



## TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL SPACE: NEGOTIATING ECONOMIC–CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANGGU, BALI TOURISM DESTINATION

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**Abstract:** *Tourism in the era of neo-capitalism has transformed customary spaces from meaningful cultural landscapes into curated commodities tailored to global tastes. Addressing the gap in understanding how customary law operates as a mediating force within the architecture of tourism power, this study explores the negotiation between economic and cultural capital in the spatial production of Canggu, Bali. Employing an interpretive qualitative case study design, data were collected through participatory and non-participatory observation, semi-structured interviews with customary leaders (prajuru adat), pecalang (traditional guards), local architects, business actors, and document analysis, and triangulated across multiple methods. Integrating Pierre Bourdieu’s framework of economic, cultural, and symbolic capital with Henri Lefebvre’s theory of spatial production comprising spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces the findings reveal that: (1) commodification operates through “market-oriented spatial selection” that marginalizes everyday practices and intangible values; (2) customary authority mobilizes symbolic capital such as sacred temple radii, architectural pakem (traditional design standards), and river setbacks to moderate capital expansion and maintain socio-ecological cohesion; (3) the hybridization of traditional and modern architecture serves as a “value signal,” simultaneously enhancing market appeal and becoming an arena of meaning contestation; and (4) a dual governance regime, combining state regulations and awig-awig (customary law), establishes a configuration that is both mediating and restrictive, with customary sanctions and formal legal references as instruments of enforcement. Theoretically, this study extends debates on cultural tourism by formalizing cross-capital conversions in spatial production, while practically, it proposes a policy architecture that integrates formal planning mechanisms with customary instruments to safeguard intangible and ecological values without diminishing economic benefits. Policy implications include the standardization of sacred–ecological corridors, audits of cultural theatricalization, and community legitimacy–based benefit-sharing schemes.*

**Keywords:** *spatial production; cultural and symbolic capital; customary law; commodification; tourism governance; Canggu Bali.*

**Abstract:** *Pariwisata di era neo-kapitalisme mendorong transformasi ruang adat dari lanskap bermakna menjadi komoditas yang dikurasi bagi selera global. Berangkat dari kekosongan kajian mengenai bagaimana hukum adat bekerja sebagai penyangga dalam arsitektur kuasa pariwisata, studi ini menelaah negosiasi modal ekonomi dan kultural dalam produksi ruang destinasi Canggu, Bali. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif interpretatif dengan desain studi kasus, data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisipatif/non-partisipatif, wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan prajuru adat, pecalang, arsitek lokal, pelaku usaha, serta telaah dokumen, dan ditriangulasi lintas metode. Dengan mengintegrasikan kerangka Pierre Bourdieu (modal ekonomi, budaya, simbolik) dan Henri Lefebvre (praktik spasial, representasi ruang, ruang representasional), temuan menunjukkan: (1) komodifikasi berlangsung melalui “seleksi spasial berorientasi pasar” yang menyingkirkan elemen keseharian dan nilai takbenda; (2) otoritas adat mengaktifkan kapital simbolik seperti halnya radius kesakralan pura, pakem arsitektur, dan sempadan sungai untuk memoderasi ekspansi kapital dan menjaga kohesi sosial-ekologis; (3) hibridisasi arsitektur tradisional dan modern berfungsi sebagai “signal nilai” yang menaikkan daya jual sekaligus menjadi arena perebutan makna; (4) rezim ganda (aturan negara dan awig-awig) membentuk konfigurasi tata kelola yang bersifat mediasi sekaligus pembatas, dengan sanksi adat dan rujukan hukum formal sebagai instrumen penegakan. Secara teoretis, studi ini memperluas perdebatan kepentingan wisata dan budaya dengan memformalkan konversi lintas-modal dalam produksi ruang yang mengusulkan arsitektur kebijakan yang menyinergikan perencanaan formal dengan instrumen adat untuk melindungi nilai takbenda dan daya dukung ekologis tanpa meniadakan manfaat ekonomi. Implikasi kebijakan meliputi standardisasi koridor sakral dan ekologis, audit teaterisasi budaya, dan skema bagi-hasil berbasis legitimasi komunitas.*

**Keywords:** *produksi ruang; modal budaya & simbolik; hukum adat; komodifikasi; tata kelola pariwisata; Canggu Bali.*

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## BACKGROUND

Tourism in the era of neo-capitalism has become an arena of contestation that reveals how spaces of local tradition are transformed and adjusted to meet the tastes of tourists and the interests of investors. Tradition is no longer understood as a fixed heritage, but is increasingly repackaged as an attraction at the global level. This phenomenon can be seen in how attributes of traditional arts, cultural symbols, and local historical narratives are reconfigured by investors to suit the preferences of the international tourism market (Handapangoda et al., 2019); (Alraouf, 2010). Within the landscape of advanced capitalism, traditional spatial arrangements are no longer merely preserved, but curated and modified to follow global market tastes through practices such as the revalorization of aesthetics and local wisdom as tourism commodities (Richards & Hemphill, 2018).

This process can be observed in Canggu, where traditional spatial arrangements have been re-curated in line with global market logic, as reflected in the loss of 74 hectares of subak rice-field land, the growth of 734 villas, an increase of 126% in just two years, and the surge in general land prices by up to 36 times since 2015 (Suyadnya et al., 2025).

**Table 1. Surge in Tourism Infrastructure Encroaching on Customary Space, 2021–2023:**

Year	Villas	Homestays	Star-Rated Hotels
2021	324	56	8
2023	734	71	11

(Suyadnya et al., 2025).

**Table 2. Changes in the Value of Customary Space Reflected in Land Prices:**

Land Type	Price 2015 (Rp/m2)	Price 2023 (Rp/m2)	Increase (%)
Public land	500.000	18.700.000	36,40
Residential land	1.650.000	26.923.077	15,32
Customary rice fields	450.000	4.780.000	9,62

(Suyadnya et al., 2025).

This spatial transformation does not merely polish the appearance of customary space, but gradually erodes the cultural values that once animated it and replaces them with an aesthetic that can be sold to the international tourism market. The removal of cultural values in tourism spatial planning often occurs through mechanisms more subtle than commodification alone, namely through spatial selection that adapts space to meet market tastes. In many cases, traditional spaces that embody authentic values but are perceived as “unattractive” are erased or transformed to align with the aesthetic expectations of global tourists.

Market pressures encourage the exclusion of everyday cultural elements and non-heritage features in tourism spatial planning in order to enhance the “theatricality” and marketability of space for attracting visitors (Li et al., 2024). The removal of cultural values in the spatial governance of cultural tourism destinations is rooted in a crisis of meaning, when space is reconstructed solely to satisfy tourists’ visual expectations. In this process, the spatial expression of local wisdom and cultural values is displaced into a landscape serving destination-making, potentially stripping it of meaning.

Key elements such as settlement patterns, social structures, and local production mechanisms that once formed the core of a place’s identity are marginalized and gradually

disappear from the representation of tourism space (Ren & Xu, 2024). As a further consequence, the spiritual and intangible values of space often find no place within the structure of modern tourism destinations. In a tourism landscape dominated by visual aesthetics and rapid consumption, spaces carrying symbolic, spiritual, or emotional meanings are not considered “marketable.” Because spiritual dimensions attract only a small segment of tourists, non-material cultural elements such as sacred values, ritual practices, local narratives, and community emotional attachments to place tend to be neglected in the design and spatial planning of tourism destinations (Šebová et al., 2025).

In place of preserving symbolic and spiritual values, tourism space is frequently shaped according to market preferences and visual beauty alone, while the contemplative atmosphere and transcendental relationship with place are reduced. This not only shifts cultural tourism toward a more superficial orientation, but also disrupts the continuity of local communities’ relationships with spaces they regard as sacred or spiritually meaningful (Jha et al., 2025). As a result, a rupture emerges between the space represented for tourists and the space lived by local communities, causing the place to lose its deepest layers of meaning.

Moreover, in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia and Thailand, communities exhibit varied responses to this process. Some support the dilution of meaning in spatial governance because it is seen as bringing economic benefits, such as increased tourist arrivals, job creation, and faster local economic circulation (Chatkaewnapanon & Lee, 2022; Daniswara et al., 2025). Yet others resist, as local communities feel that the exploitation of space for tourists’ visual consumption has eroded cultural identity and the spiritual meanings attached to these places (Miura, 2022).

This tension between cultural preservation and the commercialization of space reflects a broader dilemma in Southeast Asia: the push for economic growth through tourism versus the need to maintain cultural integrity as the foundation of local identity (Heriqbaldi et al., 2023). In Bali, for instance, the commercialization of space has driven large-scale alterations to spiritual and customary spatial arrangements to meet tourists’ needs, whether as spectacles or as sites for commercial activities. This generates tensions among tourism actors, government, and customary communities seeking to defend the sacred values and social functions of these spaces (Miura, 2022).

The phenomenon of spatial segregation between tourism zones and customary areas, often referred to as the “Bali Syndrome,” illustrates how cultural space is repackaged into an “authentic” commodity for tourists (Minca, 2000). Nevertheless, Balinese communities are not merely victims of this process; they can also be active agents who leverage community-based

tourism approaches to retain control over cultural spaces while securing more equitable social and economic benefits (Dolezal & Novelli, 2022).

This study poses a central question: how are the values of customary space negotiated and reformulated within structures of economic power in tourism development in the Canggu, Bali area? This question is situated within a sociological framework of symbolic power, examining how local actors use cultural recognition to navigate, resist, or benefit from the development of an international tourism economy zone.

Previous studies on Bali have largely emphasized cultural commodification in shaping tourism's socio-economic accumulation. However, research on how customary law functions as a spatial regulatory mechanism to preserve cultural values amid foreign tourist preferences remains limited. By focusing on this point of intersection, this study seeks to explain how interactions between symbolic power, cultural capital, and economic capital shape new social configurations in setting the boundaries of landscape change in Canggu's spatial planning.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This analysis employs Pierre Bourdieu's framework of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital to explain how tourism actors, such as informal practitioners and volunteers, mobilize and convert different forms of capital in navigating the social field of tourism. The study demonstrates that cultural and symbolic capital, including values of competence, lifestyle, and image, are often transformed into social legitimacy and economic gains at the local level (Thompson & Taheri, 2020; Çakmak et al., 2019).

In this context, tourism is not merely an economic activity, but a field of symbolic struggle in which actors compete to capitalize on cultural legitimacy in order to shape social status and position, as reflected in the dynamics of capital within the arts and cultural sectors (Savage et al., 2018; Vigerland & Borg, 2018). To develop a deeper understanding of customary space within the context of tourism, this study integrates Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space (*The Production of Space*). Lefebvre conceptualizes space not merely as a physical or geographical entity, but as a product of social construction shaped by power relations, everyday practices, and symbolic representations.

His relevance in uncovering structures of domination in the production of space is particularly significant in contexts where customary space is under pressure from economic interests and tourism capitalism. Lefebvre emphasizes that space is not neutral, but is constructed through the interaction of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces (Ghulyan, 2019; Larsen & Brandt, 2018)

Through this approach, customary space is understood not as a static cultural heritage, but as a dynamic arena that is continuously negotiated between local actors and the interests of the tourism industry. Lefebvre's theory is especially useful for unpacking how capital and the state represent and regulate customary space, making it central to the analysis of culture-based tourism practices. In the case of Muslim communities in Sanya, China, for example, the production of space is shaped by the interplay between administrative power, tourism capital, and local values rooted in collective identity (Sun et al., 2020). This parallels the condition of customary spaces, which often undergo shifts in meaning when absorbed into the logic of tourism commodification.

Lefebvre also provides a critical framework for revealing how heritage spaces are reproduced as spaces of consumption through aesthetic narratives and touristic experiences, as seen in artistic cafés within historic cities in China that are re-represented primarily for economic value rather than heritage significance (Lam et al., 2022). In this regard, the relevance of Lefebvre's theory is evident in exposing the transformation of customary space into capitalist space, which obscures community ownership and control over their own environments. The concepts of the "right to the city" and the "right to difference" further open critical perspectives on indigenous and local community resistance to the dominance of state or corporate representations of space (McCann, 1999; Purcell, 2022).

Accordingly, Henri Lefebvre's theoretical relevance in unpacking the political and economic dynamics of customary space production provides a strong foundation for this study. A Lefebvrian approach enables an understanding of how customary space is not only preserved, but also negotiated, contested, and even reclaimed within the currents of global tourism power relations (Zieleniec, 2018; Lennon & Moore, 2019)

## RESEARCH METHODS

This study adopts an interpretive qualitative approach with a case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of the social, cultural, and economic dynamics of the community in Canggu Village. This approach enables the researcher to explore meanings constructed by the community based on lived experiences and social constructions (Wiesner, 2022).

A case study is chosen for its ability to provide a holistic understanding of phenomena within real-life contexts, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly defined (Ocean et al., 2022). Interpretive qualitative research also emphasizes the importance of close engagement between the researcher and participants in order to capture insider perspectives on the social realities they experience (Hallberg, 2008).



In addition, this study adopts principles of narrative analysis and social praxis to identify how communities construct and sustain social meanings through everyday actions and discourses (Boéri & Giustini, 2023).

Data collection was conducted in three stages: observation, interviews, and literature review. Observation in this study was carried out by directly observing phenomena in their natural settings without participating in ongoing activities. The researcher acted solely as an observer, allowing behaviors and interactions to unfold naturally. During observation, attention was focused on behaviors, patterns of interaction, and environmental conditions. The researcher recorded how people communicated, the frequency of interactions, and the situations or spatial arrangements that influenced these activities. Notes were taken systematically to ensure clarity and consistency of the data.

Through this process, observation helped the researcher understand how behaviors and interactions emerged within their natural context (Denny & Weckesser, 2022). Interviews were used to explore participants' perspectives and experiences in depth. Semi-structured interviews provided flexibility in exploring research themes while maintaining coherence with the prepared interview guide (Noble & Smith, 2014). In this study, interviews were conducted with four key categories of informants: customary leaders (Bendesa and Kelian Adat), *pecalang* (customary security officers), local architects, and business actors involved in the development dynamics of the Canggu area. Four primary informants were selected for in-depth interviews, each chosen for their direct involvement in customary spatial governance, customary security, architectural design, and tourism-related economic activities.

This approach enabled the researcher to capture subjective meanings, social positions, and practical considerations that influence the negotiation of customary space within the context of tourism (Jain, 2021). A literature review was conducted to strengthen the theoretical framework and support the analysis of field data. Secondary literature provided contextual grounding for interview and observational findings and supported data triangulation to enhance the validity of the results (Kongsager, 2021; Busetto et al., 2020). Triangulation was carried out through a combination of observation, interviews, and document analysis.

This methodological triangulation aimed to enhance the validity and credibility of the findings by comparing and contrasting data from multiple sources (Schlunegger et al., 2024). Through this triangulated approach, data from the three sources complemented and reinforced one another, producing a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study (Kopinak, 1999). Beyond triangulation, data analysis followed several systematic steps. First, the researcher transcribed and organized the data, including interview transcripts,

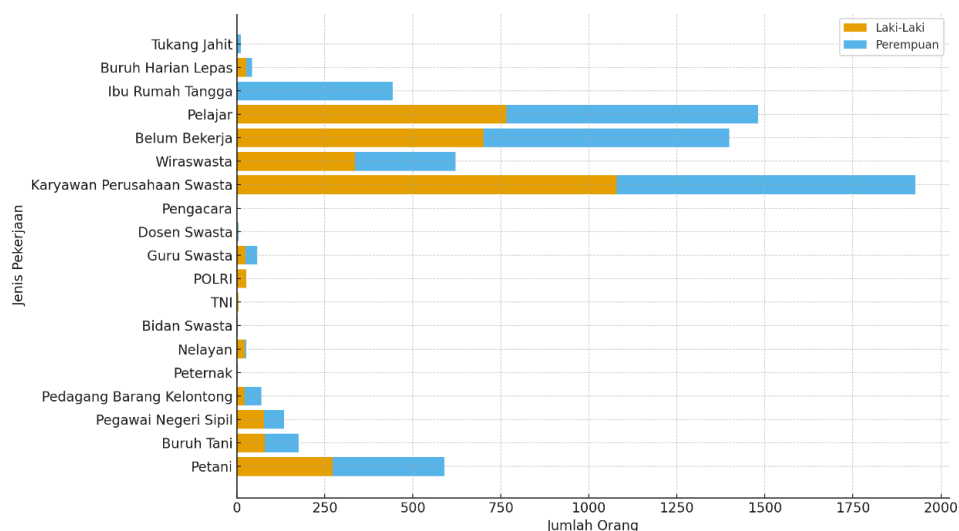
observation notes, and supporting documents. Second, the data were read repeatedly to develop an initial understanding and to identify emerging thematic patterns.

Third, open coding was conducted to capture initial categories arising from the data. Fourth, these categories were organized and compared through thematic coding, resulting in key themes related to the dynamics of customary space, social practices, and power negotiations in tourism development. Fifth, these themes were interpreted using the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu and Lefebvre to examine the relationships between economic, cultural, and symbolic capital and the processes of space production. The final step involved constructing an analytical narrative that integrates empirical findings and theory to explain the social meanings and power structures shaping the phenomenon under study.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Canggu in the Tourism Vortex: Responding to a Crisis of Spatial Values Behind Socio-Economic Transformation

Tourism growth in Canggu has driven a fundamental shift in the local economic structure, from a subsistence-based agrarian sector toward a service economy oriented to the global market. This transition has affected not only the types of economic activities available, but has also generated profound changes in household income structures, patterns of land ownership and land use, and the composition of the daily workforce. Agriculture, once the backbone of the local economy, has increasingly been displaced by property investment, with many local residents becoming private-sector employees in tourism services because such work is perceived as more financially advantageous.



**Figure 1. Comparison of Types of Occupations by Gender in Canggu Village, 2024**  
(Researcher's Observation, 2024)



This transformation has unfolded alongside rising land valuations, which have driven the large-scale conversion of agricultural land into tourism accommodation, cafés, and villas. Capital inflows from both domestic and foreign investors have accelerated this process, creating new jobs while simultaneously producing unequal access to economic resources. Local residents with limited economic capital are often compelled to sell inherited land and to work in the more vulnerable and unstable informal tourism sector. This process reflects a pattern of accumulation by dispossession, as described in studies on Bali (Fagertun, 2017) in which land and labor are redefined within market frameworks and the logic of capital accumulation.

However, these economic changes do not occur without value-based resistance. Within Balinese customary communities, sacred spaces such as temples and customary spatial regulations operate as both symbolic and practical mechanisms for setting boundaries on economic activity. As one customary leader stated:

*“The building radius from a temple is generally 50 to 100 meters or more, and commercial functions that disrupt sacredness are not permitted”* (S, Bendesa Canggu, 2024).

This provision is not merely a form of protection for religious values, but also a way for local communities to regulate economic activity so that it does not undermine social harmony and the destination’s reputation (Daniswara et al., 2025). At the physical level, spatial governance in Canggu’s tourism development is expected to follow traditional architectural principles, encouraging the use of local materials such as stone, wood, and *alang-alang* thatch, as well as distinctive elements such as *angkul-angkul*, *kori*, and *meru*. These standards not only represent cultural continuity, but also function as added value in shaping the distinctive character of the tourism economy landscape. As a local architect explained:

*“If there is a development or renovation, we ask for sample drawings and materials such as stone, wood, and alang-alang, then we check them to ensure they still follow the established rules. Besides, foreign guests usually look for the Bali atmosphere they imagine. If the traditional elements are strong, the selling value also increases”* (AS, Local Architect, 2024).



**Gambar 1. Perpaduan Elemen Tradisional Bali dengan Arsitektur Modern**

(Researcher's Observation, 2024)

In the tourism economy, strategically displayed visual attributes and traditional architectural character function as value signals of quality and uniqueness in tourism facilities (Chattopadhyay & Mitra, 2020). This spatial regulation is relevant to Henri Lefebvre's perspective, in which traditional architectural practices do not merely reflect aesthetic values, but also form part of the production of space that brings together cultural symbolism, power, and the everyday practices of society (Zieleniec, 2018).

In this context, Pierre Bourdieu's ideas on habitus and field reinforce Lefebvre's view. Traditional architectural practices that arrange space according to cosmology can be understood as reflections of a community's collective dispositions shaped by social structures. Spatial governance is thus interpreted as an outcome of inherited habitus, reproduced through social practice to maintain cultural values (Savage et al., 2018; Daniswara et al., 2024)

Beyond this, the regulation of ecological aspects such as river setback rules of 15 to 20 meters operates as a risk-control instrument with direct implications for disaster mitigation. Erosion, flooding, and declining water quality can increase infrastructure maintenance costs, reduce tourist comfort, and potentially depress property values. As one *pecalang* noted:

*"River setbacks are usually 15 to 20 meters from the edge and must remain free of buildings," while also warning, "there are still investors who do not pay attention to the environment, customary norms, and local traditions" (IB, Pecalang, 2024).*

Actions that disrupt ecological balance, such as damaging river buffer zones, are not merely technical violations but also moral and spiritual transgressions that exploit nature, thereby reinforcing the obligation to maintain resources for present and future generations (Gulzar et al., 2021; Daniswara & Sutinah, 2024)

## Contesting Customary Authority, Land Power, and Formal Regimes in Canggü's Tourism Development

Canggü's transformation from an agrarian landscape into a tourism destination has created an arena of power negotiation among local elites, customary authorities, and external investors. Access to economic benefits is largely mediated by land control and local socio-cultural rules. Long-term lease and contract schemes place local landowners in a bargaining position, while investors depend on social approval and formal regulation to secure operational legitimacy.

On this material foundation, customary cultural capital operates through the structure of the *Desa Adat*, the leadership of the *Kelian/Pekaseh*, and traditional spatial norms that guide who may do what, where, and under what conditions. These mediating practices are evident in everyday governance, as expressed by a *Kelian Adat*:

*"The Desa Adat, through the Kelian Adat, functions as the party that is informed and that imposes customary Sedhana participation in accordance with provisions on business units and migrant residents" (WS, Kelian Adat Canggü, 2024).*

This underscores that the relevant parties, including investors, surrounding communities, and *banjar* residents, have signed collective agreements and that investors have fulfilled government rules and other required permits (Daniswara, 2024). Tensions emerge when capital expansion ignores ecological and cultural limits. In this sense, tension can be read as a conflict between economic capital and symbolic capital embedded in local social structures. Interview data indicate practices perceived as problematic, as described by a *pecalang*:

*"There are still investors who do not pay attention to the environment, customary norms, and local traditions, including commercial buildings located near river buffer zones. We have also carried out enforcement actions together with representatives of the Badung DPRD" (IB, Pecalang, 2024).*

Under such conditions, communities activate customary authority and policy enforcement through intermediaries such as the Badung DPRD as a form of defense against external *doxa* that disrupts local order (McKinnon et al., 2011; Daniswara & Budirahayu, 2025).



**Figure 1. Pressure for the Enforcement of Buildings Located Near River Buffer Zones**  
(Detik.com, 2025)

Sanctions and enforcement measures are formulated in a gradual and deliberative manner, as explained by a *pecalang*:

*“The sanctions that can be applied in cases of violations in spatial use under customary law are pamidanda, as written in the awig-awig, but beforehand the bendesa will hold deliberations together”* (IB, Pecalang, 2024).

This reflects the operation of collective habitus and symbolic capital in maintaining local autonomy against dominant forms of capital (Pini & Previte, 2013). Legitimacy rooted in tradition functions dually, both as a bridge that integrates investment into the local order and as a boundary limiting capital expansion that conflicts with community values. In this sense, tradition operates as symbolic capital and as a form of resistance to external domination, positioning the community not merely as an object of development, but as an agent with legitimate cultural authority (Atkinson, 2012). The village government reinforces a binding legal framework, as articulated by the *Kelian Adat*:

*“Land use in Canggu Village still follows regulations from the central government, and everything is governed by the applicable spatial planning documents”* (WS, Kelian Adat Canggu, 2024).

This statement reflects the position of the state as a holder of legal symbolic capital in the field of spatial governance, where institutional legitimacy serves as a primary benchmark for regulating spatial practices (Wacquant, 2018; Mukhlis et al., 2025). These findings indicate the need for harmonization between regimes, whereby formal legal frameworks provide legal certainty and connectivity with investment, while customary norms ensure social acceptance and the sustainability of practices at the community level.

In this context, customary norms operate as a form of recognized cultural capital that is transformed into symbolic authority by local communities, enabling integration between formal state regulations and local social structures (Robbins, 2005; Pinxten & Lievens, 2014).

## CONCLUSION

The transformation of customary space in Canggu reflects a complex dynamic between global economic forces and local cultural resistance within the landscape of contemporary tourism. Tourism development driven by the logic of advanced capitalism has shifted the function of customary space from a spiritual and social arena into a visual commodity tailored to the tastes of international tourists. However, the findings of this study indicate that customary communities are not wholly passive victims of this process. Instead, they play an active role in negotiating and mediating spatial values through symbolic mechanisms and customary law rooted in tradition.

Within the theoretical frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre, customary space in Canggu can be understood as an arena in which different forms of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital interact and compete. Investors' economic capital seeks to dominate the production of space through property investment and tourism infrastructure, while local communities activate symbolic and cultural capital as negotiating instruments to maintain customary legitimacy as well as the ecological and spiritual boundaries of space. This practice demonstrates that the production of space is not neutral, but rather the outcome of power relations that are continuously negotiated between local and global actors.

This study argues that customary space functions as an arena of symbolic resistance, where the legitimacy of tradition becomes an instrument for negotiating the penetration of capital. Norms embedded in customary space, such as temple sanctity radius rules and river setback regulations, not only safeguard spiritual continuity but also operate as ecological and social mechanisms that restrain the pace of spatial exploitation.

Customary space is not merely a static heritage, but a dynamic entity continually reconstructed through social and economic practices. The findings also highlight the importance of synergy between the state's formal regime and the symbolic regime of customary governance. Harmonizing the two is a prerequisite for the sustainability of culture-based tourism. When economic capital is integrated within a framework of local values, tourism development can create a balance between economic benefits and the preservation of cultural meaning. Conversely, when economic capital operates without recognition of local symbolic capital, customary space is reduced to an aesthetic landscape devoid of social meaning.



Theoretically, this study contributes to debates on postcolonial space production and the conversion of capital within the arena of global tourism, while also offering a critical perspective on how local communities navigate cultural globalization through customary logics. Practically, the findings underscore that sustainable cultural tourism in Bali can only be achieved if spatial policies recognize and integrate customary values as the ethical, ecological, and epistemological foundation of destination development.

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