

# RESILIENCE & ADAPTING TO TOURISM PRESSURE THROUGH PRODUCTION OF SPACE AS SUSTAINABLE TOURISM PRACTICE IN BALI'S TRADITIONAL VILLAGE OF SANUR

Arya Bagus Mahadwijati Wijaatmaja <sup>1), 2)</sup>, I Dewa Gede Agung Diasana <sup>1)</sup>,  
Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra <sup>1)</sup> and Ni Made Yudiantini <sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Faculty of Engineering, Udayana University, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

<sup>2)</sup> Faculty of Engineering, Dwijendra University, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia  
aku@aryabagus.com

## ABSTRACT

*This study examines the production of space, resilience strategies, and sustainable tourism practices in the traditional village of Sanur, Bali, as it undergoes transition due to rapid tourism development. Using Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space as a conceptual framework, the research explores how spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces interact to shape Sanur's evolving landscape. Through a qualitative approach, the study investigates how local communities negotiate the pressures of modernization while striving to maintain cultural identity and environmental integrity. The findings reveal complex dynamics between traditional spatial arrangements, tourism-driven transformations, and community-led initiatives for sustainable development. Key resilience strategies identified include adaptive reuse of traditional structures, integration of cultural heritage into tourism offerings, and collaborative governance models balancing economic growth with cultural preservation. This research contributes to the understanding of production of space in transitioning traditional villages and offers insights for policymakers and practitioners seeking to foster resilient, sustainable tourism development in culturally rich destinations.*

*Keywords: production of space, resilience, sustainable tourism, traditional village, Bali.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Sanur, a traditional Balinese village located on the southeastern coast of Bali, Indonesia, has long been renowned for its rich cultural heritage and picturesque beaches. As one of Bali's earliest tourist destinations, Sanur has played a significant role in shaping the island's tourism industry since the 1960's (Widiyani, 2014). The village's unique blend of traditional Balinese culture and modern tourism infrastructure has made it a popular destination for both domestic and international visitors seeking an authentic yet comfortable Balinese experience.

However, like many traditional villages in Bali and across Southeast Asia, Sanur faces numerous challenges in the context of rapid tourism development. The influx of tourists and the subsequent expansion of tourism infrastructure have led to significant changes in land use patterns and spatial organization within the village. 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.

One of the most pressing issues facing Sanur and similar traditional villages is the tension between tourism development and cultural preservation. The construction of modern tourism facilities adjacent to sacred areas 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 and practices that have defined Balinese village life for centuries.

Environmental and infrastructural pressures have also emerged as major concerns. Increased waste management challenges, traffic congestion, and strain on water resources are among the primary issues facing Sanur. The extraction of groundwater for hotel and villa needs has led to saltwater intrusion into freshwater aquifers, threatening not only the water supply for local residents but also impacting the traditional subak irrigation system, which is crucial for both agriculture and cultural practices in Bali.

To understand these complex dynamics and their implications for traditional villages like Sanur, it is useful to employ the concept of "production of space" developed by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre. This theory posits 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). In the context of Sanur, this framework allows us to analyze how tourism development influences the production and reproduction of space within the village, encompassing not only physical changes but also shifts in social relations, cultural practices, and symbolic meanings attached to various spaces.

The urgency of studying the production of space in traditional villages like Sanur stems from the need to develop sustainable approaches to tourism development that can balance economic benefits with cultural preservation and environmental sustainability. As Bali continues to be a major global tourist destination, understanding how traditional villages negotiate between preserving their cultural identity and adapting to tourism pressures becomes crucial for policymakers, urban planners, and local communities alike.

This study's significance lies in its potential to contribute to both theoretical and practical domains. By applying Lefebvre's theory of the production of space to the specific context of a Balinese traditional village undergoing tourism-driven transformation, it can provide new insights into the dynamics of spatial production in culturally rich, tourism-dependent communities. Moreover, the findings of this research can inform more nuanced and culturally sensitive approaches to tourism development and spatial planning in Bali and other similar contexts, helping to ensure the long-term sustainability of traditional villages in an increasingly globalized world.

## **2. RESEARCH METODOLOGY**

The research utilizes multiple data collection techniques to capture the dynamics of spatial production and adaptation in the context of tourism development. Primary data will be gathered through semi-structured interviews with key informants, including community leaders, local residents, tourism stakeholders, and government officials. These interviews aim to elicit insights into perceptions, experiences, and strategies related to spatial practices, representations of space, and lived experiences in Sanur. Additionally, direct observations will be conducted to document current spatial arrangements, usage patterns, and visible adaptations in response to tourism pressures. Secondary data, including government policies, planning documents, historical records, and tourism statistics, will be analyzed to understand the formal representations of space and regulatory frameworks influencing spatial production in Sanur.

The analytical framework for this study is based on Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, which conceptualizes space as a social product formed through the interplay of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces. This framework will guide the analysis of how tourism

development influences the production and reproduction of space in Sanur, and how the community negotiates between preserving traditional spatial practices and accommodating tourism demands.

Limitations of this study include the potential for subjective interpretation in qualitative research and the challenge of generalizing findings from a single case study. Additionally, the research may be constrained by time and resource limitations, potentially affecting the depth and breadth of data collection.

### **3. LITERATUR REVIEW**

#### **Theoretical framework: Production of space (Lefebvre)**

Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space provides a foundational framework for understanding the complex dynamics of spatial creation and transformation in social contexts. Lefebvre conceptualizes space as a social product, shaped by the interplay of three interconnected dimensions: spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces (Gesami & Cramer, 2022; Lefebvre, 2007; Vaide, 2023)..

Spatial practices refer to the physical and material flows, transfers, and interactions that occur in and across space, ensuring societal continuity and cohesion. These practices encompass the daily routines, urban realities, and networks that people navigate in their lived experiences (Gesami & Cramer, 2022; Gregson, 1993; Lefebvre, 2007; Vaide, 2023). In the context of traditional villages facing tourism development, spatial practices might include the adaptation of traditional buildings for tourist accommodation or the creation of new pathways to facilitate tourist movement.

Representations of space, or conceived space, are the conceptualized spaces of planners, scientists, and technocrats. This dimension involves the mental constructions, plans, and abstract conceptualizations of space (Gesami & Cramer, 2022; Lefebvre, 2007; Makinde & Lanrewaju, 2024; Vaide, 2023). In tourism contexts, this could manifest as zoning regulations, tourism master plans, or architectural designs that attempt to balance traditional aesthetics with modern amenities.

Representational spaces, or lived space, encompass the complex symbolisms and meanings that people associate with space. This dimension is directly lived and experienced through associated images and symbols (Gesami & Cramer, 2022; Lefebvre, 2007; Makinde & Lanrewaju, 2024). In traditional villages, representational spaces might include sacred sites, communal gathering areas, or spaces imbued with historical and cultural significance.

#### **Resilience in traditional communities**

Resilience in traditional communities refers to their capacity to absorb disturbances and reorganize while undergoing change, so as to retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks (Folke et al., 2010). In the face of tourism development, traditional communities often demonstrate remarkable adaptability.

Berkes and Ross (2013) propose an integrated approach to community resilience, emphasizing the importance of both social-ecological and psychological perspectives. They highlight key components of resilience, including social networks, diverse and innovative economies, community infrastructure, leadership, and positive outlook.

Adam-Hernández and Harteisen (2020) proposed a framework for rural resilience that emphasizes the importance of social capital, community participation, and local leadership in building adaptive capacity. Their study suggests that traditional communities can enhance resilience by leveraging local knowledge and fostering innovation within cultural contexts.

### **Sustainable tourism practices in cultural destinations**

Sustainable tourism in cultural destinations aims to minimize negative impacts on the environment and local communities while maximizing economic benefits and visitor satisfaction. McKercher et al, (2005). emphasize the need for a balanced approach that considers both heritage conservation and tourism development.

Sustainable tourism in cultural destinations aims to balance economic benefits with the preservation of cultural heritage and environmental resources. Choi and Sirakaya (2006) define sustainable tourism development as meeting the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future.

### **Balinese spatial concepts and traditional village structure**

Balinese spatial concepts and traditional village structure are deeply rooted in the island's unique cultural and religious beliefs. These concepts have shaped the physical layout and social organization of Balinese villages for centuries. Tri Hita Karana is a fundamental philosophy that underlies Balinese spatial organization and social structure. According to Aranha (2010)), this concept is reflected in the physical layout of traditional Balinese villages, where spaces are allocated for human activities, natural elements, and religious practices. Putra et al. (2021) further elaborate that Tri Hita Karana influences the spatial patterns of traditional Balinese houses, demonstrating how cultural values and social hierarchies are embedded in architectural layouts.

The Sangga Mandala concept divides space into nine zones, each with its own symbolic meaning and function. This concept is applied at various scales, from individual houses to entire villages. The central zone, considered the most sacred, is typically reserved for temples or important communal spaces (Wiryawan & Ernawati, 2024). This spatial arrangement reflects the Balinese cosmological beliefs and hierarchical social structure.

The Ulu-Teben axis is another crucial element in Balinese spatial organization. This concept is a sacred-profane continuum, where 'ulu' represents the sacred direction (usually towards mountains or sunrise) and 'teben' represents the profane direction (usually towards the sea or sunset) (Wiryawan, 2024). This axis influences the orientation of buildings, villages, and even the placement of furniture within houses. The picture is formatted "square / in line with text" (together with the text). The following is an example format for information on illustration figures and tables.

## **4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Spatial transformation in Sanur**

**Changes in land use patterns.** The spatial transformation of Sanur over the past several decades has been characterized by significant changes in land use patterns driven primarily by tourism development. Analysis of satellite imagery and land use maps reveals a dramatic shift from predominantly agricultural and

undeveloped areas to built-up zones accommodating tourism infrastructure (Andrea, 2021). Large swaths of rice fields and coconut groves that once defined Sanur's landscape have been converted into hotels, restaurants, shops, and other tourism facilities.

This transformation aligns with broader trends observed in other Balinese villages experiencing rapid tourism growth. For instance, a study by Putra (2020) in Gianyar regency found that traditional agricultural lands were being rapidly converted to tourism uses, leading to a restructuring of village spatial organization. In Sanur, this process has been particularly pronounced along the coastline, where prime beachfront real estate has been developed into resorts and recreational facilities.

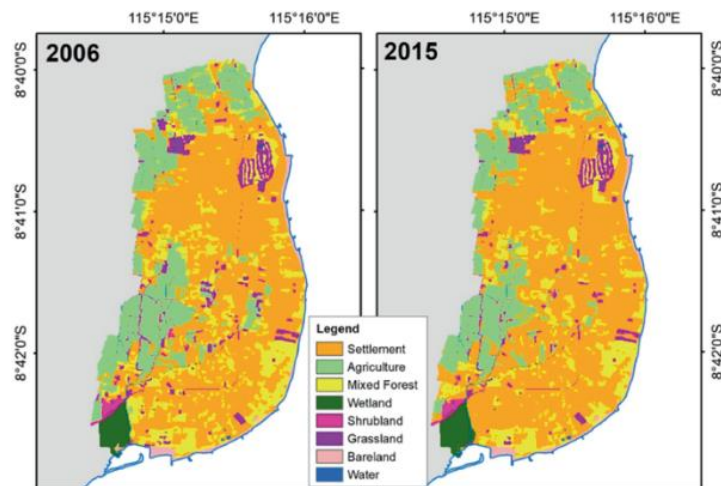


Figure 1. Land Use Changes in Sanur.  
Source: (As-syakur et al., 2023)

The intensity of land use has also increased significantly, with both horizontal and vertical expansion of development. Zoning changes have allowed for higher building density and taller structures in certain areas to accommodate large-scale tourism projects (Putra, 2023). This vertical growth represents a marked departure from the traditional low-rise, spread-out settlement pattern characteristic of Balinese villages.

However, it's important to note that the land use changes in Sanur have not been uniform. Pockets of traditional land use, including sacred spaces and some agricultural areas, have been preserved, creating a complex mosaic of old and new spatial arrangements. This selective preservation reflects both community resistance to wholesale transformation and strategic efforts to maintain cultural authenticity as a tourism asset.

**Adaptation of traditional architectural forms.** The traditional Balinese house pattern, deeply rooted in cultural and religious beliefs, is increasingly being modified in tourism-oriented villages (Putra et al., 2021). In Sanur, this adaptation often involves partial conversion of family compounds into guest accommodations while maintaining living quarters for the family. This practice demonstrates a creative integration of tourism into existing spatial structures but also raises concerns about the long-term preservation of traditional architectural forms.

The adaptation extends beyond residential structures to public and commercial buildings. Many hotels and restaurants in Sanur have adopted a neo-traditional architectural style that incorporates elements of Balinese design with modern construction techniques and materials. This approach, while criticized by some as

a form of "staged authenticity," represents an attempt to create a distinctive sense of place that appeals to tourists seeking a "Balinese experience" (Achmadi, 2016).

### **Production of space as sustainable tourism practices**

**Spatial practices in Sanur:** Traditional vs. modern. The spatial practices in Sanur have undergone significant transformations as the village has adapted to the demands of tourism while striving to maintain its traditional character. This dynamic interplay between traditional and modern spatial practices is evident in various aspects of the village's physical and social landscape.

One of the most notable changes in spatial practices is the adaptation of traditional Balinese housing compounds to accommodate tourist needs. Many traditional family compounds have been partially converted into homestays or small hotels while maintaining living quarters for the family (Putra et al., 2021). This hybrid approach demonstrates how local residents have creatively integrated tourism into existing spatial structures, allowing for economic opportunities while preserving aspects of traditional living arrangements.

The beachfront area of Sanur has seen particularly intensive development to cater to tourists. The coastal zone has been reconfigured with the construction of hotels, beach clubs, and promenades (Widiyani, 2014). This spatial reconfiguration has altered 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, echoing findings by Soszyński et al. (2018) in their study of spatial arrangements in tourist villages.

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

However, efforts to maintain traditional spatial practices are also evident. The village has implemented innovative approaches to balance tourism development with cultural preservation. For instance, the creation of "cultural tourism villages" within Sanur maintains traditional Balinese architectural styles and spatial layouts while incorporating modern amenities for tourists. This practice aligns with what Galani-Moutafi (2013) describes as the "rural space (re)produced" through various practices and performances.

**Representations of space: Local perceptions vs. tourism planning.** The representations of space in Sanur reveal a complex interplay between local perceptions and official tourism planning. This dynamic has led to both conflicts and creative solutions in the spatial organization of the village.

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.

However, these official representations of space often conflict with local perceptions and traditional spatial concepts. Many long-term residents of Sanur view the village through the lens of traditional Balinese spatial concepts, such as the tri mandala (three-part spatial division) and the concept of sacred directions.

These perceptions shape how locals interact with and understand their environment, often in ways that conflict with tourism-oriented planning.

The tension between local perceptions and tourism planning is particularly evident in the treatment of sacred spaces. While official planning documents may designate certain areas for tourism development, local residents may perceive these same spaces as having important spiritual or cultural significance. 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 (sacred areas) located right next to the port.

To address these conflicts, there have been efforts to incorporate local perceptions and traditional spatial concepts into tourism planning. 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) note that this approach attempts to balance economic development with cultural preservation, though it often results in a staged authenticity that may not fully reflect local perceptions of space.

**Representational spaces: Symbolic meanings and lived experiences.** The representational spaces in Sanur reflect the complex interplay between traditional symbolic meanings and the new lived experiences brought about by tourism development. These spaces embody the tension between preserving cultural heritage and adapting to modern realities.

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.

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. This aligns with findings by Ye et al. (2020) in their study of rural cultural spaces in China, where tourism development led to new interpretations and uses of traditional spaces by younger residents.

Traditional ceremonial spaces, such as temples and community pavilions, have also seen their meanings evolve. While still serving important religious and cultural functions, these spaces have also become attractions for cultural tourism. This dual role has led to a complex negotiation of meanings, where sacred rituals may be performed alongside tourist observations. The lived experience of these spaces now encompasses both traditional spiritual practices and the gaze of outsiders, creating a unique hybrid of meanings.

The adaptation of traditional family compounds into homestays, as observed by Putra et al. (2021), has also created new representational spaces. These spaces embody a blend of traditional Balinese domestic life and tourist accommodation, creating unique lived experiences for both hosts and guests. For local families, their homes have become sites of cultural exchange and economic opportunity, while for tourists, these spaces offer a glimpse into "authentic" Balinese life (albeit in a curated form).

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.

### **Resilience practices**

Sanur Traditional Village has implemented several cultural preservation initiatives to maintain its socio-cultural identity amidst the pressures of tourism development. These initiatives reflect a concerted effort by the community to safeguard their cultural heritage while adapting to the economic opportunities presented by tourism. One prominent cultural preservation initiative is 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. It provides a platform for showcasing and preserving traditional arts, crafts, and performances, creating a space for intergenerational knowledge transfer, and attracting tourists interested in authentic cultural experiences. The festival exemplifies how cultural events can be leveraged to promote cultural preservation while generating economic benefits for the community.

Another significant initiative is the preservation of traditional Balinese architecture. Many traditional family compounds in Sanur 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, allowing for economic opportunities while preserving aspects of traditional living arrangements (Putra et al., 2021). This approach aligns with the findings of Galani-Moutafi (2013), who observed similar practices in rural communities where traditional spaces are continuously reproduced through interactions between locals and tourists (Galani-Moutafi, 2013).

The community has also established programs to maintain and restore sacred sites and temples that focuses on environmental conservation and the preservation of sacred spaces, involving regular community clean-ups, tree planting activities, and the maintenance of temples and other sacred sites. This program, rooted in the Balinese concept of Tri Hita Karana (harmony between humans, nature, and the divine), reinforces the community's spiritual connection to the land while addressing modern environmental challenges. These cultural preservation initiatives are supported by local governance structures that prioritize cultural heritage.

### **5. CONCLUSION**

The spatial transformation of Sanur over the past several decades has been profound, characterized by significant changes in land use patterns driven primarily by tourism development. Large swaths of agricultural land have been converted into tourism infrastructure, altering the village's physical and social landscape. However, this transformation has not been uniform, with pockets of traditional land use and sacred spaces being preserved. This selective preservation reflects both community resistance to wholesale transformation and strategic efforts to maintain cultural authenticity as a tourism asset.

The production of space in Sanur demonstrates a complex interplay between tourism-driven transformation and efforts to maintain cultural continuity. Spatial practices, representations of space, and lived experiences have all been reconfigured, creating a hybrid landscape that embodies both change and resilience. Traditional spatial concepts like tri mandala and sacred directions



continue to shape local perceptions and interactions with space, often conflicting with tourism-oriented planning and development.

These findings have important theoretical implications for understanding the production of space in traditional cultural contexts facing rapid modernization. They demonstrate how Lefebvre's conceptualization of space as a social product can be applied to analyze the complex dynamics of spatial transformation in tourism-dependent communities. The study also contributes to the literature on community resilience, highlighting the importance of cultural preservation, economic diversification, and institutional innovation in building adaptive capacity.

From a practical standpoint, the experiences of Sanur Traditional Village offer valuable insights for other traditional communities grappling with tourism development pressures. The multi-faceted approach to resilience demonstrated by Sanur, combining cultural, economic, and governance strategies, provides a model that could be adapted to other contexts. However, the study also underscores the ongoing challenges faced by traditional villages in maintaining their cultural identity and environmental integrity amidst rapid development.

Future research could further explore the long-term sustainability of these resilience strategies and their applicability to other cultural contexts. Additionally, more in-depth studies on the social and environmental impacts of spatial transformation in traditional villages would be valuable for informing policy and planning decisions in tourism-dependent regions.

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