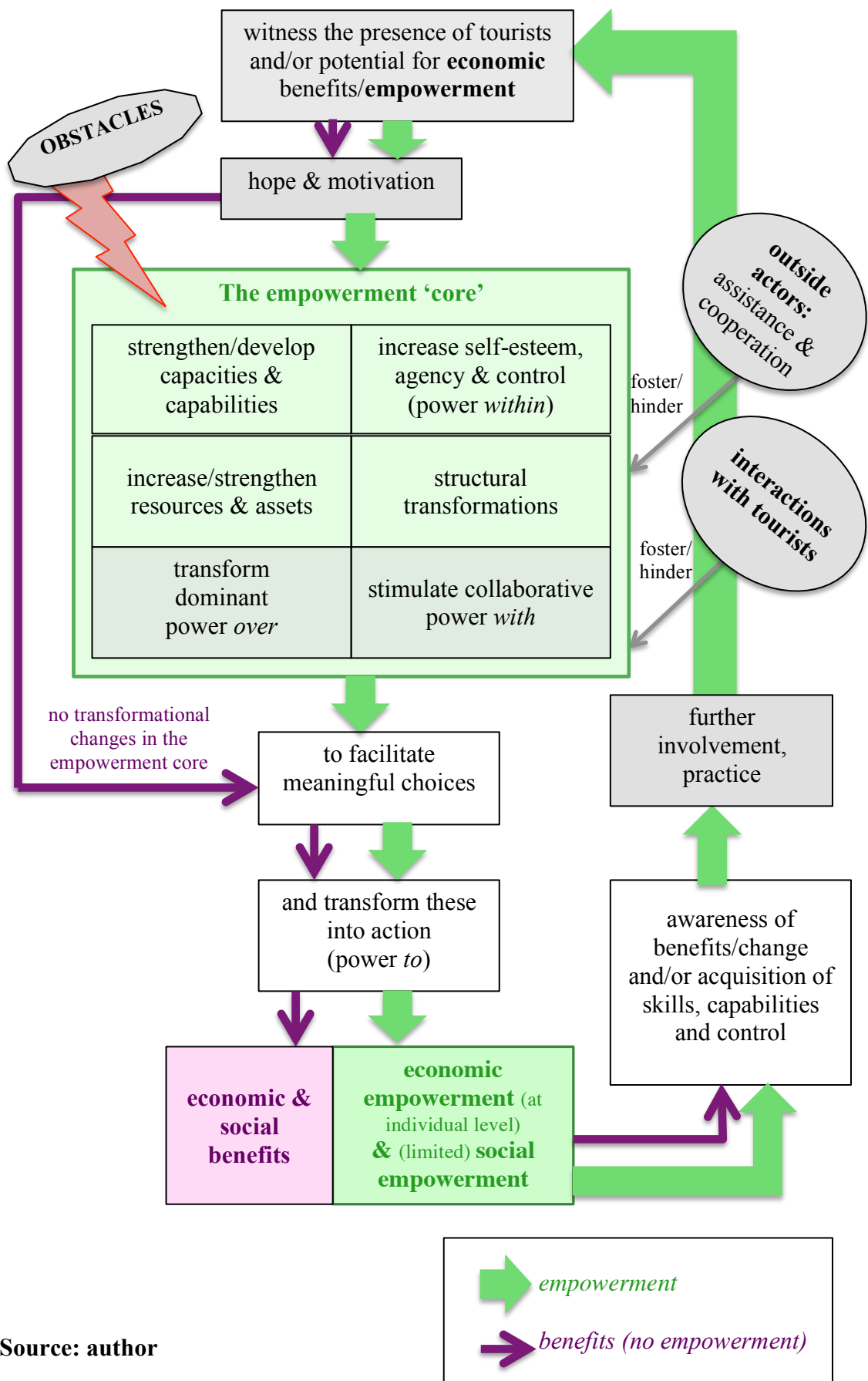
threat if cooperation is not managed in the right way, thus taking the form of power *over* villagers rather than collaborative power *with*. Nevertheless, tourists can assist with the promotion of tourism and other local businesses. The silversmith in village 1, for example, relies on tourists to promote his business overseas and sell products (V1_VTT3). Also, the home industry owner in village 3 who makes traditional Balinese cakes hopes to be known through the promotion by tourists internationally (through word of mouth and even more formally) (V3_VTT2).

The arguments above show that villagers see tourists as agents who are needed for empowerment and positive change. Rather than being seen as disturbance or burden, tourists are agents of hope for the villagers. The villages need tourists to earn money and to have a positive future, which means that coming across tourists in the village is a positive sign for villagers. Their presence alone generates hope in that tourism in the village and its organisation work and that villagers can reap benefits from participating in CBT, as well as possibilities to practice acquired skills. Tourists, therefore, serve as positive feedback and can increase motivation for villagers to engage further in tourism. For empowerment to happen, villagers need tourists, given that empowerment for villagers means, amongst others, being able to deal with tourists (V1_VC; V1_VTC1, V2_VTC4), preserving traditional skills through the interest that tourists bring to local business (V1_VTT1), improving the village's cleanliness to attract tourists (V2_VTC3) and reaping financial benefits through tourism (V1_VTT1; V2_VTC1; V2_VTT3; V3_VTT3). Tourists, therefore, need to form part of the empowerment process, potentially stimulating hope, motivation and community ties when working towards a common goal (e.g. tourism or the villages' cleanliness) as well as enlarging villagers' financial resources to ensure further participation in tourism. In trying to make CBT work, however, villagers are partly dependent on the presence of the tourist, which restricts their autonomy. Tourists are agents of empowerment in the tourism encounter, a social space where power *within* and power *with* can be created to lead to power *to* for a positive change in the future.

8.3. The CBT empowerment process

This section revises the empowerment process devised in section 3.3.2. in light of the empirical evidence. Figure 9 illustrates the process with the indicated changes (represented by the grey boxes) to the empowerment process that initially emerged from the literature review (see Figure 1).

Figure 9: The CBT empowerment process



Source: author

Figure 9 illustrates the empowerment process based on changes the individual experiences to achieve empowerment. In such a process, no clear point of entry can be determined, given that the process largely differs between individuals and within time and space. VTC members are the ones who are likely to complete this process, with its most crucial aspects including transformations in the empowerment core (usually based on power *within* and/or *with*), the possibilities to make a choice and the action that follows (power *to*). If these three aspects do not occur in practice, we cannot speak of empowerment. This means that if motivation and a hope for benefit directly lead to action based on choice, empowerment does not happen (the ‘purple path’ in Figure 9). After all, empowerment requires transformational changes in the empowerment core – including the transformation or activation of certain power relations (the ‘green path’ in Figure 9). This study highlighted two further aspects as part of the empowerment core in addition to what emerged from the literature:

- *Strengthen/develop capacities and capabilities*: The development of capacities and capabilities is one of the crucial transformations that enable empowerment processes in the context of CBT. It includes the strengthening of tourism skills (e.g. language), technical skills (a special skill, such as knowledge of the environment, dancing etc.) and entrepreneurial skills. The strengthening of skills goes hand in hand with increasing villagers’ awareness of their skills/knowledge, the confidence to put these into practice and possibilities for practice.
- *Increase self-esteem, agency and control (power within)*: Self-esteem, agency and control are central to empowerment processes, stimulated mainly through interactions with tourists. They are the crucial basis for participation in tourism and further transformational changes, such as the engagement in training. Agency is enhanced or limited by interactions with tourists, villagers or outside actors as well as by structure. All of these aspects can be subsumed under the notion of ‘power *within*’, a basis for empowerment processes (rather than an outcome or sign of empowerment, i.e. ‘psychological empowerment’ as Scheyvens (1999) calls it), which needs power *to* make a change to complete the process.

- *Increase/strengthen resources and assets:* Resources and assets include financial capital, information, time, knowledge and skills. Particularly the lack of awareness of one's personal resources and assets (tangible and intangible) proves problematic and needs to be fostered through training. Culture, the environment, land and community ties are assets that are used in the context of tourism but run the danger of deterioration when a lack of awareness of tourism's negative impacts is given.
- *Structural transformations* must form part of the empowerment core in that a number of structural constraints impact on villagers' articulation of agency, including CBT guidelines created by Bali CoBTA and the VTC. This research reveals the rigidity of certain structural constraints, such as caste, which are deeply engrained in Balinese society and so are more difficult to change given the cultural context. However, while empowerment depends largely on the lifting of structural limitations, it emerged that, at times, it demands new structures that enable participation of the marginalised.
- *Transform dominant power over:* Power *over* enables an elite to dominate the space of CBT while it restricts agency of other villagers. In those social spaces where power *over* can be found, it needs to be turned into power *with* and power *within* to enable empowerment processes – oftentimes happening through resistance.
- *Stimulate collaborative power with:* Collaborative power *with* others can initiate empowerment processes, emerging from interactions in social spaces such as the tourism encounter, village associations and, to some extent, from collaborations with outside actors.

As illustrated in Figure 9, the abovementioned transformations serve as the basis for the individual to make meaningful choices and transform these into action to experience positive change, such as empowerment as an outcome in its different dimensions. In this process, the role of the tourist is crucial in that the witnessing of tourists as agents of economic empowerment and hope usually foregoes the individuals' decision to participate. Participation in tourism can be one of the

outcomes, for instance when marginalised community members experience participation in areas that were previously closed to them (such as in CBT). Hence, even though participation is a prerequisite to experience empowerment from tourism, it can equally be an outcome of the empowerment process. This means that two scenarios emerge when villagers take the decision to participate in CBT. Either s/he can directly engage in tourism without any further necessary transformations, or s/he experiences certain limitations or obstacles where transformational changes are necessary. The former scenario regards participation as a first step to experience empowerment in the future given that no transformational changes happened that would qualify the individual as 'empowered'. The latter is based on certain changes, such as the lifting of structural constraints or the strengthening of skills, which, in this case, turns participation into a sign for social empowerment – obviously with potential for further empowerment in the future.

Figure 9 mentions social empowerment as emerging only to a 'limited' extent, given that, at the moment of research, social empowerment was difficult to be observed. Social empowerment is a privilege that is reserved for a few VTC members and depends on changes in power structures and wider social structures that keep villagers disempowered. These changes usually take time and effort and inure to the benefit of those who are able to manipulate these structures. Social empowerment, therefore, takes the form of a 'side effect' besides economic benefits and economic empowerment at individual level. Figure 9 stresses the importance of economic empowerment, which happened solely on an individual rather than community basis (i.e. 'economic disempowerment' according to Scheyvens, (1999)). We can talk of 'economic benefits' when transformational changes in the empowerment core were bypassed and no empowerment happened. Most importantly, the absence of these financial benefits can hinder further participation and social empowerment, given that financial benefit suffices for villagers to decide not to engage further in training activities or deeper transformations in the empowerment core. In turn, the empowerment process gets disrupted or villagers are prone to leaving the space of CBT. Nevertheless, one should not forget that having a choice as part of empowerment also implies having the choice not to participate.

Lastly, Figure 9 further indicates the influence from outside as a twofold factor in the empowerment process. This chapter has revealed that outside actors can impact

negatively upon villagers' agency and the empowerment process. Nevertheless, there is a *need* for outside assistance and cooperation with actors such as Bali CoBTA, the Ministry of Tourism and investors, given that their influence can positively impact on the empowerment core through training, funding and promotion. CBT ultimately is a business that relies on cooperation with a number of actors, i.e. power *with*, to attract tourists and enable empowerment processes.

8.3.1. Social (dis)empowerment in CBT

Despite the obstacles that hinder villagers' empowerment process, the first ideas of a 'sense of social empowerment at individual level' and 'signs for social empowerment at community level' could be observed. Table 21 summarises these based on the theoretical underpinning from section 4.2.3. and the empirical evidence presented in chapter 8. Regarding the notion of a 'sense of social empowerment', self-esteem and feelings of being capable were mentioned by participants. Nevertheless, these vary between villagers, their roles in CBT and interactions with tourists. These unequal and very individual benefits that CBT in Bali generates in turn impact on possibilities for social empowerment at community level. This research revealed that collaboration within the village is usually limited to a few actors, In addition, the participation of marginalised groups is challenged by elite domination and a number of obstacles that I have discussed throughout this chapter. I also want to stress that choice and change are central to empowerment and are needed to turn both a sense of empowerment and signs of empowerment into 'real empowerment', which – at the time of research – was difficult to be observed.

Ideas of a sense and signs of social *disempowerment* clearly emerged in this chapter as illustrated in Table 22, mainly connected to conflict, power inequalities and feelings of powerlessness. How far villagers are affected by these issues depends again on factors such as one's role in CBT, structural limitations and interactions with tourists. They are aspects of disempowerment that future empowerment effort need to consider and address, based on the generative potential of power *with*, power *within* and power *to*. A number of ways to foster social empowerment are illustrated in Table 23, based on the theoretical underpinning of section 4.2.3., which I revisited in light of the findings.

Table 21: Sense and signs of social empowerment in CBT

	Sense of social empowerment at individual level		Signs of social empowerment at community level	
Empowerment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. self-esteem due to a recognition of culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge 2. feeling capable to make changes 3. increase in status of marginalised members of the community 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. self-esteem as predecessor of social empowerment; emerging from interactions with tourists when skills, knowledge and/or hobbies can be used in the tourism encounter; the notion of culture in this context needs to be combined with the use of skills, leading to a lived and practiced culture involving villagers as agents 2. feelings of incapability of certain villagers; general unawareness of one's skills and abilities; those having possibilities for training and practice tend to feel more capable 3. no increase of status for women and the lower caste, but for the elderly; the elderly are agents of empowerment of others, often unaware of their skills 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. participation of marginalised groups (e.g. women) 2. community equilibrium, collaboration and sense of community 3. community benefits (rather than individual benefits) 4. strong community groups 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. women participate in tourism but occupy traditional female roles; lower caste participates but is hindered by structural constraints (created by Bali CoBTA and the VTCs); when the leader is from the lower caste, participation is widened 2. collaboration mainly between VTC members and between VTCs and outside actors; real community cooperation only in village 3, given the head of tourism's use of <i>sosialisasi</i>, stimulating a sense of community and belonging to the CBT programme 3. individual benefits stronger than wider community benefits; potential change with time; benefits spread within the VTC, the family and, to some extent, in the <i>banjar</i>, but not in the wider village 4. strong and numerous community groups in the villages in Bali given the cultural context; only in village 3 is their social power activated and connected to CBT through <i>sosialisasi</i> and tourism meetings

Source: author

Table 22: Sense and signs of social disempowerment in CBT

	Sense of social disempowerment at individual level		Signs of social disempowerment at community level	
Dismpowerment	<p>1. frustration, disillusionment and a feeling of inferiority and powerlessness due to tourism activity</p>	<p>1. some degree of frustration and powerlessness based on a lack of information provided to villagers, domination of the VTC, dependence on outside actors and problems connected to CBT promotion</p>	<p>1. conflict & disagreement</p> <p>2. competition, jealousy, crime disharmony</p> <p>3. power inequalities and misuse of power by the local leader</p> <p>4. disruption of the community knowledge structures through outside influence</p>	<p>1. conflicts in the villages mainly over resources (e.g. funding, land), over possibilities for participation and over financial benefits; conflicts are subtle rather than obvious, leading to local resistance in different forms (amongst others, resulting in further conflict); conflicts over responsibilities between villages and Bali CoBTA</p> <p>2. first signs of jealousy; villagers spreading rumours about the VTCs; certain level of disharmony in the form of resistance by villagers against other, more dominant villagers</p> <p>3. power inequalities between castes (reinforced through <i>wisata puri</i>) and <i>banjars</i> as well as between VTC and VTT members emerged; at times, local leaders using their power for their own benefit; the leader as a key figure in the direction CBT takes</p> <p>4. influence from outside in the form of investment and collaborations; impacting on the villages' assets and social ties; stimulating individualistic thinking; no or only marginal disruptions of community knowledge structures through Bali CoBTA's influence</p>

Source: author

Table 23: Aspects fostering social empowerment in CBT

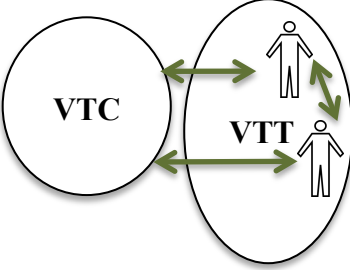
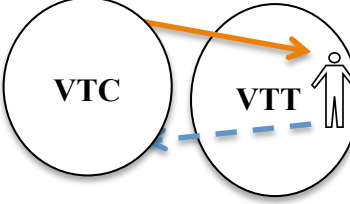
Aspects	Elaboration based on the literature	Elaboration based on the findings
1. Culture, traditions & local knowledge	an appreciation of <i>tradition</i> and <i>culture</i> from outside the community (i.e. tourists)	tourists' appreciation of tradition and culture stimulating social empowerment, particularly when connected to villagers' use of skills; culture is practiced and lived rather than static, enabling villagers to articulate agency through self-representation, particularly when able to communicate with tourists and sharing their cultural/traditional knowledge
2. Assets & skills	the use and improvement of <i>assets</i> and <i>skills</i> in tourism	empowerment through the use and strengthening of assets and skills, opening up possibilities for participation and increasing villagers' feelings of capability; general lack of awareness of villagers' skills and usefulness, e.g. of the elderly; training efforts largely unequal and unorganised; mainly VTC members can strengthen their skills; need for raising an awareness of the value of training
3. Commodification	the commodification of culture and/or underdevelopment; including ideas of self-commodification and appropriation	the 'traditional and authentic' (culture in its widest sense, the notion of underdevelopment and social relationships) turn into a commodity fetish in CBT, sold to the consumer; commodification used to articulate villagers' agency in Bali's tourism landscape, dominated by foreign investment and mass tourism; authenticity as empowerment tool; villagers have agency in terms of what is authentic and what is sold to tourists, but other actors influence the process
4. Self-representation	representation if in the control of residents themselves, creating a space (i.e. a 'third space') for cultural hybridity rather than purity	selling themselves as authentic enables the articulation of villagers' agency; Bali CoBTA teaching what it means to be authentic; self-representation mainly possible for those able to communicate with tourists to share knowledge; these villagers present their hybrid selves in the tourism encounter, challenging preformed stereotypes about the Balinese
5. Entrepreneurship & creation of job opportunities	increase in local ownership through community-run businesses, reducing the influence from local elites and from outside; using some of the income for community projects	local entrepreneurship as underused aspect to foster social empowerment in CBT; small number of local businesses connected to tourism: selling products to villagers, but no proper businesses; possibly leads back to a lack in entrepreneurial skills training; CBT as paradoxical space: avoiding outside influence while cooperation is welcome; a space of local ownership but also local elite domination; financial benefits for a few individuals, rather than used for community projects
6. Participation	a majority of the community contributing to the community's quality of life through active involvement in tourism planning, management and operations; creation of a common purpose and sense of community	only a small number of villagers involved in CBT, tourism planning as a task that falls under the VTCs' responsibilities; still, some information sharing and village consultation through <i>sosialisasi</i> , a two-fold concept to increase villagers' sense of belonging to the village and the CBT programme by creating common purposes (e.g. presenting a clean village); remains to be seen whether CBT as competitive business can be turned into collaboration
7. Community groups	the formation of and networking between community groups increases residents' sense of community	community associations as a social space of empowerment: a space for <i>sosialisasi</i> and the sharing of information on CBT; when community groups are connected to tourism they can be enabling for villagers to use skills and activate social ties for the purposes of collaboration; creation of a common goal for associations to work towards (e.g. successful tourism) can strengthen social ties and increase sense of community

8.3.2. The four forms of power in CBT

Having reflected upon social empowerment and the steps within the empowerment process, I now turn to the four forms of power that served as a further theoretical underpinning for this study. This chapter has sketched the power relations between the relevant actors involved in CBT by identifying dominant power *over* and possibilities for generative power *with*, *within* and *to*. Tables 24 to 30 visualise these power relations, mainly between VTC and VTT members, tourists, private investors, Bali CoBTA and the MoT. While the BI and BTB do play a role in this research, their role is tentatively included only in the complete power diagram in Figure 10, which creates a complete picture of power relations between the actors in CBT in Bali. Future research needs to generate insights particularly into power relations with actors at a national level, most importantly between the villages and the MoT to understand the politicised nature of CBT and potential for power *with* and collaboration.

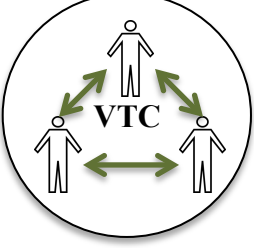
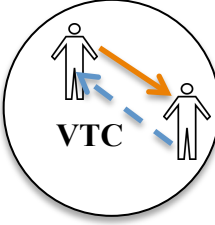
Tables 24 to 30 illustrate the different formations of power relations between the aforementioned actors, confirming the fluid and changing nature of power. Particularly power *with* and *within* can open up empowering spaces when paired with power *to*. Power *with* does not emerge at all times and not in each village but needs to be stimulated to fully activate the potential that social spaces of empowerment bear. In addition, it emerged that power *over* usually comes with resistance (although not at all times), which can be a basis for empowerment when it is turned into power *to*. Resistance happens in different forms, firstly between the VTC and the VTT in the form of solving conflict with further conflict by e.g. blocking roads to avoid CBT activities; secondly, between the VTT (or rather, VTC) and Bali CoBTA in the form of a withdrawal from power relations with Bali CoBTA through independence; thirdly, between VTC members themselves in the form of involving a third party (i.e. Bali CoBTA) to solve the conflict; and lastly, between the VTT and private investors (or tourists) in the form of freeing oneself from the power *over* villagers by seeking independence through villagers' power *with* and power *to*. In certain cases, it can take the form of power *with*, between villagers and investors, a form of collaboration that creates mutual benefit. Further research will also show what form potential resistance takes between villagers and the MoT.

Table 24: Power relations between VTC and VTT

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
<u>power with</u>		<p>Power <i>with</i> between the VTC and other villagers emerges when the VTC facilitates tourism cooperation with other villagers, who have equal chances to participate. Examples include the VTC's provision of training and the connection of village associations with tourism. Also, a sense of belonging to the village and the tourism programme, along with a common purpose, can foster power <i>with</i> between VTC and VTT. In this power formation, tourism is likely to be empowering for the VTT, rather than the VTC only. This dynamic was observed mainly in village 3.</p>
<u>power over & resistance</u>		<p>Power <i>over</i> other villagers emerges when the VTC takes decisions that affect others without involving them as 'voiced' and when it creates uncertainty over who can participate and how. Power <i>over</i> also includes the creation of a system of knowledge by the VTC, whereby information and knowledge are monopolised rather than shared. The VTCs also have power in deciding on who receives tourists in their home, making it difficult for VTT members to interact with tourists (e.g. in <i>wisata puri</i>). Resistance was partly observed (by blocking roads to avoid village tours passing by one's house). This dynamic was observed in village 1 and village 2.</p>

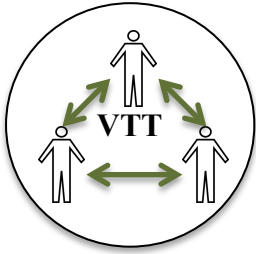
Source: author

Table 25: Power relations between VTC members

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
<u>power with</u>		<p>Power <i>with</i> can emerge between VTC members when their undertakings are based on cooperation towards a common goal, rather than individualistic interests at the expense of others. The VTC can, thus, be a social space of empowerment, where villagers can live and use their potential and skills in tourism and make CBT a successful business approach based on cooperation. This dynamic was observed in village 1 and village 3.</p>
<u>Power over & resistance</u>		<p>Power <i>over</i> can emerge within the VTC when certain VTC members make decisions that are at the expense of others or when their appropriation of the space of CBT excludes other VTC members to fully participate in decision-making and in VTC-focused activities. This dynamic was observed mainly in village 2, where VTC members compete for financial gain rather than collaborate. Resistance was observed through means of complaint to Bali CoBTA.</p>

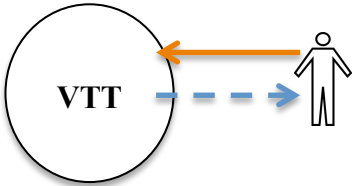
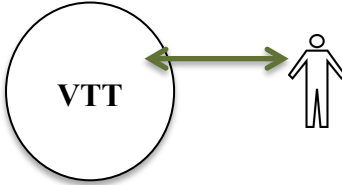
Source: author

Table 26: Power relations between VTT members

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
<u>power with</u>		<p>Power <i>with</i> emerged in addition to ‘neutral’ power relations between the wider VTT members (i.e. villagers minding their own business and having neither particularly positive nor negative impacts upon each other). Power <i>with</i> VTT members emerges when those who are not part of the VTC achieve self-mobilisation and cooperation on tourism activities for collective benefit. This formation can happen when members of village associations that are connected to tourism collaborate to enjoy benefits collectively. This dynamic could be observed mainly in village 3.</p>

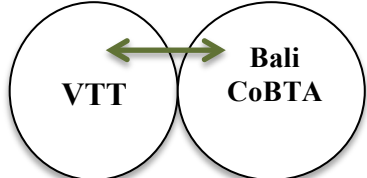
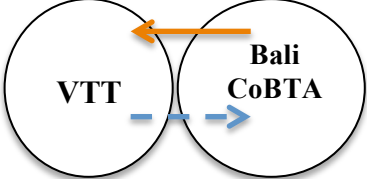
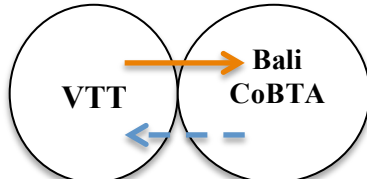
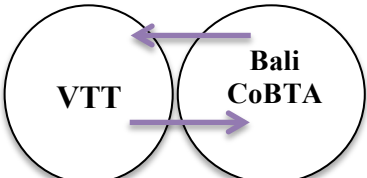
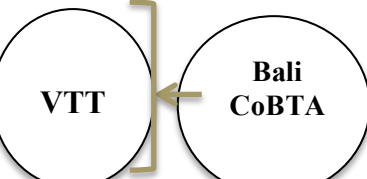
Source: author

Table 27: Power relations between the wider VTT and private investors

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
<u>power over & resistance</u>		<p>Private businessmen usually invest in land or local businesses, employing local workforce, but tending to pay minimal wages, keep decision-making power for themselves and disrupt social ties in the village (e.g. the <i>subak</i>). Hence, villagers regard investors as exercising power <i>over</i> them. Resistance emerges in the form of creating local businesses or using investors for villagers’ own benefits. This resistance can also take the form of cooperation, hence power <i>with</i>.</p>
<u>power with</u>		<p>When villagers manage to resist the power <i>over</i> of private investors, a mutually beneficial collaboration, i.e. power <i>with</i>, can emerge. One such example is the village 3 transport association, which cooperates with privately-owned villas based on a contract that guarantees the sole use of transport from village 3. This power <i>with</i>, however, usually happens between a few individuals and outside investors, rather than the village at large.</p>

Source: author

Table 28: Power relations between the wider VTT and Bali CoBTA

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
		<p><i>It is usually the VTC who interacts with Bali CoBTA. However, other villagers are aware of Bali CoBTA's influence, which is why this table refers to the wider VTT. Nevertheless, most members of the VTT have never heard of the NGO and have no contact with it.</i></p>
<p><u>power with</u></p>		<p>Power <i>with</i> happens when villagers and Bali CoBTA collaborate on a common purpose, which is not at the expense of one or the other. This happens usually when tourism in the villages is initiated, with Bali CoBTA offering assistance that villagers welcome.</p>
<p><u>Power over & resistance</u></p>		<p>Power <i>over</i> villagers emerges when Bali CoBTA creates guidelines and structural conditions that are against certain groups' interests. One such example is <i>wisata puri</i>: Bali CoBTA creates the product idea, which puts the <i>puri</i> into the centre, while others benefit only marginally, thereby compromising power <i>with</i> between villagers. Nevertheless, Bali CoBTA's power <i>over</i> is usually short-lived given that villagers choose how to operate CBT on the ground by resisting guidelines and seeking independence.</p>
<p><u>Power over & resistance</u></p>		<p>The VTT has power <i>over</i> Bali CoBTA when it decides to boycott training programmes or fails to supply information on finance. Bali CoBTA resists in that the NGO sends a member of staff to the village to collect necessary information.</p>
<p><u>Delegation (two way)</u></p>		<p>Both the VTT and Bali CoBTA delegate responsibilities and tasks to one another. Bali CoBTA does so in order to make CBT a 'community-run' business, being involved as little as possible. The VTT delegates when it does not have the necessary expertise or resources to complete tasks by themselves (e.g. promotion).</p>
<p><u>Creating an enabling/ hindering structure</u></p>		<p>To a certain extent (if there is no resistance on the ground), Bali CoBTA creates an enabling/hindering structural context of CBT for villagers to act in, including certain general guidelines such as: how to initiate CBT, giving opportunities to the unprofessional, or discovering attractions within the village. It was found that it is mainly the absence of sufficient structures (which, according to Bali CoBTA, is a characteristic of CBT) that hinder a majority of villagers to engage in tourism (e.g. the lower caste).</p>

Source: author

Table 29: Power relations between the village (the wider VTT) and tourists

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
<u>power within</u>		While power <i>within</i> may result from training efforts, it is mainly through interactions with tourists that feelings of capability and pride are stimulated. The use of skills can turn the tourism encounter into a space of mutual understanding, especially when residents can express themselves to tourists and are able to communicate.
<u>power over & resistance</u>		Power <i>over</i> villagers can emerge when tourists take the role of private investors, as explained above. Power <i>over</i> is also an effect of the tourist gaze; however, the gaze is also returned (which I experienced myself as a 'tourist'). Also, villagers have control over how they sell and present the village and consciously manage interactions.
<u>power over & resistance</u>		Villagers could be regarded as having power <i>over</i> tourists as Foucauldian agents, manifesting itself in a knowledge system created through the agent. However, VTT members are themselves subordinate to an operational and knowledge system created by a local elite, hence they are subject to power <i>over</i> exercised by the VTC, again, with potential for resistance.
<u>power with</u>		Power <i>with</i> can emerge when tourists assist in the promotion of local business or supply visitors, hence when collaboration results in a mutual benefit between villagers and tourists.

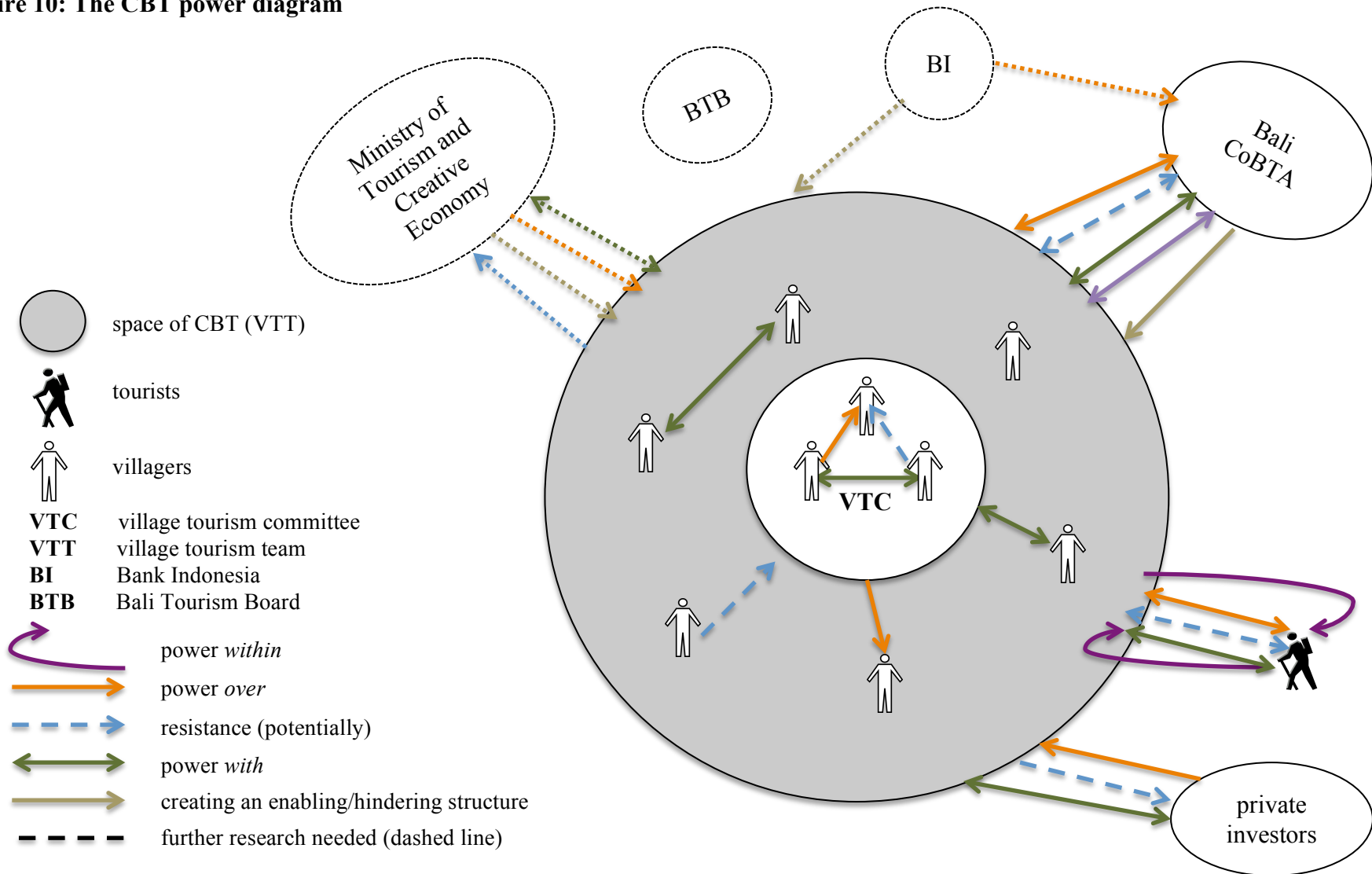
Source: author

Table 30: Power relations between the wider VTT and the Ministry of Tourism

Form of power	Visualisation of power relations	Explanation
<u>Enabling/hindering structure</u>		The Ministry of Tourism (MoT) can create an enabling (/hindering) environment for the CBT villages to operate in, based on its support through training and funding. In addition, the government's PNPM programme aims at making villagers subject rather than objects in their own development.
<u>power over & resistance</u>		The MoT could be seen as having power <i>over</i> villagers in terms of transmitting (if not imposing) its ideas of how the villages should sell themselves on the tourism market. Further research will show in how far villagers accept or resist the power of the MoT and for what ends the MoT uses CBT (e.g. to preserve the villages), revealing insights into the political nature of CBT at national/regency level.

Source: author

Figure 10: The CBT power diagram



To conclude this chapter, section 8.3. embedded the findings discussed in 8.1. and 8.2. within the conceptual framework in order to more directly address the three research sub-questions. It integrated the four forms of power into the empowerment process, which it revised in light of the empirical data. It further visualised the complex power relations between the actors involved in CBT and provided an overview of the *sense* and *signs* of social (dis)empowerment as well as the aspects that foster it.

The findings and discussion presented throughout chapter 8 therefore contributed to an in-depth understanding of empowerment in CBT to ultimately answer the two major research questions that drove this study. Section 8.1. offered an analysis of the social space of CBT to see whether it can be a social space of empowerment for villagers in rural Bali. It revealed that opportunities for social empowerment are largely unequal to date, based on issues such as skills endowment, caste and the structures that are created by outside actors as well as by a local elite (i.e. the VTCs).

Section 8.2. focused on the tourism encounter and village associations as further social spaces of empowerment emerging in CBT. The tourism encounter in the villages under study was found to create three different dynamics or social spaces between villagers and tourists, which, in turn, offer different possibilities for empowerment. These interactions with tourists have the potential to create power *within* for some villagers, hence, a *sense* of empowerment that could possibly start further empowerment processes. This section further revealed that the interactions between villagers and tourists present a window into understanding the wider power relations in CBT in Bali, characterised by complexity and conflicting interests of the actors involved, while at the same time giving room for collaborative power *with*.

To conclude this thesis, chapter 9 teases out this study's contribution to knowledge and mentions further areas of research that this research identified.

9. CONCLUSIONS

This research offered a critical analysis of the interactions between the actors involved in CBT in rural Bali as a basis to understand empowerment in CBT's alternative tourism space. In doing so, it contributes to the existing body of literature in three areas: community-based tourism as a form of tourism for development (see Blackstock, 2005; Dolezal & Burns, 2015; Murphy, 1983, 1988; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; Reed, 1997), community empowerment as discussed in development studies (see Alsop et al., 2006; Batliwala, 2010; Eyben, 2009; Rowlands, 1996, 1997) and the tourism encounter as part of what is usually termed 'the anthropology of tourism' (see Babb, 2011; Cole, 2007; Hollinshead, 1998a, 1998b; MacCannell, 1992, 1999, 2001; Smith, 1989; van der Duim et al., 2005). I locate this piece of research within the more specialised field of enquiry of empowerment in tourism for development (see Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Scheyvens, 1999; 2000; 2002; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007), which is characterised by a limited number of studies on empowerment in CBT. Research within this area has largely failed to offer in-depth empirical investigations of empowerment to date, particularly based on understanding interactions and power relations between the actors involved in CBT.

This research fills this gap by taking human interactions as a starting point to discover spaces of social empowerment. It did so by extending the ways of how 'psychological' and 'social' empowerment can be fostered in tourism for development, as was initially identified by Scheyvens's (1999) empowerment framework. Rather than making use of the two dimensions, this research combined individual and community levels of empowerment into the dimension of 'social empowerment as emerging from social interactions'. In doing so, it generated new knowledge on what I term 'signs' and 'sense of empowerment', with the latter taking the form of *felt* empowerment and power *within*, which serves as a key basis for empowerment to happen. While it offered an in-depth-understanding of the social dimension of empowerment, this study identified that further research is needed to focus on the relationship between the different dimensions of empowerment, including the economic and political dimensions and the inner processes of empowerment – i.e. power *within*. Future studies of this kind would benefit from collaboration with researchers from the area of (community) psychology, who have the necessary skills

and research tools to understand cognitive processes emerging from interactions in the space of CBT.

In addition to creating new knowledge on the social dimension of empowerment, this study analysed and ultimately visualised power relations between the actors in CBT, above all at local level. The four forms of power that served as analytical tools were further integrated into a model of the CBT empowerment process to serve as a basis for future research. Thus, by understanding CBT as a process and a social space that is co-created by actors with different interests, this study questions CBT's community control and empowerment ethos by revealing its paradoxes and complexities.

To arrive at this point, this research made use of anthropological methods based on symbolic interactionism (SI) as my methodological position. Departing from the premise that reality is inter-subjective, SI sees human beings in constant interaction with others and with their own selves. I decided to embed these interactions in space to understand the fluid and ever-changing nature of power as the basis of interactions and empowerment. Hence, rather than following the traditional paths of measuring empowerment with the help of indicators or using one-sided analyses of participants' experiences, this research shows an innovative methodological approach to studying empowerment. Part of this unique approach is the practice of reflexivity to understand the intersubjectivities between myself and research participants. I analysed myself in interaction with others, including my roles and position in the field. This assisted in understanding how interactions shaped the data analysis and findings, which I share with the reader by means of reflexive writing. Through discussing my own disempowerment resulting from interactions, my emotional life and structural limitations, I ultimately increased my understanding of my participants' world, which I was also part of. This study, therefore, highlights the need for more reflexive and honest accounts of fieldwork to arrive at more engaged and embodied ethnographic research practices. The methodological changes I decided on during fieldwork are also part of this reflection and show the inappropriateness of participatory tools, such as Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), in contexts like the one here studied. My reflection thus highlights the oftentimes agenda-driven nature of social science research in LDCs by using methods that may have great theoretical but little practical application and value. This study calls for a revisiting of the purpose of participatory methods, which ultimately need to be based on

informants' needs rather than the ones of the researcher. Hence, it is the research 'toolbox' I deployed that enabled an in-depth and critical understanding of empowerment emerging from social interactions in CBT. This enabled me to address the two main research questions that guided this study to and tease out its theoretical and practical contributions as well as identify suggestions for further research discussed in the next section.

To what extent can CBT as alternative tourism space constitute a social space of empowerment?

This study shows that the space of CBT in Bali is characterised by ambiguity, paradoxes and a set of complex ever-changing power relations between the actors involved. CBT in Bali is, first and foremost, an alternative space that should create possibilities for the articulation of villagers' agency in Bali's tourism landscape – a landscape where rural villagers, along with other Balinese, have previously experienced marginalisation through foreign domination. According to villagers of the locations under study, Bali CoBTA, the Ministry of Tourism, the Bali Tourism Board and Bank Indonesia, CBT's purpose is to become a space that embodies complete community ownership, control and agency leading to empowerment – all features that have for a long time been propounded as the key beneficial characteristics of CBT. Indeed, this research evidences that, from a macro perspective, the alternative space of CBT creates hopes for villagers' self-organisation and autonomy when it comes to participating in the tourism industry in a politically decentralised Indonesia that has been dominated by foreign influence for a number of centuries.

Nevertheless, this study identified a gap between CBT 'hopes' and 'realities' on the ground, which constitutes one of the key challenges to local empowerment. The micro perspective from which this research departed has revealed that, while villagers regard CBT as a tool that enables resistance against mass tourism, foreign investment and marginalisation realities on the ground look somewhat different, creating largely unequal benefits and opportunities. The space of CBT is appropriated by local elites, who are given the status of the 'village tourism committees' (VTCs). These local elites are usually formed by those villagers who have tourism experience and who – in the villages under study – are generally male and part of the higher castes. In turn, the space of CBT allows for possibilities of empowerment insofar as the VTCs actively foster these. This is to say that the VTCs control the tools, knowledge and information

to take decisions on CBT, amongst others, on who can participate or not. These local elites were found to be the most qualified to work in tourism and, at times, unwilling to open up the space of CBT to the ‘non-professionals’ and those who do not know how to engage in CBT. While these elites are able to fully use their skills and potential and receive training, which allows for a further appropriation of the space of CBT, other villagers usually serve as marginal attractions who complete the touristic product, usually without actively entering the space of CBT as ‘voiced’.

This is not to say that local leaders do not intend to involve the wider village and make CBT a true community enterprise. While the majority of VTCs attempt to widen involvement in the future, this study identified contrasting levels of involvement. Village 3 could be viewed as a best practice example, whereby the head of tourism actively tries to open up the space of CBT for participation to the wider community. Here, the VTC seeks to turn the space of CBT into one of inclusion and collaboration: that is, a social space of empowerment based on the potential that lies within the social ties between villagers. CBT is a social space that is opened up to the wider community and one that should pervade other social spaces (e.g. village associations) in the village. CBT is one of the ‘glues’ that unites villagers to work towards a common purpose, strengthening social ties as the precondition for CBT to take the form of a true community-based enterprise.

In the majority of cases, though, CBT is a more closed space where a number of obstacles hinder villagers’ possibilities for empowerment. Much more than the government or NGOs, local elites create the structural conditions that either impair or strengthen villagers’ agency. So, even though outside actors, such as Bali CoBTA or the Ministry of Tourism, to a certain extent establish CBT guidelines, there is room for local manoeuvre. The VTCs’ structurally transformative agency allows for a redefinition of guidelines, which, depending on the VTCs’ intentions, turn the space of CBT into a social space of empowerment either for certain families, *banjars* or the wider village accordingly. While Bali CoBTA’s lack of guidelines can be regarded as the CBT’s ethos for community independence and empowerment, this has proven enabling only for a few privileged (and knowledgeable) groups, fostering the appropriation of the space of CBT by local elites and the further marginalisation of others, such as the non-professional villagers, women, and those belonging to the lower caste. This situation can only change through VTCs initiatives, given Bali

CoBTA's lack of active and continuous engagement at village level (e.g. through monitoring).

Bali CoBTA's assistance with certain organisational aspects of CBT is needed in order to address inequalities at local level, including possibilities for participation in CBT. While those who are in regular contact with Bali CoBTA (i.e. the VTCs) generally seek to decrease its influence to foster independence, those villagers who are not aware of available assistance struggle with the lack of clear guidelines to ultimately benefit from wider participation. Furthermore, VTCs have agency to choose how to manage and implement CBT on the ground. At the same time, the power that outside actors, such as Bali CoBTA and the Ministry of Tourism have, clearly emerged. Their assistance is needed in terms of funding, skills development, promotion and tourists' awareness of CBT. As a consequence, this research shows that analyses of CBT need to acknowledge potential changes in power relations in time and space. This is to say that, with time and increased tourist numbers, the observed vicious circle can be turned into a virtuous circle based on possibilities for practice. As a result, the VTC may be more inclined to delegate tasks to other villagers and open up the space of CBT. Further research into the changes that will emerge from tourism development in the three studied villages will help acquiring longitudinal evidence of empowerment processes and changes in power relations, not only between villagers but also in relation to outside actors such as Bali CoBTA, the Bali Tourism Board and the Ministry of Tourism. These play a key role in creating local awareness of the villages' own distinctiveness for the Balinese tourist market. Culture, the natural environment, the village lifestyle and partly the underdeveloped charm of the villages' *potensi* are assets of what can be referred to as 'local authenticity'. They constitute assets and unique selling points that bring financial benefit to rural Bali and its villagers. While the input provided by these actors can be regarded as an assistance to make CBT viable, it has also proved how CBT can be highly politicised, driven by external agendas dating back to the beginnings of mass tourism in the post-Suharto era. More than ever before, rural villages' preservation is high on the Bali tourism development agenda as the place that holds the essence of Bali's culture and allegedly guarantees a prosperous future for tourism. Further research is therefore needed on the political meanings of CBT, including a deeper investigation of the government's intentions and the power relations that exist at

national, regional and local levels. This understanding, along with an unravelling of the connections between *desentralisasi*, *demokrasi*, *otonomi* and *pemberdayaan masyarakat*, would be of great relevance to better understand the political context in which CBT is expected to operate.

Having acknowledged the highly political nature of CBT, another aspect which emerged from this study is that the discourse on how the village should sell itself is not only externally driven. Villagers themselves demonstrated a strong awareness of the central role of the village lifestyle in CBT (i.e. their culture and traditions). Despite the local disruptions caused by CBT, it ultimately is a space embedded in residents' daily social spaces, allowing villagers to meet their religious and family obligations, much more than any other form of tourism would ever allow for. Bali's rural areas are characterised by a strong dedication to ceremonies and the pervasion of culture into every aspect of villagers' daily life, more than one can find in any other parts of the island. By embedding CBT in the cultural dynamics of a Bali caught up between modernity and tradition, the space of CBT can be an alternative tourism space that empowers villagers' sustained dedication to culture and ceremonies. On these grounds, CBT can be regarded as a social space of empowerment and a tool fighting the impacts of modernity at regional level. Villagers collectively defend their traditional lifestyle while they renegotiate modernity's influences locally, despite the fact that tourism remains an activity that increases influence from outside and may turn villagers' aspirations for cultural preservation and independence into a yet-bigger delusion.

Based on these contradictory forces, as well as the ambiguous nature of the actors involved in CBT, CBT becomes a space of contradictions and paradoxes. It is a space that creates hope for villagers to articulate their agency, autonomy and independence in the Balinese tourism landscape. Simultaneously, it is a space that is influenced and depends on outside players for the key aspects of promotion, funding, training and investment, leading to the questioning of CBT as a tool for community control, ownership and empowerment. After all, CBT uses villages' assets and *potensi* as tourism products, turning rural villages into spaces for investment and business development. Therefore, the frailness of the alternative space of CBT becomes evident in its inability to counteract the spilling over of the investor-resident dynamics that are dominant characteristics of Bali's mainstream tourism sector. On these grounds, one

may argue that the space of CBT signifies community ownership and cultural preservation *in disguise*, a small-scale replica of mainstream tourism spaces that have so long marginalised the Balinese in their own island's tourism industry – ultimately compromising opportunities for residents' empowerment.

This research also revealed a number of challenges to empowerment in the social space of CBT. Social empowerment is largely compromised by the individual nature of benefits and opportunities for empowerment. This causes internal competition rather than collaboration and collective benefits, driven by individualistic thinking – aimed at preserving the interests of specific families and the *banjar* instead of the wider village or community. This study, therefore, questions the nature of CBT to become a true community endeavour, especially when the village is characterised by a fragmented community, one that is divided into a number of 'sub-communities', with tourism being one of them. I therefore argue that CBT is not effectively poised to generate equally distributed community benefits. Even if CBT enabled community control and ownership, communities are highly heterogeneous, and local realities are characterised by complex power structures and cultural contexts. Hence, this study evidences the challenges of implementing and operating Western-centric principles of CBT in an environment dominated by hierarchical societal structures, based on different understandings of democracy than those initially giving birth to notions of CBT. Social empowerment takes time – as opposed to simple economic benefits – and rests on wider societal changes. CBT may be only one of many potential spaces of empowerment, remaining a mere 'wish list' for desired local changes. Further research, therefore, needs to identify other social spaces of empowerment that may have links with the space of CBT and may lead to a more effective use of local resources.

To what extent do further social spaces of empowerment emerge in CBT?

This study revealed further potential spaces of empowerment in CBT that emerge from the interactions resulting from the tourism encounter as well as village associations. CBT can, and should, activate the social ties and power *with* as part of village groups to widen participation and strengthen villagers' skills, power *within* and sense of community. Notably, the tourism association enables empowerment processes, even if only for VTC members. Usually, in Bali's villages a number of

other village associations somehow connected to tourism can be found (e.g. dance and music association, plastic picker association), creating the potential for CBT to become a true community enterprise that casts community, rather than individual benefits. Activating and strengthening existing social ties through CBT can turn these associations into spaces of empowerment in the future. Further research needs to focus on a better understanding of the dynamics within these associations, ultimately to reveal the full potential for empowerment they bear. Particularly women's associations could constitute an as-yet-neglected social space of empowerment to overcome women's limited role in CBT. This study revealed that women usually occupy traditional female roles connected to the household and religious duties. Hence, further research investigating and challenging women's limited participation would not only analyse interactions with male villagers, but specifically explore social spaces reserved for women. These studies would take the form of ethnographic research, requiring a researcher who can speak the local language and participate in association meetings.

This research offered primarily an in-depth analysis of the tourism encounter, arguing that a shift away from regarding the tourism encounter as simply repressive and exploitative of residents has long been overdue. It revealed that the tourism encounter in CBT bears underused and under-acknowledged potential for empowerment – again with significant differences between villagers. Its potential for the articulation of agency and empowerment depends on a number of factors, such as the way tourism is organised and managed and the interactions between all actors involved.

Three dynamics were identified based on the different types of power relations and social spaces in the tourism encounter. These include the *superficial service dynamic*, the *skills admiration dynamic*, and the *educational dynamic* – all of which offer possibilities for social empowerment to different extents. The *superficial service dynamic* has emerged as the least empowering social space for residents given the limited interactions with tourists, which are largely based on economic transactions. This dynamic is dominated by a money relationship, whereby authenticity and the 'real' Bali are sold as a commodity to the tourist, thereby enabling economic empowerment. In addition, it is usually characterised by managing tourists in touristic spaces and so minimises tourists' intrusion into villagers' privacy. At the same time, the superficial service dynamic creates a space of social disempowerment for villagers

who perform on an invisible (and sometimes visible) stage – acting *for* rather than interacting *with* tourists. In this dynamic, tourists tend to feel uncomfortable, being unable to communicate and exploited for money, turning this dynamic into an economic rather than social one, a detached encounter, where social relationships emerge between commodities only. These limited interactions make tourists sceptical and locals feel inferior due to felt inabilities to communicate and be adequate hosts and, in turn, compromise any possibility for the emergence of generative power *with*, *within* or *to*.

On a more positive note, the *skills admiration dynamic* can initiate certain empowerment processes through a stimulation of pride and power *within*. These transformations are based on the active use of villagers' skills in front of an audience that shows appreciation and interest. In this dynamic, skills constitute the core of the attraction, rather than villagers themselves, creating possibilities for both economic and social empowerment. However, possibilities for villagers' articulation of agency in this dynamic remain limited and meaning between residents and tourists is difficult to emerge as these encounters are fleeting and characterised by a communication barrier. The transmission of knowledge is only possible through a cultural broker, who creates yet another barrier between two distant Others. Nevertheless, without the presence of a broker, there would be no knowledge transmission at all.

The *educational dynamic* is the most empowering social space based on its focus on education and mutual learning even though it is reserved for only a few privileged villagers. Here, the focus of attraction shifts from villagers themselves not only to their skills but to their articulated knowledge. Verbal communication enables self-representation and the renegotiations of pre-formed stereotypes that tourists may have of their hosts, and vice versa. Through two-way education and information, what was once strange becomes familiar and a mutual understanding emerges. Learning about and engaging with the former Other on a deeper level can turn the tourism encounter into a space of comfort, understanding and familiarity, rather than scepticism and mistrust. At the same time, this study revealed that only a few privileged villagers (i.e. the VTCs) create this space of empowerment by integrating tourists into their families and into the village. This integration of tourists into the village – rather than being managed in specific touristic spaces – may lead to a future loss in control over villagers' privacy. After all, clear boundaries between the sacred and the profane may

enable villagers to have control to manage tourists' behaviour – even though this division is unusual and unnatural for the Balinese (Picard, 1996). In this study, however, the *educational dynamic* proves that empowerment processes can happen despite the blurring of boundaries between MacCannell's (1999) 'front' and 'back'. They happen on a deeper level, emerging from meaningful and spontaneous, rather than contrived, interactions between residents and tourists.

Still, these possibilities for empowerment are reserved for the VTC, the same local elite that has the opportunity to appropriate the space of CBT. Through the use of language skills in the tourism encounter, this group of villagers experiences possibilities for self-representation and the generation of pride. This study shows, therefore, that transformations in the empowerment core – including the improvement of language skills – are necessary for villagers to move from being limited agents to active ones in the tourism encounter. The absence of certain skills results in the transfer of tasks and responsibilities to other, usually more qualified, villagers or outside actors. This problem limits possibilities for social empowerment for a number of villagers who remain service providers and silent attractions. Power in CBT therefore needs to be seen as dispersed between villagers, guides, tourists and within the village itself, i.e. between the VTC and VTT. It is never just 'the resident' and 'the tourist' who constitute the encounter: third parties are involved and residents do not form a homogeneous group. This becomes obvious in local inequalities, with the VTCs having power in decision-making and – based on their past experiences in tourism – being more qualified to engage with tourists. By giving other homestay owners, who are not part of the tourism team, limited time and opportunities to engage with their guests, these villagers are denied the possibility of becoming familiar with tourists and reaping any intangible or tangible benefits.

This study further shows that empowering effects can result from villagers' use and articulation of authenticity in the tourism encounter. Playing with notions of authenticity can assist villagers in combating the overpowering effects of mass tourism and modernity. It can also serve as an income generator when authenticity is sold as a commodity on the tourist market. Most importantly, this work emphasises that the villages' status of being 'authentic' does not emerge solely from interactions amongst villagers. Instead, the notion of authenticity is co-constructed by different actors in CBT, including tourists, villagers, Bali CoBTA and BTB. Their discourse

reveals the Balinese village as the place where the ‘real Bali’ can still be found – as opposed to mass tourist destinations in the South. In creating the initial guidelines of CBT, Bali CoBTA in particular makes the community aware of its ‘exotic’ status, an idea that becomes reinforced through tourists’ interest in the ‘traditional’ villages. I agree with Picard (1996) in that it is only through interactions with outside actors holding the ‘mirror’ – above all tourists in the tourism encounter – that villagers start to see their own reflection of being ‘traditionally Balinese’. The awareness of this status allows villagers to employ notions of authenticity in the tourism encounter to ultimately articulate their agency for social empowerment.

At the same time, this research emphasises the influence that political institutions have in constructing this status. Authenticity wrapped in a ‘CBT packaging’ allows for cultural preservation, an idea that dates back to colonial times, Bali’s cultural tourism policy and the *Ajeg Bali* strategy – all of which taught the Balinese their Balineseness (*kebalian*). CBT could, therefore, be regarded as a tool for cultural preservation and nation building in a multicultural and fragmented Indonesia, with Bali as its “touristic showcase” (Picard, 2009:121). Future research needs to unravel the relationship between national (cultural) policy and CBT by means of interviews and discourse analysis of national policies in order to better understand the relationship between cultural policy and CBT empowerment programmes.

This is not to say that development is not a reality or even unwanted by villagers. Bali’s rural villages are, by far, not isolated from the outside and the Balinese are not stuck in a time bubble, ‘protected’ from the influences of globalisation and modernisation. Members of the VTC, in particular, have control in terms of presenting their hybrid selves in the tourism encounter, while other villagers marginally involved in tourism as an attraction are largely denied this possibility. For tourists, however, development and the sight of other tourists sacrifice authenticity, given that the village remains an escape from mass tourism to them. This study, therefore, adds to the existing discussion on whether the selling of ‘traditional culture’ and ‘underdevelopment’ – conflated under the notion of authenticity – “preserve[s] the residents’ underdevelopment rather than being a tool for development” (Cole, 2007:956). While this research identified spaces of empowerment based on the self-representation of more ‘hybrid’ and modern selves, it also stresses tourists’ pressure

on villagers to conform to certain cultural stereotypes that are at the heart of CBT's touristic attractiveness.

The evidence presented in this research also emphasises the crucial role the tourist plays in CBT and residents' economic empowerment, as their money directly benefits villagers and the development of the village. The tourist's role is largely one of a donor, help, potential investor and, most importantly, agent who brings financial benefit to the village. This perceived economic benefit can be questioned, though, in terms of creating yet more dependency on outside aid. Still, tourists create possibilities to practice tourism skills, particularly in those villages that are in their early stages of tourism development. This overall positive role of the tourist generates possibilities of empowerment – at least hopes for it. Villagers are convinced of the need of tourists for their own empowerment, i.e. to create possibilities for employment and self-realisation and to reap more benefits from tourism in the future. However, they neglect their own individual agency in the empowerment process, being in need of the tourist and the co-constructed tourism encounter. Thus, unconsciously and often unwillingly, the tourist takes on the role of an agent of empowerment in the social space of the tourism encounter.

This thesis evidences the largely unequal nature of CBT's possibilities for empowerment. The space of CBT is a space that comes with certain structural conditions, implemented in localities where, first and foremost, an elite is entitled to its appropriation, based on its skills repertoire and power over the organisation of CBT. Depending on the VTCs' intentions and actions taken, other villagers participate in this space only to a limited extent and mainly to complete the touristic product. This research further highlights the need for an analysis of interactions between all actors involved in CBT, a space that can never be limited to villagers and tourists. NGOs, ministries, funding bodies and investors all shape the dynamics that create local spaces of empowerment or disempowerment accordingly. For these actors, as much as for the villagers themselves, this study has a particular practical value. It can assist local decision-makers in Bali to understand CBT's local dynamics – currently challenged by their position outside the villages – and enable the VTCs to understand how local practices impact on the possibilities for villagers' empowerment. As a consequence, this study will help in making CBT more effective on the ground to serve as a basis for beneficial community development in Bali's rural areas. While

this research focused on Bali as one of Indonesia's regencies, it provides terms of comparison for different CBT settings in Indonesia and other less developed countries to widen our understanding of CBT's spaces of empowerment.

While this study largely questions CBT in practice, it does not foreclose CBT's potential to be a space of empowerment or to give room to further such spaces. Instead, it takes a critical stance of CBT, based on its paradoxes, processes and practices presented throughout this thesis. This research provides critical evidence of signs (and feelings, i.e. 'a sense') of inner and visible processes that enable social empowerment through CBT in rural Bali. Hence, rather than constituting an *end* in itself, this research offers evidence of the *beginnings* of empowerment processes, the accompanying challenges and gaps between hope and realities on the ground – in short, a critical questioning of empowerment in CBT in rural Bali.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: CODING OF INTERVIEWEES

HS	homestay
VTT	village tourism team
VTC	village tourism committee
HD	Hotel Director
V	villager (not directly involved in tourism)
VC	village chief
TF	tourist female
TM	tourist male
BTB	Bali Tourism Board
MoT	Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy
BI	Bank Indonesia

Age:

Up to 20 years	young generation (YG)
21-50 years	middle age (MA)
51-90 years	older generation (OG)

Table 31: Coding of interviewees – village 1

Village 1					
	Role in CBT	Gender	Age group	Interpreter yes/ no?	Code
1	HS owner	Female	OG	yes	V1_VTT1
2	HS owner	Male	MA	yes	V1_VTT2
3	HS owner & VTC	Female	MA	no	V1_VTC1
4	HS owner (private), painter	Male	OG	yes	V1_VTT3
5	Blacksmith (demonstrations)	Male	OG	yes	V1_VTT4
6	Hotel director, cooperates with the village (promotion)	Male	MA	yes	HD
7	HS owner (no tourists yet)	Male	MA	yes	V1_VTT5
8	No direct involvement in tourism	Male	OG	yes	V1_V1
9	No direct involvement in tourism, sells products to tourists	Female	OG	yes	V1_V2
10	Tour guide	Male	MA	no	V1_VTT6
11	No direct role	Male	OG	yes	V1_VC
12	VTC & HS owner	Male	MA	no	V1_VTC2
Not officially interviewed, but regular personal conversations:					
13	VTC & HS owner	Male	OG	No	V1_VTC3

Table 32: Coding of interviewees – village 2

Village 2					
	Role in CBT	Gender	Age group	Interpreter yes/ no?	Code
1	VTC & HS owner	Male	OG	yes	V2_VTC1
2	VTC, HS owner, tour guide, selling handicrafts	Male	OG	yes	V2_VTC2
3	Handicraft demonstration	Female	OG	yes	V2_VTT1
4	Waitress: serves food for tourists	Female	MA	yes	V2_VTT2
5	HS owner	Male	OG	yes	V2_VTT3
6	HS owner	Male	OG	yes	V2_VTT4
7	Cultural demonstrations for tourists (e.g. food, offerings), waitress, HS owner	Female	OG	yes	V2_VTT5
8	VTC & HS owner	Male	OG	no	V2_VTC3
9	VTC	Male	MA	no	V2_VTC4
10	Village chief	Male	MA	no	V2_VC

Table 33: Coding of interviewees – village 3

Village 3					
	Role in CBT	Gender	Age group	Interpreter yes/ no?	Code
1	Blacksmith (demonstrations)	Male	OG	yes	V3_VTT1
2	Home industry (demonstration and selling of products)	Female	OG	yes	V3_VTT2
3	HS owner	Female	OG	yes	V3_VTT3
4	VTC, massage trainer and masseuse	Male	OG	no	V3_VTC1
5	VTC, chief of transport association	Male	MA	no	V3_VTC2
6	HS owner	Female	MA	yes	V3_VTT4
7	Village chief	Male	MA	partly	V3_VC
8	Massage student, masseuse	Female	YG	yes	V3_VTT5
9	VTC, HS owner	Male	MA	no	V3_VTC3
10	VTC	Male	MA	no	V3_VTC4
11	VTC	Male	MA	yes	V3_VTC5

Table 34: Coding of interviewees – organisations/institutions

ORGANISATIONS/ INSTITUTIONS					
	Organisation/ institution	Gender	Age group	Interpreter yes/ no?	Code
1	Bali CoBTA, Member of staff	Female	MA	no	CoBTA_ST
2	Bali CoBTA, founder and chairman	Male	OG	no	CoBTA_CM
3	Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy – Bali (i.e. regional level)	Male	OG	yes	MoT_B
4	Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy – Java (i.e. national level)	Male	MA	yes	MoT_J
5	Bank Indonesia (BI)	Female	MA	no	BI
6	Bali Tourism Board (BTB)	Male	OG	no	BTB

Table 35 Coding of interviewees – tourists

	Village	Nationality	Group or individual travellers	Gender	Couple	Age	Code
1	Village 1	French	Individual	Male	Couple	OG	V1_TM1
2	Village 1	French	Individual	Female		OG	V1_TF1
3	Village 1	French	Individual	Male	Couple	MA	V1_TM2
4	Village 1	French	Individual	Female		MA	V1_TF2
5	Village 1	Indonesian	Individual	Female		MA	V1_TF3
6	Village 2	French	Group	Male	Couple	OG	V2_TM1
7	Village 2	French	Group	Female		OG	V2_TF1
8	Village 2	French	Group	Male	Couple	MA	V2_TM2
9	Village 2	French	Group	Female		MA	V2_TF2
10	Village 2	French	Group	Male		OG	V2_TM3
11	Village 2	French	Group	Male		OG	V2_TM4
12	Village 2	French	Group	Male	Couple	MA	V2_TM5
13	Village 2	French	Group	Female		MA	V2_TF3
14	Village 2	French	Group	Female		MA	V2_TF4
15	Village 2	French	Group	Male	Couple	MA	V2_TM6
15	Village 2	French	Group	Female		MA	V2_TF5
16	Village 2	French	Group	Female		MA	V2_TF6
17	Village 2	French	Group	Female		MA	V2_TF7
18	Village 3	Ukrainian	Individual	Female		OG	V3_TF1

APPENDIX II: PRÉCIS OF FIELD DIARY

Box 1: Précis of field diary – village 2

A group of 15 French nationals arrive on the bus to village 2, exhausted but excited to immerse themselves in the village, to have a real ‘Balinese village experience’ and to meet ‘the locals’. Friendly and smiling faces greet them at their welcome in the *puri*, the royal family house and the tourism centre of the village. Tourists are escorted to their accommodation, or ‘homestays’, as they are called. Some of the tourists meet their hosts, others are yet unsure whose house they are staying at. At dinner, first impressions of the village are discussed: “*The people are very friendly, they smile and greet a lot*”, an elderly French man (V2_TM3) says. “*But I don’t know who the owner of the house is, in which I am staying. Nobody was in the house to welcome me*”, a female tourist (V2_TF7) adds. “*The bathrooms are very basic... yes, it is part of the village experience, but I would not be able to stay longer under these conditions,*” the man replies (V2_TM3). A young tourist also expresses his disappointment about the lack of interaction with locals: “*I thought we would cook with them.*” Tourists have conversations in French while residents serve food and drinks. **(1.1 tourists’ expectations, disappointment about lack of interaction with hosts, the role of hosts)**

The next day commences with a Western style breakfast: toast, jam, eggs, fruit and coffee, and tourists get prepared for their village tour: pens and notebooks are collected on a table and tourists are content about bringing some gifts to the school. They were advised to do so by their guide, who lives in Denpasar and speaks fluent French. The group starts their village tour, accompanied by their own guide and the local guide, living in the village and giving explanations in Balinese. The first stop is at the school, where the tourists are allowed to enter and take pictures of the children inside the classroom. The children have just finished an English exam and are excited to have visitors. Tourists hand their gifts to the teacher. **(1.2 traveller’s philanthropy, the school as human zoo, children presented as attraction, superficial relationship between tourists and villagers, the role of the cultural broker)**

They move on, stopping at a woman’s house, who produces traditional Balinese pottery. She is unable to communicate in English or French and tourists can’t speak any Balinese either, but after a demonstration of the production of pottery on her part, tourists can participate and engage in handicraft production. The guide takes a short break while tourists admire the pottery lady for her skill. They are impressed by how quickly and well she produces the pottery and take pictures of the process. **(1.3 villagers’ involvement regarding the display of skills, particularly that of women)**

The group continues their tour to the Goa Gajah (the elephant cave) and the Yeh Puluh Relief, two archaeological tourist attractions in village 2. Explanations by the guide are basic, tourists continue taking pictures while putting on their sarongs to enter the sites. “*I think that some of the information that the guide gives to us is made up. And his French isn’t that good either,*” a female tourist (V2_TF3) says. **(1.4 the role of the tour guide)**

When leaving the site, the group’s attention is directed towards the souvenir market, where they try to barter and do some shopping before boarding the bus. The tour continues outside the village where tourists have lunch in a restaurant in Ubud, a famous tourist city in Gianyar regency. **(1.5 attractions outside the village)**

Box 1 continued:

The group discusses their impressions: “*So far we do not have contact with the people, only with our eyes. But it is a different mentality, they are okay living amongst each other, they don’t need us, there is nothing they need to learn from us*”, a male tourist (V2_TM6) argues. Another elderly tourist adds: “*Bali is too complicated to understand. They smile, but ... you cannot understand. I don’t want more contact with the people because you cannot understand each other.*”(V2_TM4) **(1.6 hosts regarded as the distant Other, communication issues as obstacle to interaction)**

After lunch, the group visits a painting and woodcarving shop, where the guide has worked as a seller in the past. The tourists are impressed when they watch people’s skills, some take the chance to buy souvenirs, and others are skeptical, thinking that the guide receives commission for bringing tourists. **(1.7 tourists being skeptical about the rationale behind shop visits)**

The tour takes the group back to the village, where they participate in making offerings together with a family member of the royal family. While women are making cakes and offerings, men prepare the sate for the grill. Tourists and some of the residents eat together while watching an elder villager painting on eggs, and another resident of the village playing the Gamelan. After a while, the group returns to their accommodation to have a rest and reunites for dinner at the *puri*. **(1.8 co-production of offerings and food between tourists and villagers; usage of villagers’ skills in the tourism encounter)**

They are welcomed by the dancing group of the village and the *gamelan* orchestra, who perform traditional Balinese dances before dinner is served by the *puri* family. Tourists reflect on their stay, which was “*lovely and beautiful*” (V2_TM1), filled with “*friendly people*” (V2_TF2), although “*wanting our money*”(V2_TF4) and “*not interacting a lot*” (V2_TM3). The group spends their last night in the village before going to their next destination, which is Kuta in the South, their most ‘touristy’ and very last stop on their trip. **(1.9 tourists reflecting on their stay, feeling financially exploited by villagers, being critical but at the same time happy about their Balinese village experience)**

Box 2: Précis of field diary – village 1

The tourists arrive in village 1 and are welcomed by their host family, the head of tourism and his wife, as well as by two other members of the VTC. They enjoy a drink in the kitchen area of the house complex before moving their luggage to their accommodation for the day. The two couples stay at the houses of the VTC members, which are all in close proximity. **(2.1 ownership of the used homestays, domination by the VTC)**

They return to the family house of the head of tourism to make offerings together with his wife and daughter, sitting on the floor and watching their hosts show their skills. Communication is in French and some broken English and explanations are given about the religious meaning of the color and shape of offerings. Tourists ask questions and laugh with their hosts about word games and experiences of their life at home that they share with each other. In the end, the family uses the offerings in their family temple. **(2.2 host-guest interactions, verbal communication, integration of tourist activities into the family life)**

In the evening, the tourists meet up for dinner at the family house, where [V1_VTC3] cooks some traditional Balinese dishes with fresh ingredients from the local market. Tourists can watch the cooking process and can try different foods; they are impressed by their hosts' cooking skills. Two other members of the VTC join the dinner and make jokes with the tourists about the exploitative nature of mass tourism in Bali, such as touching one of the tourists' back, asking: "*You want a massage? 20 dollars*", or, "*you want sugar in your tea? 10 dollars*" (V1_VTC2). Tourists and villagers spend their time chatting until late in the evening. **(2.3 traditional food served in the homestay, tourists impressed by villagers' skills, conscious avoidance of the exploitation of tourists, involvement of the VTC)**

The next morning, tourists get up early to go to the village market by 5.30am. The head of tourism's wife guides them through the market and explains the vegetables and fruits that can be found in the region. The group buys the ingredients for their breakfast together while taking pictures of the market and its people. Upon returning to the homestay, they cook breakfast together with the family, exchanging information about food and customs in their home countries. **(2.4 market visit, education, interaction between tourists and villagers (cooking))**

The local tour guide picks them up after breakfast to go on a village tour through the village and its rice fields. The guide explains medical and culinary use of herbs and plants, which the group finds on the way. Tourists meet the blacksmith, who they watch producing knives; they visit the gold and silver smiths in the village and can follow the production process as well as buy jewellery. A visit to the school, the *Bali banjar* and the rice fields completes the tour. **(2.5 expertise of the local guide, focus on education; marginal involvement of other villages, whose skills serve as attraction)**

If tourists are interested, they can also join a bike tour with the head of tourism (duration and destination are adaptable), join the villagers for meditation and yoga, or watch an evening *gamelan* training session. **(2.6 the tourist as the king, the village as an open space for tourists)**