Mapping of Re-Assessing Gentrification Process Post-Pandemic COVID-19 in The Old Town Semarang, Indonesia

S. P. Dewi¹, R. Susanti¹, and G. L. Wungo¹

¹Urban and Regional Planning Department, Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia

Email: santy.paula.dewi@pwk.undip.ac.id

Abstract. The revitalization of The Semarang Old Town revived this area as a tourist destination and generated regional economic growth. Several new restaurants, coffee shops, galleries, and other economic activities emerge along with tourism development. Job vacancies were offered and attracted newcomers to work as well as to invest. Consequently, properties that previously had no economic value became a potential asset, increasing land prices and building rental prices significantly. Hence, gentrification becomes an inevitable phenomenon. Local communities previously inhabited vacant buildings for years were displaced because the buildings would be restored and then rented out. However, these situations changed after the COVID-19 pandemic occurred, that many restrictions on community activities, including tourism. Visitors' numbers decrease drastically, making many businesses in the Old Town suffer losses. It pointed by several coffee shops and restaurants closed, or they did not extend the rents. In contrast, the number of informal sectors which restricted surged in line with many work terminations. Hence, this study aims to re-assess the gentrification process along with the socio-economic changes after the COVID-19 pandemic. This study used a quantitative method by applying the spatial analysis method, which compares aspects such as physical transformation, space use, land prices, rent prices, land ownership, and population growth before and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Gentrification, Post Pandemic Covid-19, Spatial Analysis Method

1. Introduction

The Semarang City government revitalized the Old Town by attaching new functions to enhance the socio-economic of the surrounding community [1–3]. The revitalization covered improvements of streets, drainage, pedestrians, street furniture, and signage. There is a physical transformation that the space utilization more organized and reduced the tidal flood. The improvements led the Old Town to become a strategic tourism site and made the Semarang the most searched tourist destination on Google in 2018. Hence, the revitalization succeeded in preventing the degeneration of urban space, increasing environment quality and the social-economic of the community [4], as well as protecting cultural heritage [5–9].

The physical improvement triggers the increase of the properties' economic value, such as rising land price and building rent price. Several ancient buildings were revitalized and rented as restaurants, coffee shops, galleries, and other economic activities. The Old Town becomes one of the demanding investment areas in Semarang as well as becomes one of the trade and tourism centers. Many new job vacancies offered then attracted newcomers to work and to live in this area. In contrast, local
communities formerly resided in vacant ancient buildings illegally displaced because the owner renovated the buildings. Displacement of local communities and the existence of newcomers affect the population composition more diverse. In addition, space utilization had also changed, such as replacing kindergarten that occupied an ancient building become rented offices, vacant buildings functioned as public communal parking lots.

The physical and space utilization transformation, shifting on population composition, and socio-economic changes reveal the gentrification in the Old Town. Besides, tourism considered as one of activities that triggers gentrification [10]. Gentrification refers shifting of lower-middle-class areas in the city center into upper-middle-class housing or commercial use [10–12]. Gentrification is defined as the capital inflow process that transforms the social, economic, cultural, physical, and demographic environment [13], basically encouraging people to be socially marginalized or long-term.

The revitalization carried out by the government emphasizing the physical aspect, whereas socioeconomic aspects are less considered. Therefore, Semarang Old Town Area Management Agency collaborates with NGOs assisting informal workers and local communities by giving free training such as tour guide training, business management training for small enterprises, and tourism-related training. These trainings aim to enhance the local community capacities because most of them were less skilled and had low educational backgrounds. However, many local communities prefer to work as industrial or construction workers outside the Old Town or other cities. Afterwards, it leads the economic transformation. Likewise, job shifting on the local communities formerly were informal workers who sold food or non-food in the Old Town and became industrial labor. Street vendors that previously occupied a permanent place in ancient buildings were displaced and moved uncertainly from one place to another. Hence, the tourism development, as well as the Old Town development, did not give significant benefit for the local communities. Gentrification causes the emergence of a new social class with a higher class than the previous social class [12]. The spread of gentrification poses the risk of profits beyond the ability of individual capitalists to manage [12], resulting in leakage due to the inability of the local community to use buildings as formal trade. Gentrification does not solve the problems of unemployment and poverty but shifts these problems in another direction and marginalizes the urban poor because of the incompatibility of economic transformation [14,15]. Gentrification is a social control such as discrimination or exclusion [16], driving the movement of the poor to other places [16–18].

On the other hands, many buildings in the Old Town Area are owned and managed by people outside the Old Town and outside the City of Semarang. They revitalized the buildings and then rented or sale it to the investors. The emergence of investors as newcomers who open cafes, restaurants, and souvenir shops supports tourism development. Likewise, their employees are communities outside the Old Town Area, even outside the City of Semarang. It is because the local communities could not take the job vacancies offered because can not meet the qualification. Then, the social transformation occurred that signed by the newcomers existence.

The situation above changed after the pandemic COVID-19 shocked urban life in 2020. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Government issued regulations to reduce the chain of virus transmission by limiting people visiting a place and limiting operating hours for economic activities. These regulations cause the Old Town's visitors to decrease drastically and influence the decreasing income of cafes and restaurants there. The managerial and operational costs become a burden for restaurant owners. The income earned by cafes and restaurants is less than expenses, so some cafes and restaurants are closed temporarily or permanently.

However, the existence of cafes and restaurants is one of the tourist attractions mainly for most young visitors (less than 30 years old) who can hang out with their friends or relatives. Consequently, the closing of several coffee shops and restaurants affects young tourists' interest in visiting the Old Town.

Indeed, the economic transformation was occured after the Old Town revitalized. Informal activities, including street vendors, are prohibited from residing in the Old Town. They have to move from one place to another place and avoid the Satpol PP control. It makes existence becomes more uncertain and vulnerable.
The facts above show that the pandemic as well as the revitalization have caused a transformation in economic activity and the population composition in the Old Town Area. The COVID-19 pandemic impacts the tourism sector, in which business owners are more vulnerable to close their businesses, whereas the revitalization which considered as a spatial arrangement does not accommodate the informal activities and makes the workers vulnerable to eviction [19]. Moreover, the area that previously demanded investment became less attractive because the visitors' number dropped significantly during the pandemic COVID-19. Likewise, the high land price or building rental price did not equal the investors' potential income. Hence, many vacant buildings are offered to be rented; a building formerly occupied by a well-known coffee shop is rented because the coffee shop closes permanently. The closure of several businesses caused workers who originally lived in the Old Town to move closer to their new workplaces.

The socio-economic transformation influences space utilization that also affects the gentrification process. Hence, this study reveal how does the gentrification process, mainly post-revitalization and pandemic COVID-19 affecting Old Town development.

In addition, many vacant buildings offered to be rented pointed that the Old Town starts to leave. Will the COVID-19 pandemic cause the Old Town Area not to be invested? Due to the decline in tourists coming to the Old Town Area, the capacity influence to continue trading activities, such as the inability to pay rent and temporary restaurant closures. The brokers can catch up with this situation by buying the land or buildings offered at a low price, and then they will sell it when the Old Town area begins to rise again. It is called de-gentrification, including the negative impact of gentrification, an unsustainable increase in speculative property prices [20].

The purpose of the study was to re-assess gentrification after the COVID-19 pandemic in the Old Town area of Semarang. Previous studies have discussed gentrification and the COVID-19 pandemic, focusing on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the quality of life of people in gentrified areas. The effect of COVID-19 on urban inequalities in the perspective of gentrification [10–12,14,20–22]. In comparison, the novelty of this research is to focus on studies on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on a tourist area, especially historical tourism, where there are economic aspects and cultural preservation that gives their color to the gentrification that occurs.

2. Data and Methods

The COVID-19 pandemic affects all aspects of life, including tourism activities. Restrictions on community activities, turning off street lighting, closing several roads, and closing several tourist attractions in Kota Lama have reduced visitors significantly. Owners of restaurants, cafes, and other businesses have complained of a decline in income of up to 80%. On the other hand, many people who depend on the Old Town tourism activities, including informal activities, feel the impact of all these restrictions. Therefore, Kota Lama is the focus of this study, where based on previous research, it is also known that gentrification has occurred in this area.

The Old Town Area is one of the strategic tourism sites in Semarang that emphasizes cultural heritage tourism. There are 274 cultural heritage buildings spread across the core and buffer areas [23] that were recently utilized as offices, restaurants, coffee shops, galleries, and others. Based on the Semarang City Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2020 concerning Building and Environmental Planning, the Old Town is a cultural heritage that has potential tourism value and economic potential to improve community welfare.

Administratively, the Old Town includes Tanjung Mas Village, North Semarang District, and Purwodinatan Village, Central Semarang District (Figure 1). Space utilization of the Old Town consists of a core zone of 25,277 ha with a function as a tourist area and activities support, whereas a buffer zone of 47,081 ha functions as an area for settlement, education, industry, warehousing, and trade in services.

This research used a quantitative method that uses several variables such as space utilization, population, and socio-economic changes to re-measure gentrification in Kota Lama. Data collection used a questionnaire to 42 local communities to find out socio-economic changes after revitalization and the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, direct and virtual field observations to identify the physical
condition of the area. The descriptive analysis method is used to explain changes in the research location, while the spatial analysis method uses a geographic information system to analyze physical changes related to space utilization.

![Figure 1. Semarang Old Town Map](image)

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 The COVID-19 Pandemic dan Tourism Development

The COVID-19 pandemic that occurred in 2019 has significantly impacted tourism as a sector that makes a major contribution to the world economy [14]. According to The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTCC) research, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused the loss of one million jobs in the travel tourism sector per day [15]. Likewise, the COVID-19 pandemic affects the tourism and tourism-related industries such as travel and hotel industries. According to BPS data, in April 2020, the number of foreign tourists to Indonesia fell by 90%.

In response to this, there needs to be an adjustment by implementing an adaptive tourism strategy. Tourism development needs to be reset by making adjustments at both the macro and micro levels. At the macro level, it is necessary to look at the development of other aspects outside of tourism, one of which is technology development to ensure the implementation of health protocols [24]. For instance, the utilization of artificial intelligence such as robots to ensure the cleanliness of a place by periodically spraying disinfectants or spraying hand sanitizers, as supervisors to ensure that visitors keep their distance. Hotels in Australia applied this technology advances that are robots to serve guests from arrival to departures, such as check-in and check-out services. Technological solutions are intended to reduce direct contact with visitors to minimize the risk of contracting the COVID-19 virus. The micro-level adjustment strategy is directly related to tourism objects, such as recognizing and complying with tourist preferences that possibly changed after the COVID-19 pandemic; it is essential to comprehend the tourism demand [24].

At the national level, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy published several programs such as vaccine vacation or vaccine-based tourism, work from Bali, and Travel Corridor Arrangements. These programs chose Bali as a pilot project, considering that the tourism sector is the sector that provides the most significant contribution to this province. In practice, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy cooperates with the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other parties in conducting these programs.
The decrease in tourists also occurred in the Semarang City after the COVID-19 outbreak. Based on the RPJMD of Semarang City 2016-2020, the number of tourists in Semarang City is targeted to increase by 6% every year. However, in 2020, the number of tourists has decreased by more than 50% (Figure 2).

![Figure 2. Tourist Number in Semarang City (in million) (RPJMD Kota Semarang 2016-2020)](image)

Tourism is the basis-activities for the Semarang City government to restore the economy after the pandemic. The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy established several tourism-related strategies, such as a safe tourism program by providing cleanliness, health, and safety (CHSE) certification to ensure security and increase tourist confidence. Technically, some tourism objects are also being addressed and cleaned as well as equipped with facilities that support the implementation of health protocols. In addition, the government is developing the Lunpia application, which the public can easily download via mobile phones containing tourist objects and tourism-related information.

The post-pandemic economic recovery takes time, especially when it is not yet possible to open all tourism objects in the Old Town. The implementation of Large-Scale Social Restrictions in April 2020 continued with the rules for the Imposition of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions in early July 2021, which was extended through the Enforcement of Level 4 Community Activity Restrictions in August 2021, limiting community activities, including the implementation of tourism activities.

The Old Town of Semarang is a historical tourism center supported by several restaurants and coffee shops that occupy ancient buildings, which is also considered an attraction for tourists, especially young people. Likewise, this area is also known to have exciting spots for taking pictures, so it is widely used for shooting various needs by the community and making the Old Town crowded with visitors both during the day and at night. However, this situation changed after the pandemic, where the number of visitors decreased, limitation on community activities, the street lights in the Old Town were deliberately turned off by the Transportation Service and the Police, thus making the atmosphere at night desolate. The Semarang City Culture and Tourism Office has officially closed all tourist attractions and entertainment venues, as well as tourism-related facilities in the Old Town including car free nights since March 28, 2020 until an undetermined time. Likewise, the prohibition on dine-in has resulted in a decreased visitors’ number of restaurants and coffee shops; some of these businesses have even chosen to temporarily close until the situation permits where there are no more restrictions on activities. In addition, in January 2021, Letjend Suprapto Street (from Simpang Cendrawasih to Mpu Tantular Street) was closed by the Semarang City Government to reduce tourism activities in the Old Town Area. Letjend Suprapto Street is the main road in the Old Town area, which has the most tourist attraction and trade-in services along the way.
Based on the news from the mass media, the efforts made by business owners in Kota Lama to survive are known. On jatengtoday.com and fiber.id newspapers, well-known restaurants such as Pringsewu have reduced staff to reduce operational costs. Likewise, the manager of Hero Coffee Shop chooses to reduce their employees' salaries and avoid layoffs. Minimarkets and other businesses have also laid off their employees, some without even giving pocket money. These efforts are made to survive during a pandemic storm that is not yet known when it will end. Business owners who continue to open their businesses rely on online and delivery systems even though their income cannot cover operational costs. However, these strategies are still chosen by entrepreneurs compared to having to close their businesses temporarily. The strategy is a part of the adjustments made during the pandemic. Likewise, Airbnb business owners in Barcelona adjust the changes by selling their properties (houses that were previously used as lodging) to be used as residences as the number of tourists decreased by 80% [25].

All government activities limiting policies and the closure of all tourist activities in the Old Town also significantly impact informal activities that depend on the presence of tourists. Informal activities adjust their hour-operational period during the day and choose to reside in the center of the Old Town, such as around Srigunting Park, Blendhuk Church, or along Jl. Letjen Suprapto. However, the number of informal workers in the Old Town decreased because of restrictions on community activities, where they chose to change jobs or open businesses in other locations.

3.2 The Pandemic COVID-19 and Gentrification

Before 2018, the Old Town of Semarang was included as a disinvested area that pointed out slums, floods, and the proliferation of street vendors, which made the area disheveled. As a result, heritage tourism, which is one of the main activities, was underdeveloped. Likewise, the existence of tourism-related industries did not significantly contribute to tourism development, which their number was limited. It can be seen from the existence of three coffee shops in 2015.

After being revitalized in 2017, the Old Town has become the leading tourism site in Semarang and has made this area a promising investment destination. The development of the Old Town tourism activities is in line with the region's economic development, which is marked by an increase in the number of restaurants, coffee shops, and other economic businesses, which increase by 30% every year. Several culinary businesses that already have famous brands have started to open in the Old Town, such as Spiegel Bar and Bistro, which opened its business at the end of 2015; Tekodeko Koffiehuis, which opened in 2017; Pringsewu restaurant in 2018, and Filosofi Kopi which operates in 2019. In addition, many coffee shops offer vintage architectural designs, making them enjoyable to visit. The presence of all restaurants, coffee shops, and businesses increases the Old Town's attractiveness.

The development of the Old Town does not only occur on the main road or Jl. Letjen Suprapto, but in almost all core areas. The existence of restaurants, coffee shops, and tourism-related industries is spread out on Kepodang Street, Suari Street, and Gelatik Street. The emergence of these businesses has implications for the increase in land prices which in 2000 reached Rp 35 million/m2. Likewise, with building rentals, which previously had no economic value and tended to be abandoned by the owner, the rental price now reaches Rp 200 million per year. Consequently, only high productivity activities can rent these buildings, while other activities such as settlements or social facilities chose to move to another location. Physical changes in the area, economic growth, and the influx of new investors and workers in the Old Town have led to gentrification. Displacement of local communities characterizes gentrification, which is also found in this area, especially the illegal occupants of ancient buildings.

However, socio-economic and physical conditions have changed after the COVID-19 pandemic. The decline in tourism activity and all of its associated activities have changed this area's development. Initially, restaurants, coffee shops, and several other businesses chose to be located in the Old Town because the area is one of the tourist destinations, as well as because the architectural design of the buildings being rented is quite attractive. However, this revitalized ancient building requires high maintenance costs. As conveyed by the Old Town Area Management Agency, to paint
the walls of ancient buildings, it cannot use commonly wall paint, yet it must use a special paint which can adjust to high humidity levels considering the age of the ancient building, which it is prone to overgrown with moss. This special paint has a relatively high price, which according to BPK2L, a room with an area of 16 m² requires Rp 10 million. Hence, the building owners and tenants need to spend quite a lot of money managing and maintaining ancient buildings. Moreover, they are not allowed to change or replace the structure of the building because it is one of the cultural heritage buildings.

The large business operating costs plus building maintenance costs are pretty burdensome for both tenants and building owners. Moreover, income has decreased significantly due to the pandemic. As a result, several buildings offered to sell, and several businesses closed their businesses. Kopi Kiniraja at Gelatik Street, Noeri’s Café at Nuri Street, Vercoffe in front of Garuda Park, Rajawali Nusindo Semarang at Kepodang Street, Blenduk Jaya Building Store at Gelatik Street, Pithoe Coffee & Beer at Gelatik Street, and Semarang Coffee Philosophy at Letjend Suprapto Street are several businesses that closed permanently (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Closed Permanently Business (Observation, 2021)
The COVID-19 pandemic changed the situation and reduced the economic value of property in the Old Town. The cost of renting buildings, which previously continuously increased, tends to stagnate, indicating that the COVID-19 pandemic is affecting the development of a region. Some experts have argued that the existence of a pandemic reduces the development of gentrification or even cut-down gentrification. This statement justified the limitation of community activities, the appeal to stay at home, and reducing mobility causing many commercial sectors to lose (the number of buyers decreased); hotels also suffer losses, especially the tourism sector, which is undoubtedly very impacted. Tourism-related business owners' losses and workers in the tourism sector have chosen to switch jobs. In addition, tourist site areas that were initially very demanding and became the target of investors gradually began to decline. Particularly for business in the Old Town area where resided in ancient buildings which require quite expensive maintenance. Their income dropped remarkably, but still paying building rent, taxes, and maintenance costs, which made the building owners' burden even heavier.

The COVID-19 pandemic's impact on the informal sector is similar to that of the formal economy, where income has decreased. Street vendors who reside in the Old Town after the COVID-19 pandemic are not only old traders, but also new traders who are mostly suffered of work termination (Figure 4). The existence of new street vendors in the Old Town show that tourism activities in this area are still considered a magnet for newcomers to make money. However, the characteristics of these newcomers are different from the former; before the pandemic, these immigrants were business owners or investors and employees of restaurants or cafes, whereas the latest newcomers are street vendors. Identifying from the characteristics of the business, street vendors do not need a permanent place to sell, so that they do not require to pay rent buildings as well as spend building maintenance funds. These street vendors also do not need workers (employee) to assist their businesses; their economic activities do not attract newcomers.

The COVID-19 pandemic that is still occurring makes the economy very vulnerable, including tourism. Several adjustment strategies have been carried out but still have not shown significant results. Similarly, all of the socio-economic and spatial transformations are still taking place. Hence, the pandemic affects the dynamic of gentrification that will not abolish the process, yet it will repeat the process or be called de-gentrification [22]. The losses business can not afford to pay the rent and move to other places cause vacant buildings. It is difficult to find a new renter in the pandemic situation so that these the abandoned buildings are rented back or even sold at low prices. The speculators who buy the building will later sell or lease it back at a much higher price than the purchase price when the condition is stable. However, selling the ancient buildings in the Old Town is dissimilar to other buildings in general. The owner must carry a specific procedure when selling the building (especially...
for those belonging to cultural heritage buildings). Likewise, the building's tenants have to obey a specific regulation regarding the utilization of the ancient building. This regulation becomes the primary consideration for speculators when buying buildings for investment. The worst scenario regarding the utilization of the ancient building is that they can be illegally occupied back by the local communities when the offered buildings are not sold. A similar situation will reoccur and cause the Old Town to become a disinvested area like before revitalized.

4. Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic considers as an important milestone in the development of gentrification in the Old Town. This area has function as a strategic tourism site and economic generator, as well as a historical conservation area, that shape the specific color to the development of gentrification. The diminishing gentrification or the disaster gentrification in the Old Town after COVID-19 occurs along with the decline in tourism activity and related activities. The scale and orientation of economic shifting affect regional development and regional attractiveness. Possibility, gentrification may also finish because this area is re-abandoned by investors who could not afford to cope with the high rents as well as the high building maintenance costs. Meanwhile, selling the ancient building is a complex process that requires various administrative procedures that must be passed. During this period, the building will be vacant and re-occupied illegally or inhabited for such informal activities. Hence, de-gentrification will start the episode in the Old Town.

5. Acknowledgments

This research was funded by the Directorate of Research and Community Service, Directorate General of Strengthening Research and Development, Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia in basic research scheme 2021.

6. References

[1] Keyvanfar A, Shafaghat A, Mohamad S, Abdullah M M, Ahmad H, Derus N H M and Khorami M 2018 A sustainable historic waterfront revitalization decision support tool for attracting tourists Sustain. 10
[2] Gyan Nyaupane 2015 Ecology, tourism Springer Int. Publ. Switz.
[3] Doganer S and Dupont W 2013 Cultural heritage tourism and authenticity: San Antonio missions historic district WIT Trans. built Environ. 131 15–27
[4] Konior A and Pokojska W 2020 Management of postindustrial heritage in urban revitalization processes Sustainability 12 5034
[5] Attia S 2013 Revitalization of Downtown as center for social democracy and sustainable growth Ecocity World Summit. Montr. Canada
[6] Elsorady D A 2018 Revitalisation of downtown Khedive Cairo: a contested sovereignty Cities 73 51–62
[7] Kusiak J 2019 Revitalizing urban revitalization in Poland: Towards a new agenda for research and practice
[8] Ibrahim F and SS A G 2018 Socio-economic impact of revitalization: the case of bandar seri begawan, brunei darussalam Int. J. Reg. Dev. 5 1
[9] Gražulevičiute-Vileniške I and Urbonas V 2011 Architectural heritage as a socioeconomic opportunity for revitalization of historic urban centres: a global perspective Archit. Urban Plan. 5 27–37
[10] Gotham K F 2005 Tourism gentrification: The case of new Orleans’ vieux carre (French Quarter) Urban Stud. 42 1099–121
[11] Lees L, Slater T and Wyly E 2013 Gentrification (Routledge)
[12] Hackworth J and Smith N 2001 The changing state of gentrification Tijdschr. voor Econ. en Soc. Geogr. 92 464–77
[13] Brown-Saracino J 2010 A neighborhood that never changes (University of Chicago Press)
[14] Berg J, Kaminer T, Schoonderbeek M and Zonneveld J 2008 *Houses in transformation: Interventions in European gentrification* (NAi)

[15] Davidson M and Lees L 2005 New-build “gentrification”and London’s riverside renaissance *Environ. Plan. A* **37** 1165–90

[16] Skoll G R and Korstanje M 2014 Urban heritage, gentrification, and tourism in Riverwest and El Abasto *J. Herit. Tour.* **9** 349–59

[17] Cocola-Gant A 2018 Tourism gentrification *Handbook of gentrification studies* (Edward Elgar Publishing)

[18] Lees L, Slater T and Wyly E K 2010 *The gentrification reader* vol 1(Routledge London)

[19] Singh S 2020 “Quixotic”tourism? Safety, ease, and heritage in post-COVID world tourism *J. Herit. Tour.* **1**–6

[20] Atkinson R and Bridge G 2004 *Gentrification in a global context* (Routledge)

[21] Gravari-Barbas M and Guinand S 2017 *Tourism and gentrification in contemporary metropolises: International perspectives* (Taylor & Francis)

[22] Hyra D and Lees L 2021 De-Gentrification or Disaster Gentrification? Debating the Impact of COVID-19 on Anglo-American Urban Gentrification *Vol. 2 Hous. Home* **31**

[23] Winanto A A 2018 Pengembangan Kawasan Kota Lama Semarang Sebagai Tempat Wisata Budaya Gemawisata J. Ilm. Pariwisata **14**

[24] Sigala M 2020 Tourism and COVID-19: Impacts and implications for advancing and resetting industry and research *J. Bus. Res.* **117** 312–21

[25] Cole H V S, Anguelovski I, Baró F, García-Lamarca M, Kotsila P, del Pulgar C, Shokry G and Triguero-Mas M 2020 The COVID-19 pandemic: power and privilege, gentrification, and urban environmental justice in the global north *Cities Heal.* **1**–5