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Rural tourism in Bali: towards a conflict-based tourism resource typology and management

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ABSTRACT

Although conflicts over resource utilisation have been widely discussed, tourism resource typology has not been explored clearly from a conflict-based perspective. Based on a case study of two Balinese villages, this research extends the previous literature by exploring tourism resource typology and management. The findings reveal four typologies with a two-dimensional matrix: activity and facility-based resources on one axis and localised and ubiquitous resources on another. The resource management model applies three steps: planning, regulating and implementing. The findings contribute to practical suggestions about rural tourism development within a strong spiritual context by emphasising spiritual resources and development. They also encourage a counterbalance towards spiritual development and suggest a triadic intermingling in resource management. Several directions for future research are suggested in the rural tourism domain, especially for developing countries.

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Typology; tourism resource; resource management; rural tourism

Introduction

Resource control and management for rural tourism are under-represented in the literature (Karali et al., 2021). Rural tourism resources are shared among different utilisations and interests (i.e. leisure, livelihood and business) and are prone to conflicting use (Garrod et al., 2006; Zhang et al., 2020). Although some studies have linked developing tourism in Balinese villages to problems such as water scarcity (Cole & Browne, 2015), agricultural land conversion (MacRae, 2016) and loss of the sanctity of sacred heritage sites (Benge & Neef, 2018), less has been published on resource management to reduce these problems.

In addition, the existing tourism resource typologies (e.g. Boniface et al., 2006; Inskeep, 1991) do not correspond to the conflicting interest over resource use, whereas conflict over resources has been commonly found in rural areas due to the more intense sharing pattern for the resource use between residents, tourists and tourism operators/business owners (Briassoulis, 2002; Daugstad, 2008; Garrod et al., 2006; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015). In the meantime, the use of resources with conflicting interest has created tension amongst stakeholders in rural destinations (Buckley et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 2020). Although calls for research to examine resources based on the interaction between resources and tourism industry utilisation of resources have been long pronounced (Briassoulis, 2002; Carter et al., 2001; Liu, 2003), studies in understanding the typologies based on the conflicting interactions due to resource utilisation remain limited.

Through a case study comparison in Bali, this article aims to understand the typology of conflict-based resources and how the resource management model can be reconceptualised. Employing Bali as the study context helps address empirical and practical gaps, as most rural tourism scholarship has focused on developed countries (Rosalina et al., 2021). The first section provides a literature review of the understandings of the tourism resources as a part of tourism productions and attractions. The second section provides the general study context and explains the Balinese village system and organisations, while the third presents the two case study sites, data collection, methodological limitations and data analysis. The fourth showcases the main findings, followed by the conceptualisation of the conflict-based

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resource typology and management strategy. This article concludes with future research directions.

Literature review

Defining tourism resources

Tourism resources were first defined as 'all the goods and services' to satisfy tourists' needs and demands (UNWTO, 1979, p. 3). The conceptualisation of tourism resources has developed, with Leiper (1979) suggesting that tourism resources include services, experiences and facilities. Crouch and Ritchie (1999) added to the understanding of resources as including destination competitiveness that requires human input to increase value, such as by providing access. Liu (2003, p. 464) considered that the given value of resources is not necessarily tangible but linked to 'a value (of human perspective)'. Although human interference plays an important role in the use of resources, the literature has, however, argued how the long-term outcomes of exploiting resources are unsustainable for rural destinations (Daugstad, 2008). An example is illustrated in Balinese villages, where a former rural area has changed into a mass tourism setting due to increased tourist visitation and economic-oriented development (MacRae, 2016).

Existing typologies of tourism resources and its limited attention to value

The present study's objective is to explore tourism resource typology with a conflict-based view, to fill the knowledge gap in the existing tourism resource typologies that mainly focus on the resource's inherent nature and human input, such as natural, cultural and man-made resources (Boniface et al., 2006; Inskeep, 1991). The typology that relates to a value being assigned to tourism resources is limited, although a previous study has emphasised how a resource can only be functional when there is 'a value placed upon it' (Liu, 2003, p. 464). Particularly in rural areas, there are two different values being assigned to a resource that can cause conflicts: economic and spiritual values (Kato & Progano, 2017; Sharpley & Jepson, 2011).

Most prominently in rural areas, spiritual values are assigned to traditional sacred sites firmly attached to a specific religious tenet or belief or place of worship. For example, Macchu Pichu – spiritually valued by Inca tribes (Larson & Poudyal, 2012) – and a sacred pilgrimage route in rural Japan (Kato & Progano, 2017) have both become tourist attractions. As the tourism industry is growing, values being assigned to a tourism resource might experience 'the loss of aesthetic value' (Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1072), or gradually threatens the sanctity of the sacred sites (Larson & Poudyal, 2012).

More research is, therefore, needed to understand the process of utilising spiritual assets for tourism attractions or activities, and how tourist products can be created to enhance tourists' spiritual experience.

Resource management and a gap in the conflict-based process

Scholars have focused on two aspects of resource management: the role of institutions, and community collaboration and adaptive learning. The institutional focus emphasises rules and sanctions. Three evolving approaches exist for resource governance. The first promotes collective action in small resource users while imposing state/centralised governance in larger resource users (Olson, 2012). The number of users would affect achievement of cooperation. The second approach encourages collective self-governance even in a larger group of resource users, based on centralised governance having been found incongruent with local conditions (Ostrom, 2005). The last approach considers the infusion of modern-traditional or formal–informal resource governance, claiming that the previous self-governance approach does not capture community social–cultural embeddedness (Cleaver, 2017). Regarding the literature's focus on community collaboration and adaptive learning (Plummer & Fennell, 2009), resource management strategies are positioned within an institutional and adaptive-collaborative dimension. Meanwhile, little attention has been paid to the act and process of using resources for tourism development, which potentially can cause disproportionate distribution of benefits among resource users.

Unfair benefit proportion and disadvantage to some resource users have been reported as causing resource use conflicts. Conflict is referred to as the 'rivalry' element of common pool resources (Ostrom, 2005), meaning an outcome of benefit discrepancy accrued by resource users. Conflict can be related to an unequal economic benefit to marginalised groups such as fishermen and farmers (e.g. Cole, 2012; Zhang et al., 2020). Disputes are also related to environmental disadvantages and problems (e.g. Lopes et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 2020). Another concern is the loss of power and control over resource exploitation (e.g. Buckley et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2010), which occurs commonly in developing countries as their tourism development is dependent upon foreign investment (Saufi et al., 2014). These issues form the basis of exploring conflict-based resources in this study.

Conceptualising tourism resource management

Scholars have conceptualised tourism resource management using mainly two points of view: capitalisation and conservation. Within the capitalisation perspective, scholars propose that resource utilisation, development and optimisation are enacted for the sake of producing wealth and increasing socio-economic development and prosperity through a destination competitiveness model (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999; Dwyer & Kim, 2003). In this view, resources are seen as a capital asset, which entrepreneurs and investors (Dwyer et al., 2003; Komppula, 2014) play a role in creating revenue from the use of resources. Furthermore, conceptualising rural resources as countryside capital is believed to enhance the quality of rural tourism experience and maintain the distinctive identity of rural resources (Garrod et al., 2006; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015).

The second point of view (conservation), however, considers that the use of resources might degrade the cultural or ecological value of resources. Proposed frameworks in this view regard the preservation and sustainability of resources, which mainly concern how to limit, prevent, and reduce degradation. For instance, Larson and Poudyal (2012) focus on how to limit the negative impacts on cultural resources by developing an adaptive management framework. Others (e.g. Briassoulis, 2002; Moore & Rodger, 2010) emphasised the need to have a measurement to reduce the ecological impact on natural resources, while promoting mutually agreed regulations (e.g. Damayanti et al., 2017; Ostrom, 2005). In particular rural areas, the conservation of rural resources has developed with the significant role of the local community, apart from the support from the government (Daugstad, 2008; Situmorang et al., 2019).

However, existing studies have rarely focused on the discussion that holds both points of view, as capitalisation and conservation might be co-existing. The present case studies attempt to explore how resource management is reconceptualised by admitting the presence of these two conflicting views towards the use of resources. Each type of resources was explored and analysed, including how they are both being capitalised and conserved.

Study context

Two significant eras shape the village system: Dutch colonisation and post-independence national political regimes. Before colonisation by the Dutch in the 1900s, Balinese villages only had one political system: *Desa Adat* (see Table 1 for Indonesian phrases), defined as 'local customary practice and institutions' (Warren, 1993, p. 3). Customary villages are grounded in Hinduism philosophy known as *Tri Hita Karana* or 'three causes of prosperity', a harmonious relationship of spiritual connection, social solidarity and environmental stewardship (Pitana, 2010).

When the Dutch colonised Bali, they introduced a new *de jure* recognition, *Desa Dinas* or Administrative Village (Warren, 2005). It is officially linked to the provincial bureaucratic government (Wardana, 2015). During the reformation era in 1998, when the top-down regime changed to decentralisation (Thorburn, 2002), customary villages were involved in decision-making regarding tourism resources.

The Indonesian Government initiated several tourism programs to promote tourism in the villages while encouraging decentralised development. Starting in 1989, the Bali Sustainable Development Project (BSPD) was established, involving eight villages to preserve natural and cultural resources while promoting tourism in outback areas (Wall, 1996). This was followed in 1992 by a Tourism Village pilot program, *Desa Wisata*, which included three Balinese villages, Penglipuran, Sebatu and Jatiluwih (Pickel Chevalier, 2017). In 2023, there were 238 tourism villages in Bali (Kadafi, 2023) and 4674 across Indonesia (Risanti, 2023).

Although customary villages can lead to high community involvement and environmental conservation in some parts of Bali, such as in Pemuteran village (Diarta, 2015), some challenges persist. Tourism investors in Bali still interfere with landscape use (Strauss, 2015) and water use (Cole & Browne, 2015), and cause serious issues with land use and infrastructure development (Benge & Neef, 2018). A customary village-led protest against the Bali Nirwana Resort's developers arose in the early 1990s, with religious reasoning that it would negatively affect temple sanctity (Nordholt, 2007). Although

Table 1. List of Indonesian phrases used in this text.

No.	Abbreviation/phrases used in this text	Name in Indonesian	Translation in English
1	Administrative village	*Desa Dinas*	Administrative village
2	BumDa	*Badan Usaha Milik Desa Adat*	Customary village-owned enterprise
3	BumDes	*Badan Usaha Milik Desa Dinas*	Administrative village-owned enterprise
4	Customary village	*Desa Adat*	Customary village
5	Forkom Dewi	*Forum Komunikasi Desa Wisata*	The Communication Forum of Tourism Villages
6	Pokdarwis	*Kelompok Sadar Wisata*	Tourism Awareness Group
7	Subak	*Subak*	Water Irrigation Organisation
8	Tourism village	*Desa Wisata*	Tourism village
9	LPD	*Lembaga Perkreditan Desa*	Village Credit Agency

the customary village was also supported by some academics and activists, the protest was unsuccessful in stopping the project (Wardana, 2015) and was negotiated by constructing a green belt to obstruct the direct view to the holy temple. Later, locals and other supporters of customary village members protested against the Benoa Bay project, a reclamation project to create an exclusive luxury island in the southern part of Bali (Adityanandana & Gerber, 2019). This prospective area was previously a conservation area, but its status was revoked by the presidential office in 2014, leading to speculation that political pressure and interference were behind the project (Benge & Neef, 2018). The developer claimed religious philosophy as the basis for the development not proceeding (Adityanandana & Gerber, 2019). These issues show that ensuring local self-management over resource use, notwithstanding written regulation, is still challenging.

Methodology

This study explores the typology of conflict-based resources in rural tourism through a case study comparison. Comparative cases with extreme characteristics were chosen to allow for the generalisability of the findings (Silverman, 2013).

Case study sites

Two villages in Bali, Taro and Munduk, were examined (Figure 1). Taro village, one of the most ancient in Bali with a very strong religious history, is in the eastern part of South Bali and is famous for its sacred White Ox and Gunung Raung Temple. Taro is also often related to the Elephant Park, built and managed by a private company 20 years before the tourism village (run by the community) was established in 2017. Another case site, Munduk, is located in the southern part of northern Bali and was recognised for its *Pesanggrahan* (guest houses) during colonisation as it was close to the former Buleleng harbour (Vickers, 2013). Munduk's attractions include inherited traditional-style Dutch architecture, traditional top-spinning game, waterfalls, a sacred lake, and clove and coffee plantations. Munduk was also selected because of the identified dispute between religious elites and tourism developers regarding the plan of an ecolodge close to the sacred lake (Strauss, 2015). We chose these villages as case study sites because both are good representations of tourism village management. They have been recognised as Sustainable Certified Villages by the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism: Taro Village in 2021 (Taro Tourism Village Wins Sustainable Certified Tourism Village Award, 2021) and Munduk Village in 2017 (Four Tourism Villages in Buleleng Regency Receive Awards, 2017).

The two villages share a similar organisational structure with five main bodies: the Bali tourism promotion board, the Bali communication forum of tourism villages, the administrative village, the customary village and the water irrigation organisation (Figure 2). The organisational structure only shows tourism-related actors. 'Funded' refers to governmental salary. Financial

Figure 1. Map of study sites This figure is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported, the original version can be found on https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bali_Locator_Map.svg.

support from the government is still given either yearly or on a case-by-case basis (through a proposal endorsed by the administrative village).

The tourism awareness group's position in the power hierarchy may differ, depending on the stakeholders' preferences at the village level to share authority. For example, in Taro the tourism awareness group is under the administrative village, whereas in Munduk, it is controlled mainly by the customary village. A more complicated case is where three customary villages are in one administrative village, such as in Cau Blayu; the village-level stakeholders decided the administrative village would mainly control tourism activities (Putra et al., 2021). Nevertheless, customary and administrative village heads or representatives are always invited to tourism-related meetings and are involved in tourism decision-making.

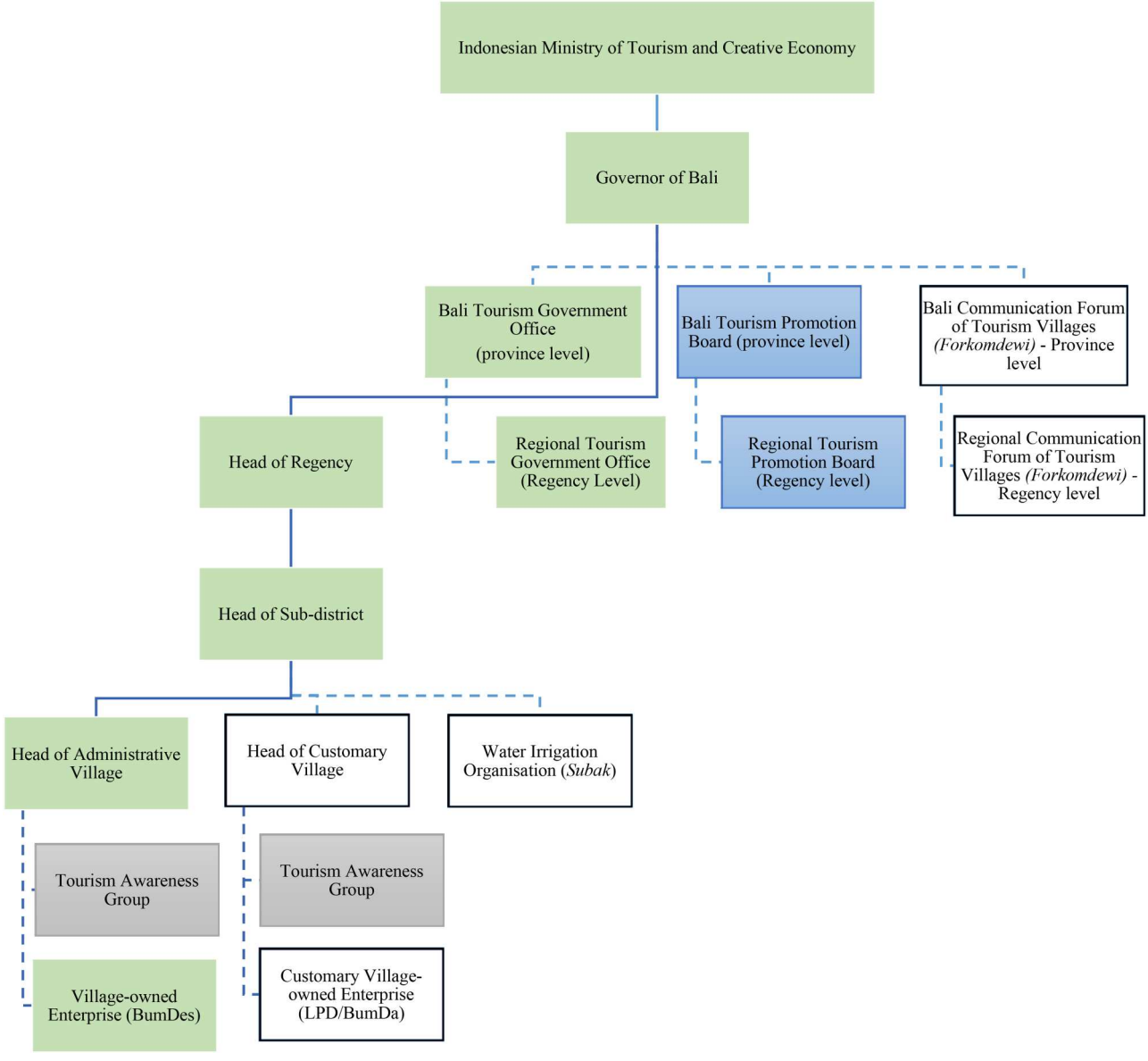

Figure 2. Organisational structure of tourism village management in Bali.

Note:

- Governmental organisations
- Governmentally funded public agencies
- Governmentally non funded public agencies
- Non-governmental organisation
- Political structure
- Non-political structure

The tourism awareness group is a voluntary community-based group that mobilises tourism awareness and organises tourism activities in the village. Apart from the group's main committee, there are profession-based subgroups. For instance, in Taro there is a transport group and a tourism entrepreneur community group. The groups in Munduk are exclusively for tour drivers, tour guides, and homestay and restaurant owners. The customary and administrative villages offer a cultural and legal umbrella to control the use of village landscapes, such as waterfalls, lakes and temples. Another institution associated with the tourism village is BumDes, or administrative village-owned enterprise, the financial supervisory agency for collecting and distributing economic revenue. BumDes and BumDa hold similar financial responsibilities, with BumDes under the auspices of the administrative village and BumDa under the customary village, where LPD is under the supervision of BumDa (Putra et al., 2021). Most participants in both sites only mentioned BumDes, while based on the follow-up interview, LPD and BumDa also exist. The next organisation is *Subak,*[1] a water organisation that oversees and conducts provisioning for agricultural-based activities and water use. An individual can hold multiple leadership responsibilities simultaneously (Warren, 1993); this was also evident in the case study sites. Table 2 shows the people in the villages who have multiple responsibilities and are involved in several organisations. Other national non-governmental actors also exist. The Bali Tourism Promotion Board's role is in marketing and creating travel campaigns (Benge & Neef, 2018). The Communication Forum of Tourism Villages was created in 2019 to develop, encourage and synergise entire tourism villages ('Committee of Tourism Village Communication Forum', 2019). Regional and central government and regional and provincial tourism offices are similar to those in other parts of the world.

Comparative criteria devised by Silverman (2013) are presented in Table 3. Villages were selected for proximity diversity because residents might perceive tourism resources differently based on accessibility and distance to major tourist destinations (Uchiyama & Kohsaka, 2016). Ubud was chosen as a major tourist destination reflecting MacRae's (2016) discussion on Ubud's extensive tourism development. The two villages also have different management arrangements. In Taro, the tourism village is managed mainly by the administrative village, whereas in Munduk the customary village holds dominant control. Particularly in Munduk, the customary village created a board called the Tourist Information Centre 20 years after being decreed. They have overlapping leader positions, as the head of this board is the head of the customary village and the secretary is the head of the Tourism Awareness Group. Village revenue derived from tourist attractions and facilities is managed by BumDes (Putra et al., 2021). Specifically, in Munduk village revenue comes primarily from the profit-sharing of the entrance ticket sales to the waterfalls and lake, while in Taro the revenue is based on the formal agreement signed by the rural entrepreneurs and the administrative village.

Data collection

To answer the research question within the key stakeholder's perspectives, this research was guided by a qualitative approach and a purposive sampling method was used to determine research participants (Creswell, 2007). Discussions from past literature related to tourism, particularly Balinese villages (e.g. Cole, 2012; Cole & Browne, 2015), informed the selection of five stakeholder types in Table 4. Additionally, since a non-governmental organisation is responsible for promoting the

Table 2. The composition of tourism actors in the case study sites.

Identification number of people who involve in multiple organisations	Case study site	Tourism Awareness group/tourist information centre/tourism sub-groups	Administrative village	Customary village	*Subak*	Tourism entrepreneurs
01	Munduk	✓	✓			
02	Munduk	✓		✓		✓
03	Munduk	✓		✓		
04	Taro	✓			✓	
05	Taro	✓	✓		✓	✓
06	Taro	✓	✓			✓
07	Taro			✓		✓
08	Taro	✓	✓			
09	Taro				✓	✓
10	Taro	✓	✓			✓
11	Taro	✓		✓		✓
12	Taro	✓	✓			✓
13	Taro	✓	✓			✓

Note: Category is ticked when the individuals belong to it.

Table 3. Criteria and different characteristics of case study selection.

No	Selection criteria	Site 1 – Taro village	Site 2 – Munduk village
1	Geographical location (e.g. accessibility and proximity)	Approximately 46 km from the airport and capital city;15 km to Ubud.	Approximately 77 km from the airport and capital city; 59 km to Ubud
2	Population density	Densely populated (10,610 people in 1308 km^2)	Sparsely populated (6,965 people in 1976 km^2)
3	Location and tourist numbers (Bali Government Tourism Office, 2019)	Located in the most-visited area. Gianyar Regency received the highest tourist visits in its regency (5,037,459 per year in 2019)	Located in a least visited area. Buleleng Regency received the third lowest tourist visit rate in its regency (641,242 per year in 2019)
4	Year of tourism village decree	2017	1998
5	Dominant control of destination management	Administrative village	Customary village
6	Primary tourism profit	Profit-sharing of rural entrepreneurs	Profit-sharing of the entrance ticket sales for waterfalls and lake
7	Prior discussions about conflict over resources	No literature has used this site	Water scarcity due to the development of tourism infrastructure (Strauss, 2015)

Table 4. Participant's list.

Stakeholders	Participants' identification	Date of interview (dd/mm/yy)	Length of interview	Role	Other professions	Gender	Age
Leaders	LE_TAG1	02/06/21	41 m 23s	Leader of tourism awareness group	Owner of a tourist attraction and accommodation	M	40s
	LE_TAG2	04/06/21	26 m 59s	Leader of tourism awareness group	Tour guide	M	40s
	LE_DA1	01/06/21	1 h 15 m 12s	Representative of the customary village	Owner of a tourist attraction	M	50s
	LE_DA2	15/06/21	22 m 02s	Representative of the customary village	Religious figure	M	50s
Non-government organisation	NGO1	09/06/21	25 m 46s	Head of regional communication forum of tourism village	Owner of a tourist attraction	M	60s
	NGO2	01/06/21	20 m 30s	Head of regional communication forum of tourism village	Tour guide	M	40s
Government	GO_DD1	12/06/21	26 m 11s	Head of the administrative village	Owner of a tourist attraction	M	40s
	GO_DD2	21/06/21	33 m 13s	Secretary of the administrative village	–	M	40s
	GO_TO1	13/08/21	28 m 51s	Head of the regional tourism office	–	M	50s
	GO_TO2	29/06/21	23 m 55s	Representative of the regional tourism office	–	M	40s
Entrepreneurs	EN_GU1	08/06/21	47 m 18s	Local tour guide	Farmer	M	30s
	EN_GU2	17/06/21	19 m 45s	Local tour guide	Farmer	M	40s
	EN_HO1	08/06/21	23 m 00s	Homestay owner	–	M	40s
	EN_HO2	06/06/21	25 m 55s	Homestay owner	Teacher	M	50s
	EN_RS1	07/06/21	26 m 19s	Restaurant owner	Employee	M	30s
	EN_RS2	15/06/21	33 m 56s	Restaurant owner	–	M	60s
	EN_TA1	05/07/21	21 m 54s	Tourist attraction owner	Employee	M	40s
	EN_TA2	14/06/21	23 m 23s	Tourist attraction owner	Farmer	M	60s
Scholars	SC1	05/07/21	36 m 57s	Scholar	Entrepreneur	M	50s
	SC2	11/06/21	32 m 12s	Scholar	Entrepreneur	M	30s

coordination of villages to develop rural tourism (Committee of Tourism Village Communication Forum of year 2019–2024 is confirmed, 2019), their leaders were also invited to participate. For local entrepreneurs and scholars, participants who had held their positions longer were favoured, due to knowing more about the context and case study sites.

The data collection involved three steps: recruitment, interview and transcription. Using snowball sampling, leaders of the tourism awareness group were contacted and asked to nominate participants who met the selection criteria. The leaders notified candidates before submitting their contacts. Each nominated participant was contacted and sent an informed consent form. Once signed, an interview was scheduled. The methodological exception concerns the government members, who were reached through personal contact and emailed an interview invitation.

The second step involved semi-structured interviews with 20 participants, conducted using video conferencing or phone calls from June to August 2021 due to COVID-19 constraints. Each interview lasted 30–45 min and was undertaken in the participant's native language. Questions investigated demographic and professional details, the participant's understanding of tourism resources and attractions, their opinions on current

resource management, rules being applied and future expectations. No personal data were requested and all interviewees were de-identified.

The recorded audio was then transcribed and transcripts were checked before being translated into English. The original transcripts and translations were then compared to avoid loss of subtle meaning, conducted simultaneously by two researchers whose native language is Bahasa Indonesia. The English transcripts were then transferred to Microsoft Excel for analysis.

Two limitations emerged from this data collection. First, technological failures sometimes disrupted the interviews and could not be remedied because of the physical distance between researchers and interviewees. Second, there is a lack of female participation (see Table 4). Females neither fitted the selection criteria nor were referred by the leaders. The authors acknowledge the small sample size, which is justified for four reasons. First, the aim of the study and the constructivist research paradigm adopted by this study dictated the potential pool of interviewees. Only participants from relevant stakeholder groups who were substantially involved and influential in the tourism industry in their villages were included. Second, the study employed information-rich key participants, further reducing the number of qualifying interviewees (Malterud et al., 2016). Third, we interviewed some stakeholder groups with just one leader or head, who is at the highest level of authority. Fourth, saturation was achieved with the sample as the information became repetitive, in line with Guest et al.'s (2013) empirical finding of thematic saturation after 12 interviews. Furthermore, our sample size falls into the acceptable range of 20–30 interviews as recommended by Creswell (2007).

Data analysis

We followed Fereday and Muir-Cochrane's (2006) hybrid approach to thematic analysis and used a constant comparative method to ensure data analysis and saturation. First, we conducted a deductive approach by matching the framework derived from the previous literature review (Rosalina et al., 2021), and rephrasing if necessary. The framework contains the overall concept of the definitions and challenges of rural tourism. The deductive analysis identified six themes consistent with the existing framework: economic development, environmental conservation, workforce, infrastructure, external-sourced and planning. Second, an inductive coding approach found new emerging themes, such as spiritual development and internal-sourced resources. All details about the themes and subthemes are presented in Appendix 1.

Findings

The study investigated the typology of conflict-based resources and their management in rural tourism through the comparative case study of two Balinese villages. Figure 3 summarizes the key findings. The first layer displayed three conflicts that were found to associate with using resources; the conflicts include: spiritual vs. economic development; environmental conservation vs. environmental degradation; and internal vs. external-sourced resources. These conflicts are related to five resources (the second layer in Figure 3), including natural resources, cultural resources, spiritual resources, infrastructure and workforce. Further on the third and fourth layers, resource management strategies were synthesised into two levels: individual resource level and village level. Through the identification of individual resource level, new typologies were proposed, while the understanding of resource management at the village level allows the reconceptualisation of resource management.

Exploring resources and their associated conflicts

Resource-based conflicts

The use of resources associated with conflicts is categorised into three themes. The first is spiritual versus economic development related to the utilisation of natural, cultural and spiritual resources. Despite the economic benefit from ticket-selling, or guiding service, some 60% of participants felt tourists must respect codes of conduct based on Hindu beliefs when entering a sacred site or engaging in cultural activities or rituals. For instance, EN_RS1 explained, 'If tourists want to visit Gunung Raung Temple (was previously being referred as tourism resources) … we do not allow infants who have not grown their teeth, breastfeeding women, expectant women, or women in their periods'. EN_RS1 then refers to the local belief in *Cuntaka*, literally meaning unclean, a condition of an individual who is prohibited from entering a sacred site that may impact the site's sanctity (Catra, 2005). This conduct also applies to other sacred landscapes, for instance, EN_HO2 discussed potential tourist misbehaviour in sacred Tamblingan lake (see Appendix 1)

The second theme arises from two opposing approaches to building tourist infrastructure: a conservationist approach versus an exploitative approach, which is conceptualised in Figure 3 as environmental conservation versus environmental degradation. In general, participants (65%) opposed massive infrastructure development as they believed it can degrade the natural landscape in their village, yet supported the use of existing infrastructure, such as rural residences for

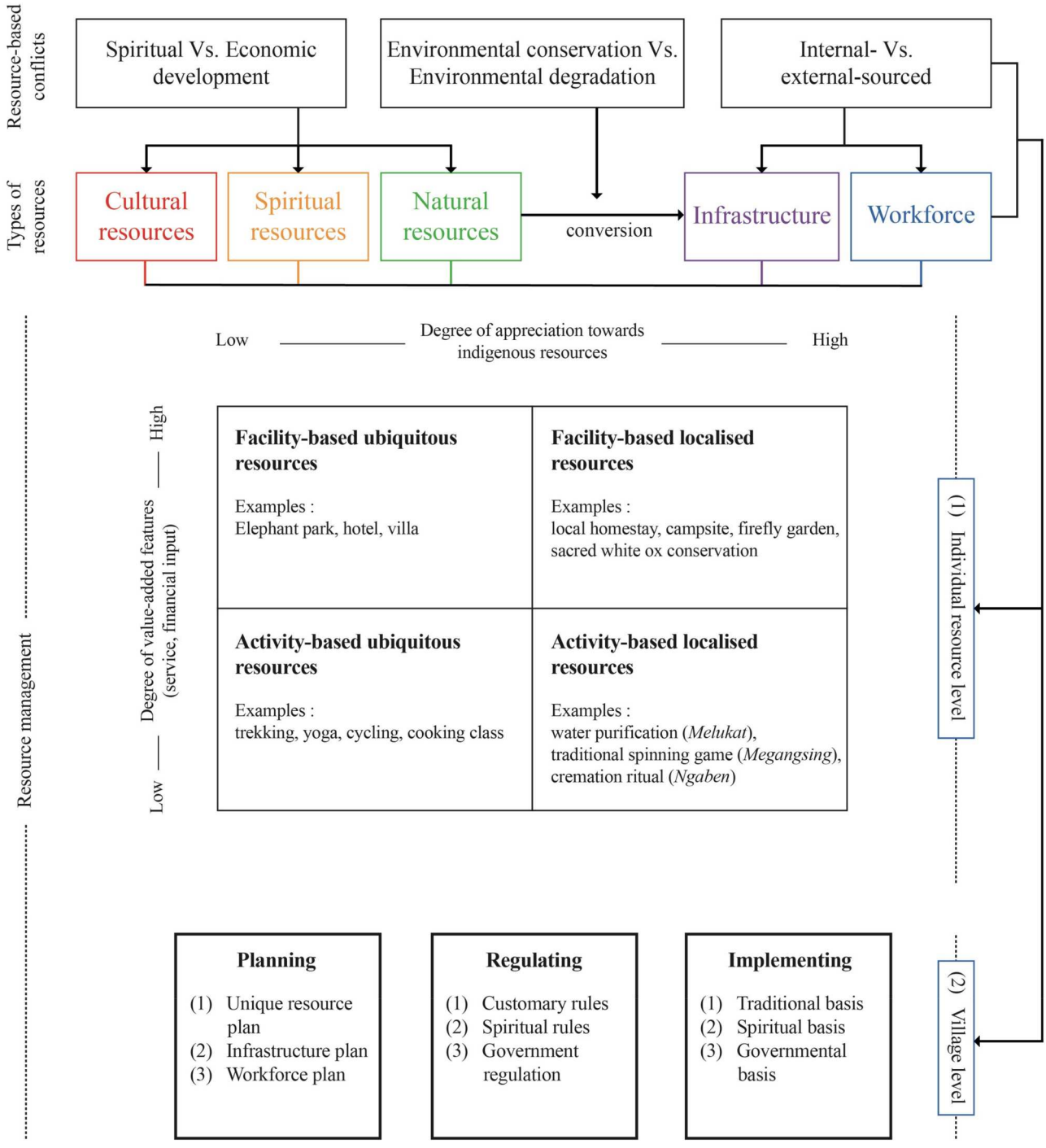

Figure 3. Summary of findings.

tourist accommodation. For instance, SC2 said, 'Instead of investors coming to build new buildings and carrying out land conversion, we should use these rooms'.

The third theme regards internal versus external-sourced resources. Some 40% of participants explained that the players and beneficiaries of tourism development in their village must be local communities, not outsiders. Discussions about this conflict were mainly associated with infrastructure and the workforce, with interviewees opposing a non-local-invested elephant theme park (or regarded as an external-sourced infrastructure). For instance, SC1 states that 'investors (of the elephant park) are becoming more powerful than the local community'.

The types of tourism resources

Five types of tourism resources were identified (illustrated on the second layer of Figure 3): natural, cultural

and spiritual resources, and workforce and tourism infrastructure. However, participants did not weigh their significance equally. Most participants prioritised natural and cultural resources (70% each). EN_RS2 commented, 'I think the landscape and the traditions are the tourism resources'. Natural resources mainly refer to scenery and landscapes that are naturally bestowed, while cultural resources concern tangible and intangible cultural assets, including art, dance, temples, history, traditions, traditional music, games and medicine. The findings also demonstrated that participants emphasise the spiritual significance of natural resources (e.g. sacred forests and lakes). EN_GU1 explained a palm forest 'which is said to be a place where there is a superstitious barrier and should not be passed carelessly'. However, this does not apply to every natural resource – for example, there is no similar discussion on coffee plantations or rice fields.

It is therefore not surprising that spiritual resources were mentioned by 65% of participants. For example, LE_TAG1 mentioned *Melukat* (meaning body purification ritual by showering beneath the waterfall) as the main tourist activity, explaining, 'We have waterfalls and springs, so we make tourist activities such as *Melukat*'. In a cultural context, EN_HO1 explained spiritual resources as locals' daily activities, 'our household chores and the religious practice'. Participants described spiritual resources as a set of spiritual practices connected to a natural or cultural environment.

The fourth type of resource is the workforce, discussed by 55% of participants. They referred to the workforce as local human potential, skills and abilities utilised to enhance tourism activities, such as tour guides, tour drivers, local farmers and local artists. GO_DD2 emphasised the importance of optimising local farmers: 'Tourism can be a place for them (farmers) to be creative, show their talents and introduce our culture'.

The fifth type is tourist infrastructure. Participants tended to mention this type after the interviews addressed management and conflicts. Some 25% of participants referred to tourist infrastructure as physical facilities that can accommodate tourists' basic needs, including homestays, hotels, villas, restaurants and cafes. NGO2 stated, 'there are many restaurants near the waterfall' after explaining the waterfall as a tourism resource.

Resource management

Resource management at the individual level

On the individual resource level, resource management incorporates a process that commodifies tourism resources (illustrated in the third layer of Figure 3). This study identified four types of resources based on two processes. The first is an appreciation of indigenous resources, classifying resources into two categories: ubiquitous and localised. The second process involves adding value to resources by creating activity-based or facility-based attractions. These processes create a two-dimensional matrix reflective of four types of conflict-based resources.

The first type is activity-based ubiquitous resources, which are used to create tourist activities; these resources are common to other rural tourism destinations. For instance, LE_TAG2 explained that 'the agricultural sector is very supportive of trekking activities'. However, trekking is mentioned by all participants in both sites, similar to cycling, cooking class and yoga. SC1 added, 'All tourism villages already have trekking [tour] packages'. On a different category (moving to the right-hand side of the matrix in Figure 3) is activity-based localised resources. Participants mentioned activities created from resources considered indigenous and rare. EN_RS2 explained, 'Some fascinating traditions include traditional *Megangsing* games or cooking outside on the day after *Nyepi* [meaning a day of silence]', which were not mentioned by participants in site 1, thereby as the name, localised, indicated.

Moving to the upper category of the matrix, in other cases, resources are value added to providing tourist facilities. Facility-based ubiquitous resources refer to adding a facility that can be found anywhere else. For instance, NGO1 described the creation of an Elephant Park, 'The investors created an elephant park as a tourist attraction, while Taro is actually not their natural habitat. They bring in elephants from outside Bali'. In contrast, EN_HO1 explained the village's use of facility-based localised resources, which are considered rare, 'So we develop a white ox conservatory site which we believe is the only one in the world'. Responses of participants in Site 2 corroborated this claim as White ox was not mentioned by them, which confirmed the localised characteristic of the resources.

Resource management at the village level

The bottom layer of Figure 3 presents the village-level resource management, which refers to how resources-being-valued are planned and regulated while ensuring the implementation of rural tourism planning is in harmony with the entire village. First, all participants described the importance of planning. They believed each village had unique resources that could be a tourist attraction. EN_TA2 said, 'Our ritual is unique for tourists'. All participants also considered prior planning were needed to utilise resources related to infrastructure and workforce. SC2 explained how infrastructure planning is ignored in his/her village, 'They [entrepreneurs]

carelessly build homestay buildings and hotels, even though the conditions are hilly'. Likewise, workforce planning is necessary to fully involve a low-skilled workforce. GO_DD2 suggested that 'it might be a bit difficult if you force everyone to be a guide, etc. If they are clove or coffee farmers, they should just sell their harvested products'.

Further on the village level, the study found that regulating the use of resources involves three regulations, derived from custom, spirituality and official government. In Bali, each village obeys oral and written local regulations, namely *Awig-awig*, or translated as customary rules, that concern the rights, obligations, prohibitions, and requirements of ritual and cultural practices (Warren, 1993). The study found that *Awig-awig* is crafted through a participative approach including all stakeholders (government, *Subak*, customary village and business owners). For tourism purposes, villagers adjusted *Awig-awig*, which was initially used for only village matters such as water distribution and other religious and cultural concerns. EN_HO2 emphasised that 'The tourists who come to Munduk must obey the *Awig-awig* of Munduk village'. The second type of rule is mentioned as spiritual rules, playing a role in restraining the exploitative use of resources. GO_DD1 explains that 'In Bali and our village, we have a local value of *Tri Hita Karana* (Three Causes of Happiness). We take care of our spirituality by serving God, protecting nature and maintaining harmony with fellow human beings'. The third regulation is from the government, which is perceived as necessary to regulate resource use. GO_DD1 said, 'Clear rules from the government are needed on the number of hotels or villas allowed to be built'.

Lastly, findings show three implementations being required at the village level: traditional, spiritual and governmental. Locals adopt a traditional basis to control any offence or misbehaving towards resource use. For instance, they involve *Pecalang*, a 'traditional police force at the local level' (Nordholt, 2007, p. 401). GO_TO2 explained, 'There has been no significant conflict in the Munduk village because the management has involved *Pecalang* in carrying out routine supervision'. Interestingly, superstitious and religious beliefs are still strong and part of tourism, this belongs to the sub-theme 'spiritual basis' of the implementation. Locals believe that benefiting from resources should be balanced by contributing to spiritual enhancement. EN_GU2 explained that 'The ticket sales [of the entrance fee to the lake and waterfalls] are distributed to *Subak* and the customary village. Then, the customary village uses profit-sharing for ritual activities'. Governmental basis signifies that implementation also involves the role of governmental institutions, namely village-owned enterprises run by the community. These are responsible for controlling and supervising business practice and financial arrangements, including tourism activities. EN_RS1 explains, '[The management] has been going well as we are already under the supervision of village-owned enterprises'.

Discussion

Theoretical contributions

The first theoretical contribution relates to the separate categorisation of spiritual resources, rather than being attached to nature or culture as in the previous literature (e.g. Sharpley & Jepson, 2011). Findings show that the spiritual components of the resources are strongly interrelated with traditions, culture and Balinese-style Hinduism, which are absent in the secular community. In that sense, these findings provide an addition to the existing tourism resource typologies that mainly view the categorisation falls either within nature or culture (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999; Dwyer & Kim, 2003), rather than seeing spiritual resources as a resource type on its own. This study advances our knowledge in understanding the type of resources and asserts that spirituality exists and can determine a unique characteristic of resources. This new type of resources is holding a sense of religious and spiritual substance and warranting specialist attention and management.

Second, our innovative two-dimensional matrix highlights a different approach to resource segmentation. Our typology framework addresses Liu's (2003, p. 465) call for 'retaining a balance between the consumption, transformation and creation of tourism resources'. While adding previously lacking understanding in relation to tourism resource management literature which 'was not on the nature of the resource and industry's interaction' (Carter et al., 2001, p. 277). By adding a new typology, our study provides a new perspective on understanding tourism resources, with the basis of the appreciation of indigenous resources and adding value.

Third, the current findings show that local knowledge (e.g. sacred lakes), spiritual belief (e.g. *Palemahan*) and inherited customary rule systems (e.g. *Awig-awig*) are infused into resource management. Previous studies in developed countries have revealed how rural areas exude spiritual experience and attraction (Sharpley & Jepson, 2011), albeit less rooted in religions, culture and traditions as in Bali (Nordholt, 2007). As an example, to spiritual belief, the Balinese employ a strong philosophy of *Palemahan*, human–environment harmony (Pitana, 2010). This is similar to other rural tourism destinations. For example, in Fiji, people

believe in *Vanua*, meaning the mandatory natural resource stewardship (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). These spiritual rules have parallel roles aside from the formal regulations. Therefore, this present study argues that resource-use rules on collective crafting on the community-based resource management model (Ostrom, 2005) need incorporating local or traditional knowledge.

Practical contributions

The findings have three main practical implications for the improvement of resource management. The first contribution is that our tourism resource typologies can be a tool that can help local stakeholders to consider the resources and what associated conflicts might occur for the use of such resources. For instance, the construction of facilities can increase the economic value of resources; however, development can also bring environmental degradation. Another example is the use of unique, localised resources, which are regarded as being essential to perpetuate the cultural and spiritual practices of indigenous communities.

Second, as the present study found customary rules, traditional systems and spiritual beliefs are significant, more inclusion of religious elites and customary leaders, as well as the application of local spiritual beliefs into management practices are imperative in rural tourism resource management.

The third contribution lies in the identification of two levels of resource management: individual resource level and village level. As some rural tourism destinations face challenges in resource planning and management (e.g. Daugstad, 2008; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015; Situmorang et al., 2019), findings are therefore significant to government and rural tourism planners in carefully assessing and establishing resource management through these two levels, ensuring both are managed accordingly.

Limitations and future research

Although two case study sites have been carefully selected based on the conflict discussions on their resources and their good reputation in tourism village management, a replication in different study sites or comparative study might be necessary to test the identified tourism resource typology. Another limitation is the imbalanced representation of the female workforce (see Table 4), which implies male workforce dominance as described in a previous study in Bali (Putra, 2021) remain. Future study with interest in human resources in the rural tourism domain needs to address this gender discrepancy. Lastly, corresponding to the significance of spirituality in resource management, further research is required to identify whether spirituality remains relevant in secular rural tourism destinations, and/or how spirituality might be applied in non-religious resource management practices.

Conclusion

Addressing a significant literature gap, this study is the first to examine the typologies of resources while stressing the conflicting resource use. The contribution uniquely falls within the two-dimensional matrix that offers consideration to the use of resources based on the conservation and appreciation of unique indigenous resources in the transformation of their landscape and resource value to meet tourist demands. It adds spiritual resources to the existing types of resources and highlights the need for effective use of spiritual resources and pursuit of spiritual development. Moreover, findings on resource management at the individual and village levels can inform practice at both the micro and macro levels for effective utilisation of resources.

Note

1. According to Lansing (2012 , p. 5), *Subak* is defined as 'egalitarian organisations that are empowered to manage the rice terraces and irrigation systems on which the prosperity of the village depends'. Acknowledged as one of the Cultural World Heritage Sites by UNESCO in 2012, this organisation holds social, religious and spiritual aspect (MacRae, 2016).

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Appendix 1. Brief summary of themes, subthemes, and examples of direct quotations from interview transcripts.

Themes	Subthemes	Examples from transcript
1 Resource-based conflicts	1.1 Spiritual vs. Economic development	Tourists are often misbehaving and disrupting the spiritual vibration of the lake. (EN_HO2)
	1.2 Environmental conservation vs. Environmental degradation	Instead of investors coming to build new buildings and carrying out land conversion, we should use these rooms. (SC2)
	1.3 Internal- vs. External-sourced resources	Taro village is known for its elephants [a park developed by non-local investors]. It can raise the name of Taro village. But […] investors are becoming more powerful than the local community (SC1)
2. Types of tourism resources*	2.1 Cultural resources	We have a very strong history, unique cultures and arts which are truly originated from Taro Village (EN_HO1)
	2.2 Spiritual resources	We have 'White Ox Conservation' as one of the resources. Taro is the only village where we can find White Ox in Bali. We believe that they are sacred and that they are the vehicles of Lord Siva—A God in Hinduism) (EN_RS1)
	2.3 Natural resources	Munduk is famous for its landscapes, such as waterfalls, lake, forest, clove and coffee plantations (EN_TA2)
	2.4 Infrastructure	There are many *restaurants* near the waterfall (NGO2)
	2.5 Workforce	Some farmers have certain skills, such as playing gamelan and Balinese dancing. (GO_DD2)
3. Resource management at the individual level	3.1 Activity-based ubiquitous resources	All tourism villages already have trekking [tour] packages (SC1)
	3.2 Activity-based localised resources	There is a traditional game called *megangsing*. This year, we will make a special arena for this *megangsing* activity, so that tourists can watch it. (LE_DD2)
	3.3 Facility-based ubiquitous resources	The investors created an elephant park as a tourist attraction, while Taro is not their natural habitat. They bring in elephants from outside Bali (NGO1)
	3.4 Facility-based localised resources	So, we develop a white ox conservatory site which we believe is the only one in the world. (EN_HO1)
4. Resource management at the village level	4.1 Planning	
	4.1.1 Unique resource planning	We can plan ahead what uniqueness we have that we can offer to tourists. Our ritual is unique for tourists. For example, we have a faith and ritual called *Piagem Gama Tirta*, which means glorifying water and maintaining harmony with nature. (EN_TA2)
	4.1.2 Infrastructure planning	They [entrepreneurs] carelessly build homestay buildings and hotels, even though the conditions are hilly. We do not have a consensus plan for building new infrastructure (SC2)
	4.1.3 Workforce planning	For making a better use of local workforce, it might be a bit difficult if you force everyone to be a guide, etc. If they are clove or coffee farmers, they should just sell their harvested products. (GO_DD2)
	2. Regulating	
	2.1 Customary rules	The tourists who come to Munduk must obey the *Awig-awig* of Munduk village. (EN_HO2)
	2.2 Spiritual rules	In Bali and our village, we have a local value of *Tri Hita Karana* (Three Causes of Happiness). We take care of our spirituality by serving God, protecting nature and maintaining harmony with fellow human beings (GO_DD1)
	2.3 Government regulation	We've got the support from the government. Without their support, I'm not sure we can make it work. The regulations that have been made also really help us to develop our business (EN_RS1)
	3. Implementing	
	3.1 Traditional basis	There has been no significant conflict in the Munduk village because the management has involved *Pecalang* (traditional police force) in carrying out routine supervision. (GO_TO2)
	3.2 Spiritual basis	The ticket sales [of the entrance fee to the lake and waterfalls] are distributed to *Subak* and the customary village. Then, the customary village uses profit-sharing for ritual activities (EN_GU2)
	3.3 Governmental basis	[The management] has been going well as we are already under the supervision of village-owned enterprises (a governmental institution). (EN_RS1)

*Types of tourism resources are sometimes coded to more than one subtheme, as one phrase might apply to multiple subthemes. The phrases in italics represent which subtheme it belongs to.