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# Tourism development and changes in life satisfaction: Case of Balinese community in Canggu traditional village, North Kuta

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## **Abstract**

Extensive research on Bali's tourism has explored its development and various impacts, yet there is limited understanding of how tourism specifically affects the life satisfaction of local communities, particularly the Balinese. This study aims to investigate the changes in life satisfaction within the Balinese community of Canggu traditional village, driven by the rapid development of tourism. Adopting a qualitative approach, the research utilized participant observation and semi-structured interviews for data collection. A total of 17 informants were purposively selected to ensure diverse perspectives, enhancing the methodological rigor. Thematic analysis was conducted to identify patterns in how life satisfaction has evolved in response to tourism growth. The findings reveal that tourism has notably influenced various aspects of life satisfaction in Canggu, with significant improvements observed in financial stability. Before tourism, life satisfaction in the community was primarily derived from simple living, a sense of gratitude, strong social bonds, and adherence to traditional values, although financial limitations often led to dissatisfaction. With the expansion of tourism, improved economic conditions have enabled the community to enhance religious rituals, gain better access to education and healthcare, enjoy more leisure activities, and improve the condition of basic needs such as food, clothing, and housing. Moreover, the growth of cultural activities has fostered stronger social interactions, further enriched social relations, and boosted overall community satisfaction. However, to sustain these benefits, balancing tourism development with community welfare is crucial through strategies that promote both economic and cultural sustainability.

**Keywords**: Community well-being, Indigenous people, Livelihood shifts, Quality of life, Tourism impacts

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## 1. Introduction

The development of tourism in Bali has significantly impacted various aspects of local life, including economic (Astawa et al., 2019; Ningsih & Suryasih, 2018; Pemayun & Maheswari, 2017; Shantika & Mahagangga, 2018), socio-cultural (Andriyani et al., 2017; Holmlund & Donnerberg, 2018; Setyadi, 2007), environmental (Rimba et al., 2019; Sudipa et al., 2020; Wahyundaria & Sunarta, 2020; Widiastra et al., 2019), spiritual (Chappel, 2011; Prawira, 2017), well-being, and quality of life (Chin & Hampton, 2020; Huser et al., 2022; Jenkins & Romanos, 2014). Despite extensive studies on Bali's tourism and its impacts, specific studies on life satisfaction—a crucial dimension of well-being and quality of life—remain limited. Communities' life satisfaction refers to the evaluation of how well various essential needs in life are met (Matarrita-Cascante, 2010, p. 108). Research focusing on life satisfaction among indigenous communities, such as the Balinese, remains limited.

Balinese are characterized by strong ancestral ties, territorial bonds, and customs. Governed by customary laws (awig-awig) and law enforcers (pecalang), that regulate communal living (Ratuanak, 2019). These characteristics shape their social identity, values, and worldview, including their perspective on tourism. For instance, the conversion of rice fields in Denpasar into tourism facilities is responded negatively by some local Balinese for damaging the *subak* culture, whereas for other non-indigenous communities (e.g., migrants), this change is seen rather positively for boosting economic activities (Wirata, 2021). This difference highlights the distinct values between the Balinese and other communities.

As one of Bali's rapidly developing tourist areas, Canggu has transformed from an agrarian village to an international tourist destination. The surge in tourism coincides with increased tourist visits, expanded accommodation facilities, and extensive conversion of agricultural land into tourism facilities and infrastructure (Bernada, 2023; Widagdo, 2020). The rise in land prices and tourism demand has encouraged locals to sell or lease their lands for tourism development, disrupting not only the physical landscape but also the harmonious relationship between humans and nature and the socio-religious obligations tied to the land (Wahyundaria & Sunarta, 2020). As a result, the agricultural sector has been increasingly abandoned by the community, shifting livelihoods from primarily farming to working in the tourism service sector.

The transition from agriculture to tourism affects not only livelihoods but also potentially alters the life satisfaction of the Balinese community in Canggu. Important domains in life, such as non-material (e.g., health and social relationships) and material (e.g., income and financial situation), can be affected by tourism development (Woo et al., 2015). Given these dynamics, this study aims to investigate whether tourism development has changed the life satisfaction of the Balinese community in Canggu,

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addressing a gap in the literature by focusing on the life satisfaction of an indigenous community amidst rapid tourism development.

## 2. Literature review

## 2.1. Tourism Development and Its Impact

Tourism development is often seen as a double-edged sword for local communities, bringing both economic opportunities and challenges. Economic benefits are among the most frequently cited positive impacts of tourism development. According to studies by Astawa et al. (2019) in six Bali villages (Penglipuran, Penida Kelod, Bakas, Tenganan Pegringsingan, Blangsinga and Plaga) and Arcana (2016) in Seminyak, Bali, tourism significantly boosted local economies by creating jobs, investment opportunities, and generating income. The inflow of tourists creates demand for various services, including hospitality, transportation, and entertainment, thereby stimulating local businesses and entrepreneurship (Zaei & Zaei, 2013)

However, these economic benefits are not always evenly distributed within communities. For example, Subadra & Nadra (2006) found that the opening of accommodations, cafes, and restaurants in Jatiluwih, Bali only benefitted a small part of the community because many workers come from outside of the village. Other studies by Dane (2020) in Ambengan, Bali, and Shantika & Mahagangga (2018) in Nusa Lembongan, Bali, also found that the economic benefits from tourism development have not been equally felt by local communities due to unfair economic distribution. Increased income inequality and economic disparities within local communities can lead to economic instability (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004).

The socio-cultural impacts of tourism on local communities are complex and multifaceted. On one hand, tourism can lead to cultural exchange and the revitalization of local traditions and heritage. For example, Holmlund & Donnerberg (2018) found that tourism events such as the Bali Festival, Denpasar Festival, and Kuta Festival help to promote and revitalize local arts through dance, music, and drama performances. However, the commodification of culture for tourism purposes can erode traditional values and social structures (Greenwood, 1989). For instance, Menuh (2016) found that the influx of tourists to Kuta, Bali, altered the local lifestyles, leading to changes in social norms and community dynamics, such as local people increasingly going to pubs, consuming alcohol, and getting body tattoos. The presence of tourists and the need to cater to their preferences can sometimes lead to cultural homogenization, where local customs are modified or abandoned to fit tourists' expectations (Cohen, 1988). This can result in the loss of cultural identity and social cohesion within local communities (Sari et al., 2014).

The environmental impacts of tourism are another critical area of concern. Tourism development often involves significant alterations to the natural landscape, including the

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construction of hotels, resorts, and other infrastructure, leading to environmental problems. Studies by Dipayana & Sunarta (2015) in Tibubeneng, Bali, and Wahyundaria & Sunarta (2020) in Canggu, Bali, found that such constructions lead to massive rice field conversion and habitat loss. In Canggu alone, from 2010 – 2015 the area of rice fields decreased by 28 hectares, or about 4.6 hectares/year. Other studies by Pramudya & Arida (2016) showed that tourism development caused traffic congestion in Ubud, Bali. These findings emphasize the need for sustainable tourism practices that minimize environmental degradation and promote conservation (Pramudya & Hidayat, 2024).

In summary, tourism development presents both opportunities and challenges for local communities, with its economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts intricately intertwined. While it can enhance local economies and preserve cultural heritage, its uneven economic benefits, potential cultural erosion, and environmental degradation highlight the need for sustainable and inclusive approaches to ensure that tourism contributes positively to the well-being of all community members.

## 2.2. Life Satisfaction and Tourism Development

Life satisfaction and well-being are essential components of quality of life, encompassing both material and non-material aspects. Communities' life satisfaction refers to the evaluation of the various essential needs fulfilled in life (Matarrita-Cascante, 2010, p. 108). Tourism can influence life satisfaction in various ways. On the positive side, tourism development can improve life satisfaction by providing economic benefits, leading to higher incomes and better living standards (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011), for example, in the case of indigenous communities in Nantou (Liao et al., 2019). Additionally, improved infrastructure and public services, such as roads, healthcare, and education, can also enhance the overall quality of life for local communities (Uysal et al., 2012).

However, the negative impacts of tourism, such as cultural disruption, environmental degradation, and economic inequality, can detract from life satisfaction. For instance, increased cost of living due to tourism-driven inflation can reduce disposable income for local communities (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). Furthermore, the strain on local resources and infrastructure caused by high tourist volumes can lead to reduced access to essential services for the local population (Ko & Stewart, 2002). For instance, the development of safari tourism has led to an increase in predator populations, posing threats to Indigenous Maasai livestock and reducing grazing lands, thus adversely affecting their well-being (Buzinde et al., 2014).

Kim et al. (2013) proposed a model where tourism development affects life satisfaction across various domains, including economic benefits, environmental quality, and social life. They found that economic gains from tourism can enhance life satisfaction, but negative impacts on environmental quality and social life may reduce it.

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This suggests the need for a balanced approach to tourism that maximizes benefits while minimizing harm. Woo et al. (2015) further noted that the perceived value of tourism development significantly influences community satisfaction. A higher perceived value is associated with greater satisfaction in both material domains (e.g., basic needs and financial situation) and non-material domains (e.g., social, emotional, and health aspects), emphasizing the importance of residents' perceptions in shaping overall life satisfaction.

In addition, Lim & Putnam (2010) found a positive relationship between spiritual life and life satisfaction. Religious beliefs and practices contribute to higher life satisfaction, as regular participation in religious services fosters social networks within congregations, enhancing life satisfaction. Uysal et al. (2012) further noted that tourism can contribute to life satisfaction by enhancing communities' leisure opportunities and recreational facilities. Other studies have also shown that engaging in leisure activities, particularly holiday trips, has a significant positive correlation with happiness and life satisfaction (Nawijn & Veenhoven, 2011; Pagán, 2014).

Based on the previous literature, therefore, to help comprehensively explain the changes in life satisfaction of the Balinese community in Canggu due to tourism development, this study will compare the satisfaction of the community with both non-material (spiritual, social, education, health and recreation) and material (basic and financial) needs fulfilled in life, before and after tourism development.

### 3. Method

This research employed a qualitative approach to explore changes in life satisfaction among the Balinese community in Canggu Village due to tourism development. This approach was chosen for its capacity to capture in-depth, contextualized insights into the impacts of tourism on material and non-material aspects of life. This approach is particularly effective for investigating complex social phenomena where numerical data alone cannot provide a complete picture (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Participant observation spanned 3 months, from March - May 2024, during which researchers lived in Canggu Village. The researchers actively participated in and observed repeated community events, such as religious rituals (e.g., *Odalan, Melasti*, and *Makarya* ceremonies), as well as social activities like preparing for the ceremonies and youth gatherings (e.g., member meetings, preparing *Ogoh-ogoh*, traditional music and dance rehearsals). Researchers recorded notes, posed questions about these activities, and inquired about participants' feelings regarding tourism's influence on them. Immersing themselves for this extended period allowed researchers to capture temporal and situational nuances, enhancing the depth of collected data.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain personal narratives and perspectives, allowing flexibility for respondents to express their thoughts and

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experiences freely (Figure 1.). The interview guidelines included specific questions, such as: "How were your spiritual needs fulfilled before tourism development?" "What changes have you observed in meeting these needs after tourism development?" and "How satisfied are you in response to these changes?". Follow-up questions were posed to delve deeper into respondents' answers, ensuring thorough exploration of the topics.



Figure 1. Documentation of the data collection process, which includes semi-structured interviews with (A) Head of Canggu beach parking management and (B) a local surf instructor.

Source: Pramudya, 2024

The selection of informants was strategic to cover a broad range of perspectives within the community. A purposive sampling strategy was employed, targeting individuals based on their roles and experiences related to tourism. There were two types of informants: key informants and main informants. Key informants included seven community leaders, selected for their expertise and ability to provide authoritative insights into historical, religious, and socio-cultural contexts. Main informants comprised ten community members directly or indirectly involved in tourism, chosen to reflect diverse perspectives. These numbers were deemed sufficient based on data saturation—when no new insights emerged from additional data collection.

The data analysis employed thematic analysis, which began with organizing and managing data by refining field notes, transcribing interviews, and categorizing data systematically. The researchers then thoroughly read and annotated the data to identify emerging ideas, coding initial findings to facilitate further analysis. These codes were refined and classified into specific themes, representing the core findings. Subsequent interpretation of these themes involved linking them with existing literature and theories to provide a holistic analysis. The analysis compared life satisfaction changes of the Balinese community in Canggu Village before and after tourism development, focusing on changing satisfaction with non-material and material needs fulfilled, and explained tourism's contributions to these changes.

To ensure credibility, method triangulation was used to cross-verify observations and interview data, while source triangulation compared information across informants. For example, insights into changes in ceremonial practices, such as increased use of preordered offerings (e.g., *canang*), were confirmed through both observation during community activities (preparing ceremonies) and interviews with informants. Additionally, source triangulation was conducted to verify credibility by comparing

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accounts from multiple informants. For instance, claims about the community's increasing engagement in international travel were cross-checked between separate interviews with informants. These practices enhanced the reliability and validity of the findings.

## 4. Findings and discussion

## 4.1. Changes in Satisfaction with Non-Material Needs

## 4.1.1. Changes in Satisfaction with Spiritual Needs

The satisfaction with spiritual needs among the Balinese community in Canggu has improved significantly after tourism development. Before the development of tourism, the community's spiritual life was marked by simplicity due to economic constraints. Religious ceremonies and offerings (*banten*) were modest, utilising local natural resources and heavily relying on mutual assistance.

In contrast, the tourism industry has brought substantial economic growth, leading to enhanced spiritual satisfaction. Increased income from tourism has allowed the community to improve the performance of religious ceremonies and to conduct more expensive ceremonies immediately, such as *Ngaben* (cremation), contrasting with the past where such ceremonies often had to be delayed due to economic hardship.

The ability to choose higher tiers of ceremonies has also increased. An informant explained, "in my family, we never used a priest or religious leader for a wedding ceremony before, but now we do. Today, many ceremonies are led by priests, and as a result, the role of priests has grown because more people are seeking their services, whereas in the past, this was very rare". Higher-income levels have enabled the community to opt for more prestigious ceremonies, involving more sophisticated offerings (e.g. *Babi Guling*) and the participation of *Pedanda* (higher-status religious leaders). This shift indicates a growing trend towards displaying social prestige through religious ceremonies, influenced by the economic benefits and a shift in societal values. However, this emphasis on social prestige raises potential concerns. For instance, heightened expectations for elaborate ceremonies may create social competition, pressuring families to spend beyond their means. Additionally, the commercialisation of ceremonial practices could dilute their spiritual essence (Pitana, 2020).



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Figure 2. The materials used to make banten are generally purchased from local traders, no longer made manually from scratch
Source: Pramudya, 2024

The preparation for ceremonies has evolved as well. While in the past people relied on manual preparation using local resources, it now favours efficiency and convenience. The community now frequently purchases necessary materials (e.g. *canang*, bamboo, or coconut), saving time and effort, which reflects their adaptation to modern economic and social realities (Figure 2.). This practical shift towards efficiency has reduced the burden on individuals, allowing them to focus more on the spiritual aspects of the ceremonies.



Figure 3. Traditional music and dance have become more vibrant, in contrast to the conditions before tourism developed

Source: Pramudya, 2024

The integration of traditional arts, such as music and dance, into religious ceremonies has enhanced the sacredness and complexity of the rituals (Figure 3.). This cultural enrichment has contributed to a deeper sense of spiritual fulfilment. The presence of traditional music and dance, which was minimal in the past due to economic constraints, has become an integral part of the rituals, enhancing the community's spiritual experience and satisfaction. However, the growing inclusion of traditional arts could also reflect a shift toward performative displays aimed at attracting tourists, potentially altering the original intent and meaning of these rituals.

## 4.1.2. Changes in Satisfaction with Social Needs

The evolution of social life in Canggu Village showcases a significant shift from an agrarian sector to a tourism-oriented society, profoundly influencing community satisfaction levels regarding social needs. Before the development of tourism, Canggu's social life was deeply intertwined with agricultural activities. Farmers were organised into *subak* (water management cooperatives) and *sekaa* (smaller functional groups), which served as social hubs for gathering, discussing issues, and mutual support. Collective farming activities reinforced strong social bonds and a sense of community through *gotong-royong*, allowing farmers to work together without expecting payment. The *banjar* (village council) played a crucial role in social life through *Ngayah*, a voluntary communal work tradition. In the past, *Ngayah* was carried out manually and labour-intensive, starting from scratch utilising materials found in the surrounding area.

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In contrast, the tourism era has introduced diverse social activities in Canggu. The revitalisation of cultural traditions, such as *Mapeed*, has created new social opportunities, particularly for housewives. Participation in organisations like PKK (Family Welfare Movement) has increased, offering activities such as dance practice, group exercises, yoga, and communal savings, enhancing social interaction and satisfaction. *Ngayah* remains a vital social activity but has evolved to accommodate modern, busier lifestyles, as one of the informants explained, "Now it's simpler and more practical. We can buy offerings like *ceper* or *canang* for Rp. 100,000 in 5 minutes, whereas before, making that amount took a full day of effort, wasting time and energy". *Ngayah* is now more structured and efficient, involving less time and physical effort, maintaining its core values of cooperation and community support while being more practical.



Figure 4. Ogoh-ogoh in Canggu has become increasingly attractive and high costs as the economy improves.

Source: Pramudya, 2024

The shift to a tourism-based economy has diversified the daily activities of the community, many of whom are now involved in the tourism sector with more flexible working hours than traditional farming. This flexibility allows for easier participation in social activities, enhancing satisfaction with social interactions. For the youth, tourism development has brought a surge in activities within *sekaa teruna-teruni* (youth organisations). These groups now engage in various creative and cultural activities, reflecting the increased demand for traditional arts and performances driven by tourism. Events like the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade (Figure 4.) have become more elaborate, requiring extensive preparation and collaboration, fostering camaraderie and satisfaction among the youth, as their efforts are appreciated by both the local community and tourists.

The transition from an agrarian to a tourism-based economy has enriched social life in Canggu, with the community adapting to changing times while preserving core values of cooperation and mutual support. This adaptation has led to higher levels of social satisfaction and a stronger sense of community belonging.

### 4.1.3. Changes in Satisfaction with Education Needs

In the agrarian era, Balinese living in Canggu were a community of small-scale farmers facing significant economic constraints. Despite these limitations, education was highly

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valued. Parents often sold portions of their rice harvest to afford school fees, viewing basic education as a vital step toward progress. Completing *Sekolah Dasar* (elementary school) was a significant achievement, symbolising an advancement for the family.

However, advancing beyond elementary education posed considerable challenges. After finishing elementary school, many children had to help with agricultural work, making further education less feasible. Limited school options and economic barriers restricted access to middle school. With only one middle school in Canggu, students seeking better quality of education had to travel to Denpasar, hindered by limited transportation and financial resources. Consequently, most children's education ended at the elementary level.

Agricultural advancements, such as the introduction of international rice seeds, increased productivity and slightly improved economic conditions. This allowed some families to save enough to support their children's middle school education, albeit still within a context of general economic hardship. The presence of local schools, both elementary and middle, provided educational opportunities that were not available in many other villages.

**Table 1.** Number of Graduates from University

No.	Year	Number of Graduates
1	2017	108
2	2018	111
3	2019	718
4	2020	718
5	2021	812

Source: North Kuta Subdistrict in Numbers 2017–2021

In contrast, tourism development has significantly improved economic conditions and educational opportunities in Canggu, as explained by one of the informants: "It's now easier to pursue higher education. People can choose the school they like, and many can even go to Java for their studies now". The economic benefits from tourism enable families to afford higher-quality education for their children. This is also evident from the increasing number of students in Canggu who graduated from university from year to year, as shown in Table 1. Moreover, the diversification of school options allows parents and students to choose educational paths aligning with their interests and career aspirations, contributing to increased satisfaction with the educational needs.

The booming tourism industry has also influenced educational preferences, with a shift toward tourism-related studies. The demand for skilled workers in tourism has led to the rise of vocational schools and higher education institutions offering tourism programs. Parents and children support this trend, seeing tourism education as a pathway to better job prospects and economic stability. Consequently, community satisfaction

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with educational outcomes has grown, as these programs offer more direct and lucrative career opportunities.

## 4.1.4. Changes in Satisfaction with Health Needs

Before tourism developed, health practices in Canggu relied heavily on traditional methods. With limited access to modern medical facilities, the community often turned to *Balian* (traditional healers) who used herbal remedies and ritualistic methods to treat ailments. These methods were the most accessible and affordable options due to economic constraints.

Daily activities in the rice fields, involving physical labour under the sun, were believed to contribute to good health, with the community attributing their longevity to active lifestyles and the natural benefits of their work environment.



Figure 5. One of many vegan restaurants in Canggu. Source: Pramudya, 2024

In contrast, the development of tourism has significantly transformed the healthcare landscape in Canggu, as can be seen from this transcript: "As tourism has developed, healthcare services in Canggu have also become more modern. When people are sick, they turn to medical professionals, hospitals, or official treatments. They are satisfied because medical diagnoses are quicker and more scientifically based". Modernisation and economic growth driven by tourism have increased the availability and quality of medical facilities. The community now has access to clinics, hospitals, and pharmacies catering to both locals and tourists, improving overall satisfaction with health care.

Tourism has also influenced health consciousness within the community. This is due to the increasing number of tourist visits to Canggu, especially from digital nomads, who are introducing new lifestyles to the community. As shown in Figure 6, there is an increasing trend in the number of visits by digital nomads from 2014 to 2023. Digital nomads are often considered to be more environmentally friendly because they adopt a healthy lifestyle, choose restaurants that offer raw or vegan food, and actively participate in yoga classes (Yayla et al., 2024). The number of cafes and restaurants offering vegan menus (Figure 5) has increased in response to the growing demand for vegan options. As a result, these new, healthier lifestyle choices, such as the consumption of vegan foods, are becoming trendy among the younger population.

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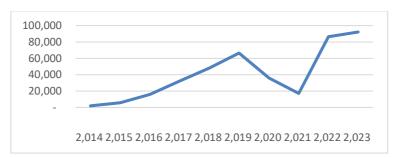


Figure 6. Number of digital nomads visiting Canggu 2014–2023 Source: Nomadlist.com, 2024

In addition, more gyms and fitness centres are opening in Canggu due to the global fitness trend and tourist influence (Table 2). Physical exercise has become a regular part of life, particularly for the younger generation, who frequent gyms to maintain their physical health. Improved economic conditions allow the community to afford gym memberships and fitness equipment, supporting this shift towards a more active lifestyle.

Table 2. List of Gyms in Canggu			
No	Name of Gym		
1	Brother Gym		
2	Surya Gym Bali		
3	Avenue Fitness		
4	Fitness Plus		
5	Pucuk Bali Gym		
6	Power+Revive Studio		
7	Body Factory Bali		
8	The Canggu Studo		
9	F45 Training Canggu		
	Course Mans goodle com 2024		

Source: Maps.google.com, 2024

Tourism has driven a significant shift in health practices and attitudes in Canggu. The economic benefits of tourism have enabled access to modern health care services and the adoption of healthier lifestyles. This has led to improved health outcomes and greater satisfaction with health conditions.

## 4.1.5. Changes in Satisfaction with Recreation Needs

The satisfaction with recreation activities of the Balinese community living has changed significantly. In the past, recreational activities were limited to low-cost or free events due to economic constraints. These included watching traditional performances (*Drama Tari, Drama Gong, Wayang*), visiting the river or beach, and occasional visits to nearby tourist attractions, such as Sangeh and Alas Kedaton.

In contrast, the tourism industry has brought diversified and expanded recreational activities due to improved economic conditions, increased leisure time, and changes in lifestyles. The community now engages in a broader range of recreational activities, including domestic and international travel. One informant explained, "More people are

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travelling now. The trend is to go abroad, and even the passport officers have started coming to Canggu because so many people are applying for passports. They've come twice already due to the high demand". Better financial capabilities have enabled participation in more expensive and varied forms of recreation, such as trips to other regions in Indonesia and abroad for both religious (*Tirta Yatra*) and leisure purposes.

The satisfaction derived from modern recreational activities is multifaceted. Travel serves as entertainment, relaxation, education, spiritual enhancement, and quality time with loved ones. The increased frequency and variety of travel experiences provide new cultural and social insights, mental peace, and stronger social bonds. For example, *Tirta Yatra* is often combined with visits to new tourist destinations, enhancing both spiritual and recreational satisfaction.

The shift from agrarian work to tourism-related employment has resulted in more flexible work schedules, allowing more time for recreational activities. The new economic opportunities provided by tourism have changed the mindset, making recreation an essential part of life for holistic well-being. Activities such as staycations in serene locations like Kintamani have become popular for their mental health benefits, offering relaxation and stress relief.

Interaction with tourists has broadened the community's perspectives on the importance of recreation, making travel a more integral part of their lifestyle. This shift has led to the adoption of new recreational trends, such as frequent travels and the pursuit of novel experiences, which were previously unattainable. The overall impact of tourism development has thus significantly enhanced the community's satisfaction with their recreational needs.

## 4.2. Changes in Satisfaction with Material Needs

## 4.2.1. Changes in Satisfaction with Basic Needs

The transformation of Canggu Village due to tourism has profoundly impacted daily life, including food, clothing, and housing needs. Before the tourism boom, Canggu's economy was primarily agrarian, relying heavily on rice cultivation. The traditional lifestyle was simple, with basic food, modest clothing, and homes made from natural materials, reflecting a close-knit community living harmoniously with nature. However, the emergence of tourism has drastically altered these dynamics, ushering in increased economic prosperity and lifestyle changes.

Historically, the Balinese community living in Canggu depended on their rice harvests for sustenance and income. Meals were simple, often consisting of rice paired with local produce like cassava. Satisfaction came from the availability of food rather than its variety or luxury. Clothing was utilitarian, serving the primary function of

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covering the body rather than fashion or status. Traditional clothing for ceremonies, such as *kamen* (sarongs) and *udeng* (head coverings), was also modest.

Before tourism development, houses were constructed from local materials like wood, bamboo, and thatch, designed according to traditional Balinese architectural principles, emphasising harmony with nature and social cohesion. These homes served multiple functions, including storage of rice, shelter, and places of worship, adhering to the *Tri Mandala* concept, dividing the space into sacred, middle, and lower zones. House construction was a community affair, with collective efforts embodying the values of cooperation and mutual assistance. Practices like *arisan*, a rotating savings system, facilitated the construction of significant house elements, underscoring the community's strong social bonds.

The influx of tourism has catalysed substantial changes. Economic growth from tourism has diversified the local diet significantly. Reliance on homegrown rice has diminished, replaced by various options available due to increased income and the proliferation of eateries, cafes, and restaurants, as can be seen from this transcript: "People can afford to eat at various places, try the trendy restaurants and cafes in Bali, and hang out more often with friends, going out to eat together. It really increases our satisfaction". The influence of tourists has introduced new culinary tastes, shifting preferences from traditional to more varied and sometimes international cuisines. Eating out and using food delivery apps have become common, reflecting both increased financial capability and the embrace of convenience and modern lifestyle practices, thus increasing satisfaction.

Similarly, the transformation is evident in clothing. Enhanced economic conditions have enabled the community to acquire more and varied clothing, with a shift towards fashionable and branded items reflecting social status and personal style. The utilitarian approach to clothing has evolved into a more consumerist outlook, influenced by global fashion trends brought in by tourists. This shift is particularly noticeable among the younger generation, who seek to emulate the styles and habits of visitors, resulting in a significant increase in satisfaction.

Housing has undergone perhaps the most visible transformation. Traditional homes, with their natural materials and communal construction practices, have given way to modern buildings made from concrete and equipped with contemporary amenities. The push for modernisation is driven by a desire to keep up with neighbours and cater to tourists' expectations, many of whom stay in homestays and guesthouses integrated within local residences. Homes are now built or renovated to include modern conveniences such as air conditioning and stylish interiors, which not only enhance comfort but also elevate social standing, thus improving satisfaction.

## 4.2.2. Changes in Satisfaction with Financial Needs

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Before tourism development, the financial conditions of the Balinese community living in Canggu were challenging, relying mostly on agriculture, primarily rice farming. Harvests were semi-annual, leading to irregular income streams. The introduction of International Rice (IR) allowed for three annual harvests, slightly improving the situation. However, income remained insufficient to meet all needs, leading to debt and financial instability. Farmers often sold stored rice before the next harvest to cover essential expenses, perpetuating dissatisfaction with their financial situation.

The small size of rice fields and lack of alternative income sources exacerbated economic instability. To fulfil various living expenses, community members frequently borrowed money from *Tengkulak* (wealthier individuals), sometimes leading to unmanageable debt and the sale of farmland to repay these debts. Such economic pressures left many community members dissatisfied with their ability to finance their living expenses.

The development of tourism significantly transformed Canggu's economic landscape. Tourism created numerous job opportunities and opened avenues for various business ventures, such as travel services, surfing instruction, and hospitality businesses, including accommodations and vehicle rentals. This diversification of income sources led to substantial improvements in financial conditions. Unlike in the past, now people can easily fulfil their needs and wants, such as buying vehicles or the latest gadgets. One informant explained that "tourism has truly improved the lives of the local community. With the boost in the economy, people can easily buy things they need and want. For example, buying a motorcycle is now as simple as just purchasing it". Although increased and more stable income from tourism-related activities has resulted in higher levels of financial satisfaction among community members, it is important to acknowledge challenges such as rising costs of living and increasing inequality. Some community members, especially those who have not fully transitioned to tourism-based livelihoods, may face financial pressures due to higher prices (e.g., basic goods and services).

With tourism growth, dependency on cash for everyday needs became more pronounced. Unlike in the past, where many needs were met through self-sustenance, modern-day necessities required monetary transactions. The ability to earn more money through tourism activities allowed the community to better meet their diverse and expanding needs, ranging from daily necessities to ceremonial expenses. While these changes have led to greater satisfaction among the community, this transition has also created vulnerabilities, particularly for community members struggling to adapt to these new economic realities.

## 4.3. Discussion

The development of tourism has had a profound impact on the Balinese community's life satisfaction in Canggu Village, touching various aspects such as spiritual, social,

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educational, health, recreational, and material needs. This transformation is largely attributed to the economic upliftment brought about by the influx of tourism, which has significantly improved the local economy, creating jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities, thereby increasing household incomes. This finding is consistent with other studies, which suggest that the economic impact of tourism is positively correlated with life satisfaction (Tokarchuk et al., 2016; Woo et al., 2015).

The improvement in economic conditions has notably influenced the community's satisfaction with their spiritual needs. Previously, religious ceremonies were simple and limited by financial constraints. However, with the economic boom from tourism, the community can now conduct more elaborate and frequent religious ceremonies. This shift also reflects a broader cultural trend in which religious activities are now not only spiritual practices but also displays of social prestige and economic success (Pitana, 2020). However, the increased emphasis on elaborate ceremonies may risk commodifying spiritual practices, potentially shifting their focus from spiritual fulfilment to displays of wealth and status. Such shifts could lead to social stratification, with individuals or families with fewer resources feeling pressured to compete or excluded from these ceremonies (Cole, 2007). The potential for spiritual commodification warrants further examination, as it could reshape traditional values and practices.

Social life in Canggu has also been significantly enriched by tourism. The variety and frequency of social activities have increased, fostering stronger social bonds and a greater sense of community belonging. The revitalisation of cultural traditions and the efficient adaptation of communal work have strengthened these social ties. Modernisation has introduced new social opportunities and activities, particularly benefiting housewives and youth. Flexible working hours in the tourism sector have further facilitated participation in these social activities, enhancing social satisfaction. These findings align with the experiences of the local community in Valencia, where the positive social impacts of tourism have contributed to an increase in their life satisfaction (del Río-Vázquez et al., 2019). Nevertheless, the rapid modernization of social life may lead to cultural erosion or the decline of traditional practices, especially as younger generations adopt more globalized lifestyles.

Education in Canggu has also undergone a remarkable transformation as well. The economic benefits of tourism have reduced the financial barriers that previously hindered access to education. Families can now afford better educational resources, making it easier for students to attend and excel in school. The emphasis on tourism-related education reflects a pragmatic approach to aligning educational priorities with job market demands, ensuring that graduates have relevant skills for the local job market. This alignment has not only improved job prospects for students but has also contributed to the overall life satisfaction of the community, as higher education levels correlate with better job opportunities and personal development (Cheung & Chan, 2009). However, an

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overemphasis on tourism-related education could limit opportunities in other fields, potentially limiting the diversity of career paths for future generations.

Health care satisfaction in Canggu has improved significantly with the development of tourism. Increased economic capacity has enabled the community to access and afford modern health care services, resulting in better health outcomes. The influence of tourists has popularised healthier lifestyle choices, such as nutritious diets and regular physical exercise, which have been adopted by the locals. The presence of modern health care facilities, made accessible by the economic benefits of tourism, has ensured better quality care, contributing to higher satisfaction with health conditions. This improvement in health care practices and access is crucial, as good health is an important component of overall life satisfaction. Previous studies have also found that tourism can improve health care infrastructure and promote healthier lifestyles in local communities (Başol & Alvarez, 2023; Godovykh & Ridderstaat, 2020). However, the increased demand for resources, such as clean water and energy, driven by tourism and improved living standards, could strain local infrastructure and create challenges for environmental sustainability (Gössling, 2002).

The impact of tourism on the recreational needs in Canggu has been profound. Improved economic conditions have allowed for more leisure time and exposure to new recreational opportunities. The community has moved from simple, low-cost entertainment to diverse, culturally enriching travel experiences. This shift has not only met their recreational needs; it has enhanced them and improved their overall quality of life. This finding is consistent with the work of Kim et al. (2013), who found that tourism development often leads to greater recreational opportunities and higher leisure satisfaction. Nonetheless, the influx of tourists and the commercialisation of recreational spaces can limit access for locals, potentially leading to a sense of displacement or reduced community ownership of public spaces.

Material satisfaction in Canggu has also improved significantly. The transition from an agricultural to a tourism-based economy has resulted in better and more stable financial conditions. The community now enjoys a higher standard of living, with greater variety and quality of food and clothing and more comfortable and aesthetically pleasing homes. The ability to afford modern amenities and utilities, along with the blend of traditional and modern elements in housing design, reflects the community's economic progress and cultural adaptation. These observations are consistent with those of Woo et al. (2015), who found that economic development through tourism often improves material well-being and quality of life. However, the environmental consequences of increased consumption, such as waste generation and overuse of resources, must be considered to ensure long-term sustainability.

The financial satisfaction of the Canggu community can be attributed to the substantial economic contributions of tourism. The increased economic activity has

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created more jobs, expanded business opportunities, and attracted investment, resulting in higher incomes and better financial stability. This financial improvement has enabled the community to meet new material needs driven by modern lifestyles, such as owning modern homes, vehicles, fashionable clothing, and the latest gadgets. These findings are supported by the research of Tokarchuk et al. (2016) and Kim et al. (2013), which highlight the positive relationship between tourism-driven economic growth and financial satisfaction. At the same time, rising income inequality and reliance on tourism-related income could make the communities vulnerable to economic shocks, such as those caused by global crises downturns or natural disasters (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012).

The advent of tourism in Canggu has triggered a significant shift from a traditional, simple agrarian lifestyle to one characterized by increased economic prosperity, diversified consumption patterns, and modernised living conditions. These changes have led to greater satisfaction among the Balinese community, who now enjoy a higher standard of living and improved quality of life. However, this transformation has also introduced challenges, including cultural commodification, environmental degradation, and social stratification. Addressing these issues requires proactive policies and community-driven strategies to balance economic growth with cultural and environmental preservation. The community's ability to balance cultural preservation with modern living standards underscores their resilience and forward thinking and contributes to their overall satisfaction and well-being.

### 5. Conclusion

This study investigates how tourism development has changed the life satisfaction of the Balinese community in Canggu traditional village by comparing satisfaction with nonmaterial (spiritual, social, educational, health, and recreational) and material (basic and financial) needs before and after tourism. Before tourism, satisfaction was primarily derived from simple living, a deep sense of gratitude, strong social bonds, and adherence to traditional values, despite financial challenges. The community valued spiritual fulfilment, education, health, and basic needs, although these were often modestly met. After tourism development, economic improvements have enabled the community to enhance religious rituals, gain better access to education and health care, improve living standards, and engage in more leisure activities. Cultural activities have flourished, strengthening social ties and enriching the community's social fabric. The change in values has also made traditional practices more efficient and adapted to modern needs. Overall, tourism has brought positive changes to life satisfaction by providing new opportunities while preserving core values. However, the rapid growth of tourism also brings challenges, including the risks of overtourism, environmental degradation, cultural commodification, and rising income inequality. These challenges could threaten the longterm sustainability of tourism's benefits. To address these risks, a collaborative strategy

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between the government and the community is essential. This partnership should prioritise community-led decision-making, eco-friendly practices, and cultural tourism programs that emphasise authenticity rather than commodification. In addition, policies should mitigate income inequality by promoting inclusive economic opportunities and supporting vulnerable groups within the community. By aligning tourism growth with local aspirations and ensuring environmental and cultural sustainability, future tourism development can continue to benefit the community without compromising its unique identity or natural resources.

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