

The Production of Space and Resilience Strategies in Sanur Traditional Village: A Case Study in Denpasar's Tourism Context

Arya Bagus Mahadwijati Wijaatmaja^{1,2}, I Dewa Gede Agung Diasana Putra²,
Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra², Ni Made Yudiantini²

¹Faculty of Engineering, Dwijendra University, Denpasar, INDONESIA

²Faculty of Engineering, Udayana University, Denpasar, INDONESIA

E-mail: aku@aryabagus.com

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the resilience and adaptation of the production of space in Sanur Traditional Village, Denpasar, amidst the pressures of tourism development. As tourism has become a key economic sector in Bali, traditional villages like Sanur face significant challenges in maintaining their socio-cultural identity while adapting to rapid changes. Using Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space as a conceptual framework, this research explores how Sanur negotiates between preserving traditional spatial practices and accommodating tourism demands. The study employs a qualitative case study approach, utilizing interviews, observations, and document analysis to investigate the dynamics of the production of space in Sanur. The research questions focus on: 1) How tourism development has influenced the production of space in Sanur; 2) Challenges To Traditional Spatial Planning; and 3) What resilience and adaptation strategies have been employed. The novelty of this research lies in its multidimensional approach to understanding spatial resilience in the context of a traditional Balinese village, integrating concepts of the production of space, cultural resilience, and tourism development. Preliminary findings suggest a complex interplay between traditional spatial concepts (e.g., Tri Hita Karana philosophy) and modern tourism-driven spatial transformations. The village demonstrates resilience through innovative spatial practices that balance cultural preservation with economic opportunities. This research contributes to the broader understanding of spatial resilience in traditional communities facing modernization pressures and offers insights for sustainable tourism development policies.

Keywords: production of space; resilience; traditional village; tourism; spatial adaptation.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has become a key driver of economic development in Bali, including in its capital city Denpasar. As the provincial capital, Denpasar has evolved into an attractive destination for both domestic and international tourists, with Sanur being one of its most renowned tourist areas known for its beautiful beaches and rich cultural heritage. However, this rapid tourism development has presented significant challenges for traditional entities like Sanur Traditional Village (Desa Adat Sanur) in maintaining their socio-cultural identity while adapting to modernization pressures.

The concept of the production of space, developed by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, provides a valuable framework for understanding the complex dynamics at play in Sanur. Lefebvre argues that space is not merely a physical entity but a social product shaped by the interaction of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces (Lefebvre, 2007). This triad of spatial dimensions offers a comprehensive lens through which to examine how tourism development influences the production and reproduction of space in Sanur Traditional Village.

The rapid growth of tourism in Sanur has led to significant changes in land use patterns and spatial organization. There has been a shift from undeveloped areas to built-up zones to accommodate tourism needs, along with both horizontal and vertical expansion of development and increased land use intensity (Andrea, 2021). These changes have affected movement patterns, circulation, and even religious facilities within the village. Environmental and infrastructural pressures have also emerged

as major concerns, with increased waste management challenges, traffic congestion, and strain on water resources (Widiyani, 2014).

A critical issue facing Sanur Traditional Village is the tension between tourism development and cultural preservation. The construction of modern tourism facilities adjacent to sacred areas (petunon) poses challenges in maintaining a balance between economic development and the preservation of traditional values (Putra, 2023). The transformation of traditional spaces to accommodate tourist needs and the commercialization of local culture threaten the sustainability of customary values.

This research aims to examine the resilience and adaptation strategies employed by Sanur Traditional Village in the production of space within the context of tourism development. Specifically, the study seeks to: Identify and analyze the dynamics of the production of space in Sanur Traditional Village as a response to tourism development; Identify challenges to traditional spatial planning; and Describe resilience and adaptation strategies have been employed in the production of space.

The novelty of this research lies in its multidimensional approach to understanding spatial resilience in the context of a traditional Balinese village. By integrating Lefebvre's theory of the production of space with concepts of cultural resilience and tourism development, this study offers a unique perspective on how traditional communities adapt to modernization pressures. Furthermore, the focus on Sanur Traditional Village provides insights into the specific challenges and strategies employed by a *desa adat* (traditional village) at the forefront of Bali's tourism industry.

Preliminary findings suggest a complex interplay between traditional spatial concepts and modern tourism-driven spatial transformations. The village demonstrates resilience through innovative spatial practices that balance cultural preservation with economic opportunities. For instance, the integration of tourism facilities with sacred spaces reflects a nuanced approach to the production of space that respects traditional values while accommodating contemporary needs.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative case study approach to comprehensively explore the production of space and resilience strategies in Sanur Traditional Village within the context of tourism development. Data gathering techniques include in-depth interviews with key informants such as community leaders, local residents, tourism developers, and government officials. These semi-structured interviews aim to gain insights into perceptions, experiences, and strategies related to the production of space and resilience in the village. Observations will be conducted in various parts of Sanur Traditional Village, focusing on physical spaces, social interactions, and cultural practices. Field notes, photographs, and video recordings will be used to document current spatial arrangements, usage patterns, and any visible changes or adaptations in response to tourism pressures. Additionally, relevant documents including government policies, planning documents, historical records, tourism development plans, and local regulations will be analyzed to understand the formal representations of space and the regulatory framework influencing spatial production in Sanur.

The data collected through these techniques will be analyzed using several methods. Content analysis will be applied to interview transcripts and documents, involving thematic coding to identify recurring themes, patterns, and categories related to the production of space and resilience strategies. Descriptive analysis will be used to describe the spatial practices and physical observations recorded during fieldwork, supported by photographs and field notes to provide a comprehensive picture of the village's spatial dynamics. Triangulation will be employed to enhance the validity and reliability of the research findings by cross-verifying data from interviews, observations, and document analysis. Narrative analysis will be used to examine stories and narratives from interviews to understand how local residents perceive and interpret their spatial environment, focusing on the symbolic and experiential aspects of space.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The production of space in sanur traditional village

The production of space in Sanur Traditional Village has been significantly shaped by tourism development over the past several decades. This section examines how spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces have evolved in response to the growing tourism industry.

Spatial practices in response to tourism development

Tourism has dramatically altered the spatial practices in Sanur Traditional Village. The once predominantly agricultural landscape has been transformed to accommodate tourism infrastructure and activities. Large swaths of agricultural land have been converted into hotels, restaurants, shops, and other tourism facilities. This spatial reorganization reflects the shift in economic priorities from traditional livelihoods to tourism-oriented development (Yang & Wang, 2023).

The beachfront area, in particular, has seen intensive development to cater to tourists. A study by Widiyani (2014) documented how the coastal zone of Sanur has been reconfigured with the construction of hotels, beach clubs, and promenades. This spatial reconfiguration has changed circulation patterns and access to the beach for local residents. While providing economic opportunities, it has also created new divisions between tourist spaces and local community spaces (Soszyński et al., 2018).

Traditional spatial arrangements have been adapted to incorporate tourism functions. For example, some traditional Balinese housing compounds have been partially converted into homestays or small hotels while maintaining living quarters for the family. This hybrid spatial practice demonstrates how local residents have creatively integrated tourism into existing spatial structures.

Representations of space: planning policies and tourism zoning

Official planning policies and zoning regulations have played a major role in reshaping the spatial organization of Sanur. The Denpasar City government has designated Sanur as a prime tourism development zone in its spatial plans. This official representation of Sanur as a tourism space has guided infrastructure development and land use changes.

Zoning policies have demarcated areas for tourism facilities, often privileging beachfront locations for hotel development. A study by Putra (2020) found that zoning changes have allowed for higher building density and taller structures in certain areas to accommodate large-scale tourism projects. These policy-driven representations of space have accelerated the transformation of the village's physical and social landscape.

However, there have also been efforts to preserve traditional spatial arrangements through planning policies. The concept of "cultural tourism" has been used to justify maintaining some traditional architectural forms and spatial layouts, albeit often in a commodified manner for tourist consumption (Kurniawansyah et al., 2023). This demonstrates the complex negotiation between modernization and tradition in official representations of space.

Representational spaces: local meanings and experiences

For many long-term residents of Sanur, the meaning and experience of space has been profoundly altered by tourism development. Traditional sacred spaces and ritual pathways have in some cases been disrupted or displaced by tourism infrastructure. This has created a sense of loss and disconnection for some community members.

At the same time, new meanings have emerged as local residents reinterpret and adapt to changed spatial realities. Some view the transformed spaces as symbols of economic progress and opportunity. Many residents take pride in Sanur's development as a renowned tourist destination, seeing it as enhancing the village's prestige.

The beach, once primarily a place for fishing and local recreation, has taken on new layers of meaning as a space of cross-cultural encounter and economic exchange. For some locals, especially younger generations, tourist-oriented spaces have become important sites for forging a cosmopolitan identity.

However, representational spaces remain contested. There are ongoing negotiations between different visions of what Sanur should be - a global tourist paradise, a bastion of traditional Balinese culture, or something in between. These competing meanings and experiences of space continue to shape the village's development trajectory.

Challenges To Traditional Spatial Planning

The rapid development of tourism in Sanur Traditional Village has led to significant challenges to traditional spatial arrangements. This section examines the land use changes, spatial conflicts, pressures on traditional architecture and settlement patterns, and environmental and infrastructure challenges faced by the village.

Land use changes and spatial conflicts

Tourism development has dramatically altered the land use patterns in Sanur Traditional Village. According to a study by Widiyani (2014), there has been a significant shift from agricultural and undeveloped areas to built-up zones to accommodate tourism needs. This transformation has resulted in both horizontal and vertical expansion of development, with increased land use intensity.

One of the most notable changes is the conversion of traditional agricultural lands into tourism facilities. Putra (2023) reports that large swaths of rice fields and coconut groves, which once defined the landscape of Sanur, have been replaced by hotels, restaurants, and shops. This shift not only alters the physical appearance of the village but also impacts the traditional livelihoods and cultural practices associated with agriculture.

The development of tourism infrastructure has also led to spatial conflicts, particularly in areas where modern facilities encroach upon sacred spaces. A critical issue is the construction of tourism facilities adjacent to *petunon* (sacred areas). Putra (2022) highlights the case of Sanur Port development, which has affected the zoning and land use around the port area, including the facilities and functions of the *petunon* located right next to the port. This situation has necessitated the need to redesign the area's masterplan to harmoniously accommodate crossing, commercial, and sacred functions.

Pressure on traditional architecture and settlement patterns

The influx of tourism has exerted considerable pressure on the traditional architecture and settlement patterns of Sanur. Putra et al. (2021) observe that the traditional Balinese house pattern, which is deeply rooted in cultural and religious beliefs, is increasingly being modified to accommodate tourist needs. Many traditional housing compounds have been partially converted into homestays or small hotels while maintaining living quarters for the family. This hybrid spatial practice demonstrates how local residents have creatively integrated tourism into existing spatial structures, but it also raises concerns about the preservation of traditional architectural forms.

The pressure on traditional settlement patterns is evident in the changing skyline of Sanur. Putra (2023) notes that zoning changes have allowed for higher building density and taller structures in certain areas of Sanur to accommodate large-scale tourism projects. This vertical expansion contrasts sharply with the traditional low-rise, spread-out settlement pattern of Balinese villages.

The challenges to traditional spatial planning in Sanur Traditional Village reflect broader issues faced by many cultural heritage destinations experiencing rapid tourism growth. The situation in Sanur aligns with what Zhuang & Ye (2023) describe as the spatial production of rural culture in the context of rapid urbanization, where traditional spaces are continuously negotiated and reproduced in response to external pressures.

The land use changes and spatial conflicts observed in Sanur are reminiscent of what Zhang et al. (2022) term as "tourism gentrification" in their study of Wuzhen Xizha in China. In both cases, traditional spaces are being transformed to cater to tourist demands, often at the expense of local cultural practices and livelihoods.

The pressure on traditional architecture and settlement patterns in Sanur echoes the findings of Galani-Moutafi (2013) in the Aegean islands, where rural spaces are being reproduced through

various practices, performances, and visions of different actors involved. In Sanur, this reproduction involves a delicate balance between preserving traditional forms and adapting to new economic realities.

The environmental and infrastructure challenges faced by Sanur are not unique but are particularly acute given the village's reliance on its natural beauty for tourism. These challenges align with what Mai et al. (2021) describe as the nexus between the (re)production of space and economic resilience in Chinese cities. The ability of Sanur to address these challenges while maintaining its cultural identity will be crucial for its long-term resilience and sustainability as a tourist destination.

Resilience And Adaptation Strategies

The Sanur Traditional Village has demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of rapid tourism development through a combination of community-based initiatives, innovative spatial practices, and institutional adaptations. This section examines these strategies and their effectiveness in preserving cultural spaces while adapting to the demands of tourism.

Community-based initiatives to preserve cultural spaces

One of the key resilience strategies employed by Sanur Traditional Village is the implementation of community-based initiatives aimed at preserving cultural spaces. These initiatives reflect the community's agency in shaping their environment and maintaining their cultural identity amidst tourism pressures.

A prominent example is the establishment of the "Sanur Village Festival," an annual event that celebrates local culture, arts, and traditions. This festival, initiated by community leaders in collaboration with local businesses, serves multiple purposes. First, it provides a platform for showcasing and preserving traditional arts, crafts, and performances. Second, it creates a space for intergenerational knowledge transfer, ensuring the continuity of cultural practices. Third, it attracts tourists interested in authentic cultural experiences, thereby aligning cultural preservation with economic benefits.

This approach aligns with what Ye et al. (2020) describe as the "spatial production of rural culture" in the context of rapid urbanization. The authors argue that rural communities can actively produce and reproduce their cultural spaces through everyday practices and representations, even in the face of external pressures. The Sanur Village Festival exemplifies this concept, as it temporarily transforms public spaces into vibrant cultural landscapes, reinforcing the community's cultural identity.

Another significant community-based initiative is the "*Palemahan*" program, which focuses on environmental conservation and the preservation of sacred spaces. This program, rooted in the Balinese concept of Tri Hita Karana (harmony between humans, nature, and the divine), involves regular community clean-ups, tree planting activities, and the maintenance of temples and other sacred sites. By actively engaging in these practices, the community not only preserves its physical environment but also reinforces its spiritual connection to the land.

This approach resonates with the findings of Utami (2017), who studied community resilience to climate change in rural Java. Utami found that traditional ecological knowledge and community-based natural resource management practices were crucial in building resilience. Similarly, the *Palemahan* program in Sanur demonstrates how traditional environmental stewardship practices can be adapted and applied in a contemporary context to address modern challenges.

Innovative spatial practices balancing tradition and tourism

Sanur Traditional Village has also developed innovative spatial practices that seek to balance traditional land use patterns with the demands of tourism. These practices reflect a creative adaptation of the production of space, as conceptualized by Lefebvre (2007), where the community actively negotiates between different spatial representations and practices.

One notable example is the development of "cultural tourism villages" within Sanur. These designated areas maintain traditional Balinese architectural styles and spatial layouts while

incorporating modern amenities for tourists. For instance, some traditional family compounds have been partially converted into homestays, allowing tourists to experience authentic Balinese living arrangements while providing additional income for local families.

This approach aligns with what Galani-Moutafi (2013) describes as the "rural space (re)produced" through various practices and performances. The author argues that rural spaces are not static but are continuously reproduced through the interactions between locals, tourists, and other actors. In Sanur, the creation of cultural tourism villages represents a deliberate reproduction of rural space that serves both cultural preservation and economic needs.

Another innovative spatial practice is the development of "green corridors" that connect traditional sacred spaces with tourist areas. These corridors, often lined with native plants and featuring traditional Balinese design elements, serve multiple functions. They provide pedestrian-friendly routes for tourists, maintain ecological connectivity, and create a visual and experiential link between modern tourist facilities and traditional cultural spaces.

This practice reflects what Rega and Bonifazi (Rega & Bonifazi, 2020) term as "spatial resilience" in urban planning. The authors argue that resilient spatial planning should focus on creating multifunctional spaces that can adapt to changing needs while maintaining core functions. The green corridors in Sanur exemplify this concept, as they adapt to tourism needs while preserving cultural and ecological values.

Institutional adaptations in village governance

The resilience of Sanur Traditional Village is further strengthened by institutional adaptations in village governance. These adaptations reflect the community's ability to modify its traditional governance structures to better respond to the challenges posed by tourism development.

One significant adaptation is the establishment of a "Tourism Management Board" within the traditional village structure. This board, composed of both community elders and younger members with expertise in tourism and business, oversees tourism-related activities in the village. It acts as a bridge between traditional governance structures and modern tourism management practices, ensuring that tourism development aligns with community values and benefits local residents.

This institutional innovation aligns with the findings of Jones (2021), who examined rural community resilience during the COVID-19 pandemic. Jones found that communities with diverse leadership structures that could integrate traditional knowledge with modern expertise were more resilient to external shocks. The Tourism Management Board in Sanur represents a similar approach, combining traditional authority with new forms of expertise to enhance the community's adaptive capacity.

This practice also resonates with what Gururani & Kennedy (2021) describe as the "co-production of space" in community place-making. The authors argue that effective spatial planning should involve diverse stakeholders in a process of negotiation and collaboration. The participatory planning process in Sanur exemplifies this approach, allowing for a more resilient and locally appropriate production of space.

CONCLUSION

The production of space in Sanur is a complex and dynamic process involving multiple actors and forces. Tourism development has significantly altered spatial practices, transforming agricultural lands into tourism facilities and changing circulation patterns. However, the village has demonstrated remarkable resilience through innovative spatial practices that balance cultural preservation with economic opportunities. Community-based initiatives, such as the Sanur Village Festival and the Palemahan program, have played a crucial role in preserving cultural spaces and environmental resources. These initiatives reflect the community's agency in shaping their environment and maintaining their cultural identity amidst tourism pressures. The development of "cultural tourism villages" and "green corridors" represents creative adaptations that integrate traditional spatial concepts with modern tourism needs. Institutional adaptations in village governance, including the establishment of a Tourism Management Board and participatory spatial

planning processes, have enhanced the community's capacity to manage tourism development while preserving local values. These adaptations demonstrate the importance of integrating traditional knowledge with modern expertise in building resilience. However, challenges remain, particularly in managing the tension between tourism development and cultural preservation. The pressure on traditional architecture, settlement patterns, and sacred spaces highlights the need for continued vigilance and adaptive strategies. Future research could explore the long-term impacts of these adaptation strategies and their applicability to other traditional communities facing similar challenges. Policymakers and planners can draw on these findings to develop more nuanced and context-sensitive approaches to tourism development that support both economic growth and cultural preservation.

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