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TOURISTIFICATION AND THE CHANGING OF SPACES FOR TOURISM IN CANGGU VILLAGE

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Abstract

This article discusses the transformation of Canggu Village from a fishing and farmer village into an urbancharacterized area with main economic activities based on tourism. The entry of capitalist investors and the government's designation of a tourism area provide more significant opportunities for this change. This study looks at how the transformation of space for the benefit of tourism causes changes in social conditions in public spaces in Canggu Village. This study used a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews with several informants, such as the head of the Canggu Village, the owner of tourism accommodations, and the Canggu farmers. This study indicates that the village of Canggu has experienced touristification marked by the establishment of accommodations built by investors supported by the local government by establishing this village as a tourism area to increase local revenue. The spaces that have changed by supporting tourism activities have ultimately changed the socio-economic order of the community from non-industrial activities to tourism-based economic activities. The new tourism climate in Canggu Village then co-opted the local community, marked by the emergence of accommodation built by the local community, such as villas, homestays, and guesthouses, as part of the changing perspective of the local community towards economic changes in Canggu Village.

Keywords: Tourism; Spaces Transformation; Urbanize Rural Area

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INTRODUCTION

The development of the tourism sector in Indonesia is generally supported by Law no. 10 of 2009 which became part of national development by prioritizing local wisdom. The tourism law also helped build the tourism industry which was then developed as a political force that had implications for various aspects, namely business, organization, and society. With the Law 10/2009 regulations, tourism development encourages the business of tourism in Bali. As a tourism pioneers in Indonesia, thousands of people visit Bali every year. The pattern of tourism

development in Bali is generally located on the southern coast of the island, which offers exotic beaches on the south coast of Bali, which attracts tourists (Astawa, Suardani, & Suardani, 2019; Coma-cros, 2018). As a tourism destination, Bali recorded tourist visits in 2015 of 4 million tourists compared to 2014 of 3.7 million visits. The phenomenon of the growth of tourist arrivals certainly encourages an increase in demand in the accommodation sector (Arcana, 2016).

The development of the tourism industry in Bali has at least changed the face of Bali's tourism landscape (Wijaya, 2015).

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The dominations of market logic responsible for this condition. In the past, tourists who came to Bali were interested in Balinese culture, but now Bali must have a culture that follows the logic of the market (Suryadana, 2013). Tourists have saturated with modern tourism which is closely related to traffic jams, cafes and nightlife cause a shift in travel trends and consumption patterns. Tourists now seeking and prefer with a local cultural frame such as a rural atmosphere, the daily life of local people, and get involved in cultural and religious rites (Susyanti, 2013). This causes investors to change tourism offerings accordingly and modify them according to what the market wants. One form of this modification is how tourism accommodation facilities such as lodging (hotels, villas, resorts, homestays) stand and operate by utilizing natural attractions for profit in rural area.

One example of a place described in the previous explanation is Canagu Village. Located in Badung District, Canggu Village is one of the new tourist destinations that are attracting domestic and foreign tourists. The waves are suitable for surfing and the beach is relatively quiet when compared to Kuta or Seminyak, making Canggu Village a new gem in the world of Bali tourism (Hanum & Suryawan, 2017). Since 2000, Canggu transformed Village has from а predominantly farming and fishing village into an area with hundreds of new accomodations. Until the end of 2017, 479 accommodations consisted of hotels. restaurants, villas, bars, and others. The composition of people's livelihoods has also changed over time. It is estimated that 70 per cent of Canggu villagers have now changed professions as transport service providers, hotel and restaurant employees, and lodging managers (Tunjungsari, 2018). The number tourism supporting facilities of will undoubtedlv continue to increase considering that currently, there are many large development projects currently underway.

Tourism which is now being promoted has indeed improved the standard of living of most of the people of Canggu Village (Dipadewanda & Mahagangga, 2018). However, this increasingly rapid development also leaves several problems, such as high conversion of productive land functions, and other population problems. Overdevelopment or excessive development has created competition for resources among the community, tourists, and investors (Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). The tourism climate in Bali has implications for spatial use, especially for spatial aspects. In this context, there is the fact that there have been patterns of control and seizure of public spaces, especially those related to land ownership in Canggu Village. These processes then create competition for public spaces in Canggu Village that occurs between investors and local communities who begin to view and transfer their resources according to the needs of the Canggu tourism climate with the aim of obtaining benefits from these tourism activities. This study aims to see how the transformation of space for the benefit of tourism causes changing socio-economic purposes of public space in Canggu Village.

Tourism has developed to make it easier for humans to mobilize from one place to another because the development of transportation and communication supports it (Hooper, 2015). Along with the high mobility of people, goods, and services due to tourism, some changes change the cultural and regional landscape of the places visited (Jensen-Verbeke, 2009). These changes bring an area from what was previously not a tourist area to a tourist area and is said to be a touristification. This is a concept that is currently being discussed in recent years, especially in the media. In simple terms, this concept refers to the modification of the culture and landscape of an area caused by the development of tourism activities. This concept is seen as a multi-dimensional phenomenon where a tourism activity cannot be studied only from an economic side without identifying its emotional, ideological, and territorial impacts (Sanmartin, 2019). Touristification also marked by the transition of non-tourism economic activities to an economy based on tourism activities in the specified areas (Freytag & Bauder, 2018).

Tourism is related to space that cannot be separated from the territory or the area where the object is located. The benefits obtained from tourism activities are quite significant, material and non-material. Tourism activities make control of space which is a tourist location very important (Alfath & Permana, 2016). The control of space by capital gives rise to abstract spatial production patterns, expropriation, and urbanization. Christian and Desmiwati (2018) explain this in their study of urbanization that occurs on Pari Island as a result of the production of abstract space and the appropriation of capital. Agrarian resources used economic are as commodities with an economistic approach and power then separate the components of space so that social space is reduced. The release of the space component leads to the appropriation process to accumulate resources. New capital space is then created to convert agrarian resources into commodities (Christian & Desmiwati, 2018).

Control of space makes it easier for the capitalist to produce space and has the potential to change people's knowledge in it. Nurhadi et al (2019) describes how this process led to a transformation of space containing the daily life of people who do not depend on the tourism industry into an abstract space that is legitimized through the discourse of tourism profits by investors. The emergence of the capitalistic tourism industry has indeed created new opportunities from the economic side, but on the social and ecological side, it can change the existing and established rural order. Likewise, changes in the use of space to support tourism can also create resource grabs (Nurhadi, Amiruddin, & Rozalinna, 2019).

Developing an area from а previously non-touristy area to a tourismstyle area has implications for the emergence of a peri-urban area (urbanized rural area). The peri-urban zone emerged as a transition zone between the city and the village, providing various new territories with unique characteristics. The uniqueness of the development that makes the peri-urban area has an urban nature with a high density and diverse and lively activities and a unique rural nature that is still present with the existence of agriculture in the area. The urban and rural nature of this peri-urban area arises due to the development of the surrounding city (Kurnianingsih, 2013). Canggu Village, which is included in the North Kuta sub-district, designated as metropolitan area, has resulted the land prices to increase. This encourage the landowners selling or renting out their land because it is considered more profitable than agriculture. Existing land is also of high value to investors because of its strategic location between urban activity centers, namely the Denpasar, Mangupura City, and Kuta District, which are the nodes of activities in South Bali (Sanjaya & Marsoyo, 2019).

To enrich the analysis in this study. the approach used comes from the production of space proposed by Henri Lefebvre (1991). Lefebvre's analysis of the production of social space starts from the analysis of society. In this case, humans as social beings produce their own life. consciousness, and the world (Misoczky & Oliveira, 2018). In such production, humans will mobilize spatial elements, including resources and tools, rationally and arrange sequences of actions oriented towards a certain goal, namely the object to be produced (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre proposed three conceptual frameworks for the production of social space. The first is a spatial practice which refers to the interaction and communication that emerges and subsequently forms space. Spatial practices are the production and

reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products, and these practices ensure the continuity of the production of social space and its cohesiveness. These spatial practices can be influenced by the dimensions of gender, race, and bureaucratic-administrative. Still, spatial practices under capitalism's control are related to the circulation of capital, reproduction of labor, and the need to control labor (Harvey, 2012).

The second concept is that the representation of space refers to the discourse that describes the space that has been formed and can be found in the form of maps, pictures, notations, and so on. Representation of space is concerned with knowledge, signs, or codes, and attitudes towards frontal relationships. Spatial representation refers to conceptual space, which is the space for scientists, spatial planners, urban communities, etc. In this context, space is a production that arises from human conceptions, so it is called conceptualized space (Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom, & Schmid, 2008). The third concept is representational space which refers to the symbolic dimension of space used by people who interact and are ideological in nature. This space also includes how the occupants or people who use the space interact through practices and forms of visualization in a space. This concept of space arises based on real experiences experienced by everyone as a cause and effect of the dialectical relationship between spatial practice and spatial representation. Space then becomes something that individuals, groups, or communities specifically perceive to become a perceived space (Nalle, 2021).

The three concepts of space production are manifested in three kinds of experiences, namely (1) the experience of space that is captured by the five senses (perceived space) through the practices of everyday life (spatial practices); (2) understanding of space formed by human thought (conceived space) in the form of conceptualized space (representations of space); (3) the experience of living in space (lived space) through social interaction between the occupants of the space (representational space) (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre also said that capitalism is based on the antagonism between the perceived space, which is formed as an abstract space, and the space of everyday life (lived space). This contradiction then destroys life experience to make social space simultaneously as the basis for the reproduction of property ownership relations through laws and planning that hierarchically organize space (Nalle, 2021).

Reproduction of abstract space in capitalism then demands the use of state power in a coercive form, and spatial production processes also depend on these coercive forms, namely through regulations made by the government, which then play a role in mobilizing space as a productive force. The production of social space also cannot be separated from the influence of neo-capitalism when space is traded massively, and social space is then produced to buy and sell. Space also becomes a place for creating, realizing, and distributing surplus value, which ultimately results in space becoming a consumed commodity (Lefebvre, 2003).

As a way to deal with the commodification of space, Lefebvre proposes the concept of the right to the city in which the right is not an individual right but a collective right to reclaim the city as a space created together. The right to the city emphasizes the importance of restructuring power relations in the production of urban space (Pratiyudha, 2019). The right to the city means the right to the city with all its complexities to be transformed and renewed according to the current political economy context. City residents are not passive actors of a city change and are actively involved in the change process. Thus the fundamental aspect of the right to the city is the broadest and deepest participation of the people in the urban development process

(Pontoh, 2013). This research tries to find out how changes in public spaces that occur as part of tourism in Canggu have affected local communities to compete in utilizing Canggu public spaces.

METHODS

Researchers used a qualitative approach to explain the problems in this study. The case study method was chosen to describe cases that are specific and limited by places and researchers can explore real-life, temporary cases through detailed and in-depth data collection based on primary data (Creswell, 2010). Case studies are relevant to this research because they are more specific and in-depth in exploring and deepening the phenomena that occur in Canggu Village.

Researchers conducted in-depth interviews with seven actors who are involved and know the problems in this study. The informants in this study consisted of the main informants, namely the Head of the Customary Village of Canggu. The other informants are villa and homestay business owners totaling four people. Also four Canggu farmer communities as an informant to obtain an overview of the spatial practices that occurred in the village of Canggu.

Researchers use data from documents, news, research reports, and journals to obtain the required data related to this research. The data obtained is then collected for data reduction to make it easier for researchers to select data that are considered relevant and have a relationship with the problems of the study. The interviews data is recorded and transcripts, then the transcripts are listened to and selected to obtain information following this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Transformation of Canggu Village into a Tourism Area

Before 1990, Canggu Village had spatial benefits that were oriented towards

agriculture and fishery. The dominance of agricultural land indicates that initially, most people worked as farmers of the (Wahyundaria & Sunarta, 2020). Even so, tourism is present in this village because many tourists have come to this village to look for sound waves for surfing activities since the 1980s. The entry of tourism activities also marked by the establishment of the first hotel, namely the Dewata Beach Hotel, in the 1980s (Kartika, Sujana, & Jehapu, 2020). Before the designation of Canggu Village as a tourism area, there were no five-star hotels, and most of them were dominated by tourist huts. However, this is different after the establishment of Canggu as a tourism area in 2013, where, there were 4 star-hotels, 171 villas, and homestays and increased due to the growth of tourism accommodation with a total number of 479 at the end of 2019 (Canggu, 2020).

The development of the tourism climate generally results in spatial use changes as indicated by the land-use change that has not been developed into built-up land to support urban space needs. Referring to the Badung Regulation Number 26/2013 concerning the regional spatial plan 2013-2033, the Canagu Village is included in the tourism area as a natural tourist attraction (Dava Tarik Wisata). The development of tourism activities also affects land-use in Canggu Village. In 2009 the area of rice fields was around 281 hectares, which decreased in 2018 to 243 hectares (BPS, 2010, 2019). There was a change in the use of paddy fields which turned into built-up land, mainly in tourism accommodation at 15,97 hectares (Suamba & Dwijendra, 2021). Land in this area has a high value for investors due to its location which is close to the beach as a tourist attraction. The increasing number of tourism accommodation has resulted in the villagers of Canggu not having any objection to losing their agricultural land.

"People in Canggu Village feel more proud of the tourism sector than agriculture and the like so because tourism can support life in the future. If the land that is sold will later become a tourism center, they will be involved, for example by becoming employees at the location of the tourism activity" (Sujapa, Personal Communication, September 5, 2020)

The interview excerpt above indicates that an increase in tourism activities has triggered people's tendency to work in the tourism sector. Besides, changing the type of community work to the tourism sector has the potential to change the use of space for tourism activities based on the perception that tourism is very profitable, especially in terms of finance (Sujali, 2008). The development of tourism in Canagu has led to increased use of space, employment opportunities, and business opportunities in the tourism sector. The people of Canggu almost 70 percent of their livelihoods have shifted to the tourism sector. Although the development of the tourism sector is very massive and there has been a change in land use, only a small part of the community sells land to investors (Tunjungsari, 2018).

The Changing Socio-Economic of Public Space in Canggu Village

The spatial transformation that has taken place in the rural area of Canggu in the last decade has become an area with quite radical urban characteristics. The shifting of tourist tastes from modern to traditional tourism has also brought reformulation of tourism consumption patterns. This then attracts tourists coming to Canggu because the new tourism offer is different from the existing one filled with congestion, noise, and so on. This was acknowledged by the Head of the Canggu Traditional Village who stated that tourists are enjoying the daily life of the locals, such as following traditional and religious rituals (Sujapa, Personal Communication, September 5, 2020). Canggu experienced a high increase in tourist visits which is in line with the growth of tourist accommodations.

Canggu area as a new tourism area invites various kinds of investors to enter Canggu to invest in tourism supporting accommodation. Several large investors build hotels and villas such as Lv8 Resort Hotel, Theanna Eco Villa and Spa, COMO Uma Canggu, The Haven Suites, Shore Amora, Tugu Bali Hotel, Ametis Villa, and so on. The conversion of agricultural land into non-agricultural land occurs due to the economic growth of tourism, which demands infrastructure development in the form of roads, tourism accommodation buildings, and settlements. Land conversion is carried out directly by farmers who own land or by other parties who carry out land sale and purchase transactions. Rising land prices mostly drive the factors that influence landowners to convert land or sell land, the proportion of income, land productivity, and government policies that encourage the tourism climate in Canggu (Kartika et al., 2020).

One of the portraits of farmers who sell land to investors to build tourism accommodation is Wayan Manis, who owns 27 acres of agricultural land with income productivity of 3 million in 3 months. Wavan Manis sold 12 acres of land because the land is adjacent to tourism accommodation in the form of a developed villa (Manis, Personal Communication, September 17, 2020). Furthermore, a farmer named Wayan Arnica owns 30 acres of land rented out to foreigners who then build tourism accommodation. He used the proceeds from leasing the land to build a boarding house which he managed himself (Arnica, Personal Communication, September 20, 2020).

Nengah Gaba, also a farmer, owns the same land of 30 acres only earns 1 million rupiahs per month, which is only sufficient for his food needs. Gaba also leased his land to foreign investors to build villas (Gaba, Personal Communication, September 21, 2020). Several previously interviewed farmers said that, on average, the farmers prefer to rent their land because it can help to cover the lack of income from agricultural activities. Landowners who lease their land to investors earn approximately 10 million rupiahs per month for every 1 acre of land leased.

Although the tourism climate in Canggu, which requires a lot of land for the construction of tourism accommodation, "sacrifices" agricultural land and landowning farmers, the struggle to profit from the glittering benefits of Canagu's tourism also invites local communities to compete with outside investors in Canagu. The local community has taken the initiative to build small-scale villas and questhouses to take advantage of the economic opportunities created by tourism activities. In an interview, Jonathan, who is a native of Canggu, said that when he founded the villa, he only capitalized on his private house and his vacant land, which was later converted into a villa. He did this because he saw the climate and tourism spaces in Canggu, which outside investors had already filled. He also wants to take advantage of tourism in Canggu (Jonathan, Personal Communication, September 12, 2020).

Pande, a local person who owns a homestav in a separate interview, built his homestay from privately-owned vacant land in 2013. He started a homestay because he saw a profitable opportunity due to the very active rhythm of Canggu tourism (Pande, Personal Communication, September 12, 2020). Meanwhile. Ulan. who also established a homestay in Canggu, capitalized on empty land and a house that she later modified. For the same reason, Canggu tourism is currently being hit so that through this homestay, she can dig in the goldfields of tourism. Why homestay, because it is the accommodation that offers a very desirable traditional nuance for tourists in Canggu because, of course, hotels with large capital have their markets. In contrast, accommodation with small capital is chosen as a competitive way to get tourists by offering different attractions.

Canggu tourism should be able to benefit the local people of Canggu (Ulan, Personal Communication, September 12, 2020).

Canggu was originally a rural area whose position was on the coast of the island of Bali, slowly changing since the beginning of tourism-related activities in this village. Tourism-based economic cannot separated activities from the capital accumulation process, which is carried out through collaboration between investors and the state, in this case, the government Corporatization and monetization have succeeded in controlling communal resources and marginalizing traditional management, which is considered inefficient (Akram-Lodhi, 2007). Canggu Village is undergoing commodification, which is turning nature and the environment into commodities that can be sold and traded in the market, and this process is massive. Economic activity has shifted from a nontourism economy to a tourism economy.

Public spaces in Canggu, originally characterized by rural communal lands with agricultural-style activities, slowly changed with the establishment of tourism accommodations built by outside investors. Space as a political product causes the alignment of actors who make regulations on spatial planning, especially the government regulator as а (Wahyudi, Buchori, Syahbana, & Pratiwi, 2020). Capitalist investors carry out capital expansion so that the flow of capital does not stop. The impacts of this expansion are privatization and industrialization as the basis for creating new spaces through urbanization (Brenner, 2013). Urbanization is not just a concept of moving rural communities to cities as it is known, but rather as a rural industrialization process (Christian & Desmiwati, 2018). The industry, especially the tourism industry, is no longer built-in urban areas like a magnet to attract rural people to work in urban areas. The industry is now being built in rural areas and converting both productive and unproductive lands to become areas for new industrial development. Urbanization also brings about a total change in the entire space, material and social space.

Canggu Village finally experienced the production and reproduction of space due to the movement, interconnection, and interaction between money, people, and commodities. That condition is because of the entry of investors who are supported by government power. Government making spatial regulations which then slowly confuse the pattern of the concept of public space. That pattern is the conceptual space that is understood (conceived space) and the everyday living space captured by the five human senses (perceived space), which are then destroying the living experience of the space. The way to do this is by producing an abstract space over a conceptual space and abstracting the conceptual space by making that space the basis for property ownership relationships through law and spatial planning.

The new tourism-based spaces the form formed in of tourism accommodation buildings in Canggu. These new spaces then produce profits due to the success of capitalist investors in building consumable spaces. Of course, the development of tourism spaces in Canggu involves investors, the government, and the community. The government's involvement in granting management permits and land acquisition, and investors then carry out the physical construction of accommodation. The community begins to sell the land they own due to being subject to a tourism accommodation development project. The lands in Canggu Village become a free space to be traded as part of the production of new space for tourism economic activities. At least several actors can be identified in the contestation for public spaces in Canggu Village. The first is investors outside Canggu who have an interest in investing and accumulating capital from tourism activities. The second is the government which feels that it has the primary authority in extracting sources of regional income from tourism activities in Canggu Village. The third is the

local community trying to move and adapt to the tourism climate that arises as a result of the production and reproduction of space in Canggu.

The reality of Canggu spaces cannot be seen as it is because the existing spaces undergone а socio-economic have transformation process to serve capitalist investors. Therefore, the Badung district government strives to produce and reproduce space for investors through government policies. Spatial planning is also a political issue, so an analysis of spatial planning also means analyzing the direction of the area's development (Aminah, 2018). In Canggu, some spaces have changed their functions and designations. The space that was originally for settlement and agriculture was converted into tourism accommodation. The materialization of this space is an indication that the space serves capitalist investors. As a regulator of urban policy in line with capitalist investors, the government has participated in reproducing space with the jargon of increasing regional income. Local revenue is the government's legitimacy in constructing various tourism supporting facilities in suburban areas such as Canggu. These interests are then accommodated through a government mechanism that grants permits for area changes. Places that have existed for decades as organically grown areas are suddenly struggling with new needs driven by recreational activities.

The emergence of consumerism spaces such as tourism accommodation shows the dynamics of significant spatial changes. The changing of space has raised the commodification of space which has contributed to the formation of new needs and tastes of the people who tend to be consumptive. New spaces that have rules of the game marginalize certain groups of people who are unable to adapt. Urban spaces allow anyone to come and enjoy them and dump anyone who cannot compete for power over the city (Minanto, 2018). The tourism industry has regulations that often force people to submit to new habits, which causes the relationship of local communities to their living spaces to be controlled by industrial mechanisms with capitalistic logic.

The awareness of Canggu locals to produce and consume tourism spaces produced and reproduced by investors can be marked as an expression of tacit resistance to the control of tourism spaces. This resistance is reflected in attempts to reclaim these spaces initiated by the Canggu middle-class and emerged as a match for the outside investors. Small capital tourists accommodation is a way for local people to claim rights to existing spaces in Canggu. Of course, the right to the city is not only a matter of obtaining a clean, pollutionfree environment and the like but the right to something real with all its complexities, which can be transformed and renewed following the current political economy context. Local people have the right to do this and are not passive agents of change in their actions. Thus, the right to the city means the participation of local communities in the development of their cities. The right to the city is also an effort to take back the city that allows equality, such as the revitalization of public space, participation. and empowerment of its people, and identified as an urban revolution (Lefebvre, 2003).

CONCLUSIONS RECOMMENDATIONS

AND

The transformation of the Canggu rural area into an area oriented towards economic activities tourism-based is influenced by the growing tourism industry climate looking for new tourism areas. The entry of outside investors to Canggu Village contributed to the production process of new spaces, which have the potential as a space to accumulate new capital. The area, which was initially dominated by agriculture and residential settlements following the conditions of the village in general, which has a core of subsistence economic activity,

has slowly changed towards a tourism-style area. As an actor and a regulator of regional spatial planning policies, the government was also present to contest the space in Canggu. The stretch of tourism and the potential for local opinions also cause their participation in producing space through regulation. The relationship between the government and investors in the struggle for control of the new tourism space in Canggu has resulted in the local community of Canggu Village being dragged into the vortex of Canggu tourism. The community seems unable to compete in spaces that have been reproduced into a new space. Also is increasingly under pressure due to the pattern of changes and the physical development of tourism accommodation. Slowly the local community is trying to adapt to the situation and conditions of the Canggu industry to benefit from the growing tourism cake. Adaptation efforts are made by changing the spaces owned to be in harmony with tourism accommodation. The locals build small-scale accommodation to compete with outside investors and contest the "cake" of Canggu tourism.

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