



## INEQUALITY IN THE REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL AND FOREIGN CUISINE IN BALI'S TOURISM: A CASE STUDY OF PERERENAN, BADUNG

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### ABSTRACT

*This study examines the inequality in the representation of local and foreign culinary practices within Bali's tourism landscape, focusing on Pererenan Village in Badung Regency. Although Bali has formally committed to cultural-based tourism through Governor Regulation No. 5 of 2020 and Governor Regulation No. 99 of 2018, the integration of Balinese cuisine into tourism experiences remains limited. Using a qualitative descriptive design supported by field observations and netnographic analysis, this research explored restaurant characteristics, menu structures, and visual representations across digital platforms such as Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram. The findings show that restaurants emphasizing Western, Mediterranean, or fusion concepts dominate the area, while traditional Balinese culinary expressions occupy a marginal position. This situation reveals a symbolic contradiction between Bali's cultural identity and its tourism economy, where global consumption preferences often outweigh local authenticity. The study concludes that strengthening Balinese culinary identity requires more than the use of local ingredients; it demands cultural narrative development, aesthetic representation, and policy support. Collaboration between government institutions, local entrepreneurs, and cultural actors is essential to ensure that Balinese culinary heritage is sustainably preserved and strategically positioned within the evolving tourism industry.*

**Keywords:** Bali cultural tourism, culinary representation, globalization, Pererenan

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Bali tourism is widely recognized as an icon of Indonesia's cultural tourism, emphasizing local values, traditional wisdom, and a distinctive social identity. The island's image as a cultural destination is manifested not only through its natural beauty but also through its living traditions, arts, architecture, and cuisine that form an integral part of Balinese life (Picard, 2006). The Provincial Government of Bali has consistently sought to reinforce this cultural identity through various policies, such as Governor Regulation No. 5 of 2020 concerning the Standards of Cultural Tourism Implementation in Bali, which affirms that tourism must be grounded in local cultural values and the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana.



However, the practical application of cultural tourism in Bali often focuses more on physical and symbolic elements. Cultural representation is commonly expressed through Balinese-style architecture, traditional ornaments, and courteous service that reflect local norms (Suwena & Widyatmaja, 2017). Non-physical expressions of culture, such as culinary heritage that embodies values and social meanings, have not received proportional attention in either policy or implementation. This limited focus has resulted in a gap between the visual image of Balinese culture and its intangible manifestations.

Governor Regulation No. 99 of 2018, which promotes the use of local agricultural and fishery products, also illustrates this issue. Although the regulation encourages hotels and restaurants to prioritize local ingredients, it does not address how Balinese culinary identity should be represented in restaurant concepts or menus. As a result, many dining establishments in rapidly developing tourist areas such as Pererenan Village in Badung tend to highlight international cuisines, including Western, Mediterranean, and Japanese dishes, rather than traditional Balinese food. This tendency is supported by recent studies which show that restaurants in Pererenan and Canggu predominantly use global culinary styles and English language branding on their menus, while Balinese dishes appear only as occasional exotic elements (Setiari and Utami, 2024). Similar observations are noted by Hawke (2024), who describes Pererenan as a rapidly evolving culinary hub shaped largely by internationally trained chefs and catering heavily to foreign visitor preferences. Together, these findings indicate a deeper cultural imbalance between policy ideals and practical realities in Bali's tourism landscape.

Such an imbalance indicates that while Bali positions itself as a culture-based destination, its tourism practices increasingly reflect global aesthetics and tastes. This contradiction invites critical reflection on how authentically Bali's tourism represents its local identity in the age of globalization. Food, as Long (2004) explains, is not only a biological necessity but also a cultural medium that communicates history, values, and ways of life. When local cuisine is overshadowed by global trends, it signals a commodification of local identity to meet international market preferences (Cohen & Avieli, 2004). Pererenan Village exemplifies this transformation: once a quiet coastal community, it has evolved into a vibrant culinary hub where local traditions and expatriate influences intertwine, often at the expense of Balinese cultural visibility.

This trend is further reinforced by tourism data. According to the Bali Provincial Statistics Agency (2024), the number of international visitors arriving directly in Bali through Ngurah Rai Airport and seaports in 2024 reached 6,333,360 people, marking an increase of approximately 20 percent compared to 5,273,258 visitors in 2023. This growth reflects the post-pandemic recovery of international tourism and highlights the continued dominance of foreign tourists within Bali's visitor market. The majority of these tourists concentrate in Badung Regency and Denpasar City, including coastal areas such as Canggu and Pererenan, which have become hubs for internationally styled cafés and restaurants. This suggests a strong correlation between the rising number of foreign tourists and the growing global culinary orientation in Bali's tourism landscape.

This transformation is also supported by quantitative evidence. According to the Bali Provincial Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024), the number of restaurants and eateries in Bali nearly doubled within a year, from 4,429 units in 2023 to 8,152 units in 2024. The largest increase occurred in Badung Regency, which rose from 869 to 4,928 units, followed by Denpasar City, from 952 to 1,447 units. These figures demonstrate that regions such as Canggu, Seminyak, and Pererenan have become major centers of Bali's culinary industry. However, the dominance of globally oriented establishments suggests that this growth prioritizes economic expansion over cultural preservation.

The globalized transformation of Pererenan's culinary scene is also captured by Condé Nast Traveler, which describes the area as "Bali's foodies' neighborhood." Hawke (2024) portrays Pererenan as a tranquil street lined with incense-filled canang sari, behind which

thrives a cosmopolitan dining scene led by chefs trained in renowned restaurants in Sydney, Paris, Barcelona, and London. He notes that “their passion for food is palpable and the results extraordinary: quite unexpectedly, this sleepy surf town serves up some of the most memorable dishes I’ve ever tasted,” illustrating the village’s shift from a modest settlement into a global gastronomic destination. This account supports the observation that local culinary identity is increasingly overshadowed by globalized aesthetics and narratives.

In summary, the background of this study emerges from the contradiction between Bali’s vision of culture-based tourism and the growing homogenization of global influences in practice. Pererenan reflects how globalization and international consumer tastes shape the representation and survival of local culture, particularly through food. Understanding this dynamic is essential to explore how Balinese culinary identity can be preserved and reinterpreted within the evolving framework of sustainable cultural tourism.

## LITERATUR REVIEW

Balinese cultural tourism is grounded in the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana, which emphasizes harmony between the divine, human relations, and the natural environment. This principle forms the foundation of Bali’s tourism development as stated in Governor Regulation No. 5 of 2020, which mandates that tourism activities must reflect Balinese cultural identity and uphold local values (Suryawan, 2021). However, the implementation of cultural tourism in practice remains dominated by physical and symbolic expressions such as traditional architectural styles, decorative ornaments, and service etiquette, while nonphysical cultural elements including culinary traditions receive far less attention (Darma, 2022). Food, in fact, plays a crucial cultural role. Long (2017) explains that cuisine functions as a cultural text through which values and history can be interpreted, while Richards (2015) emphasizes that gastronomy can strengthen destination image when connected authentically with local culture.

Government efforts to support local identity appear most prominently in Governor Regulation No. 99 of 2018, which promotes the use of local agricultural and fishery products. Yet the regulation focuses mainly on ingredients rather than on strengthening Balinese culinary representation in tourism (Pemerintah Provinsi Bali, 2018). This creates a paradox where restaurants may use local produce but still serve mostly international dishes such as sushi, pasta, burgers, or smoothie bowls. Such tendencies reflect broader global tourism patterns in which international foods are perceived as more marketable than traditional cuisine, resulting in the commodification of local food culture (Cohen and Avieli, 2004). Studies also show that globalization shapes gastronomic identity in Bali. Putra (2020) notes that local food is increasingly repositioned as a commodity rather than an expression of cultural identity, while Sastrawan (2023) highlights how the dominance of global style restaurants limits opportunities for local culinary entrepreneurs.

This shift is evident in tourism hubs such as Pererenan and Canggu. A linguistic landscape study by Setiari and Utami (2024) found that restaurant menus in these areas rely heavily on English and global culinary vocabulary, with Balinese dishes appearing only as occasional exotic elements. Hawke (2024) similarly portrays Pererenan as an emerging gastronomic destination shaped by internationally trained chefs and oriented toward foreign visitor preferences. These findings align with theoretical frameworks of cultural representation by Hall (1997) who explains how identity is constructed through symbolic practices, and Appadurai’s concept of cultural globalization (1996) which describes how global cultural flows generate hybridization and tension between local and universal values. Together, the literature affirms that culinary practices in Bali are undergoing negotiation between local cultural authenticity and global tourism demands, and without stronger culturally based policies, Balinese cuisine risks becoming marginalized within the rapidly globalizing tourism landscape.

## METHOD

The research method is a systematic approach used to collect, analyze, and interpret data in order to answer the research questions. A proper methodological design is essential for ensuring the validity and scientific credibility of research findings. In cultural and social research, the method serves as a bridge between the observed phenomena and the theoretical framework, allowing researchers to develop an in-depth understanding of the meanings, values, and contextual dimensions surrounding the object of study.

The research method provides a systematic framework for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data to address the research questions. A well-designed methodology ensures the validity and scientific rigor of the findings. In cultural and social research, it functions as a bridge between empirical observations and theoretical perspectives, enabling a deeper understanding of meanings, values, and contextual dynamics.

This study employs a descriptive qualitative design to examine how local and foreign culinary representations are constructed, negotiated, and perceived in Pererenan Village. This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of cultural expressions and symbolic practices that cannot be adequately captured through quantitative methods (Creswell, 2018).

Pererenan was selected through purposive sampling due to its rapid transformation into a hybrid tourism space that blends local identity with global lifestyle influences. As a tourism corridor accommodating both expatriate and domestic actors, it provides a relevant context for analyzing cultural negotiation in culinary tourism. The unit of analysis includes restaurants, menus, spatial design elements, and food-related communicative symbols.

Primary data were collected through non-participant observation across the Pererenan area. Observations focused on restaurant typologies, architectural and interior design, menu structures, and the use of cultural symbols in visual and spatial communication. Data were systematically recorded using field notes, photographic documentation, and descriptive mapping. In addition, informal conversational interviews with restaurant managers, staff, and visitors were conducted to capture their perspectives on local and global cuisine.

Secondary data were obtained from digital platforms such as Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram, as well as online articles and culinary features. These sources were analyzed to identify patterns in visitor reviews, branding narratives, and visual representations shaping Pererenan's culinary identity. The integration of offline and online data enables a more comprehensive understanding of cultural representation within the tourism landscape.

Data analysis followed the principles of thematic qualitative analysis adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006). The process involved three stages. The first was data familiarization and reduction which included selecting, organizing, and refining fieldnotes, photographs, and digital materials into preliminary meaning units. The second stage was coding and categorization in which data were grouped into conceptual clusters such as local cuisine, foreign cuisine, hybrid culinary forms, and cultural symbolism. The third stage involved interpretation in which patterns were examined to understand how local and global cultural identities intersect, compete, or blend within Pererenan's culinary landscape. The interpretation was guided by Hall's theory of cultural representation and Appadurai's framework of cultural globalization.

To ensure the credibility of the findings, triangulation was conducted by comparing field observations, digital data, and academic literature. Reflexive notes were used to maintain researcher awareness of positionality and potential bias. Through this interpretive analytical strategy, the study seeks to produce a comprehensive understanding of how culinary identity is negotiated within the contemporary tourism dynamics of Bali.

## II. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

### 1. Results

The results of this study provide an overview of the current landscape of culinary representation in Pererenan, a rapidly developing tourism area located within Badung Regency, Bali. The findings were generated through a combination of direct field observation and online observation (netnography). Data collection was conducted in October 2025 and focused on fourteen popular restaurants and cafés that have a minimum rating of four stars on platforms such as Google Maps and TripAdvisor. These establishments were selected purposively to represent venues that are frequently visited by tourists and that hold strong visibility within the digital tourism ecosystem.

The observational process involved documenting visual characteristics of each restaurant, including architectural style, interior design, spatial arrangement, and decorative elements. Menu descriptions were also examined to identify the types of culinary offerings presented, the extent to which local and international dishes were featured, and whether cultural narratives were incorporated into menu items. In addition, customer reviews posted on Google Maps and TripAdvisor were analyzed to gain insight into visitor perceptions, dining experiences, and culinary preferences in Pererenan. A total of approximately 1,200 online reviews were reviewed to support the assessment of how each venue positions itself within the broader culinary landscape of the area.

This data collection framework provides the empirical foundation for understanding how the culinary environment in Pererenan is structured, particularly in relation to the balance between local Balinese cuisine and globally influenced food offerings. The observations described in this section serve as the basis for identifying patterns of cultural representation, menu orientation, and visual presentation across the selected restaurants.

The visual observations conducted during the study indicate a strong dominance of globalized interior aesthetics among restaurants in Pererenan. Most of the establishments analyzed present spatial designs that align with contemporary international trends rather than with traditional Balinese visual identity. Across the fourteen venues observed, approximately seventy-five to eighty percent exhibited characteristics such as minimalist architectural elements, muted color palettes, exposed materials, and tropical contemporary styling. These design choices are consistent with global café culture that prioritizes clean lines, natural lighting, and visually appealing compositions suitable for digital content sharing.

Prominent examples of restaurants adopting this global aesthetics include Shelter, WOODS, Zali, Pescado, and Optimist. These venues commonly feature natural wood textures, rattan furniture, woven materials, soft lighting, and indoor plants, creating a neutral yet sophisticated ambience that appeals to tourists and expatriates seeking a modern dining environment. The emphasis on comfort, openness, and visual harmony contributes to the perception of Pererenan as a stylish lifestyle destination rather than as a space that foregrounds local culinary identity.

In addition to these general observations, the spatial arrangements found in several establishments further highlight the shift toward global aesthetics. Seating layouts are designed to maximize openness and visual symmetry, while décor elements are arranged to enhance photogenic appeal for visitors who frequently document their dining experiences online. This emphasis on creating visually curated spaces reinforces the dominance of global design preferences and sets the stage for understanding how individual restaurants, such as WOODS Pererenan, articulate their visual identity through interior styling. Furthermore, the visual presentation of these restaurants is deliberately curated to strengthen their branding as modern lifestyle venues. Many of them employ professional interior photography, consistent color grading, and staged decorative setups that highlight the sophistication of their spaces. These curated visuals are prominently featured on digital platforms, making interior aesthetics a key component of how the restaurants market themselves to potential visitors. The strong reliance on visually polished imagery illustrates how interior design functions not only as a physical feature, but also as a strategic tool to attract digitally oriented tourists who prioritize ambience and visual appeal in their dining choices.



**Figure 1.** Interior of WOODS Pererenan  
(Source: [Google Maps, 2025](#))

Figure 1 illustrates the interior design of WOODS Pererenan, one of the restaurants that epitomizes the modern tropical aesthetic commonly found in the area. The online imagery shared by the venue further reinforces this identity. Photographs highlight carefully curated seating arrangements, natural materials, earth-toned décor, and warm illumination, creating an atmosphere that aligns with current international hospitality trends and is visually optimized for social media platforms.

Although several restaurants incorporate Balinese cultural elements, these features are typically small in scale and symbolic in nature. Examples include the placement of *canang sari* offerings at entrances or on reception tables, small wooden carvings, or modest decorative statues. However, such elements appear as supplementary accents rather than as central components of the spatial concept. They do not significantly influence the overall interior theme nor reflect deeper aspects of Balinese cultural expression. This indicates that while cultural symbols are present, their function is primarily decorative rather than representational. Within the remaining twenty to twenty five percent of restaurants, especially smaller local eateries or hybrid cafés, localized visual elements are more apparent. These venues may incorporate traditional woven materials, Balinese motifs, or rustic finishes that reflect aspects of local craftsmanship. Nonetheless, their presence is limited compared to the high visibility of globally styled establishments, both in physical space and in digital representation.

The analysis of menu offerings across the fourteen restaurants observed in Pererenan reveals a strong inclination toward internationally styled cuisine. Approximately seventy-five to eighty percent of the venues serve dishes dominated by Western, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, or contemporary fusion influences. Common menu items include brunch-style selections such as avocado toast, smoothie bowls, artisanal sourdough bread, grilled dishes, pasta varieties, and Mediterranean plates. These items are frequently highlighted in promotional materials and online menus, indicating that international cuisine forms the core identity of many popular dining establishments in the area.

In contrast, Balinese cuisine appears only marginally represented within the culinary landscape. Only a small number of restaurants, generally smaller eateries or hybrid cafés, include traditional Balinese dishes such as nasi campur Bali, lawar, sate lilit, or beverages derived from local herbs and spices. Even when present, these dishes are often positioned as supplementary options rather than as the main focus of the restaurant. Their placement within the menu is typically subtle, lacking detailed cultural descriptions or contextual narratives that could enhance visitors' understanding of Balinese culinary heritage.

**Table 1.** Distribution of Culinary Representation in Pererenan

Source: Analize researcher

No	Restaurant Name	Dominant Menu Type	Representation of Balinese Culture	Interior Aesthetic	Category
1	WOODS	Western Modern	Symbolic	Tropical minimalist	Global
2	Shelter	Western	Symbolic	Industrial tropical	Global
3	Zali	Mediterranean	Almost none	Rustic modern	Global
4	Pescado	Spanish Fusion	Minimal	Modern coastal	Global
5	Optimist	Western	Symbolic	Tropical minimalist	Global
6	Honey Kitchen	Australian brunch	None	Clean tropical	Global
7	Baked Pererenan	Bakery & brunch	None	Contemporary minimalist	Global
8	Monsieur Spoon Pererenan	French bakery	None	European rustic	Global
9	Sensorium	Asian-Western fusion	Moderate	Modern compact	Mixed
10	Touché	Fusion + Indonesian	Moderate	Tropical	Mixed
11	Rise & Shine Pererenan	Western brunch + local drinks	Minimal	Modern tropical	Mixed
12	Warung Local Pererenan	Balinese-Indonesian	High	Modern traditional	Local
13	Warung Bu Mi (Pererenan)	Balinese-Indonesian	High	Simple traditional	Local
14	Kedai Rempah Pererenan	Herbal drinks + local snacks	High	Rustic local	Local

The data presented in Table 1 reinforces the overall findings observed during the field study and digital review. The distribution of restaurant categories shows a clear dominance of establishments offering international cuisine, which accounts for approximately seventy-five to eighty percent of the culinary landscape in Pererenan. These restaurants typically adopt global menu concepts and contemporary interior styles that align with international dining trends. Meanwhile, only a small number of venues fall into the category of local Balinese cuisine, reflecting the limited visibility and marginal positioning of traditional gastronomic expressions within the area. The mixed category, which includes restaurants combining global dishes with selected Balinese elements, also remains limited in number. This pattern demonstrates that global culinary identity plays a significantly stronger role in shaping how Pererenan presents itself as a dining destination, while Balinese culinary heritage occupies a secondary and less

prominent position.

In addition to the proportional distribution shown in Table 1, the field observations also reveal that restaurants categorized under international and mixed concepts tend to occupy more strategic locations within Pererenan, such as main roadside areas and high pedestrian zones. These establishments generally display stronger branding, clearer signage, and more visually appealing storefronts, which contribute to higher visibility among both tourists and residents. In contrast, venues offering Balinese cuisine are often situated in less prominent locations or present modest visual identities, resulting in reduced exposure and a smaller flow of visitors. This spatial and visual disparity further strengthens the dominance of global culinary representation within the area and illustrates how physical placement and branding practices shape the visibility of different culinary categories in Pererenan.



**Figure 2.** Menu Display at Brekky Café Pererenan  
(Source: [Google Maps](#))

Figure 2 illustrates the prominence of modern international dishes in one of the cafés observed. The visual presentation of the menu emphasizes health-focused, aesthetically appealing items that align with current global dining trends. This pattern is consistent across most of the restaurants analyzed, demonstrating that international dishes are both more prominently featured and more widely marketed compared to local culinary options. Further examination of menu structures shows that the integration of local ingredients does not necessarily translate into the representation of Balinese culinary identity. While many restaurants indicate the use of locally sourced vegetables, fruits, or seafood, these ingredients are predominantly incorporated into international-style dishes. As a result, the menu orientation in most establishments reflects a global culinary identity with only limited or symbolic presence of Balinese gastronomy. This finding underscores the subordinate position of traditional Balinese cuisine within the broader culinary offerings available to visitors in Pererenan.

The findings also indicate that many restaurants in Pererenan incorporate locally sourced ingredients into their dishes. Vegetables, fruits, herbs, seafood, and certain meats were frequently reported as being supplied by local farmers, fisheries, and small-scale producers across Bali. Information regarding the use of local ingredients is often displayed on menus, digital profiles, or promotional materials, suggesting that sourcing practices have become a common feature among restaurants in the area.

Despite the frequent mention of local ingredients, their use does not necessarily correspond to an effort to strengthen Balinese culinary identity. In most establishments, locally

sourced components are integrated into international dishes such as salads, bowls, grilled plates, or Mediterranean-style preparations. This indicates that the adoption of local ingredients functions primarily as a quality assurance strategy and a response to global consumer expectations surrounding sustainability, freshness, and ethical sourcing. Observations also show that references to local products are generally presented in practical terms rather than cultural ones. Descriptions such as “locally sourced vegetables,” “Bali-grown fruits,” or “fresh catch from Jimbaran” commonly appear, yet they are not accompanied by explanations relating to Balinese cooking traditions or the cultural significance of the ingredients. As a result, while local materials are present, they do not contribute to the representation of Balinese culinary identity within the dining experience.

These findings align with the broader pattern observed across the restaurants, in which sustainability-oriented claims are prominently used as part of branding and customer communication. However, the emphasis remains on meeting international standards of environmentally conscious dining rather than on providing cultural context or highlighting traditional culinary practices of Bali. Consequently, the use of local ingredients supports the operational and marketing needs of the establishments but does not serve as a medium for conveying deeper cultural meaning within the culinary landscape of Pererenan.

The netnographic review conducted through digital platforms such as Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram provides additional insight into how visitors perceive and evaluate the culinary landscape of Pererenan. Across the fourteen establishments analyzed, review patterns consistently emphasize factors related to atmosphere, visual design, comfort, and the overall lifestyle experience rather than cultural authenticity or the representation of Balinese culinary identity. Comments retrieved from Google Maps and TripAdvisor during the observation period (October 2025) frequently highlight descriptors such as “modern,” “aesthetic,” “cozy,” “Instagrammable,” and “international flavors,” indicating that visitor expectations are strongly aligned with global dining norms rather than local gastronomic traditions (Google Maps Review, 2025; TripAdvisor Review, 2025).

The digital analysis shows that foreign tourists and expatriates constitute the dominant demographic engaging with these restaurants online. User profiles, photos, and written reviews suggest that the majority of customers are long-stay visitors, remote workers, or lifestyle-oriented travelers residing in the Canggu–Pererenan area. Their preferences heavily influence the digital visibility of restaurants: posts with clean interiors, colorful bowls, artisanal baked goods, and specialty coffee receive significantly more engagement compared to posts featuring local dishes. This contributes to a feedback loop in which global-oriented restaurants become more algorithmically visible on digital platforms, while restaurants offering traditional Balinese cuisine remain overshadowed.

Menu-related reviews also reveal a strong preference for familiar international dishes. Customers frequently praise items such as brunch plates, avocado toast, poke bowls, Mediterranean platters, plant-based selections, and fusion-style desserts. In contrast, mentions of Balinese dishes are extremely limited, and when they do appear, they are generally framed as “something to try” rather than as a central culinary experience. This pattern suggests that local cuisine is consumed as a supplementary or optional experience, rather than as a defining element of the dining culture in Pererenan. Another recurring theme in digital reviews is the high value placed on service style and ambiance. Visitors often comment on staff friendliness, fast Wi-Fi, music selection, and pet-friendly spaces features that align with global café culture targeted at digital nomads and expatriates. These attributes receive significantly more attention in reviews than the cultural nuances or heritage value of the food served. Thus, the overall customer narrative found on online platforms reinforces the positioning of Pererenan as a cosmopolitan dining district rather than as a site for cultural or culinary immersion.

Visual content shared by users further strengthens this conclusion. The majority of uploaded photos focus on latte art, smoothie bowls, pastries, monochromatic interiors, wood-and-rattan furniture, and open-air seating. Only a small fraction of images depicts Balinese

cultural symbols, and when they do appear, they tend to be decorative elements such as canang sari on tables or small ornamental statues. These symbolic insertions are typically photographed incidentally rather than intentionally, indicating that visitors perceive them as background décor rather than as meaningful cultural expressions (Instagram User Posts, 2025).

Collectively, the netnographic findings demonstrate that digital representations of Pererenan's culinary scene overwhelmingly align with global lifestyle trends. Restaurants that emphasize modern aesthetics and international cuisines benefit from stronger digital traction, higher visibility, and more frequent user engagement. In contrast, establishments offering Balinese dishes or culturally rooted dining concepts remain marginal within the digital ecosystem, with limited review volume and lower positioning on platform rankings. This pattern plays a significant role in shaping the public image of Pererenan's culinary identity, as digital visibility is a critical determinant of how tourists select dining venues in contemporary travel culture.

**Table 2.** Levels of Digital Visibility of Restaurants in Pererenan

Source: Analyze researcher

No	Restaurant Name	Google Maps Rating & Review Volume	TripAdvisor Presence	Instagram Visibility	Overall Visibility Category
1	WOODS	High rating, high review volume	Listed, high ranking	High (frequent user posts)	High
2	Shelter	High rating, high review volume	Listed	High	High
3	Zali	High rating, medium-high volume	Listed	High	High
4	Pescado	Medium-high rating, high volume	Listed	Medium-high	High
5	Optimist	High rating, high engagement	Listed	High	High
6	Honey Kitchen	High rating, medium volume	Limited	Medium	Medium
7	Baked Pererenan	High rating, medium-high volume	Not always listed	Very high	High
8	Monsieur Spoon Pererenan	High volume (popular café)	Listed	Very high	High
9	Sensorium	High rating, moderate volume	Listed	Medium	Medium
10	Touché	Medium rating, moderate volume	Listed	Medium	Medium
11	Rise & Shine Pererenan	Medium-high rating	Limited	Medium	Medium
12	Warung Local Pererenan	Medium rating, low volume	Rarely listed	Low	Low
13	Warung Bu Mi (Pererenan)	Medium rating, medium volume	Limited	Low-medium	Medium
14	Kedai Rempah Pererenan	Low review volume	Not listed	Low	Low

Table 2 provides an overview of the digital visibility of the fourteen restaurants examined in this study based on their presence and engagement across Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram. The data show that restaurants with international menus and modern global aesthetics consistently achieve higher levels of online visibility compared to local Balinese establishments. These restaurants receive greater review volumes, higher user ratings, and more frequent appearance in user-generated photo posts, which strengthens their algorithmic ranking on major digital platforms. Restaurants categorized as local Balinese tend to appear less frequently in digital searches and accumulate fewer online reviews. Their Instagram presence is also limited, with fewer user-generated photos and lower engagement levels. Mixed category restaurants occupy an intermediate position, with moderate visibility and engagement across platforms. The distribution shown in the table highlights how digital ecosystems contribute to shaping public perceptions of Pererenan's culinary identity, reinforcing the dominance of globally styled restaurants while marginalizing traditional Balinese culinary representation within the digital landscape.

The cross-comparison between on-site observations and digital visibility metrics across Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram reveals a consistent pattern that reinforces the dominance of globally oriented restaurants in shaping Pererenan's culinary image. Establishments that displayed strong global aesthetics and international menu offerings during field observation are the same venues that appear most prominently in digital search results and user-generated content. During the observational period, restaurants such as Shelter, WOODS, Zali, Pescado, and Optimist were found to rank within the top search results on Google Maps, typically receiving higher engagement in the form of reviews, photo uploads, and rating activity (Google Maps Data, 2025). These venues consistently appear within the first scroll of search results for keywords such as "best restaurants Pererenan," "brunch Pererenan," or "café Canggu." In contrast, restaurants offering Balinese dishes rank substantially lower, often positioned beyond the first three to five scroll pages, limiting their visibility to potential visitors.

A similar pattern emerged from TripAdvisor, where restaurants serving international cuisine tend to accumulate significantly more reviews. These establishments also appear more frequently in curated lists such as "Top Restaurants in Pererenan" or "Best Brunch Spots Near Canggu." The volume of user engagement directly correlates with algorithmic ranking, allowing globally oriented restaurants to dominate the discoverability landscape (TripAdvisor Ranking Data, 2025). Instagram-based visibility further amplifies this imbalance. Posts tagged under "#Pererenan," "#PererenanFood," or "#CangguEats" predominantly feature images from restaurants with minimalist, tropical-modern interiors and visually attractive international dishes. Content showing Balinese food appears infrequently and rarely gains comparable engagement levels. The aesthetic appeal of modern cafés clean lines, muted color palettes, artisanal food presentation aligns strongly with global visual trends, resulting in significantly higher shareability and user interaction (Instagram Hashtag Analysis, 2025).

The combined analysis demonstrates a clear convergence: restaurants with global concepts dominate not only physical space but also digital space. Their visual appeal, branding strategies, and alignment with global lifestyle imagery allow them to achieve greater online prominence, which in turn drives higher visitor numbers. This creates a reinforcing cycle in which digital visibility boosts physical patronage, and increased patronage generates more digital content, further cementing their online dominance. Meanwhile, establishments featuring Balinese culinary identity struggle to reach the same levels of online exposure. Their lower review volume, fewer digital uploads, and less algorithm-friendly aesthetic contribute to limited discoverability, despite their cultural relevance. As a result, local culinary representation becomes digitally marginalized, not because of quality or authenticity, but due to disparities in visibility and user-driven promotional dynamics. Overall, the intersection of on-site findings and digital data indicates that the culinary identity of Pererenan is shaped not only by what exists physically on the ground but also and perhaps more strongly by what is amplified in digital platforms.

Combined findings from field observations and digital analysis show that the representation of culinary identity in Pererenan is shaped by both physical and online dynamics. The dominance of international restaurants observed on-site aligns closely with their strong visibility across digital platforms, which reinforces their position within the local culinary landscape. Establishments with modern global aesthetics consistently receive more reviews, higher user engagement, and better algorithmic placement, making them more discoverable to visitors.

In contrast, restaurants offering Balinese cuisine remain limited in number and less visible in digital spaces. Their online presence is generally modest, with fewer photos, lower review volume, and reduced interaction on platforms such as Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram. This limited digital traction directly affects their visibility and visitation, as tourists rely heavily on online recommendations when choosing dining venues. Overall, the integration of on-site and netnographic results demonstrates a clear pattern: global culinary concepts dominate both the physical and virtual environments of Pererenan, while Balinese culinary representation occupies a secondary position. These results indicate that the construction of Pererenan's culinary identity is significantly influenced by digital visibility, user-generated content, and global lifestyle preferences that shape how restaurants are perceived and selected by visitors.

## 2. Discussion

The findings of this study reveal a clear imbalance in the representation of local and global culinary identities within Pererenan's tourism landscape. Although Balinese cuisine forms an essential component of the island's cultural heritage, the on-site observations and digital analysis consistently demonstrate that global-oriented restaurants are significantly more dominant, both in physical presence and in online visibility. This dominance shapes how visitors perceive Pererenan as a culinary destination, leading to a shift in identity from a culturally grounded space toward a cosmopolitan dining environment.

The prevalence of modern interior aesthetics, international menus, and visually curated branding suggests that Pererenan's culinary scene is constructed around global lifestyle preferences rather than local gastronomic traditions. This indicates that the motivations of restaurant operators are highly market-driven, with a preference for design concepts and menu types that appeal to foreign tourists, expatriates, and lifestyle-oriented travelers. As a result, Balinese cuisine, when present, is positioned as a complementary rather than central component of the dining experience. Digital findings further reinforce this pattern. Platforms such as Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram amplify restaurants that exhibit global aesthetics, thereby influencing how tourists choose dining venues. Since digital visibility is closely tied to user engagement and algorithmic ranking, restaurants serving Balinese cuisine often with modest interiors and limited social media presence struggle to compete in an environment shaped by visual appeal and online popularity. This demonstrates that culinary representation in Pererenan is not determined solely by physical offerings, but also by the dynamics of digital discoverability. Overall, the combined field and netnographic evidence indicates that Pererenan's culinary identity is being reshaped through the interaction of global consumer preferences, digital visibility patterns, and market-oriented branding strategies. Local culinary heritage remains present, but its role is secondary, symbolic, and structurally marginal within the current tourism context.

A central issue emerging from the study is the noticeable gap between the cultural principles mandated by regional policy and the realities observed in Pererenan's culinary practices. According to Bali's cultural tourism framework particularly the Governor's Regulation No. 5/2020 tourism activities are expected to reflect Balinese cultural values rooted in Tri Hita Karana. However, the field data show that these principles are only partially implemented in the culinary sector. Cultural representation is largely limited to surface-level symbols such as canang sari, wooden carvings, or traditional ornaments, while the deeper

gastronomic heritage of Bali remains underrepresented. This discrepancy suggests that regulatory intentions have not yet been translated into operational guidelines that can effectively influence restaurant practices. Most establishments prioritize global aesthetics and internationally recognizable dishes, as these align more closely with market demands and tourist expectations. The absence of explicit policy instruments directing restaurants to integrate Balinese culinary identity whether through menu development, storytelling, or cultural interpretation results in a situation where cultural authenticity is overshadowed by commercial considerations. Consequently, the implementation of cultural tourism principles in Pererenan remains symbolic rather than substantive, highlighting the need for more targeted policy interventions tailored specifically to the culinary sector.

The dominance of global aesthetics in Pererenan demonstrates how international lifestyle preferences shape the cultural hierarchy of dining spaces within the area. Restaurants that adopt minimalist, tropical-modern interiors and internationally recognizable dishes gain stronger visibility, higher customer engagement, and more favorable positioning across digital platforms. This dynamic elevates global design standards as the benchmark for quality, modernity, and desirability, while local cultural expressions become secondary visual accents rather than central design principles. Such patterns indicate the operation of cultural hegemony, where global norms subtly override local identities by defining what is seen as attractive, relevant, or marketable. The success of global-style cafés among expatriates, digital nomads, and lifestyle-oriented travelers reinforces these norms, creating economic incentives for restaurants to prioritize universal aesthetics over Balinese cultural depth. As a result, local culinary identity is frequently reduced to symbolic décor small offerings, wooden carvings, or traditional motifs rather than being integrated into the core conceptual experience. This situation reflects a broader shift in which cultural authenticity is filtered through global visual standards. Instead of offering deep engagement with Balinese gastronomic heritage, many venues present a curated, internationally appealing image that aligns with social media trends. Consequently, the dominance of global aesthetics not only influences consumption patterns but also redefines how Balinese culture is valued, represented, and preserved within the tourism economy.

Digital platforms play a decisive role in shaping the culinary landscape of Pererenan. The patterns observed across Google Maps, TripAdvisor, and Instagram indicate that algorithmic visibility significantly benefits global-style restaurants while marginalizing establishments rooted in Balinese culinary heritage. Restaurants with modern interiors, photogenic dishes, and strong branding consistently attract higher review volumes, more frequent user uploads, and stronger engagement. These factors create a reinforcing cycle greater visibility leads to higher visitation, which generates more digital content, further elevating the establishment's ranking. This algorithmic advantage positions globally oriented restaurants at the forefront of public perception, making them the default dining options for tourists who rely on digital platforms to guide decision-making. In contrast, restaurants offering Balinese cuisine tend to receive fewer reviews and less visual exposure, resulting in their placement beyond the initial search results where most users stop scrolling. Limited digital traction diminishes their discoverability, regardless of cultural significance or authenticity. The prioritization of "Instagrammable" elements latte art, smoothie bowls, minimalist interiors further amplifies global dominance. Balinese dishes, which may be less visually stylized or aligned with global food photography trends, struggle to achieve similar reach. As a result, algorithmic systems inadvertently reinforce global culinary hegemony, shaping Pererenan's identity as a cosmopolitan dining destination rather than a site of rich local gastronomy.

The combined field and digital findings reveal deeper cultural implications related to how Pererenan constructs and negotiates its culinary identity. The dominance of global aesthetics and international cuisines demonstrates a shift in which local culture is increasingly positioned as a decorative supplement rather than as a substantive component of the dining experience. This pattern reflects a broader tension within Bali's cultural tourism model, where authentic cultural expressions gradually become overshadowed by global lifestyle preferences that appeal

to international visitors. The marginalization of Balinese cuisine within both physical and digital spaces risks weakening the transmission of culinary heritage to younger generations. Traditional dishes carry embedded philosophical meanings, ritual functions, and community values; however, these elements are rarely communicated in contemporary dining venues. As global dining trends continue to shape consumption patterns, the role of Balinese gastronomy as a cultural medium diminishes, potentially affecting cultural preservation in the long term. Despite this situation, the emergence of small-scale initiatives such as cafés experimenting with neo-traditional interpretations of Balinese dishes offers a promising counterbalance. These efforts demonstrate that local culinary identity can adapt creatively without losing cultural depth. Strengthening such initiatives through policy support, cultural storytelling, and strategic visibility could help restore the centrality of Balinese gastronomy in Pererenan's evolving culinary landscape.

Overall, the discussion highlights how Pererenan's culinary landscape is shaped not merely by market preferences, but by deeper structural forces involving globalization, digital visibility, and cultural negotiation. The dominance of international cuisine and global aesthetics both physically and digitally demonstrates that global trends currently hold greater symbolic and economic power than local culinary heritage. This creates a cultural hierarchy in which Balinese gastronomy is present, yet marginalized, visible only in limited pockets of the culinary scene. Such conditions reveal the challenges faced by culture-based tourism when local identity is expected to coexist with global consumer expectations.

At the same time, the findings underscore the opportunity to reposition Balinese cuisine within contemporary tourism narratives. The emergence of neo-traditional culinary movements, increasing interest in local ingredients, and a growing global demand for authentic cultural experiences indicate potential pathways for strengthening cultural representation. However, achieving this requires alignment between policy, industry practices, and community participation. Without coordinated efforts, Balinese culinary identity risks being overshadowed by global trends that continue to shape the tastes, expectations, and digital behaviors of visitors. Thus, the discussion suggests the need for more strategic cultural interventions that ensure local culinary traditions remain integral not incidental to Bali's evolving tourism identity.

### III. CONCLUSIONS

This study concludes that the culinary landscape of Pererenan is strongly shaped by the influence of global trends, digital visibility, and shifting tourist preferences, resulting in an imbalance between the representation of international cuisine and traditional Balinese gastronomy. Field observations and netnographic analysis consistently show that restaurants with modern global aesthetics and internationally oriented menus dominate both the physical dining scene and the digital ecosystem. These establishments not only occupy more strategic spaces but also benefit from significantly higher online engagement, enabling them to shape the public perception of Pererenan as a cosmopolitan culinary destination. Meanwhile, Balinese culinary representation remains limited and largely symbolic. Local dishes, when present, are positioned as supplementary options rather than central elements of the dining experience. Cultural symbols are used decoratively but do not convey deeper gastronomic meaning. This pattern highlights a structural gap between the ideals of Bali's cultural tourism policies and their implementation within the restaurant sector, where cultural expression is often overshadowed by global lifestyle-based aesthetics.

Despite these challenges, the emergence of hybrid and neo-traditional culinary initiatives indicates potential for revitalizing Balinese gastronomic identity. Strengthening the visibility and cultural narrative of Balinese cuisine through policy support, industry collaboration, and innovative culinary practices could help reposition local gastronomic heritage within Bali's tourism framework. Ultimately, the findings emphasize the need for a more integrated cultural strategy to ensure that Balinese culinary identity remains an active, meaningful, and sustainable part of Bali's rapidly evolving tourism landscape.

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