



Tourism Gentrification: The Case of Canggu Village, North Kuta District, Badung Regency, Bali

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ABSTRACT

Canggu Village, once an unassuming and traditional settlement, underwent a significant transformation starting in the 1980s. This change was sparked by a surge in tourism, initially driven by surfers attracted to Canggu's impressive waves and laid-back atmosphere. Over the years, the village's popularity soared, leading to extensive tourism development that fundamentally altered its character and landscape. This phenomenon, known as gentrification, brought about both positive and negative consequences for the local community which is Canggu Village. To explore the impact of tourism and gentrification in Canggu Village, this research employs qualitative data, encompassing both primary and secondary sources. Data collection methods include observation, interviews with residents and business owners, documentation, and literature studies. These approaches provide a comprehensive understanding of the changes and challenges faced by the village. The qualitative data analysis technique is utilized to interpret the gathered information, highlighting the nuanced effects of tourism-driven gentrification. The findings reveal that the rapid development of tourism in Canggu Village has led to significant gentrification. This process has resulted in various issues such as land conversion from agricultural to commercial use, escalating property prices, and profound social and cultural shifts. Additionally, the cost of living has increased, making it difficult for long-time residents to afford their homes and maintain their traditional way of life. While tourism has brought economic opportunities and global attention to Canggu Village, it has also disrupted the village's social fabric and cultural heritage, presenting a complex scenario that requires careful consideration and sustainable planning for the future.

Keywords: *Community gentrification, tourism development*

1. Introduction

According to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 10 of 2009 concerning tourism, tourism refers to various types of tourist activities supported by various facilities and services provided by the community, entrepreneurs, government, and regional governments. Tourism is an industry that plays a significant role in the Indonesian economy, being one of the contributors of foreign exchange. In 2022, tourism contributed 4.2% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with foreign exchange earnings amounting to 4.2 billion US dollars (DPR RI, 2023). The large economic potential in the tourism industry makes it an alternative economic sector believed to help reduce poverty in Indonesia (Yoeti, 2008). This has led local governments across Indonesia, including Bali, to eagerly develop and advance tourism in their respective regions. Bali is a province in Indonesia renowned among both local and international tourists. Bali relies on tourism as the backbone of its economy, offering a wide range of experiences from its beautiful natural landscapes, rich culture, to the hospitality of its people. These factors make Bali a very attractive destination and one of the most popular tourist spots globally.

Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that the number of foreign tourist visits to Bali province reached 5.2 million people, compared to 2.1 million in 2022, indicating an increase of 144.6%. Meanwhile, local tourist visits to Bali in 2023 reached 9.4 million, up from 7.1 million in 2022, an increase of 31.82%. Many of these tourists visit popular areas, one of which is Canggu. Canggu is a village located in North Kuta District, Badung Regency, Bali. Initially, Canggu was just an ordinary village, but in the 1980s, it began attracting tourists for surfing, though tourism facilities were still very limited. Over time, Canggu became more popular among tourists, leading to the development of various tourism facilities like villas, hotels, discos, bars, and nightclubs. This surge in facilities attracted even more tourists (DetikBali, 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, which normalized remote work, further boosted Canggu's popularity, especially among digital nomads, besides its appeal for surfing and nightlife (DetikTravel, 2022). The growing popularity of Canggu attracted numerous investors, driving up living costs in the village, indicating signs of gentrification.

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Gentrification, as defined by Picardo (2024), is a process of urban development where a city area rapidly grows in a short time, transforming from a low-value area to a high-value one, making prices unaffordable for local residents. According to Glass (1964), gentrification involves the influx of upper-middle-class people into working-class neighborhoods, eventually displacing the original residents. This process leads to sharp increases in property prices, food costs, and other living expenses (National Geographic, 2023). Tourism-induced gentrification is not uncommon. It refers to a phenomenon where a previously underdeveloped, low-income, or affordable area undergoes drastic changes due to rising tourism interest (Kusumaningrum, 2023). This transformation impacts the demographics, economy, and cultural characteristics of the affected area (Setiawan, 2023). Canggu is one such area experiencing tourism-induced gentrification. Canggu, once an ordinary village mainly inhabited by farmers and fishermen, has transformed into a tourist destination attracting visitors from around the world. The growth of tourism in Canggu brought numerous investors, increasing land demand sharply. This increased demand for land led to a significant reduction in agricultural land. Due to tourism, the paddy fields in Canggu have decreased from 154 hectares to just 80 hectares (Sudirta, 2020). These lands have been converted into hotels, villas, restaurants, and other facilities to support the tourism industry in Canggu. The shrinking paddy fields in Canggu Village lead to the loss of various positive benefits derived from rice cultivation. This phenomenon provides an understanding of the increasingly threatened natural resources of Bali due to gentrification caused by tourism activities. The consequence of the reduced paddy fields in Canggu is a decline in food self-sufficiency and the marginalization of farmers. This is feared to threaten the sustainability of tourism itself because Canggu Village was initially known among tourists not only for surfing but also for its agricultural sector. In conducting this research, the author reviewed previous studies to help understand this study. The first review is titled "Touristification and the Changing of Spaces for Tourism in Canggu Village" by Adhinata, et al. (2022). This study discusses the transformation of Canggu Village from a fishing and farming village into an urban area with an economy based on tourism. It also explains how the spatial transformation caused by tourism in Canggu Village ultimately leads to changes in the social and economic order of the community in Canggu Village. The relevance of this study to the author's research is the location of the research in Canggu, and the topic aligns with the author's discussion on the impact of tourism in Canggu Village. However, there is a difference; this study focuses on the impact of tourism on spatial changes in Canggu Village, whereas the author's research focuses on how tourism causes gentrification in Canggu Village, encompassing not only spatial changes but also economic, demographic, and cultural character changes. The second literature review is titled "Tourism, gentrification and neighbourhood change: an analytical framework. Reflection from Southern Europe cities" by Cocola-Gant, et al. (2020). This study discusses how tourism development in major cities begins to affect residential areas not planned for tourism, leading to conflicts between local residents and tourists. It also examines how tourism transforms these residential areas into entertainment areas for tourists, ultimately reducing the quality of life for local residents in Southern European cities such as Barcelona, Lisbon, and Seville. The relevance of this study to the author's research lies in the impact of tourism causing gentrification in an area. The difference is that this study's location is in Southern European cities, whereas the author's research is in Canggu Village. The third literature review is titled "Gentrification: Socio-Economic Impact of Hotel Development in Malioboro, Yogyakarta City" by Widiyanto, et al. (2020). This study discusses the emergence of gentrification in Yogyakarta caused by a lack of spatial planning policies, leading to an increase in hotels near tourist attractions like Malioboro. This gentrification ultimately has a negative impact on the surrounding community. The relevance of this study to the author's research is the topic of gentrification, which aligns with the author's research topic, providing assistance in conducting and compiling this study. The difference is that this study focuses only on the impact of hotel development on the community, whereas the author's research focuses on the general impact of tourism that ultimately causes gentrification in Canggu Village.

2. Methodology

The study was conducted in Canggu Village, located in North Kuta District, Badung Regency, Bali. The scope of this study includes the existing conditions encompassing amenities, accessibility, attractions, and ancillary services in Canggu Village. Additionally, the study examines how tourism leads to gentrification in Canggu Village. This study employs qualitative data. According to Sugiyono (2017), qualitative data consists of sentences, words, or images. The data used in this study includes information and descriptions about the general condition and overview of Canggu Village, a brief history of Canggu Village, information related to tourism conditions in Canggu Village, and other data regarding the impact of tourism on Canggu Village. Both primary and secondary data are utilized. Primary data, as defined by Hasan (2018), is data collected directly by the researcher from the source. In this study, primary data includes field research results such as interviews with local residents of Canggu Village. Secondary data, according to Sugiyono (2018), is data not directly given to the researcher, often available in documents or data obtained from other sources. Secondary data in this study includes additional information about Canggu Village, its history, land prices, paddy field area, and other relevant data. The data collection techniques used in this research are observation, interviews, documentation, and literature study. According to Sugiyono (2018), observation is a data collection technique that has a specific characteristic compared to other techniques. In this study, observation was conducted to directly see the existing conditions of Canggu Village and observe the impact of tourism, specifically gentrification, on Canggu Village. Interviews, as defined by Murdiyanto (2020), are a data collection technique conducted through communication. In this study, interviews were conducted to understand the impact of tourism-induced gentrification on the lives of Canggu Village residents, directly from the local residents themselves. Documentation, according to Ahyar (2020), is a method of data collection that comes from documents or recordings. In this study, documentation involved photographing Canggu Village. Literature study, as defined by Sugiyono (2018), is a research activity conducted through reference books or other written sources. The literature study in this research includes journals and websites related to the study. The technique used to determine informants is purposive sampling. According to Sugiyono (2016), purposive sampling is a technique for selecting data sources with specific considerations. The informants for this study are local residents living in Canggu Village. The data analysis technique used in this study is qualitative data analysis. According to Sugiyono (2018), data analysis involves the process of searching for and organizing data obtained from interviews, field visits, and documentation, which is then compiled and summarized to make it easily understood by the researcher and others.

3. Results

General Overview of Canggu Village

Canggu Village is one of the many villages on the island of Bali, located in the southern part of the island, more precisely in North Kuta District, Badung Regency. Canggu Village covers an area of 418.52 km². It borders Dalung Village to the north, Tibubeneng Village to the east, Pererenan Village to the west, and the Indian Ocean to the south. According to the Canggu Village profile book, in 2022, the population of Canggu Village was 7,027, with 3,448 males and 3,579 females, resulting in a population density of 1,341.03 people/km². Canggu Village is 19 km from Ngurah Rai International Airport, which can be reached by private or public transportation within 30-60 minutes, depending on traffic conditions. Administratively, Canggu Village is led by a village head elected by the community through direct elections. The village head is assisted by several village officials in managing the village administration. Economically, Canggu Village relies on the tourism industry, as well as agriculture and fisheries. The livelihoods of the Canggu Village community include private employees, civil servants, entrepreneurs, farmers, and fishermen. Canggu Village is now widely known as a tourist destination popular among both local and international tourists, but this was not always the case. Tourism activities in Canggu Village began in the 1980s when many tourists visited the village to surf. The beaches in Canggu Village, such as Batu Bolong Beach, are considered ideal for surfing due to their large waves. As more tourists visited Canggu Village for surfing, basic tourism facilities such as eateries and guesthouses began to emerge. Besides being known for surfing, Canggu Village also became popular for its sunset views and its serene rice fields, making it an attractive alternative for tourists wanting to escape the hustle and bustle of Bali's main tourist center, Kuta. Entering the early 2000s, Canggu Village began to develop. With more tourists visiting, infrastructure improvements were made, such as road construction that facilitated easier access for tourists. The number of tourism facilities, including hotels, villas, and restaurants, also increased. Consequently, Canggu Village, which was previously only visited by surfers, began attracting a wider range of tourists. By 2010, Canggu Village had become a mainstream tourist destination and gained popularity among digital nomads. The presence of cafés and coworking spaces with Wi-Fi facilities made Canggu Village an ideal spot for digital nomads. Its relaxed lifestyle, combined with natural landscapes of beaches and rice fields and a vibrant nightlife, made Canggu Village a favorite destination for digital nomads. In 2020, global tourism came to a halt due to COVID-19. Canggu Village was not spared from this impact, with travel restrictions, social distancing, and lockdowns causing a decline in tourist visits. However, the pandemic led to a shift towards online or remote work and learning. As countries gradually reopened their borders with the advent of vaccines, the tourism industry began to recover, leading to a new normal. Remote work became normalized, allowing people more flexibility in their work locations. This trend increased Canggu Village's popularity among digital nomads, attracting more visitors. As tourism grew, many investors began investing in Canggu Village's tourism sector. However, the rapid development led to significant changes, including the conversion of rice fields into tourist accommodations, increased traffic congestion, and environmental degradation. The once peaceful village with its expansive rice fields transformed into an increasingly urbanized area. Existing Conditions of Canggu Village Canggu Village used to be a typical village where the majority of the population were farmers and fishermen. However, over time, Canggu Village has developed into a popular tourist destination in Bali. Canggu Village is famous for its beaches suitable for surfing, its nightlife, and its dynamic digital nomad community. The transformation of Canggu Village is significantly influenced by investments from investors who have built and developed tourism facilities in Canggu. The development of tourism in Canggu Village has led to many drastic changes in the village itself. These changes can be observed through the addition of facilities aimed at supporting the continually growing tourism activities in Canggu. Below are the existing conditions of Canggu Village after experiencing tourism development.

a. Attraction

Canggu Village offers various attractions for tourists, including natural and man-made attractions. For natural attractions, Canggu Village offers beaches with large waves, making them ideal for surfing. The beaches in Canggu also feature black sand and offer stunning sea views, making them perfect for enjoying sunset views. Batu Bolong Beach and Echo Beach are popular beach attractions among tourists visiting Canggu. Besides beaches, Canggu Village also offers scenic rice field views spread across the village. In addition to natural attractions, Canggu Village also offers man-made attractions. These man-made attractions provide numerous options for tourists. Splash Waterpark is one example of a man-made attraction in Canggu, suitable for tourists who enjoy water rides. Another man-made attraction in Canggu is G Swing Bali, an extreme swing ride that is 40 meters high with high speeds. G Swing is the only extreme swing ride in Bali and offers an unforgettable experience for tourists.

b. Accessibility

The road infrastructure in Canggu Village is well-developed and in good condition, with paved roads that can accommodate various types of vehicles, including motorcycles, cars, and other vehicles. However, the roads in Canggu Village are quite narrow, leading to heavy traffic, especially during peak hours. In addition to road access, Canggu Village also has good communication access. The communication infrastructure, including telephone services, is in good condition and functions smoothly without significant issues. Internet access is also available and reliable in Canggu Village. Lastly, electricity access is available throughout Canggu Village, with all households and businesses connected to the electricity grid.

c. Amenity

As tourism in Canggu Village continues to grow, the demand for tourism facilities increases. Investments from investors have led to the availability of various tourism facilities, including accommodation options such as homestays, hotels, villas, and hostels. Besides accommodation facilities, Canggu Village also offers numerous cafés and restaurants. For tourists who enjoy culinary activities or café hopping, Canggu Village is an excellent choice, offering a wide variety of food options, from Indonesian to Western cuisine. Many cafés have unique or aesthetic concepts, making them ideal for photos or social media updates. Notable cafés in Canggu include Milk & Madu and Gigi Susu. For tourists who enjoy nightlife, Canggu Village offers a range of nightlife entertainment options, including bars, beach clubs, and nightclubs. Popular nightlife spots among tourists in Canggu include Finns Beach Club, La Brisa, and Old Man Bar.

d. Ancillary Services

Ancillary services in Canggu Village include the tourism awareness group (POKDARWIS). The POKDARWIS group in Canggu Village aims to explore, develop, and promote various tourism resources and local uniqueness as attractions. The tourism awareness group plays an active role in developing tourism in Canggu.

Additionally, Canggu Village offers tour and travel services spread throughout the village. These services provide tourists with comprehensive information about attractions, tour packages, and more. They also assist tourists in planning itineraries, providing transportation, and other services.

Gentrification in Canggu Village

Canggu Village, which was once a regular village with most of its population working as fishermen and farmers, has now transformed into a popular tourist destination, attracting both local and international tourists from various parts of the world. The development of tourism in Canggu Village is driven by several factors, one of which is natural factors. Canggu Village has a beach with relatively large waves, making it ideal for surfing. Additionally, Canggu Village, which is filled with rice fields, also becomes an attraction for tourists visiting the area.

However, the rapid development of tourism in Canggu Village has led to negative impacts on the village itself. One of these negative impacts is gentrification. The following are aspects of gentrification resulting from tourism development in Canggu Village:

a. Conversion of Agricultural Land

The massive tourism development in Canggu Village has led to a significant influx of tourism-related investments. This has drastically increased the demand for land in Canggu Village. With the rising demand for land for tourism purposes, many agricultural lands in Canggu Village have been converted for commercial use. The conversion of agricultural land is a clear sign of gentrification caused by tourism development in Canggu Village.

The conversion of agricultural land in Canggu Village often changes to commercial areas such as tourism accommodations (hotels, villas, hostels, etc.), restaurants, cafés, bars, beach clubs, and more. This conversion of land also leads to other negative impacts such as environmental degradation. The loss of green space in Canggu Village can lead to decreased air, soil, and water quality. Additionally, the loss of agricultural land in Canggu Village can reduce food self-sufficiency. Between 2010 and 2015, there was a decrease of 28 hectares in agricultural land in Canggu Village, with an average reduction of 4.6 hectares per year. This decline in agricultural land is attributed to tourism development, increased numbers of tourists, and rising demand for accommodation, restaurants, and other tourism facilities, which in turn causes a surge in land prices. As land prices soar, local residents are tempted to sell or lease their agricultural land to investors flocking to Canggu due to the booming tourism industry. Many residents sell their agricultural land because the prices offered by investors are much higher than the income they earn from farming. In summary, the conversion of agricultural land in Canggu Village is an indicator of gentrification caused by tourism development. The factors driving land conversion in Canggu Village include high demand for land, investment from investors, and the pursuit of economic gain from selling agricultural land.

b. Rising Property Prices

The growth of tourism in Canggu Village has increased the demand for property in the area. This demand comes not only from Indonesian citizens but also from foreigners. The massive tourism development in Canggu Village has attracted investors looking to invest in the area for profit. With demand exceeding supply, property prices in Canggu Village have risen. The increase in property prices in Canggu Village indicates that tourism is causing gentrification in the area. Gentrification driven by rising property prices has negative impacts on local residents. One such impact is direct displacement, which occurs when residents can no longer afford to live in their homes due to rising property costs. Residents may be forced to leave Canggu Village because rental prices exceed their budget. Such displacement is a characteristic of gentrification caused by increasing property prices. Property prices in Canggu Village can be observed from price growth. Compared to 2019, by 2024, land prices in Canggu Village have reached between 2 billion to 3.5 billion rupiahs per 100 square meters, depending on location. In 2021, the popularity of Canggu Village surged, causing property prices to increase by 1,200% (Bukit Vista, 2023). The increase in property prices in Canggu Village is related to the rise in tourism. The influx of investors and wealthier residents moving to gentrified areas like Canggu has increased the demand for housing, creating a competitive market that drives up property prices. This is exacerbated by foreign nationals with high incomes targeting and purchasing properties in Canggu. Although Indonesian law (Law No. 5 of 1960 on Basic Agrarian Regulations - UUPA) prohibits foreigners from buying and owning property in Indonesia, many foreigners circumvent this by using local names for property purchases, with the government's lax enforcement allowing this practice to continue. Moreover, many properties in Canggu are marketed to foreigners in US dollars or euros, making the prices higher due to the stronger value of these currencies compared to the rupiah.

Additionally, services like AirBnb have contributed to the rise in property prices in Canggu Village. AirBnb allows property owners to rent out their properties to tourists for short periods, often yielding higher potential earnings. The increased number of short-term rentals on AirBnb can drive up rental prices and property values in areas with many AirBnb properties, like Canggu Village. This reduces the availability of properties for local residents, further increasing property prices.

c. Social and Cultural Changes

Canggu Village, once a quiet coastal village on Bali Island, has undergone significant transformation and development in recent years. The rapid tourism growth in Canggu Village has turned it into a popular tourist destination, attracting visitors from around the world. However, this tourism development has also led to negative impacts, one of which is gentrification. Gentrification caused by tourism development in Canggu Village has led to social and cultural changes in the area. One such change is demographic shifts. Canggu Village, which was once primarily populated by fishermen and farmers, has experienced economic restructuring as it now heavily relies on the tourism sector. This has created new job opportunities, attracting many people to settle in Canggu Village. As a result, local residents, especially those with lower incomes, are pushed out due to the rising cost of living and rent. They are replaced by new residents, typically wealthier and more educated individuals. Additionally, the increasing number of foreigners living in Canggu Village has altered the demographic composition, with many opening businesses that create competition for local residents. This forces locals to move to less competitive or more affordable areas, changing the demographic profile of Canggu Village, including age, race, ethnicity, and educational level.

Another impact of gentrification caused by tourism in Canggu Village is social inequality. The rising cost of living, including rent, food, and transportation, has made living expenses unaffordable for local residents. This creates a wider gap between low-income locals and high-income newcomers. Culturally, tourism can lead to changes by introducing foreign elements that affect local values, norms, and traditions. As tourism in Canggu

Village grows, more foreign tourists visit the area, bringing cultural influences different from those of Canggu Village. One example is changes in dress. Foreign tourists bring different fashion styles, which influence local dress codes. Traditional clothing, once a symbol of cultural identity, is gradually being replaced by modern, trendier attire. This shift reflects changes in values and perspectives on cultural identity. Another cultural change driven by tourism is in the culinary scene. With the increase in tourists, many restaurant and café owners in Canggu Village focus on international cuisine rather than traditional Indonesian dishes. Even traditional Indonesian or Balinese food often undergoes modifications to cater to foreign tastes. For example, local dishes that were once very spicy may be toned down or adjusted with more familiar ingredients for foreigners. These changes can lead to a loss of authenticity in traditional foods, though they may also make them more popular.

In summary, tourism in Canggu Village has had significant impacts on the social and cultural aspects of the local community, marking a sign of gentrification driven by tourism development.

d. Rising Cost of Living

While tourism development in Canggu Village has positively impacted the local economy, it also has negative effects. The gentrification caused by the growing tourism industry in Canggu Village affects the cost of living. Canggu Village, once a regular village with relatively low living costs, has seen a significant increase in living expenses due to tourism development. What was once affordable for local residents has become increasingly expensive. The rising cost of living in Canggu Village is a form of gentrification resulting from tourism growth. The influx of tourists, both domestic and international, has led to increased spending power in Canggu Village. This higher spending capacity has indirectly driven up prices in the area as businesses raise prices, assuming tourists are willing to pay above market rates. The increase in living costs in Canggu Village is also linked to rising property prices. In gentrification cases, property prices typically rise, which has occurred in Canggu Village. The growing tourism industry has made Canggu Village's properties highly sought after, leading to increased property prices due to high demand and limited supply. Additionally, the proliferation of services like Airbnb has further driven up property prices. Rising property costs have made renting or purchasing buildings in Canggu Village very expensive, contributing to the overall increase in the cost of living.

4. Conclusion

Based on the research results above, it can be concluded that Desa Canggu was once just a regular village where most of the residents worked as farmers or fishermen. However, tourism activities began to emerge in Desa Canggu. The development of tourism in Desa Canggu started in 1980 when it was initially visited by tourists for surfing activities, due to its beaches with relatively large waves. Over time, tourism in Desa Canggu has continued to develop. What was once just an ordinary village occasionally visited by tourists has now transformed into a globally renowned tourist destination, attracting international visitors. Today, Desa Canggu is well-known among tourists, both local and international, as a hipster spot, famous for its nightlife, and increasingly popular among digital nomads. The development of tourism in Desa Canggu has certainly brought positive impacts on the local economy. However, it has also led to negative effects. One of these negative impacts is gentrification in Desa Canggu. Gentrification is defined as an urban development process where an area undergoes rapid development within a short period, leading to a change from a low-value area to a high-value one, causing prices to become out of reach for local residents. Gentrification resulting from tourism development in Desa Canggu has led to several issues, including land-use changes, rising property prices, changes in social and cultural aspects, and increased living costs. Based on the above research results, recommendations for the government in Desa Canggu include the need for governmental control. This means that the government should enforce existing regulations to prevent violations such as the sale of property to foreign nationals, and ensure that violators face penalties. Additionally, the government should create and implement zoning regulations, which would categorize land for tourism activities, agriculture, and residential use to limit or even stop the conversion of agricultural or other important lands in Desa Canggu. The government is also expected to regulate prices in Desa Canggu. Lastly, educating both tourists and local residents can help mitigate the negative impacts of gentrification caused by tourism development.

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