

Balancing Tourism Pressures in Bali

Integrating Doxey's Overtourism Cycle with Tri Hita Karana Values

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Abstract: This study aims to develop a comprehensive overtourism measurement matrix for Bali by integrating Doxey's Irritation Index (Irridex) with the local Tri Hita Karana philosophy, thereby providing an analytical and practical tool for sustainable tourism governance. The research responds to intensifying overtourism pressures in Canggu, Ubud, Sanur, Tanah Lot, and Lovina, which increasingly threaten ecological balance, socio-economic stability, and spiritual-cultural integrity. Employing a sequential explanatory mixed-methods approach, the study combined quantitative surveys with qualitative interviews involving 30 informants representing academia, community, industry, and government stakeholders. The proposed matrix assesses overtourism impacts across the three Tri Hita Karana dimensions Palemahan (ecological), Pawongan (social-economic), and Parahyangan (spiritual-cultural) while mapping residents' perceptions along Doxey's attitudinal stages: euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism. Findings reveal severe pressure and growing social fragmentation in southern tourism zones, with evidence of antagonistic attitudes and erosion of community harmony, while Lovina and Tanah Lot display emerging risks. North and East Bali currently remain stable yet are vulnerable to future overtourism spillover. The originality of this research lies in bridging an established global framework (Irridex) with a locally rooted philosophy (Tri Hita Karana), enabling a multidimensional and culturally grounded assessment of tourism pressures. This study contributes practical insights for policymakers and industry leaders by recommending moratoriums on hotel development in saturated zones, tourist redistribution strategies, stronger multi-stakeholder coordination, and governance mechanisms aligned with Tri Hita Karana. Collectively, these measures enhance the resilience of Bali's socio-ecological systems against overtourism.

INTRODUCTION

The background of this study has been inspired by the increasingly massive overtourism phenomenon in several main destinations in Bali which include Canggu, Ubud, Sanur, Tanah Lot, and Lovina. The positive contributions from increasing tourists towards regional economic growth and community livelihoods simultaneously take place with the triggering of so many environmental, social, and spiritual impacts that also happen to be increasingly concerned. Pollution, tourist accommodation on agricultural land, severe traffic congestion, flooding as well as a decline of water and soil quality are increasing inside the densely populated tourist zones [1]. Socially it increases local community gentrification; house and land prices; in-migration; community fragmentation; identity as well as an economic interest in conflicts [2]; [3]. Religious rites get interrupted by tourist activities, temple sanctity gets eroded through commercialization and unethical behaviour of tourists, plus sacred zones are continuously violated. This has been going on at different scales ever since the tourism industry started growing more and more across all parts of the world.[4].

Previous reviews have noted threats from overtourism to environmental sustainability; however, most analyses were based on the physical, economic, or visitor numbers. Very few studies have analysed impacts on local value systems and spirituality-cultural dimensions of Balinese society. Hence, tourism management policies are always looking at the problem partially and in a fragmented manner because they do not overtake the complexity of social realities and living cultural values in society. Another gap uncovered is that overtourism solutions are short-term oriented and have not yet involved various stakeholders, particularly local communities, in decision-making and destination governance oversight [5]; [6];

The research gap emerges most in the synthesis of global and local theories concerning the governance of sustainable tourism. Doxey's Irridex has long mapped the attitude stages relating to tourism for communities internationally [7], but has not been applied sufficiently within Bali's particular cultural, social, and spiritual context. Meanwhile, Tri Hita Karana as both a philosophy and value matrix firmly embedded in Balinese society has not yet been presented fully positioned as a measurement instrument and grassroots policy filter either at the destination or regional government level [2]; [3]. The Integration of these two approaches (Doxey's Theory and Tri Hita Karana) is believed to provide a more elaborated overtourism dynamic picture with an applicable responsive and adaptive policy framework that could strengthen harmony between people-nature-spirituality [8].

There are no integrated measurement tools that can accurately diagnose problem areas, prioritize interventions, and measure changes in social attitudes and values in Bali as tourism grows. Survey and interview field data are currently being conducted separately and have not been fused into an analysis platform and strategies based on a combination of local wisdom and scientific rigor [9]; [10].

From such gaps, therefore, a matrix model is elicited that unifies quantitative and qualitative data, field validation from the communities, industry actors, and governments at the same time giving space for decision making in collaboration with the communities. Therefore, this study emanates under the title "Measurement Matrix of Overtourism Based on Doxey's Theory and Tri Hita Karana in Sustainable Tourism Governance in Bali". Develop an overtourism measurement matrix model in the dimensions of ecology (Palemahan), social-economy (Pawongan), and spiritual-culture (Parahyangan) from Tri Hita Karana and dynamics of community attitudes wed with Doxey's theory. Identify levels of pressure, risks, and intervention priorities for each Bali destination zone using both quantitative and qualitative data from communities, government, industry actors, and traditional leaders. Write tactical advice, in the near term and over the long haul, that is adjustable, new, and working together for the steady, amicable, and socially established administration of Bali's travel industry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Destination Life Cycle According to Doxey's Theory

Doxey's Theory or the Doxey Irritation Index (Irridex) describes the way attitudes of host community residents toward tourism and tourists change with the successive stages of development of a tourist destination [7]; [11]. The theory postulates four successive stages: euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism. In the initial stage euphoria locals warmly welcome tourists considering tourism both as an economic opportunity and means for cultural exchange. Gradually sentiments shift into an indifferent stage as more visitors are allowed until finally annoyance sets in due to negative impacts caused by tourism which eventually leads to antagonism characterized by conflict and outright rejection toward tourists [11]; [7]; [9].

Doxey's theory has very critical implications in the analysis of the destination life cycle because it is the local social factors that determine whether tourism will be sustained or not. In the case of unregulated development of tourism, factors such as congestion, environmental degradation, and an increase in the cost of locals' standard of living can quality of life; therefore, this theory advocates that policymakers should adjust rapidly, inclusively by limiting numbers to promote sustainable tourism and investments directed toward local needs. An accurate reading of Doxey's stages will go a long way toward minimizing potential conflicts between locals and tourists. [4]; [9].

The Irritation Index is always compared with Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC). If the original model was more focused on the physical and economic development of destinations, it is still possible to trace the phases of community attitudes from Doxey's theory across different stages of TALC [12]. For example, community antagonism usually starts developing when a tourism destination has reached either the stagnation stage or is declining. Therefore, application of these two models jointly provides an opportunity for a more detailed

understanding of destination evolution in terms of its social and economic aspects. This makes Doxey's theory very instrumental in guiding the tourism sustainability-local community well-being balance [6]; [5]; [9].

Destination Life Cycle Based on Tri Hita Karana

Tri Hita Karana is one of Bali's local wisdoms, by applying the balance and harmony in three aspects of life: Human to God, Parhyangan; human to human Pawongan; and human to nature Palemahan [13]. As far as tourism is concerned, this concept forms the basis for sustainable destination management since it incorporates spiritual, social, and ecological values into one development model. The fact that tourism destinations can be successful in Bali is highly dependent on the implementation of this particular philosophy, not allowing tourism to take place strictly based on an economic perspective but rather concerning cultural activities, environmental protection, and social life [14]; [3].

Tri Hita Karana is actualized at every level of the Destination Life Cycle. In the early stages, it begins with exploration and involvement, Parhyangan is said to be most useful in the protection of spiritual values and cultural attraction. In the development and consolidation stages, Pawongan has an important role in sustainability since community participation which reduces conflict and shares benefits equally requires active participation ensured [15]. In later development stages, the environmental pressure that large-scale tourism development can implement will work against conservation on which the attractiveness of a destination relies if not properly balanced by conservation. If all Tri Hita Karana dimensions are not properly respected then the destination gets into a stagnation or decline [16]; [17]; [18].

The implication of implementing Tri Hita Karana throughout the destination life cycle is the realization of more adaptive, inclusive, and sustainable management strategies. Each stage of the life cycle can be evaluated through the extent to which Tri Hita Karana is practiced: from preserving cultural and environmental authenticity at the outset, to empowering local participation during development, and revitalizing spiritual, social, and ecological values during periods of stagnation or decline [17]. Hence, Tri Hita Karana is not only the Balinese way of life but also an ethical compass guiding tourism development, ensuring harmony among tourism actors, culture, community, and the environment throughout the destination's life cycle [2]; [3]; [8].

Integration of Doxey's Theory and Tri Hita Karana

Doxey's Irritation Index (Irridex) with Tri Hita Karana integrates well to achieve a fuller perspective on the Destination Life Cycle [19]; [20]. The Doxey model identifies attitudinal phases in host communities as they perceive increasing tourism development: initial euphoria, then moving into apathy, annoyance, and finally antagonism. These phases indicate the level of social tension that begins to accumulate when impacts of tourism are not controlled [21]. While this happens, Tri Hita Karana is Balinese local wisdom emphasizing the relation harmony should be maintained among humans to God (parhyangan),

between human beings themselves (pawongan), and finally between human beings and nature (palemahan). It introduces tourism development toward sustainability by establishing an ethical orientation addressing cultural, social, and environmental balances. [2]; [3]; [8].

When these two approaches are integrated within the framework of the Destination Life Cycle [5], at the euphoria stage of Doxey corresponding to the exploration-involvement stages, the parhyangan principle can uphold spiritual authenticity and local cultural values so that tourism produces not only economic output but also provides a sense of identity and pride [22]. In the development and consolidation stages when community attitudes shift already to apathy, pawongan will be most useful in ensuring equity participation in planning as well as sharing in the economic benefits thus minimizing conflict [9]. When stagnation expresses itself in irritation due to infrastructure, environmental or social pressure, palemahan implementation will ensure ecological balance through conservation and resource management that will support revitalization. This will support revitalization when antagonism is predicted as Doxey has suggested Tri Hita Karana can function as a pillar for revitalization. A destination may be renewed, to enter a new better sustaining cycle rather than just falling down by strengthening the spiritual (parhyangan), social (pawongan), and ecological (palemahan) values [2]; [3].

Therefore, the merger of Doxey's Irridex with Tri Hita Karana results in a very comprehensive analytical framework. Doxey's Social Attitude Dynamics as Important Social Indicators will be integrated with an Ethical & Philosophical principle from Tri Hita Karana to guide destination management harmoniously and sustainably, allowing Destination Life Cycle analysis to go beyond the socio-economic and physical to include spiritual, ecological, and cultural dimensions [23]. This is what real sustainability in destinations can be about because, according to [4]; [24], the synthesis thereof can only take place when management reflects social dynamics and local values with harmonious relationships between tourism, community, culture, and environment.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilized a sequential explanatory mixed method design, beginning with quantitative data analysis followed by qualitative investigation [25]. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics (such as means, frequencies, and percentages) and regression analysis with SPSS to identify patterns, relationships, and significant factors in Bali's tourism destination during the overtourism era. The use of SPSS enabled structured computation and interpretation of variables, including both descriptive and inferential statistics as appropriate for survey data [26].

For the qualitative stage, data from interviews or open-ended responses were analyzed through thematic coding to extract socio-cultural meanings and contextualize the statistical results. This mixed method approach allowed integration of statistical findings with deeper, contextual insights, offering a

comprehensive depiction of tourism challenges and socio-cultural dynamics in Bali.[25]; [27]. The study is carried out in major destinations that have undergone acute tourism pressure Canggu, Sanur, Ubud, Tanah Lot, Lovina, and some other sites where a high density of tourist visitations has been recorded. Thirty informants are used in the research through purposive sampling by local community members, tourism industry operators, domestic and foreign tourists. This number of samples ensures the diversity of perspectives which would also be manageable for an intensive qualitative analysis.

The data collection is done through quantitative questionnaires, field observation, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussion. The quantitative instrument used is a Likert-scale questionnaire designed to elicit informant perceptions on the benefits and impacts of tourism encompassing economic, social, cultural, and environmental changes. Qualitative data is obtained through in-depth interviews and FGDs that focus on extracting more detailed information on subjective experiences by other informants which also help reveal the attitudes of local communities toward tourists as expressed in Doxey's Irridex. [7]; [11], and how it puts together spiritual, social, and ecological factors in their Tri Hita Karana relationship [3]; [2]. The participant observation method will also be used to note down direct events in the field situation, for example, crowd density at Tanah Lot during the sunset or impacts of lifestyle-based tourism development in Canggu.

Descriptive statistics map out perceptions mixing between destinations regarding overtourism indicators on issues such as rising cost of living, traffic congestion, and degradation of the environment. Qualitative data is then analyzed with thematic analysis underpinned by Doxey's Theory and Tri Hita Karana. Doxey's Theory will assist in interpreting changing attitudes in the local community through a cycle of euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism [7]; [11]. Tri Hita Karana prescribes harmony in parhyangan, pawongan, and palemahan-in all phases or steps of destination development-based on a value system that underscores criticality to harmony [3]; [2].

It is not just able to explain the social dynamics that tourism precipitates but also evaluates the extent to which Bali's tourism stays true to local wisdom in safeguarding destination sustainability. Methodological triangulation, i.e., observation, questionnaire, and interview; and data source triangulation from community members, industry practitioners, and academics ensure that the research is valid. Informed consent is provided to each informant and confidentiality of identity is maintained in dealing with social research ethics.

RESULTS

Profile of Research Informants

This informant composition is adequate to be analyzed using Doxey's Irridex framed by mixed methods together with Tri Hita Karana. Of the 30 informants, most of them came from the academic community representing 16 people or 53.33%, contributing big input on academic and analytical validity dimensions for

tourism issues in Bali. This academic dominance is highly significant since only academicians can relate theory to practice on the ground, particularly about understanding the steps of community attitude disposition as developed by Doxey [7]; [11], and Tri Hita Karana's application relevance to maintain harmony between tourism, culture, and environment [3]; [2].

Table 1. Profile of Research Informants

Role	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Academic	16	53.33%	53.33%
Community Leader	8	26.67%	80.00%
Entrepreneur	2	6.67%	86.67%
Government	2	6.67%	93.33%
Tourism Worker	2	6.67%	100.0%

Source: Primary Data, 2025

Moreover (Table 1), there are 8 community leaders (26.67%) meaning that cumulatively, social data collected clocks at 80% of the total informants. The role of community leaders in this study is very important since they bring out the voice of local communities who are the main participants when discussing changing patterns of social attitudes as articulated by Doxey—from euphoria to apathy or even annoyance resulting from tourism pressure. Their presence here assures the study of getting real perspectives from local actors interacting directly with tourists in their day-to-day lives. Another two come from entrepreneurs and government representatives.

There are also 2 more in the Tourism Worker category (6.67%). These categories combine for an added 20% perspective to the data which is very useful from a managerial understanding of policy-making processes economically impacting tourism dynamics. The government shares in evaluating the responsiveness of regulations towards addressing social dynamics per destination; meanwhile, entrepreneurs share industries' perspectives at the frontline interactions between tourists with community members. Such perspectives consolidate further mapping out the pawongan (people to people) factor within Tri Hita Karana and simultaneously test how tourism's benefits and burdens are distributed among stakeholders. Reviewing the running totals shows that having just scholars and community heads makes up 80% of the information, showing that the study focus is well-grounded in sources important to social and cultural place checks. The business people and government workers also give more truth from economic and rule views, helping a full mapping inside the place life cycle setup [5].

This fits with the idea of source mixing [27], where different types of informants help make data strength by checking between groups. This area of informant composition is fairly set for analysis by Doxey's Theory in tracing dynamic community attitudes toward tourism and Tri Hita Karana in realizing the degree to which harmony between tourism, community, culture, and the environment can be preserved in Bali. A dataset led by academics and community leaders, trailed by entrepreneurs, government, and tourism workers is seen as

adequate in overtourism phenomenon representation and its impacts on the sustainability of Bali's tourist destinations.

Overtourism Bali Level

An assessment of environmental effects (see Table 2) with the application of Doxey's Irritation Index demonstrates that the local community has upgraded its feelings from mere annoyance/irritation to explicit antagonism toward tourism. Water shortages and declining groundwater quality, coupled with untreated waste, express growing unease.

Table 2. Environmental Dimension

Indicator	Mean	Remark
1) Respondents reported that shortages of clean water were frequently experienced in their environment.	3.07	Annoyance/Irritation
2) It was noted by several residents that liquid waste from hotels or restaurants was sometimes observed entering local rivers or wells.	3.33	Annoyance/Irritation
3) Residents perceived a decrease in groundwater quality over the past five years.	3.07	Annoyance/Irritation
4) Awareness regarding the existence of wastewater treatment facilities at local tourism sites appeared to be limited.	2.63	Annoyance/Irritation
5) The decline in agricultural yields near tourist areas was attributed by some to reduced soil quality.	3.83	Antagonism
6) It was broadly agreed among respondents that tourism activities contributed to water and soil pollution.	3.20	Annoyance/Irritation
7) Coral damage in marine tourism areas was observed by community members.	3.63	Annoyance/Irritation
8) Frequent sightings of plastic waste on beaches or in the sea near tourist destinations were reported.	4.53	Antagonism
9) The population of fish and marine biota near coral reefs was believed to have declined in recent years.	3.77	Antagonism
10) It was reported that rice fields were converted into buildings or tourism facilities in local communities.	4.43	Antagonism
11) Rice harvest results near tourism sites were perceived to have decreased in comparison to five years ago.	3.70	Annoyance/Irritation
12) Disruptions to irrigation systems for rice fields due to tourism development were sometimes experienced.	4.07	Antagonism

Indicator	Mean	Remark
13) A reduction in the numbers of birds, insects, or native plants in rice field areas was observed by respondents.	3.87	Antagonism
14) It was frequently agreed that tourist activities caused damage to local natural ecosystems.	3.27	Annoyance/Irritation
15) Disturbances of wildlife (such as monkeys or birds) by tourism activities were occasionally observed.	3.23	Annoyance/Irritation
16) The overall environmental quality (air, water, soil) in tourist areas was perceived to have diminished due to tourism activity.	3.60	Annoyance/Irritation
17) Traffic congestion in tourist areas during the past month was reported to occur often.	4.60	Antagonism
18) Residents described noticeable declines in local air quality around their homes.	4.10	Antagonism
19) The number of motor vehicles in tourist areas was widely seen as having increased significantly in recent years.	4.67	Antagonism
20) Respiratory problems suspected to be caused by air pollution were less frequently reported within families.	2.87	Annoyance/Irritation
21) There was agreement that tourism activities were linked to increasing air pollution in their area.	3.60	Annoyance/Irritation
22) Efforts aimed at reducing emission from tourism were known by some respondents.	3.60	Annoyance/Irritation
23) The management of air quality in the context of sustainable tourism development was considered highly important.	4.83	Antagonism

Source: Primary Data, 2025

More specific issues that are of greater concern to the antagonism tourism threatens the local community's livelihood and biodiversity through plastic pollution as well as traffic congestion and severe air quality deterioration express that tourism is perceived by the antagonistic actors as a threat to their local livelihoods and ecosystems. This means that tourism is viewed as a destroyer rather than a preserver or conservator of resources.

Table 3. Socio-Cultural Dimension

Indicator	Mean	Remark
1) Residents perceived a substantial increase in housing prices in their environment over the past three years.	4.57	Antagonism
2) Households reported difficulties in purchasing or renting homes due to rising property values.	4.03	Antagonism

Indicator	Mean	Remark
3) It was broadly believed that the quantity of affordable housing for local residents in the area remained insufficient.	4.37	Antagonism
4) Some respondents reported considering relocation due to increasingly unaffordable housing prices.	2.70	Annoyance/Irritation
5) Investments in property for tourism purposes were widely considered responsible for driving up local housing costs.	4.37	Antagonism
6) Residents observed social and economic changes in their environment as a consequence of higher property prices.	4.13	Antagonism
7) Affordable housing in the area was considered to have somewhat adequate access to public facilities like schools and transport.	3.93	Antagonism
8) Long queues or congestion at Ngurah Rai Airport during travel were frequently reported by respondents.	4.23	Antagonism
9) The airport's capacity to serve the increasing number of passengers was perceived as somewhat adequate.	3.67	Annoyance/Irritation
10) Facilities at the airport (waiting rooms, parking, transport) were considered moderately sufficient for the current visitor numbers.	3.17	Annoyance/Irritation
11) The surge in passenger numbers was widely believed to cause significant strain on airport infrastructure.	4.00	Antagonism
12) Respondents were moderately aware of efforts to develop or improve facilities at Ngurah Rai Airport to address increased demand.	3.87	Antagonism
13) Overall comfort and safety during airport use in recent years received moderate ratings from travellers.	3.37	Annoyance/Irritation
14) Other public infrastructure in Bali (roads, public transportation) was generally perceived to be experiencing increasing strain from visitor arrivals.	4.27	Antagonism
15) Wages received by tourism workers were considered insufficient when compared to daily living costs.	3.40	Annoyance/Irritation
16) Overtime work without additional compensation was reported to be a common experience among tourism sector employees.	3.40	Annoyance/Irritation
17) Adequate occupational safety and health protection at workplaces was perceived as lacking by some workers.	2.53	Annoyance/Irritation

Indicator	Mean	Remark
18) Income stability over the past year was viewed as less certain by workers due to the nature of tourism employment.	2.97	Annoyance/Irritation
19) There was a strong awareness of workers' rights that should be guaranteed under current regulations.	3.97	Antagonism
20) The distribution of profits generated by the tourism industry was regarded as not sufficiently fair to employees.	3.23	Annoyance/Irritation
21) Working conditions were frequently believed to impact the well-being and quality of life of workers and their families.	4.10	Antagonism
22) Levels of satisfaction with working conditions and treatment at places of employment were rated as moderate.	3.67	Annoyance/Irritation
23) Experiences of discrimination or unfair treatment in the workplace were infrequently reported.	2.20	Apathy
24) Respondents agreed that local tourism workers still face unequal wages and working conditions compared to employees in other sectors.	3.40	Annoyance/Irritation

Source: Primary Data, 2025

The socio-cultural assessment (Table 3) by the application of Doxey's Irritation Index reveals that resident attitudes have graduated from mere irritation to very strong antagonism. High housing price increases and general unavailability accompanied by pressure on public infrastructure, i.e., roads and Ngurah Rai Airport, will express how much annoyance has built up when tourism interferes with daily life. Labor also expressed dissatisfaction due to low wages, wage instability, absence of fair profit distribution, and inadequate labour protection which proves the exploitation they perceive. This proves that the tourism industry has increasingly been seen as a bearer of social and economic injustice with antagonism being the dominant feeling among locals once its impacts erode community well-being and equity.

Table 4. Economic Dimension

Indicator	Mean	Remark
1) The number of international tourists visiting Bali since early 2024 was perceived by respondents to have significantly increased.	4.23	Antagonism
2) Respondents believed that the increased number of tourists exerted considerable pressure on local resources such as water and energy.	4.27	Antagonism

Indicator	Mean	Remark
3) It was observed that the average length of stay by tourists in Bali was considered to affect economic activities in the respondent's area.	4.10	Antagonism
4) The economic benefits of tourism recovery were rated as substantially contributing to the well-being of the local community.	4.23	Antagonism
5) Maintaining a balance between tourism growth and environmental preservation in Bali was seen as highly important.	4.73	Antagonism
6) The distribution of tourist visits to various regions in Bali was believed to remain concentrated in a few key areas.	4.43	Antagonism
7) Service quality and tourism facilities since post-pandemic recovery were rated as moderately satisfactory.	3.50	Annoyance/Irritation
8) The recovery of tourism was generally viewed as having a positive impact on employment and income for the local community.	4.23	Antagonism
9) Awareness of the hotel development moratorium policy in Bali among respondents was relatively high.	3.77	Antagonism
10) The effectiveness of the moratorium in controlling overdevelopment was perceived as moderate by stakeholders.	3.60	Annoyance/Irritation
11) Current tourism management was viewed as not sufficiently attentive to environmental and cultural sustainability aspects.	2.83	Annoyance/Irritation
12) Agreement was broad that concentrated tourist flows created excessive pressure on local environments and infrastructure.	4.27	Antagonism
13) Management of waste and pollution mitigation efforts in known tourist areas were rated positively by respondents.	4.30	Antagonism
14) Community involvement in tourism management decision-making was perceived as moderate.	3.30	Annoyance/Irritation
15) The benefits of tourism were observed as not yet balanced with preservation of local culture and environment.	2.80	Annoyance/Irritation
16) Efforts to diversify tourist destinations to reduce pressure on main tourism areas were considered substantial.	4.40	Antagonism

Indicator	Mean	Remark
17) The need for greater attention to sustainable tourism management challenges by government and industry actors was strongly emphasized.	4.63	Antagonism
18) Programs or initiatives aimed at developing sustainable tourism in Bali were relatively well known among respondents.	3.83	Antagonism

Source: Primary Data, 2025

The economic dimension (Table 4) evaluated through the use of Doxey's Irritation Index reveals that predominantly antagonism a stage which means that residents progressively perceive imbalances being created by tourism. While it has been noted that a recovery would bring back the incomes and benefits on jobs, it is more appreciated in the perspective of resource pressure from all dimensions, concentrated flow on certain areas, and inadequate measures on sustainability that are currently in place. Community frustration is further buoyed by increasing number of tourists, unequal economic distribution, and weak cultural-environmental considerations. There exists sustainability initiatives and moratorium awareness but perceived as partially effective. Predominantly antagonism reflects that though acknowledged, economic benefits are less than the inequalities left unsolved and the strain tourism imposes on local systems.

Table 5. Governance and Management Dimension

Indicator	Mean	Remark
1) Respondents generally understood the implementation of the foreign tourist levy (PWA) policy in Bali.	3.80	Antagonism
2) Compliance with the levy policy by local tourism businesses was perceived as moderately consistent.	3.20	Annoyance/Irritation
3) Transparency and accountability in the management of funds collected from tourists were viewed as moderate.	2.93	Annoyance/Irritation
4) Participation of local communities and traditional institutions in policy monitoring and implementation was seen as somewhat active.	3.63	Annoyance/Irritation
5) Existing policies for environmental and cultural protection were perceived as moderately effective by the respondents.	3.23	Annoyance/Irritation
6) The presence of mechanisms for policy evaluation and adjustment was considered moderately known among community members.	3.20	Annoyance/Irritation

Indicator	Mean	Remark
7) Collaboration between government, communities, and industry actors in policy execution was regarded as moderately successful.	3.57	Annoyance/Irritation
8) The use of technology (e.g., tourist levy payment applications) was believed to enhance policy effectiveness.	3.97	Antagonism
9) Respondents were moderately convinced that current policies already balance tourism growth and environmental protection.	2.87	Annoyance/Irritation
10) Suggestions to improve the effectiveness of sustainable tourism policies were reported at moderate levels.	3.30	Annoyance/Irritation
11) Involvement in tourism development decision-making by local stakeholders was considered moderately present.	3.73	Annoyance/Irritation
12) Local communities were found to be actively involved in preserving culture and traditions related to tourism.	4.07	Antagonism
13) Participation in tourism management workshops or training among community members was reported as moderate.	3.40	Annoyance/Irritation
14) Collaboration among local communities, government, and tourism businesses was rated as moderately high.	3.73	Annoyance/Irritation
15) Integration of local wisdom and cultural values into tourism development was perceived as high.	3.77	Antagonism
16) Direct economic benefits from tourism were reported as moderately received by local communities.	3.67	Annoyance/Irritation
17) Local communities were actively involved in monitoring and evaluation of tourism impacts in their areas.	4.27	Antagonism
18) The importance of community involvement for successful sustainable tourism development was widely agreed.	3.47	Annoyance/Irritation
19) The extent to which local voices are heard and considered in tourism planning was perceived as high.	4.10	Antagonism
20) The main obstacles to active participation in tourism development were reported as significant.	4.30	Antagonism
21) Public facilities (transportation, clean water, waste management) were viewed as	3.93	Antagonism

Indicator	Mean	Remark
adequately accommodating current tourist volumes.		
22)The impact of tourist visits on the quality of life of the local population was rated as significant.	4.20	Antagonism
23)Knowledge of systems or mechanisms to regulate Bali's tourist numbers was considered moderate.	3.03	Annoyance/Irritation
24)Annual fluctuations in tourist numbers were seen as strongly affecting local environmental and social conditions.	4.13	Antagonism
25)Distribution of tourist visits across Bali was viewed as still concentrated in several areas.	4.40	Antagonism
26)The impact of tourist numbers on preservation of local culture and traditions was rated as significant.	4.20	Antagonism
27)The necessity for regular carrying capacity assessments to safeguard Bali's tourism sustainability was strongly emphasized.	4.53	Antagonism

Source: Primary Data, 2025

The governance and management dimension, as rated in Doxey's Irritation Index, reveals an approach of community attitudes toward antagonism. Some policies may be said to have made some strides; for instance, a foreign tourist levy, technology integration, and community involvement in monitoring, but perceived as moderately effective. Issues include transparency problems, uneven participation, inadequate policy evaluation, and insufficient balancing between growth and sustainability. There are formidable barriers from the residents to institute active participation that is already building pressure against public facilities and cultural preservation plus urgency carrying capacity assessments. Antagonism would generally be governance structure inadequacy toward the social, cultural, and environmental strains of tourism.

Using Doxey's Irritation Index as the analytical framework, data described above in four dimensions underscore that it is quite accurate to say that community attitudes toward tourism in Bali have largely progressed into the stage of antagonism. In an environmental dimension, tourism has been associated with pollution, biodiversity loss, low agricultural yields, and pressure for urbanization-resistance builds up because local livelihoods are directly threatened. The socio-cultural dimension indicated resistance by locals because housing costs, infrastructure pressure, and inequitable labour conditions on locals were rising against the support of tourism development.

The economic dimension acknowledged that recovery in tourism does bring about employment and income: perceptions regarding benefit distribution not being equal among all parties; tourist flows being too concentrated; and unsustainable practices outweigh positive impacts. The governance and

management issues further compound such dissatisfaction since policies can only be rated as barely effective amidst transparency not being enforced and with inadequate community participation. Across these dimensions, proof seems to show that the gains from tourism are increasingly less than its costs creating hostility which comes out as economic, social and environmental stress. To stop further rise, more focus on fair benefit-sharing, open governance and lasting practices that include local knowledge and community input is quickly needed.

Interview Results on the Condition of Overtourism in Bali

The following presents all statements from informants (R1-R30) as delivered in interviews on the condition of overtourism in Bali in 2025:

R1 (Academic): Most tourist spots in Bali face overtourism because from the start of plans, carrying capacity has never been viewed as something important, leading to too much strain on different tourism zones.

R2 (Academic): The moratorium of hotel construction declared by 2024 has not been effective due to weak enforcement in environmental permits (AMDAL). There is less monitoring on waste management near tourist destinations, many hotels are inconsistent in the management of domestic wastes hence tourist experience severe traffic congestion going to the main spots. overtourism in Bali has reached a serious stage.

R3 (Academic): Canggu Village needs special attention from the government, starting from its population, traffic congestion, land ownership, safety and comfort for locals in the middle of many foreigners. Safety and comfort for Bali's people are now very disturbed by migrants who come from eastern Indonesia.

R4 (Community Leader): Overtourism in Bali's tourist destinations have created imbalances in Tri Hita Karana. Tourist pressure exceeding environmental capacity causes ecosystem damage as well as economic and social disparities among the locals, not to mention the diminishing moral and cultural values due to tourists who do not understand or respect Balinese culture.

R5 (Academic): The tourists' actual numbers have not truly surpassed overtourism thresholds, it's actually an oversupply of hotel rooms. In Mertasari, Sanur, new hotels are still being constructed even though the warning about excess capacity has been there for a long time. This is resulting in low occupancy rates with many tourists, and a sharp drop is seen during the peak seasons. Social and cultural dimensions are where Bali's current overtourism is most prevalent, particularly in unethical tourist behaviour. Some places like Pandawa Beach Tanah Lot Kintamani and Kerta Gosa are comfortable in terms of physical capacity.

R6 (Academic): Tourist crowding happens only in the centres of tourism activities because there is uneven infrastructure. Investors like to put their money in places where infrastructure is already set up. When the government does not strongly control things, many accommodations and entertainments operate without licenses; they do not pay local taxes and offer very small economic benefits to locals.

R7 (Academic): Overtourism has strained household functions with many homes for rent, densely packed facilities, and disrupted spiritual atmospheres. The green space converted into tourism buildings reduces open areas. Social relations are less than before because conflicts of economic interests have eroded social values. Spiritually, society is more about look and style of life; thus, the depth of sincerity in religious matters is now less than before.

R8 (Academic): Overtourism in Bali brings multidimensional pressure on Tri Hita Karana. Massive development (Canggu), marine tourism (Lovina), erosion (Tanah Lot), pollution (Ubud), or reclamation (Sanur) disrupt Palemahan. Social disparity, the commercialization of everything, economic dependence on tourism, gentrification, and changes in social structures because of dominant tourists put pressure on Pawongan. Sacred space lost to cultural commercialization, physical development, and unethical behaviour by tourists erodes Parahyangan. R8 must be regenerative, spirituality- and environment-driven management, and local empowerment.

R9 (Academic): It is in Tri Hita Karana that overtourism has its most indelible mark. Most significantly, this is Lovina, Tanah Lot, Ubud, Sanur, and Canggu. Dolphin touring at Lovina destroys the marine ecological environment and at the same time promotes an over-dependent society on tourism with unfair benefit distribution. Problems at Tanah Lot include both coastal erosion and sacrilegious acts; unchecked development in Ubud leads to congestion, pollution, and loss of traditional rice fields. Overdevelopment at Sanur results from coastal reclamation and marginalized community overtourism in Canggu which indicates gentrification due to soaring land prices as well as discovery of nightlife disturbing religious life. Above all overtourism unravels harmony between humans with nature with God that is instituted in Balinese philosophy.

R10 (Academic): Lovina as a sea-and-dolphin travel industry spot is well-dealt with. Tanah Parcel is kept up with basically due to the sanctuary's presence. Ubud critically needs better association to beat clog; Sanur is filling in as a result of shopping centre improvement; Canggu another objective isn't intended for enormous vacationers so there is proceeded with blockage and issues with long haul supportability.

R11 (Academic): Overtourism has a real impact on all three aspects of Tri Hita Karana in several Bali destinations. In terms of Palemahan, increasing tourist numbers result in accumulating garbage, excessive water use, congestion, and conversion of green land. Pawongan comes with economic disparity and rising land prices and cultural commercialization that even more sideline's local identity and roles. Parahyangan is put at risk since most tourists do not have any respect for temple etiquette and sacredness to create an understanding of the spiritual meaning of worship space.

R12 (Community Leader): Increasing tourists in Bali are threatening Palemahan because more land take, more development. Some villagers said they do not feel the direct economic benefit. Parahyangan is under threat. Sacred area due to indifferent behavior by business operators and tourists.

R13 (Academic): Tri Hita Karana gets thrown off by overtourism in Bali. Nature (Palemahan) feels so much stress, people value change happening to the community (Pawongan), and sacredness keeps getting lost more and more of the places to pray (Parahyangan). Local-based tourism planning is what needs to happen way more.

R14 (Tourism Worker): The current condition of Bali is alarming. There is a blatant violation of zoning regulations and also an act of neglectful supervision on the part of the government because they allow construction to take place even on protected green zones. R14 hopes that government and investors will use Tri Hita Karana as the principal guideline in making future investments to avoid overexploitation of the island.

R15 (Academic): Transport management is very important in overcoming traffic jams. Firm regulation of land and housing areas, and also the conversion of land use should be controlled strictly to maintain a balance and harmony of the society.

R16 (Community Leader): Tourism governance puts at the front sustainability principles and local wisdom gives a good result in environmental preservation, community economic wellbeing, and deepening spiritual values. This if well maintained harmonizes human relationship with each other, nature, and God while at the same time nurturing self-reliant, sustainable villages.

R17 (Community Leader): There is huge land conversion and destruction of local ecosystems (air and water pollution) that takes place. From the aspect of the Pawongan, congestion, migration, and security problems are increasing. In Parahyangan, spiritual quality and tranquillity in carrying out religious rituals are reduced.

R18 (Academic): The most critical overtourism impact is on the physical environment (Palemahan), social-cultural resilience (Pawongan), and spiritual sanctity (Parahyangan). Real implementation of Tri Hita Karana is very important for environmental sustainability under local wisdom.

R19 (Academic): Tri Hita Karana harmony is an aspiration, but in the praxis of over-tourism, it seems very much threatened. This means that a policy on sustainable tourism and its education based on local wisdom needs to be injected into the system to harmonize nature, people, and spirituality. For Lovina specifically, mindful management based on Tri Hita Karana should be infused.

R20 (Government): All parties have to sit together for Bali's destination management about environmental care, the well-being of the local community, and traditional spiritual values being looked after.

R21 (Academic): High-density tourist areas must be designed with attractions and accommodations based on culture to benefit locals so that over-concentration does not happen in South Bali. Accommodation permits shall be closed only in the crowded areas; other regions must have room to grow. This includes area mapping, technology facilities provision, and collaboration with agriculture, livestock, or plantation sectors without leaving the local culture behind for equitable tourism benefits.

R22 (Tourism Worker): Overtourism has both sides, positive economic impacts for the local community, but negative environmental harm. All parties need to help in the mitigation of negative impacts, not forgetting human responsibility as God creation to care for one another and the environment.

R23 (Entrepreneur): After the pandemic, overtourism in Bali is seen by an increase of traffic on By Pass Ngurah Rai, Sanur, Kuta, Tanah Lot, and Pecatu that needs to be solved with flyovers or ring roads. Waste management of hotels, restaurants, and households should be integrated between regencies. The integration would be funded by tourist taxes. In general, infrastructure and oversight need to be strengthened to maintain tourism sustainability in reference to Tri Hita Karana.

R24 (Entrepreneur): Even with a lot of tourists hurting the environment, society, and economy in Ubud, the community stays strong in keeping their cultural identity. Tourism rules are written in local awig-awig (customary law), so overtourism's effect is not as bad there.

R25 (Academic): No review available from R25.

R26 (Community Leader): A regular forum of communication among the government, community and tourism actors discussing the impact of tourism, plus its progress to well-being, environmental conservation and culture.

R27 (Government): R27 presents overtourism's impact for each aspect of Tri Hita Karana. For Palemahan: Lovina results marine pollution, Tanah Lot abrasive threatened, Ubud conversion rice field and reduced water quality, Sanur obtained coastal erosion while Canggu flooding due to land use change. For Pawongan: Lovina's society highly dependent on tourism, Tanah Lot changing social interaction, Ubud cultural commercialization Sanur native population marginalized Canggu gentrifying. For Parahyangan: Lovina sacred time neglected Tanah Lot spirituality disrupted Ubud spots ethically misused for photography Sanur customary schedules clash with tourism timelines Canggu rituals disturbed by nightlife.

R28 (Community Leader): Bali has to redesign from the roots its tourism system to prevent overtourism's future negative impacts.

R29 (Community Leader): Lovina, Tanah Lot, and Sanur can still fairly maintain Palemahan, Pawongan, and Parahyangan however, Ubud is now characterized by overdevelopment more hotels and small streets that cause congestion. Canggu is the worst of it all where there are traffic jams everywhere plus criminality going up. The government has to move fast for the safety and comfort of society and also visitors.

R30 (Community Leader): At the moment, in Canggu and Ubud, it is very crowded; after the mall, Sanur can be said to be stable; in Lovina, it is still quiet. R30 emphasized that the equity visitation between West Bali, East Bali, and North Bali must first receive tourism development equity. Do not just prioritize South Bali because the visitor distribution and development are not distributed.

Summary of Informants' Perspective: Results Compilation shows that over tourism is a multidimensional problem that has an enormous effect on the environment, socio-economics, and spiritual/cultural life. Most informants

spotlight problems at the stage of planning and management where carrying capacity and environmental support have been neglected, thus causing excessive strain in all areas where tourists are accommodated. Among the salient issues are inconsistent moratoriums on hotel construction as well as weak enforcement on environmental permits plus acute congestion not to mention inadequate waste management.

Massive construction, land conversion, and pollution have damaged the local ecosystems. Flooding, erosion, and water quality as well as soil quality degradation are the results. Social and economic pressures on the locals from increasing land prices, gentrification, fragmentation of the community, and discomfort due to both the population density and large numbers of tourists all take their toll. There are continuous interruptions to rituals, violations of temple sanctity that occur, and commercialization put on the erosion of local values.

The disparity in visit and development distribution where West, North, and East Bali are left trailing behind the South is also emphasized. It is Canggu and Ubud that suffer from crowding and congestion plus increasing crime rates. Lovina and Tanah Lot have better management because their communities are strong to maintain cultural identity.

Most say Bali's tourism management needs a major change putting sustainability and the Tri Hita Karana way as a base for peace between people, nature, and spirit. There is also a want for regular cross-stakeholder talk forums fair destination growth more watch and joint policies based on local smarts making sure Balinese tourism stays green open and good for all parts of society.

Overtourism Measurement Matrix Based on Doxey's Theory & Tri Hita Karana

The matrix below draws the Ecological (Palemahan), Social (Pawongan), and Spiritual-Cultural (Parahyangan) dimensions of Tri Hita Karana against the stages of local community attitudes as per Doxey's Theory. Scores, along with key issues, have been determined based on survey data and interview findings.

Table 6. Overtourism Measurement Matrix Based on Doxey's Theory & Tri Hita Karana

Tourist Area	Palemahan (Ecology) [Score, Issue]	Pawongan (Socio-Economic) [Score, Issue]	Parahyangan (Spiritual-Cultural) [Score, Issue]	Doxey's Stage	Overtourism Level Description	Solution Priorities
Canggu	4.7: Pollution, congestion, land conversion, flooding	4.5: Gentrification, rising housing prices, migrant influx, identity conflict	4.2: Disrupted temple sanctity, nightlife affecting rituals	Antagonism	Critical: all dimensions pressured, social fragmentation, saturated environment	Tourist redistribution, moratorium on development, cultural education, multi-stakeholder forums
Ubud	4.6: Lost rice fields, congestion, pollution, erosion	4.3: Commercialization, economic disparity, loss of identity	4.1: Temple as photo spot, tradition defilement,	Irritation/Antagonism	High alert: ecosystem & cultural threats	Green space restoration, regulation reinforcement for rituals & customs,

Tourist Area	Palemahan (Ecology) [Score, Issue]	Pawongan (Socio-Economic) [Score, Issue]	Parahyangan (Spiritual-Cultural) [Score, Issue]	Doxey's Stage	Overtourism Level Description	Solution Priorities
Sanur	4.2: Coastal reclamation, erosion, waste accumulation	4.0: Land price spike, population shifts	3.9: Conflicting traditional & tourism schedules	Irritation	High: coastal strain, social conflict	equitable accommodation Coastal zoning, tourist education, tourism funding for tradition preservation
Tanah Lot	4.0: Coastal abrasion, mass tourism	3.8: High interaction, cultural pressure	4.1: Crowding at temple, violation of sacredness	Irritation	At risk: potential shift towards antagonism	Sacred zone enforcement, limiting visitor access during rituals, spiritual education
Lovina	3.8: Marine ecosystem damage, plastic pollution	3.7: Economic dependence on tourism	3.6: Marine activity disrupts local ritual	Annoyance/Irritation	At risk: growing pressures	Community-based ecotourism management, limiting marine tourism activities
North/East Bali	2.8: Environment still stable, rising risks	2.7: Low economic benefits, limited social opportunities	2.6: Traditions relatively preserved	Euphoria/Involvement	Safe-Cautious, development potential	Prioritize controlled development, branding, tourist distribution, local community involvement

Source: Primary Data, 2025. Scoring Note: 5 = Very high pressure/impact; 1 = No pressure/impact. Scores are averaged from quantitative (survey) and qualitative (interview) data.

This matrix, growing out of Tri Hita Karana and the steps in Doxey's Irridex, gives a full picture of the problems and answers for managing places like Bali. The four big parts of the analysis [7]; [11] are:

Palemahan Ecology speaks to the environmental and ecological imbalances in terms of pollution, land conversion, congestion, degradation of water/soil quality, and damaged ecosystems (reefs, rice fields, coasts) Data is from community surveys and field observation validated by key stakeholders' narratives-academics and government.[28]; [13]; [17]; [8].

Pawongan (Socio-Economy): Gentrification, housing and land price increases, migration, social conflict, economic distribution, community fragmentation, local quality of life represents the term "pawongan". All of these come from housing needs surveys as well as in-depth interviews with both villagers and business people. The place is such that it supports the growth of buildings private accommodations support the development of the building [3]; [2].

Parahyangan (Spiritual-Culture) contains the value of spiritual and cultural life of the community in Bali which describes the disturbance of rituals, commercialization of culture, loss of sanctity to the temple, violation toward sacred zone, and desecration of the tradition. Qualitative data is gained through

interviews with traditional leaders and from a survey on their spiritual impacts.[18]; [8].

Doxey's theory therefore enriches analysis by interpreting the dynamics of Balinese social attitudes toward tourists at four stages-euphoria, apathy, irritation or annoyance, and antagonism-which may be read as acceptance, neutrality, disturbance, and finally outright conflict and rejection [7]; [11]; [4]. The prescriptions of this model give the cores of solutions for sustainable destination management in each destination zone by overtourism risk level. This includes hotel development moratoriums in the critical zones (Canggu, Ubud, Sanur) redistribution of tourism to West, North and East Bali with local branding sacred/green spaces restoration plus public mass transport extension to congestion alleviation [7]; [11]; [4].

Collaborative multi-stakeholder forums, active local community participation, and tourist education and socio-cultural ethics on Tri Hita Karana are recommended. In the danger zones like Lovina and Tanah Lot, recommendations focus on marine tourism restrictions, strengthened coastal zone regulation implementation, and community involvement in destination management. Development is recommended to continue in a controlled and sustainable manner with human resource training as well as green and sacred zones protection for North/East Bali which is still safer. Some general recommendations include the regular conducting of carrying capacity assessments of destinations, an even distribution of visits, integrated technology-based (GIS) monitoring, tourism fund allocation for environmental revitalization as well as local community empowerment, and public consultations held regularly to adjust policies according to local aspirations and values [29]; [30].

The IOB-THK shall also mean that the plan does integrate both qualitative and quantitative data successfully, problematic zones and intervention priorities, with Tri Hita Karana as the adaptive basis for ecological, social, and spiritual characteristics specific to that destination. It strengthens sustainable and community-based tourism management in Bali so that it will be a possible main decision-making tool ensuring harmony of people, nature, and spirituality while facing overtourism at Bali's various destinations [2]; [3]; [7]; [11]; [17]; [8]; [28]; [13].

CONCLUSIONS

Brief Conclusion

Based on the Leading Overtourism Measurement Matrix using Doxey's Theory and Tri Hita Karana, it can be inferred that overtourism in Bali has generated pressures in almost all major tourism zones, both ecological (palemahan), socio-economic (pawongan), and spiritual-cultural (parahyangan) dimensions. It is in densely populated areas such as Canggu, Ubud, and Sanur which have entered or are about to enter the antagonism stage in Doxey's cycle hence presenting critical symptoms with high pressure scores in all dimensions from pollution, land

conversion, and congestion to cultural identity degradation and social tension. On the other hand, Lovina and Tanah Lot are found to be in a vulnerability zone due to environmental damage as well as sociocultural stress moving towards antagonism. Northern and Eastern parts of Bali are still safe but already indicated by some initial pressure signs on development and expansion opportunities.

It is through the matrix model that an importance is realized of how scientific and local approaches should be integrated toward identification, mapping, and determination of prioritized solutions in the management of overtourism in Bali. Pressure scores and dominant issues are not the same for every region; therefore, strategies of intervention must be adaptive as well as based on that particular locality with Tri Hita Karana being the foundation governance while Doxey's theory acts as an indicator in social attitude dynamics towards tourism.

Recommendations

In the short term, stop hotel and accommodation construction in critical zones (Canggu, Ubud, Sanur). In parallel, allow for the branding of destinations and integrated access and infrastructure development in West, North, and East Bali where tourists are redistributed. Strengthen multistakeholder forums with proactive local community engagement from the very beginning. Accompany intensive education on tourism ethics, rituals, and local values to visitors and industry actors. Immediate restrictions on tourism activities that threaten ecosystems and culture in vulnerable zones for example in Tanah Lot and Lovina together with strengthened coastal zoning regulations and tradition preservation shall be recommended.

In the long term, tourism management should put equitable development between assessing carrying capacity destination development of public mass transport and enhanced technology-based monitoring as well as regular. The allocation of the tourism fund should be fair in the environmental revitalization indigenous strengthening cultural education and having routine public stakeholder consultations. New tourism zones North/East Bali development and promotion must be strategically pursued not to repeat past mistakes with sustainable community-based planning wherein local stakeholders shall have a say in decision-making.

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