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Host community visioning: The case of Bali

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Academic examinations of visioning, the active imagination of possible futures, have been largely overlooked in tourism studies. While a significant tradition of research on visioning exists outside tourism, particularly within urban planning, there is a lack of knowledge on host community visioning processes in island tourism destinations and potential positive outcomes of such processes. This paper explores possible futures envisioned by residents of the Indonesian island of Bali, as well as the transformative potential of such processes. Writing templates were embraced as an appropriate mode of qualitative inquiry, through which 202 Balinese residents assessed the current state of their island and envisioned possible futures for it. Through a detailed thematic analysis of templates, visions of better transportation, education and health systems emerged. It is argued that such visions should inform efforts to address sustainability challenges when fed back to the community through wider political dialogue. Results of the study have therefore informed the development of Bali's practical tourism strategy framework, especially Bali's 2050 roadmap for sustainable tourism development. Although the current state of tourism was perceived in a more positive than negative way, respondents nonetheless imagined change for future tourism on the island. Due to soaring visitor numbers, the long-term sustainability of Bali as an important island destination depends on changes which the visions presented here may help effect.

Keywords: development; visioning; sustainability; collaborative processes; host communities; tourism policy

Introduction

The possibility of a better future requires that it is first imagined. It also requires that such visions become 'the substance of political argument', so that genuine futures are openly debated for the common good (Friedmann, 2000, p. 146). If the opportunity to publicly and politically debate better futures does not exist, communities may not be able to break through 'barriers of convention' and 'choose a path into the future that they believe is justified' (Friedmann, 2000, p. 147). Creating this opportunity to imagine, voice, debate and help bring to pass positive change is arguably an essential role of host

community research in tourism (Pain, Kesby, & Askins, 2011; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011).

Academic tourism research of host communities to date has trended towards the diagnostic (evaluative and critical research), but has not yet embraced the imaginary (e.g. Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Pérez & Nadal, 2005). This research orientation seems warranted. For example, abstract imaginings of local tourism actors – what Salazar (2012, p. 875) called 'utopias of escape' – can favour foreign tourists over host community members, fuelling normative divisions and immobility of the latter. Tourism scholars play an important role in

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unveiling and opposing dominant, unjust, unequal or oppressive norms (Gibson, 2009). However, as Caton (2012, p. 1915) stated, ‘an intellectual position that is purely critically deconstructive leaves little ground for ... social visioning’. This lack of engagement with the anticipatory and the imaginary is evident in the context of host community research in Bali, Indonesia, a key island destination. Academic tourism research in Bali has typically evaluated social and cultural impacts of tourism development (e.g. Minca, 2000; Picard, 1990) rather than resident visions for tourism development. For example, Noronha (1979) investigated the impacts of tourism development on Balinese culture and suggested that such impacts were greater on the island than in other key destinations in the Asian region. McTaggart (1980) subsequently examined adverse effects of cultural disruption brought about by large influxes of foreign tourists. More recently, the academic focus of tourism research in Bali has shifted to examinations of risk management (e.g. Baker & Coulter, 2007; Robinson & Meaton, 2005; Smyth, Nielsen, & Mishra, 2009) and sustainability, such as water availability for local communities (e.g. Cole, 2012) and Bali’s waste management practices (e.g. MacRae, 2012). While these evaluative and critical accounts are essential, constructive vision is also needed, especially where sustainability is concerned. Visioning promotes learning that can lead to the emergence of innovative approaches to sustainability challenges from problem redefinition to practical action (Davies, Doyle, & Pape, 2012).

Therefore, the paper here presents an exploratory, cross-cultural, collaborative research study on the process of Balinese communities envisioning possible, more sustainable futures. The potential for this study to possibly effect change is twofold. First, it has been established that processes of knowledge co-production in collaborate research, such as that employed here, can lead to small transformations from changed understanding amongst those involved (Pain et al., 2011). Second, this study’s findings have been fed into political debates via Bali’s 2050 roadmap for sustainable tourism development (MTCE, 2013) and may thereby lead to a later, larger impact (Pain et al., 2011, p. 187). The study is thus framed within the theoretical context of visioning.

The value of visioning

While visioning is relatively underutilized in tourism research (but see Jamal & Getz, 1997; Ruhanen, 2007;

Ruhanen & Cooper, 2003), it is a widely used and contested concept in planning (e.g. Shipley & Michela, 2006; Shipley & Newkirk, 1999). Thus it is helpful to draw on planning literature to clarify what is meant by the term and how it has been used in this study with Balinese host communities. Shipley and Newkirk (1999, pp. 578–579) distinguish between visions that are understood to be ‘literal’ versus ‘metaphoric’, ‘individual’ versus ‘participative’, or ‘laudatory’ (positive) versus ‘pejorative’ (negative). In particular, visioning can have pejorative meanings in both substance and procedure as it can be understood as escapist or demagoguery. However, the focus of this investigation is on the laudatory or positive meanings of visioning, on visions that express goals, identify issues, motivate and help to generate solutions. Friedmann (2000) argued that the act of visioning possible futures is innate in human beings and ought to be embraced within certain parameters:

The capacity to imagine a future that departs significantly from what we know to be a general condition in the present. It is a way of breaking through the barriers of convention into a sphere of the imagination where many things beyond our everyday experience become feasible. All of us have this ability, which is inherent in human nature, because human beings are insufficiently programmed for the future. We need a constructive imagination that we can variously use for creating fictive worlds. (p. 146)

As Friedmann (2000) recognized, certain parameters exist within which visioning (like any knowledge production) is effective. These are, first, that ‘humans are in essence dialogic beings ... that to be fully human we have to be politically engaged’, and second, that human flourishing is ‘a fundamental right, subject to the constraints imposed by the wider communities of which we are a part’ (p. 145). Shipley and Michela (2006, p. 224) further argued that ‘careful attention to what is included in visions and the visioning processes’ can have a significant impact on the effectiveness of visioning. Therefore, the act of envisioning possible futures can lead to positive change if those visions and the processes that produce them are carefully considered, and are publicly and politically debated for the common good.

Academic scrutiny of visioning remains central to debates within social sciences (e.g. Bramwell & Lane, 2014; Cosgrove, 2008), yet has thus far been largely overlooked in host island community research studies (Hawkins & Bohdanowicz, 2012).

Authoritarian or oppressive ideals – divorced from essential parameters such as political debate and the common good – should be discouraged. Sandercock (2003, p. 70) cautioned against the imposition of utopian meta-narratives, or ‘imprisoning, totalizing discourses ... intimately linked to structures of power’. Nevertheless, some scholars agree there is value in imagining possible futures. Paris, Knopf, and Andereck (2014, p. 267) saw great potential in ‘the visioning process for a destination community’. Pinder (2002) argued that there is value in estranging taken-for-granted perceptions so that new perspectives on what-might-be have a chance to develop. Likewise, Jabareen (2006, p. 186) understood the power of questioning ‘presuppositions of present-day society ... to see into the future’. Furthermore, when visioning is collaboratively derived – as in Shipley and Newkirk’s (1999, p. 585) ‘galvanisation, team building, appreciating others’ definition – and used as a source of hope to ‘inform our striving’ (Friedmann, 2000, p. 159), it has great potential. It can be understood as a particular mode of hoping that is ‘collective, mutually efficacious and socially transformative’, that ‘grounds and inspires concerted goal-directed action’ (Webb, 2007, pp. 78–79).

Visioning can also be understood and critiqued as a distinctly Western construct or process (Sargent, 2006). For example, utopian visioning – what Shipley and Newkirk (1999, p. 578) identified as one possible ‘pejorative’ meaning – can be linked to Thomas More’s *Utopia* of 1595, an English Roman Catholic’s construct of an ideal island nation; and similar concepts have a long history in certain Western traditions, such as those of the Renaissance or, later, colonialism (e.g. Solinis, 2006). However, visioning is not necessarily limited to the West; similar concepts and processes do exist in non-Western contexts. In the postmodern age, ‘we are seeing a realignment’ of Western and non-Western thinking to holistically solve global sustainability problems (Stuart & Thompson-Fawcett, 2010, p. 37). Within Balinese society and grounded in the Hindu religion is a similar concept: *Tri Hita Karana*. It refers broadly to ideal relationships between humans and God, humans and humans, and humans and the environment (Powell, 1930). In lay terms, *Tri Hita Karana* encapsulates a harmonious and balanced life and, thus, links closely to visions of sustainability (Allen & Palermo, 2005). In addition, Christopher and Hickinbottom (2008) explained that the Balinese process reality in two realms: *sekala*, the ordinary

realm of everyday life; and *niskala*, the spiritual world (what Westerners might regard as a fantasy world). In this way, the Balinese are attuned to the visioning process – to imagining *niskala* – and its possible effects on everyday life. The study presented here engages Balinese communities in the process of visioning.

Study context

Bali was chosen as a site of inquiry due to its burgeoning tourism industry and, thus, need for constructive visions of sustainable development. Research was externally funded and informed the development of a broader, Ministry of Tourism plan for future tourism development in Indonesia – the above-mentioned Bali 2050 sustainability roadmap. Bali is widely regarded as a major Indonesian and international island destination. Foreign visitor numbers continue to increase on the island, despite the ongoing slow global economy and terrorism events (BGTO, 2013; Hitchcock, 2001). The Bali Government Tourism Office (BGTO) reported that, in 2012, international visitor arrivals approached 2.9 million and domestic arrivals were estimated to be over 6 million. International arrivals are forecast to grow to 4.7 million and domestic numbers to 9.5 million by 2020 (MTCE, 2013). These rising numbers are a cause for concern about the long-term sustainability of Bali. An exploration of possible futures is thus beneficial to Balinese communities as a source of genuine hope that may lead to transformative impacts where development on the island is concerned.

Given the potential of visioning processes for major destination communities (Paris et al., 2014) and the legitimacy of visioning in the Balinese context, it is surprising that there is a general lack of knowledge on host community visioning in Bali. Two major studies have broached this topic. Community attitudes towards tourism in Bali were investigated by Wall (1996) in a study with indigenous people in selected Balinese villages. Similarly, community perceptions of health and social needs in rural Balinese villages were investigated by Pepall, Earnest, and James (2007). However, neither of these studies embraced visioning processes. In addition, they were conducted with respondents from rural areas only; perceptions of Bali residents from the urban, tourism-intensive zones of Kuta, Sanur, Jimbaran and Nusa Dua (BGTO, 2013) were beyond the scope of these investigations.

Study method and locations

Although a range of methods could have been used, a writing template – consisting of 3 open-ended questions and 10 demographic questions – was chosen as a research method for reasons of cultural appropriateness and collaboration, as well as to ensure quality of data. Pedrotti (2011) noted three types of equivalence in cross-cultural research: (1) conceptual equivalence (a particular construct may not have the same meaning in different cultural groups); (2) linguistic equivalence (a particular measure may not be applicable across cultures due to language differences); and (3) metric equivalence (different cultures may endorse specific ends of a continuum on a metric scale). Writing templates – in how they were designed for this study – addressed these axes of equivalence, allowing respondents to freely and authentically express their visions.

Template design considerations in this regard were threefold. While the formulation of questions was broadly based on visioning and anticipatory literature (Friedmann, 2000; Pinder, 2002; Sargent, 2006; Shipley & Newkirk, 1999), no particular definition of visioning was imposed on respondents. This open-ended approach meant that all conceptualizations of visioning could be voiced, thus ensuring conceptual equivalence. To strengthen linguistic equivalence, written templates were translated into the national language (Bahasa Indonesia) used in education, judiciary, politics and business activities. The Indonesian motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ('unity in diversity'), recognizes that linguistic diversity is counterbalanced by linguistic unity in all public and secular matters (Branson & Miller, 2004). It was hence not considered necessary to also translate templates into the Balinese language, even though Balinese is spoken alongside Bahasa Indonesia (Branson & Miller, 2004). To further strengthen linguistic equivalence, Native Indonesian speakers helped analyze templates. Metric equivalence was also addressed by the researchers. To avoid any misreadings that may have arisen from cultural endorsement, no questionnaire scale items were used. Thus, respondents were free to respond authentically and without metric coercion.

In taking account of and proactively addressing these axes of equivalence, a core ideal of collaborative research has been upheld: researchers 'working with, rather than on, research participants' (Pain et al., 2011, p. 187). This study is thus part of a growing

effort towards collaboration and cohesive visioning in tourism endeavours (Graci, 2013). However, writing templates are unique in that they are subtly – rather than overtly – collaborative. This is perhaps best understood through Webb's (2007, p. 79) articulation of hope emerging from 'wish fantasies of an individual' that 'seize on currents present in society, give expression to them, flow back into the outlook of a social group and are translated by this group into action'. Therefore, although written template responses were recorded individually, they represent knowledge co-production with both the researchers (through question design, cross-cultural equivalence measures, respondent answers and researcher analysis) and the Balinese society (through transmitting or articulating the society's collective impulse).

Quality of data collected, as well as of the collection process itself, was also enhanced by the use of written templates. First, researcher bias was reduced as respondents were not directed or probed as they might be during an interview (Veal, 2005). Second, written responses allowed for more spontaneity of expression than structured interviews or questionnaires could achieve (Stamou & Paraskevopoulos, 2003). Finally, the 'mind space' created through writing methods allowed for a greater degree of reflexivity, (re)negotiations and (re)conceptions in respondent answers. This subtle distance between the researcher and the researched, as opposed to direct contact experienced during interviews, can reveal moving or even transformative thought processes (e.g. Myers, 2010).

After providing basic demographic information (age, gender, occupation, living arrangements), respondents were asked to answer three questions:

- (1) Think of the future of Bali. What would you like Bali to look like 50 years from now? In your answer, always think of the quality of life of your community.
- (2) Now let us focus on tourism. To begin with, we would like to ask you about your overall impressions of tourism on the island. When you think of tourism in Bali, what words first come to your mind?
- (3) How would you like tourism in Bali to change? If you do not want it to change, explain why.

The first question aimed to encourage visioning in Balinese residents and to assess their constructive

visions of future Bali (irrespective of attitudes towards tourism). The second question targeted current perceptions of tourism, and the third queried the future of tourism on the island. The questions thus allowed for a comparison between the respondents' visions (question 1) and their current reality (question 2), as well as for a comparison between visions irrespective of tourism (question 1) and visions linked to tourism (question 3).

In designing the template, distinctive attributes of Balinese culture were taken into account. As noted, the Balinese are culturally attuned to visioning (*Tri Hita Karana, niskala*). By asking respondents to think of Bali in the future and how they would like tourism in Bali to change, they were encouraged to engage in this familiar visioning process, and an examination of their visions became possible. As anticipated, the possible futures respondents imagined were often beyond the immediate reach of reality. However, these visions may prove useful in effecting positive change – beyond individual process-induced transformations – once they are fed back into the community through political dialogue, for example, through Bali's 2050 roadmap for sustainable tourism development. Along with political dialogue, Friedmann (2000, p. 153) identified human flourishing – which 'acknowledges the priority of civil society' – as an essential parameter for the effectiveness of visioning. Within the Balinese cultural framework, personal satisfaction as a value is trumped by the value of conducting proper ritual and ceremonial offerings, maintaining harmonious relationships with others and fulfilling obligations to the *banjar* ('village community'). Hence, asking respondents to think of the quality of life of their community – rather than of their individual well-being – is not only beneficial to effecting positive change, but also in line with Balinese collectivist norms.

For comparison, respondents for this study were drawn from and categorized within urban and rural zones. This comparison was thought to be useful due to the uneven distribution of tourism development across the island. The zones were classified by two representatives of the Bali Tourism Board and two local tourism academics. The first group of respondents consisted of residents from an urban, tourism-intensive zone (a residential area in Southern Bali with significant tourism development, such as hotels and resorts). These urban respondents live in Kuta, Sanur, Jimbaran or Nusa Dua. The second group of respondents consisted of residents from a non-urban,

non-tourism-intensive zone (a residential area within Southern Bali, but with less tourism development). These non-urban respondents live outside of Southern Bali's four urban centres. Data were collected in October 2011, then translated and analyzed until late 2014 from a total of 202 respondents (100 urban and 102 non-urban), which is well above the average of 20 to 40 respondents in qualitative research (Veal, 2006).

Sampling procedures

Convenience sampling was employed; that is, respondents were selected on the basis of access (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2000). Residents who agreed to participate in the study were therefore selected because they were 'thought to be relevant' (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 152) to the research project, providing insights on the future of Bali and tourism. Ethical clearance was obtained, and screening questions were used to ensure that all respondents were over the age of 18 and to note each respondent's usual place of domicile in Bali. Respondents were given information sheets explaining the research, procedures and what to expect from participating. Throughout the study, respondents' anonymity has been assured. Writing templates were self-administered, and data were collected by a team of five local university students who approached potential respondents at shopping malls and markets.

Data analysis procedures

To ensure congruence in research findings, three trained researchers conducted a manual content analysis of completed written templates. Following an initial review for spelling errors and word omissions in the data by two Indonesian co-investigators, responses to the three questions were divided into broad categories. Responses to question 1 (visions of Bali) were classified as pertaining to transportation, education or health, which emerged as the three core themes. Responses to question 2 (current views of tourism) were classified as positive, neutral or negative based on how the responses to this question were perceived by the researchers. Responses to question 3 (recommendations about whether or not tourism in Bali should change) were classified as agree to change, do not agree to change or other (neutral, do not know or no response). The two Indonesian co-investigators then independently decided on

illustrative quotes from respondents for each category. These quotes (up to 100 words in length) were translated into English by a professional translator. The third researcher then discussed their classification with the two Indonesian co-investigators, which resulted in a 90% agreement among the three researchers.

Findings

Demographic findings

Within the urban, tourism-intensive zone sample, there is a nearly even gender split (54 males and 46 females out of 100); the dominant age group is 18 to 35 (70%), with only 21% of respondents aged between 36 and 45. These respondents are generally well-educated: 39% completed university education and 51% completed senior high school (Sekolah Menengah Atas/SMA), while 4% completed junior high school (Sekolah Menengah Pertama/SMP) and 6% completed primary school (Sekolah Dasar/SD). Respondents from this zone generally live with others (65%), but are mostly single (54%): 39% have lived in the urban zone for 2–5 years, and 24% for 6–10 years. Respondents from the urban zone generally work in the tourism sector (63%). They work in art shops, cafés, hotels, restaurants, currency exchange offices, spa centres and car rental companies. However, only 30% of their family members work in the tourism sector, suggesting further opportunities for employment.

The non-urban, non-tourism-intensive zone sample is also balanced with regard to gender (53 males and 49 females out of 102). These respondents are somewhat older than the urban sample (63% aged 26 to 45). They are equally well-educated: 53% are university graduates, Diploma, Bachelor and Master degree holders; 33% are senior high school (SMA) graduates. Like the urban sample, respondents from this zone tend to live with others (78%), and 58% are married. Many have lived in the non-urban zone for more than six years (66%). Unlike the urban sample, however, these respondents usually work in sectors not related to tourism (77%), such as education (teaching), personal care services and administration. A minority of non-urban respondents work in tourism (21%); their line of work varies, but tends to involve hotels, tourist and souvenir shops, travel agencies and car rental businesses.

Both samples include a high percentage of well-educated respondents. This may be due to a higher interest in research activities and willingness to participate. Therefore, results from this study may be non-representative, with a bias towards those with higher education levels. Since the study was conducted in Southern Bali, results may also be non-representative of community visions from Northern, Eastern or Western parts of this island. However, the researchers have no local evidence to argue whether or not these sampling biases have affected the expressed visions of Bali residents.

Visions of Bali

The study's core findings reveal constructive visions and help to demonstrate the potential of visioning processes for destination communities. To begin, respondents were asked to envision Bali as they hope to see it in 50 years, regardless of their views on tourism, and keeping in mind the quality of life of their community. Their visions, as expected and although individually recorded, 'seize on currents present in [Balinese] society' (Webb, 2007, p. 79), including its collectivist norms. Responses overwhelmingly fall into three distinct 'currents' – transportation, education and health – summarized in Table 1. Priority of Balinese society over individual well-being is also evident in many responses, for example, in respondents' hope for the universal provision of improved health facilities. Each of the three visioning 'currents' is detailed in Table 1.

Transportation

Urban respondents desire improvements to the city's public transport infrastructure, including more transport options (e.g. more buses and ferries or a monorail). They also hope to mitigate traffic congestion through new highways and road repair. Non-urban respondents suggest similar public transportation ideals:

Ideal traffic infrastructure would be neat and orderly with proper footpaths for pedestrians. Fixing public transportation is currently a priority. There are many roads in Bali that are too small and this presents traffic congestion problems. A busway system, similar to Trans Jakarta, could be a consideration. (Respondent 36)

Responses from residents of both zones reflect aspects of the Balinese concept of *Tri Hita Karana*:

Table 1. Visions of Bali.

Visions	Urban, tourism zone		Non-urban, non-tourism zone	
	<i>n</i>	Illustrative quotes	<i>n</i>	Illustrative quotes
Transportation	80	Flyover highways are needed to ease traffic congestion; and we need footpaths for pedestrians. (respondent 27)	63	I hope Bali can build a flyover highway. (respondents 7 and 53)
		Bali needs better transport infrastructure, such as a flyover highway to reduce traffic congestion and damaged roads should be fixed. (respondent 76)		Roads should reach evenly to more remote areas, not only be developed in urban areas. (respondent 49)
		Urban planning needs to be fair, damaged roads should be fixed and we need a monorail as alternative public transportation. (respondent 75)		Bali should avoid traffic congestions like in Jakarta. Toll and highway facilities should be built and vehicle usage should be reduced to decrease traffic density. (respondent 55)
		I hope Bali has better transportation between Nusa Dua and Serangan to avoid traffic congestion. (respondent 10)		
		There should be public transportation options that have their specific lanes; efficient and effective, such as the ‘busway’ in Jakarta. (respondent 96)		Bali should have low cost transportation facilities with better quality services, such as a subway system. (respondent 4)
		Bali should have convenient mass transportation options for the public. (respondent 12)		Bali should prioritize environmentally-friendly public transport. (respondent 18)
Education	39	Increase the number of scholarships for outstanding students from low-income families. (respondent 54)	53	Balinese should not forget Balinese language because it is our ancestral heritage. (respondent 49)
		Education in Bali should emphasize local culture; the young generation is losing Balinese tradition. (respondent 59)		The government should provide scholarships for outstanding students from low-income families. The government should also ensure that the homeless always get education. (respondent 48)
		I hope Bali can have low cost education but with highly qualified teachers who are reliable and close to the community. (respondent 12)		
Health	40	I hope that health care for poor communities can be prioritized without making medical services more expensive. (respondent 77)	53	I hope that medical facilities will be available in remote areas, and that every hospital / clinic has adequate medical equipment and professional medical practitioners. (respondent 48)
		Bali needs more public health facilities with better social security for those in need. (respondent 89)		

the ideal human-to-human relationship – ‘urban planning needs to be fair’ (respondent 75) – and the ideal human-to-environment relationship – ‘environmentally-friendly public transport’ (respondent 18).

Education

Educational ideals were mentioned marginally more often amongst residents from the non-urban zone (53) versus those from the urban zone (39), which could be attributed to a higher rate of education-related employment within the non-urban zone. Regardless, respondents from both zones propose

educational reform that embodies collectivist ideals – such as fulfilling obligations to the *banjar* – as well as *Tri Hita Karana*. In considering the common good and the ideal human-to-human relationship, respondents hope for increased funding opportunities for outstanding students and people with low socio-economic status. Specifically, they envision an increase in quality and quantity of current government assistance for education in the form of School Operation Assistance Funds (known as Dana BOS): ‘Dana BOS should be increased’ (respondent 83) and ‘used for the benefit of all Indonesian children’ (respondent 78). Other respondents

stress the importance of vocational studies to help students find employment: ‘Education should be more focused on vocational studies’ (respondent 14), so that ‘students can easily enter the workforce’ (respondent 57).

Respondents also envision an education system that prioritizes Balinese culture and language. Such responses not only reflect the priority of Balinese society, but also indicate a high level of reflexivity. For example, respondent 59 reflected on how ‘the young generation is losing Balinese tradition’. Such ‘reflective spaces of visioning processes’ – further encouraged through writing methods – may result in transformative learning that ‘can lead to both problem and goal re-definition ... a necessary condition for the design and implementation of system innovations for sustainability’ (Davies et al., 2012, p. 57).

Health

The Balinese government currently provides residents with free health insurance, known as Jaminan Kesehatan Bali Mandara (JKBM) (2013). Yet many urban (40%) and non-urban (52%) respondents are concerned about the availability, quality and affordability of health facilities for low socio-economic groups. As is evident from responses, there is discrepancy in access to health facilities (hospitals and medical centres), as well as great concern from respondents about the holistic well-being of Balinese society with regard to health. They recognize that while they are numerous in urban centres, health facilities in rural areas are lacking and predominantly not free. As one non-urban respondent (8) articulates, ‘hospitals in rural areas that provide free treatment for poor people are necessary’. Social security is also a concern: ‘Health insurance should be improved and supported by social security programmes. If this ideal can be fulfilled, prosperity will be achieved’ (respondent 41). Almost all respondents hope that professional health facilities will be available in urban and non-urban zones at more affordable prices: ‘We need better facilities – we need to quickly serve patients, and we need health care that is professional and affordable’ (respondent 27), preferably ‘without having to go through complicated expensive bureaucracy’ (respondent 46).

Like those with regard to education, these responses similarly indicate a high level of reflexivity amongst respondents during the visioning process.

Naturally, the act of being reflective involves a diagnostic thought process that evaluates a current state. As Friedmann (2000) asserted, this critique – for example, of inadequate health facilities – is inter-related to constructive vision, – for example, of possible facility improvements. Next, respondents’ current views of tourism in Bali build on this inquiry before constructive vision with regard to tourism is addressed.

Current views of tourism

Before considering the future of tourism in Bali, respondents were asked to evaluate its current state by writing down words that first came to mind when thinking of tourism on their island. Responses have been classified by the researchers as positive, negative or neutral, as summarized in Table 2.

Overall, responses suggest a more positive than negative perception of tourism, especially amongst non-urban respondents (51% positive versus 22% negative). This result is consistent with an earlier study by Wall (1996), who showed that tourism is generally well-regarded by Balinese residents. Respondents positively describe tourism in this study as good, clean, amazing, attractive, stunning, beautiful and cultured. Consistent with *Tri Hita Karana* and the ideal human-to-God relationship, this response reflects Bali’s developing role as a spiritual destination (Timothy & Conover, 2006). Perceptions of this sort are valuable in an exploration of possible futures, since religion and religious values are increasingly interwoven with environmental stewardship discourse (e.g. Hitzhusen & Tucker, 2013), and the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* closely links to visions of sustainability (Allen & Palermo, 2005).

A positive association between culture – arts, traditions, customs, wisdom – and tourism is also evident. This evaluation is consistent with Picard’s (1990) study, in which he argued that tourism contributes to the preservation of Balinese culture through increased consciousness of residents about their own culture. In an effort to fulfil the respondents’ expressed educational ideals of reviving traditional Balinese culture and language, it is possible that tourism can play a future role.

Approximately a quarter of all respondents were neutral with regard to tourism, using words such as beach, promotion and shopping. However, respondents from both groups also critiqued aspects of tourism on the island. Traffic congestion and

Table 2. Current views of tourism.

Rating	Urban, tourism zone			Non-urban, non-tourism zone		
	<i>n</i>	%	Associations with the word 'tourism'	<i>n</i>	%	Associations with the word 'tourism'
Positive	42	41%	good, clean, stunning, amazing, attractive, island of the Gods	52	51%	beautiful nature, good, clean, cultured (arts, customs, traditional, local wisdom), temples
Negative	37	36%	traffic congestion, hot weather, lack of comfort	22	22%	crowded, hot weather
Neutral	24	23%	beach, promotion, shopping	27	27%	beach, tourists, hotel

overcrowding were major concerns, despite the construction of a new toll road (Erviani, 2013) and underpass (Tempo, 2013). Thus, devising ways to transport and house people in a comfortable and sustainable way is a pressing tourism-related challenge for Bali. Both positive and negative perceptions of tourism on the island will now be considered with constructive visions to holistically consider the future of tourism in Bali.

Visions of tourism in Bali

Complementing the constructive visions of Bali (irrespective of tourism) and the evaluative views of tourism's current state, respondents were subsequently asked how they would like tourism in Bali to change. Once again, the aim was to engage respondents in the visioning process, and to evaluate their visions in relation to tourism. If they did not want tourism in Bali to change, they were asked to indicate why. Despite the majority of positive and neutral perceptions outlined above, both groups believe that tourism in Bali should change in the future: 81% of urban respondents and 83% of non-urban respondents share this belief. Seizing again on 'currents present in [Balinese] society' (Webb, 2007, p. 79), visions from both zones are strikingly similar.

Better urban planning for tourism development

Residents from both zones desire policy changes with regard to urban planning and tourism development on the island. Embodying *Tri Hita Karana's* human-to-human relationship ideal and collectivist norms, these residents overwhelmingly agree that such changes should be fair, equal and transparent. For example, one urban respondent (80) asserts that 'Bali needs to change its urban planning policy which will affect tourism. It should be for the benefit of the community, not for the benefit

of certain groups or people'. Another urban respondent articulates such communal benefit in more detail:

Bali needs an equal distribution of the wealth generated by tourism development. Rapid development of tourism only occurs in the southern part of the island. The government should expand the distribution of tourism development and implement policies that spread the wealth to the Northern, Eastern and Western parts of Bali. (Respondent 89)

Such policy changes should be transparent, as residents 'need to know how policies are implemented' (urban respondent 55). All of these views echo a sentiment from the first visioning exercise that 'urban planning needs to be fair' (respondent 75) and grow from existing concerns about tourism-related urban planning challenges, such as transport and overcrowding.

Clean and efficient transportation systems

Of utmost concern with regard to urban planning and tourism is the future of transport on the island. Building on initial visions and critiques of the current state of tourism, respondents from both zones envision reduced and/or free-flowing vehicular traffic, as well as unpolluted roads, in Bali's future. Again, a high level of reflexivity is noted in the visioning process, as residents ruminate over effects of and solutions to the island's congestion and pollution. For example, and echoing earlier suggestions to increase sustainable transport options, residents suggest 'reducing vehicle usage so Bali is not as congested for tourism as it is now' (urban respondent 84). They recognize that the 'traffic congestion problem needs to be solved as it is now causing tourists to complain. Garbage also has to be cleaned up from tourist areas and areas close to major roads' (non-urban respondent 26).

Alternative tourism experiences

A third current of thought is to re-focus Bali as an alternative tourism experience destination (that is, one with fewer large hotels and more cultural and rural tourism experiences). For example, 'Bali needs more easily managed and smaller hotels that will offer unique experiences' (urban respondent 19). There is hope to 'change mass tourism to alternative tourism, reduce unsustainable accommodation facilities and take advantage of nature for healthier tourism' (urban respondent 70). Likewise, a non-urban respondent (2) suggests 'expanding tourism to promote cultures from each area so that tourism is more equally distributed and not centralized in one area'. Resonating with *Tri Hita Karana*, these visions offer a more harmonious and balanced approach to tourism than some large-scale modern approaches allow. The visions are also plausible; as Hitchcock (2004) suggested, the anthropological heritage of areas outside Southern Bali can attract tourists and enhance the island's profile.

Preservation of culture

Finally, and building on alternative tourism visions, respondents hope to change tourism in Bali to better preserve their culture. For example, one urban respondent (43) wants 'a better life for people through tourism without changing the local customs and culture'. Likewise, a non-urban respondent (72) sees 'more emphasis on allowing tourists to enjoy beautiful Balinese culture and helping to preserve it'. Such visions imply that Bali should be more *ajeg*; that is, Bali should defend its traditions and customs (Suryawan, 2004). Being *ajeg* with regard to tourism could help fulfil respondents' visions for an education system that prioritizes Balinese culture and language. As the respondents and Picard (1990) both noted, tourism has a history of and future potential for contributing to the preservation of Balinese culture. Therefore, future tourism initiatives should take into account to a greater extent the fundamentals of Hindu culture and *Tri Hita Karana* relationships (Allen & Palermo, 2005). Such an approach could also prove beneficial in addressing future sustainability challenges, since 'traditional values and knowledge are seen as increasingly relevant in a complex world' (Stuart & Thompson-Fawcett, 2010, p. 37).

Conclusion

It was found that Balinese residents envision better transportation (particularly reduced vehicular traffic,

better roads and improved public transport), improved healthcare (especially accessible, affordable and professional health facilities) and education reforms (more government funding, preservation of traditional culture and language, and increased emphasis on vocational training). The study revealed a variety of perceptions of the current state of tourism in Bali. Overall, tourism is well-regarded by the Balinese, although two key concerns – traffic congestion and overcrowding – require attention. Despite a majority of positive or neutral tourism perceptions, over 80% of respondents envision major changes for the future of tourism on the island. Their visions for tourism echo their visions for Bali and respond to their concerns about the current state of tourism. Overall, residents hope for tourism that is sustainable and beneficial to everyone on the island. In particular, they hope for urban planning and policy changes that are fair, equal and transparent, including better transportation systems. They see benefit in alternative tourism experiences which could help distribute employment opportunities more evenly across urban and non-urban regions of Bali. Such approaches could embody *Tri Hita Karana*, and strive for a more harmonious balance between tourism endeavours, host communities and the environment. Similarly, they envision tourism more actively seizing on its potential for *ajeg*, defending Balinese culture and language (Picard, 1990; Suryawan, 2004).

As mentioned at the outset, these key findings derived from the community were used to inform Bali's practical tourism strategy framework, and in particular Bali's 2050 roadmap for sustainable tourism development (MTCE, 2013). The roadmap is Bali's long-term strategy for tourism development that aims to address challenges facing Bali today. Community engagement is one of the roadmap's cornerstones, so this study's findings have contributed to the refinement of theories and conceptual ideas underpinning it (e.g. Lipman, Delacy, Vorster, Hawkins, & Jiang, 2012; UNEP, 2011). Constructive visions of respondents rendered through this academic inquiry were thus used to inform political strategies. Such political engagement helps to demonstrate the potential effectiveness of visioning as a collaborative, action-oriented research tool.

Consequently, there are potential implications of this study beyond the Balinese context. While a long tradition of research on visioning exists (e.g. Friedmann, 2000; Shipley & Michela, 2006; Shipley & Newkirk, 1999), such literature has not previously

been related to the context of host community visioning processes in this part of the world. Future research studies with host island communities – and other tourism stakeholder groups – could employ visioning to great effect. In addition to the benefits of political engagement mentioned above, processes of knowledge co-production in collaborate research – especially that which engages with visioning processes – can arguably lead to changed understandings that ground and inspire small-scale action in those involved (Pain et al., 2011; Webb, 2007). The process of imagining allows respondents to ‘break through the barriers of convention’ and thereby voice ‘a path into the future that they believe is justified’ (Friedmann, 2000, p. 147). Thus, members of a host community, such as those in this study, may experience a type of transformative learning through imagining. Determining the impacts of visioning processes on learning is not simple. It requires ‘explicit evaluation’ (Davies et al., 2012, p. 57) that was beyond the scope of this study. A challenge for tourism researchers interested in effecting positive change through anticipatory inquiry is hence greater investment in collaborative host community processes and their evaluations.

This study argues for the potential of host community visions, especially when carefully considered and publicly debated for the common good, to help effect positive change in the tourism context. This change may occur on a large scale when research findings are fed into tourism policy and political discourse; or the change may occur on smaller scales within host community respondents themselves who may have changed their understanding of essential topics through participating. Whether large or small, genuine change towards better and more sustainable tourism systems requires that tourism researchers respond in two ways. First, holistic assessments are required of the longitudinal effects of visioning inquiry on tourism policy making. Second, future research should prioritize a greater investment in host community collaborative visioning processes and their evaluation. These two research agendas combined should open up new possibilities for the use of collaborative, action-oriented approaches in tourism scholarship and community engagement.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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