SOCIOCULTURAL REPRODUCTION IN THE MIDST OF URBAN MODERNIZATION: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE POLITICS OF SPACE IN KETANDAN VILLAGE SURABAYA CITY

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ABSTRACT

Ketandan Village is one of the oldest villages located right in the middle of the modernization of the city such as hotel buildings, office centers and trade on Embong Malang, Tunjungan, Praban and Genteng Kali roads. This area is often referred to as the golden quadrilateral of Surabaya's economic growth. In the context of spatial anthropology, the existence of the old village actually has a very strong sociocultural foundation, especially if it is then associated with the presence of the An-Nur Mosque building, the Tomb of Mbah Buyut Tondo and the Joglo Cak Markeso Cultural Hall in the middle of the village. The momentum to develop this cultural capital emerged in 2016 when the revitalization of Joglo Cak Markeso as a pilot project of the Global Public Space Programme (GPSP) and the issuance of the Mayor's Decree related to the status of Ketandan tourism village in 2020. Through the perspective of the political anthropology of space, the spatial aspect is not only measuring technical-material matters but also intertwined with the content of values, knowledge and ideology that affect the social life of the community. The problem is that the cultural construction that is formed is still artificial and procedural, which does not reach the anthropological aspects of space. Spatial practices are incidental and do not become social rituals that encompass daily life. This means that the historic building does not work in the political anthropology of space or move into the political economy of cultural capitalization. This anomaly is a sign that there is cultural disorientation due to weak sociocultural attachment to spatial practices and the determination of urban modernization.

Keywords: Praktik Spasial, Kultur, Kampung Ketandan, Surabaya

INTRODUCTION

The development of Surabaya City is loaded with economic growth infrastructure through a series of spatial developments and areas of industrialisation, trade and services. The determination of the liberalisation and capitalism of Surabaya's urban space cannot be separated from various aspects ranging from geopolitics located on the north coast of East Java Province so that it has Tanjung Perak port, as one of the most populous in Eastern Indonesia, socio-history of Dutch colonial policy in designing Surabaya's development pattern, sociocultural as a community entity that is very open

to social dynamics and change, and socio-economics where industrialisation becomes the locomotive of urban development which has an impact on the revolution of agrarian society into industrial (Spodek, 2005; Ricklefs, M. C, 2008).

The continuous pattern of modernization development to date has not only brought a set of spatial arrangements in a formal-material sense but also contains development values and ideologies. Urban modernization often brings significant changes in the social structure and physical space of cities that are loaded with centric economic calculations. The village, as a traditional, sociocultural entity, becomes diametrically opposed to this modernization process. In the perspective of political anthropology of space, the interaction between modernization and kampung can be seen as a complex intersection point where various interests, identities, and social forces interact to influence spatial practices. Surabaya's urban space context becomes interesting when there are still spaces based on local sociocultural roots amidst massive modernization. Instead of gentrification or relocation, the Surabaya City Government and citizen elements as well as several times support from international institutions have revitalized spaces that align socio-historical norms and modernization.

This context represents the existence of Kampung Ketandan in the 'golden quadrilateral' of the city's economic epicentre, namely on Jalan Tunjungan adjacent to Embong Malang, Praban and Genteng Kali streets, showing that sociocultural identity becomes a value in spatial practice. The researcher uses the perspective of political anthropology of space where the construction of power affects the spatial practice of social identity of the community. Especially in spatial practices in public spaces that are bound in socio-religious cultural values at the An-Nur Mosque and the Mbah Buyut Tondo Tomb and sociocultural at the Cak Markeso Cultural Hall which then affects the dynamics of social and cultural life of the local community. The three buildings are not just physical cultural artifacts but also sociocultural symbols that trigger the presence of contemporary economic and political spatial practices (Wijoyo, 2024; Jawa Pos, 2021; Detik.com, 2022; Kumparan, 2019).

In the context of political anthropology, space shows the interconnectedness of cultural identities in influencing spatial practices, forming a network of interrelated spaces in the production of social space in Ketandan Village. An-Nur Mosque represents the religious dimension, Mbah Buyut Tondo's grave connects the community

to their history and spiritual traditions, while Cak Markeso Cultural Centre serves as a space for contemporary cultural expression. The interaction between the three elements of production of space (1974) in each location creates a complex dynamic in the formation of the social, cultural, and religious identity of the people of Kampung Ketandan. This process shows how space is not only produced physically, but also socially through the practices, perceptions, and experiences of the people who live in it. As described by Kokot, W., & Suyadnya, I. W. (2018) that among the key concepts in anthropology, space holds an important position regarding several things, namely the relationship between culture and space is quite clear where spatial relationships are the main variables that influence human behaviour and nature, while the main methodological strategies in anthropological studies are closely related to geographical spatial boundaries.

The perspective of sociocultural reproduction as values and identities related to efforts to develop village tourism, researchers use the perspective of political anthropology of space. This approach is to analyse the extent to which the construction of cultural power affects the spatial practice of social identity. This becomes very fundamental when placing cultural structures as the context of tourism development. Epistemological, cultural structures that contain values, discourses and knowledge become instruments of power in influencing social life (Foucault, 1986). Starting from that, researchers link spatial practices in public spaces that are bound in socio-religiousness cultural values such as the revitalisation of the An-Nur Mosque and the grave of Mbah Buyut Tondo, then the sociocultural aspects of the revitalisation of the Cak Markeso Cultural Hall that affect the dynamics of the social and cultural life of the local community. These three buildings are not just physical cultural artifacts but also sociocultural symbols that trigger the presence of contemporary economic and political spatial practices (Wijoyo, 2024; Jawa Pos, 2021; Detik.com, 2022; Kumparan, 2019).

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative-ethnographic perspective to deeply understand the social, cultural and political practices of a particular community (Geertz, 1973; Wolcott, Harry F, 1999; Emerson, Robert M., Fretz, Rachel I., & Shaw, Linda L, 2011). Emerson et al (2011) describe ethnography as a very practical and hands-on approach to socio-neutral research. Its main focus is on the techniques

used to collect, record and analyse field data. This is in keeping with the purpose of ethnography which seeks to understand and record cultural practices in depth. In the context of the study of sociocultural reproduction in Kampung Ketandan, Surabaya, ethnographic methods will help to capture the complex dynamics between local identity and the impact of modernization on the physical and symbolic spaces of the village. Data collection techniques include participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

The sociocultural history of Ketandan Village cannot be separated from the struggle against colonialism, especially in the 1942-1945 era. Its strategic location made this village in Genteng Sub-district, Surabaya City, one of the villages that gave birth to many freedom fighters. The location of the village, which is not far from the Yamato hotel (the location of the tearing of the Dutch flag), made this village a defence location for freedom fighters in the momentum of 10 November 1945 (Jawapos, 2021). Administratively, Ketandan Village is located on Jalan Tunjungan, Jalan Embong Malang, Jalan Blauran and Jalan Praban. Ketandan Village is located in RW 4, Genteng Village, Genteng Sub-district, Surabaya. Access to the village is only one door, namely on Jalan Tunjungan (next to the Bank of India Indonesia office) in the form of an alleyway of about 3 meters that can only be traversed by motorized vehicles.
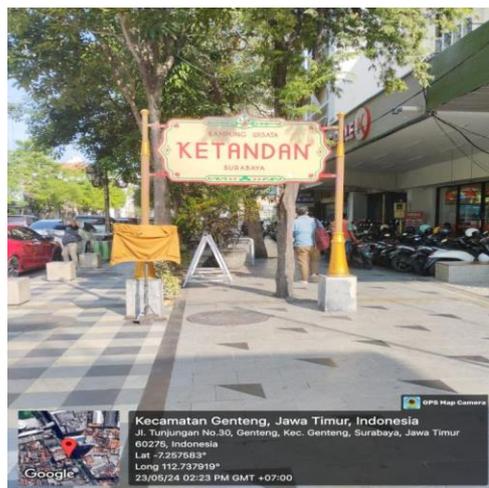

Figure 1. Photo of Ketandan Village Signboard (Jl.Tunjungan)

Kampung ketandan menyimpan beberapa bangunan bersejarah seperti Mushola An-Nur yang berdiri sejak 1915, Makam Mbah Buyut Tondo, dan Balai Budaya Cak

Dias Pabyantara Swandita Mahayasa, Muhammad Nur Alauddin Malik,
Dinar Danahari Amalia

Markeso. Musolla An-Nur dibangun rentang tahun 1915 - 1958 sebagaimana yang tertera di plakat pintu masuk masjid sebagai warisan bangunan di era kolonialisme Belanda. Hal itu semakin kuat ketika ditemukan beberapa botol berwarna coklat keemasan yang berdimensi 29.5 cm dengan diameter 9.5 cm saat melakukan renovasi masjid. Botol ini buatan Belanda sekitar tahun 1860-1880 ini bertuliskan Hulstkamp & Zoon & Molyn Rotterdam. (www.superradio.id).

Gambar 2. Pintu Masjid An-Nur dan Plakat Pendirian Masjid 1915 - 1958

Gambar 3. Botol Buatan Belanda

Ketandan village holds several historical buildings such as Mushola An-Nur, which was established in 1915, Mbah Buyut Tondo's grave, and Cak Markeso Cultural Centre. Musolla An-Nur was built between 1915 and 1958 as stated on the plaque at the entrance of the mosque as a heritage building during the Dutch colonialism era. This was further confirmed when several golden brown bottles with dimensions of 29.5 cm and a diameter of 9.5 cm were found during the renovation of the mosque. This bottle made in the Netherlands around 1860-1880 reads Hulstkamp & Zoon & Molyn Rotterdam.

(www.superradio.id). Ketandan village also has a historic the grave of Mbah Buyut Tondo located in the alleyway of Ketandan Lor and Ketandan Punden. The architecture of the grave of Mbah Buyut Tondo shows the typology of the kalamerga headstone style, which is commonly found in ancient tombs in Surabaya, Gresik, Sidoarjo and other areas. It is estimated from the style of the gravestone that the tomb of Mbah Buyut Tondo dates from 1700 to 1800 (Kumparan.com, 2023; begandring.com, 2024). The existence of the tomb symbolises the recitation ritual on every Javanese calendar night of 1 Suro and Friday legi. In addition, the Joglo Cultural Hall of Cak Markso, a legendary *"ludruk"* figure who became an icon of Surabaya's monologue "*ludruk*". This cultural hall became a new cultural symbol after a 2016 revitalisation led by UCLG Asia Pacific, the Ministry of PUPR. Surabaya City Government, Universitas Tujuh Belas Agustus Surabaya as a pilot of the Global Public Space Programme.

This reality was then strengthened by the presence of the Surabaya Mayor's Regulation Letter Number 188.45/46/436.1.2./2020 concerning the Determination of Surabaya City Tourism Destinations, where Kampung Ketandan became one of the tourist village objects. Furthermore, through the Decree of the Head of the Surabaya City Culture and Tourism Office Number 188.45/2769/436.7.19/2021 concerning the Inauguration of the Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) Joglo Cak Markeso Kampung Ketandan Surabaya as legitimisation of the position and role of the community in the development of Ketandan tourist village.

The problem is that cultural construction must be rooted in the internalisation of sociocultural values. The process of socialization and daily interaction means that values, norms and cultural practices are passed on from one generation to the next and form the collective identity of the community. Bourdieu (1986) emphasis's how individuals internalize social structures through habitus, which is a set of dispositions learned early in life that influence the way they think, feel and act. Meanwhile, Geertz (1973) sees culture as a complex system of meanings lived by members of society. Internalization of values occurs through symbols and practices that are understood and lived together. Whereas in Lefebvre's perspective (1974) the practice of everyday social life departs from the perceptions, discourses, knowledge and meanings of individuals or groups towards social spaces. Cultural context cannot be separated from values and social interaction. So the challenge is to cultivate sociocultural values and identities both in the realm of

discourse and spatial practices. This is also the concern of Muwifanindhita and Idajati (2018) who highlighted the low participation of Ketandan residents in the revitalization towards a tourist village. The two researchers elaborated that the absence of orientation and intensive assistance was the main factor in the reluctance of residents to get involved, in addition to other factors that are private.

The development of cultural tourism destinations in Ketandan Village requires the involvement of various actors, including the government, local communities, businesses, and tourists. The relationship between these actors determines the success of sociocultural reproduction efforts, namely how local culture is maintained, revived, and adapted in the context of modernization and tourism. In the context of habitus, Bourdieu (1986) argues that mental and cognitive structures that influence individual actions are formed through social interaction. Social capital, in the form of social networks and relationships owned by individuals or groups, plays an important role in the development of cultural tourism. Relationships between actors in Kampung Ketandan can be analyzed through the framework of social capital and habitus to understand how social networks influence sociocultural reproduction.

Relationships between Actors and the Construction of Cultural Tourism in Kampung Ketandan

Relationships between actors in the sociocultural reproduction efforts in the development of cultural tourism destinations in Kampung Ketandan are complex and dynamic. Understanding how interactions between the government, local communities, businesses, and tourists affect this process requires a comprehensive theoretical approach. Referring to the power relations between actors, Giddens (1984) developed a theory of structuration that emphasises the reciprocal interaction between agents (individuals or groups) and structures (rules, resources). In the context of Kampung Ketandan, the relationship between the government, the community, and business actors can be understood as the result of individual actions that continuously reproduce and change social structures.

The problem is that in the context of a global society and the determinations of modernization, social relations are formed through complex networks (Castells, 2000). Relationships between actors in Ketandan Village can be seen as part of a wider social network, where information and resources flow through different relationships. The

structures formed are not always linear and formal, and global networks often intersect with the power of non-government actors. This is why power relations are polarized and unstructured.

In the context of Kampung Ketandan's cultural tourism development, relations between actors are formed in the interrelationship of roles, tasks, principles and functions between Government Office of Regional Planning and Development, Government Office for Culture, Youth, Sports and Tourism, Government Office for Community Microeconomics, community groups, and the private sector in Surabaya Cities. Researchers specifically highlighted the institutional structure of Pokdarwis (Decree of the Head of the Culture and Tourism Office in 2021) Joglo Cak Markeso Kampung Ketandan where the role of residents becomes very strategic. Through Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) as an organization that plays an important role in the management and development of community-based tourist destinations. In the context of Kampung Ketandan, Pokdarwis functions as a mediator between the local community, the government, and tourists in maintaining and promoting local cultural values. Structures and agents within Pokdarwis interact with each other to reproduce and manage social and cultural practices. Social structures not only constrain individual actions but also enable them. Social structures and individual agents shape and influence each other (Giddens, 1984).

> *" ..kolaborasi sudah ada sejak awal 2016 revitalisasi Joglo Cak Markeso,meski kemudian berjalan sebatas pendampingan ketika ada seremonial tertentu. Mengenai emanfaatan balai budaya ya memang ada tari-tarian, lalu belajar kelompok, rapat warga dan seterusnya. Namun memang masih perlu pembinaan terutama kalau dikaitkan apa yang sampeyan sebutkan tadi (SK Perwali Penetapan DestinasiWisata). Kalau dikaitkan partisipasi warga, saya kira ya memang tidak bisa di samakan ya, artinya kita menyadari warga banyak yang bekerja, punya kepentingan lain tapi jika ada kegiatan ya mereka datang. Meski terkadang kalau ada apa gitu ya, rapat atau pelatihan dan seterusnya, kita kasih semacam apa doorprize..hehe tapi ya gak selalu. Ini saya juga melibatkan anak-anak kartar, ibu-ibu PKK, pokdarwis yaa memang semua butuh proses dan betul memang kita masih mencari pola wisata apa yang pas." (Wawancara dengan, Ketua RW 04 sekaligus Ketua Pokdarwis)*

This was later confirmed by Nia (Head of PKK RW 04) regarding the efforts made by RW to increase residents' participation in the development of cultural tourism. Various activities have been carried out starting from Shibori batik training, empowering economic micro and involving residents in meeting forums. The problem is the absence

of integrated values, perceptions and sociocultural identities in determining the orientation of cultural tourism. This includes involving the youth organization in various forums for the development of Ketandan. Faninda, a member of Karang Taruan and secretary of Pokdarwis, said that for the first time this year, Karang Taruna was directly involved in the planning and development deliberation process.

> *"iya mas, baru ini kami ikut dan sangat didukung Pak RW. Berbagai usulan dari teman-teman seperti kegiatan menari, lomba,   pendidikan dan teknologi, meski memang masi terus di bicarakan. Kami juga sebenarnya ya sama mas, banyak teman-teman awalnya semangat, kayak ikut menari atau apalah itu banyak, terus lama-lama ya berkurang."*
> *(wawancara dengan Faninda, anggota karang taruna)*

The researcher then confirmed the role of Genteng Village in the development of Kampung Ketandan cultural tourism. Through an interview with Lina (Lurah Genteng), she said that the residents of Kampung Ketandan have the ability to independently develop local resources, especially when the government has given an identity as a tourist destination. However, the government needs to play a role in collaboration considering that Ketandan has a strategic location and various challenges in the midst of modernization.

> *"beberapa event yang dilakukan kota, kami selalu melibatkan warga ketandan untuk berpartisipasi, seperti kemarin ada tari remo massal, lalu car free day di jalan tunjungan dimana UMKM selalu kami prioritaskan. Selain itu, mereka punya batik Shibori yang sudah terpajang di SKG Siola, beberapa juga pernah kami pajang di sini (kelurahan) dan Hotel Leedon. Ya memang tidak semua harus di   apa istilahnya, dipelopori atau di dikte gitu ya, apalagi era sekarang, warga harusnya lebih bisa aktif ya, dan saya yakin kok warga ketandan sangat aktif. Di beberapa kampung lain juga sama, apapun program jika tidak didukung dan warga mau terlibat ya gimana"(wawancara dengan Lina, Lurah Genteng)*

While the Department of Culture, Youth, and Sports and Tourism (Disbudporparda) explained that some forms of government intervention in the effort to develop cultural tourism in Ketandan through promotion to tourists visiting Surabaya.

> *"seperti mereka yang sedang menunggu kapal sandar, wisatawan asing kami ajak ke ketandan, beberapa juga mungkin datang secara mandiri karena ya mengingat jalan tunjungan sudah berubah lebih   ramai ya, jadi itu seperti multy-effect. Kalau wisatawan hotel berbintang yang disekitar memang belum secara apa ya bahasanya formal, hanya saja mereka jika berjalan kaki di tunjungan terkadang   ya   masuk   gang   ketandan. Untuk pemanfaatan balai budaya, ya melalui revitalisasi 2016 sebenarnya sudah menjadi ikon ya,   masyarakat bisa mengoptimalkan itu, saya kira semua bentuk komunikasi atau koordinasi bisa dilakukan, kan juga ada Pokdarwis dimana sebagian besar warga terlibat di dalam. Untuk latihan menari terus terang memang mereka sudah berkoordinasi dengan Dindik   Jatim, dan itu saya kira sudah reguler. Jika ada event,   mereka   pasti   kita libatkan, dan batik Shibori pun juga kami bimbing ya meski memang kemandirian warga menjadi yang terpenting. Nah kami juga membuka diri kerjasama dengan akademisi*

> *seperti Untag itu kan ikut terlibat dalam revitalisasi Joglo ya, dan Unair beberapa juga melakukan KKN atau kuliah lapangan ya termasuk membantu promosi" (wawancara dengan Icha, Disbudporpar)*

Several times the researcher directly observed the dynamics of the social life of Ketandan residents, that the practice of daily life is not linearly related to the context of cultural tourism development based on cultural values towards historical buildings. The development of cultural tourism relies on symbolisation and incidental ceremonies. One resident commented on the identity of his village as a tourist destination. For this step, Disbudporda, the Office of Cooperatives and MSMEs, Genteng Sub-district and Kelurahan as well as several universities (Untag, Unair, ITS) are promoting and developing it. One of them is through the development of Shibori batik, the organisation of dance and ludruk arts at the Cak Markeso cultural hall and the involvement of MSMEs around Jalan Tunjungan (suarasurabaya.net, 2018; hallojatimnews.com, 2022; Kompassiana.com, 2023; Sapanusa.id, 2023).

Cultural Disorientation in Ketandan Cultural Tourism Development

Cultural disorientation is a phenomenon in which communities or individuals experience confusion or loss of meaning in living their social and cultural lives, often caused by rapid change or conflict in existing values and norms. In the context of Kampung Ketandan, cultural disorientation may result from the development of cultural tourism destinations that may not always be aligned with local practices and values. Departing from the perspective of political anthropology of space, Geertz (1973) in his approach emphasises the importance of interpretation in understanding culture. He argues that culture is a 'web of significance' that humans weave to interpret those meanings. In the context of cultural tourism development in Ketandan, government actors have the authority to reproduce the sociocultural through the design of the physical and symbolic identity of Ketandan Village, for example through renovating historic buildings or improving tourist facilities. The formal construction of spatial layout and sociocultural reproduction can create cultural disorientation if residents do not have a commonality or complete attachment to the development. Using Geertz's interpretive approach, it is important to understand how residents interpret these changes and how they try to negotiate their identities in the changing context.

The Ketandan locus in the city centre presents a context of modernization that creates a tension between the cultural atmosphere of clinging to the rites of the historic buildings or actively engaging in modernised life. Development and modernization projects in Surabaya, such as infrastructure development and shopping malls, can disrupt the balance of local culture. modernization often brings new values that are different from the traditional values held by local communities. In addition, it cannot be denied that the process of social change due to population migration from rural to urban areas causes significant demographic changes. In addition, modernity and globalisation often bring cultural commercialisation, where local cultural values are turned into commodities to attract tourists or for other economic interests. This can lead to a loss of the original meaning of these cultural practices. This can then affect the social and cultural structure of Ketandan Village, with the influx of different cultural practices and values resulting in cultural blending. Cultural blending refers to the process by which different cultures interact, influence, and assimilate elements of each other. The political anthropology of space perspective explains that cultural blending involves complex dynamics of power, identity and spatial meaning. This process often occurs in spaces where groups with different cultural backgrounds meet and interact.

This can then lead to cultural disorientation when people have to choose between maintaining tradition or adapting to modernity. The political anthropology of space approach explains how people navigate this tension and try to harmonise or negotiate these two aspects of their lives, focusing on the meanings, symbols and narratives produced by local communities. Cultural tourism development that is insensitive to local values and practices can create disorientation, where communities feel a loss of direction and meaning in their cultural lives.

Based on observation and analysis of a number of explanations from various informants, it shows that the construction of culture as the foundation of Ketandan tourist destination is limited to ceremonial and procedural. This means that cultural contextualization only manifests in incidental momentum, not in the realm of social life practice. The presence of historical buildings does not have philosophical roots and sociocultural attachment to the residents.

In the context of Kampung Ketandan, cultural space is produced through social practices and interactions between actors involved in tourism development. Anomalies

can arise when there is a misalignment between various interests in the production of this space. Inauthentic representations can lead to identity crises and conflicts within local communities, as the represented identities do not match the everyday experiences of the community.

Then the researcher specifically confronted the historical buildings, namely the An-Nur Mosque, the The grave of Mbah Buyut Tondo and the Cak Markeso Joglo, which were related to the extent of ritualisation of the social life of Ketandan residents. Based on the explanation of some residents, it shows that these buildings have existed for a long time and have become the identity and icon of Ketandan, especially Joglo Cak Markeso. However, when linked in depth through the perspective of philosophical values and residents' attachment to the socio-history of these buildings, residents generally do not understand or explore them as social and cultural rituals.

> *"...kalau soal Joglo saya tau memang ada namun diperbaiki lebih bagus tahun 2016, jamane bu Risma. Nah disitukan memang ada makam mbah buyut Tondo, memang ada pengajian atau apalah ya malam suroan, tapi kebanyakan ya warga dari luar, kita ya biasa aja. Tapi ya ada warga sini, cuma gak terlalu kayak gimana gitu. Kalau musola An-Nur dulu sempat renovasi terus ada kayak botol katanya jaman Belanda, cuma ya wis kayak musola atau masjid lain, tidak ada ritual atau acara khusus."*

Meanwhile, through the perspective of production of space (1974) Lefebvre argues that sociocultural space does not only exist as a neutral background but is produced through social and political processes. The perspective is elaborated from three elements: physical space (perceived space), representational space (conceived space), and lived space. In the context of cultural tourism development, the production of space involves how the physical space of Kampung Ketandan is designed and managed, how it is understood and represented by various actors, and how it is experienced by local people and tourists.

Perceived space (Spatial Practice) is the physical space experienced on a daily basis, produced by social and economic practices. This space includes infrastructure, buildings, and layouts. Spatial practices include all forms of activities that occur in physical space, from daily life to social and economic interactions. In the context of Kampung Ketandan, spatial practices reflect the extent of interaction between various cultural, economic, and political elements that shape the character of this area. What then needs to be examined is that the infrastructure formed is a process of deep and

continuous interaction involving sociocultural dimensions in spatial planning and building. This infrastructure is the result of a long historical process and reflects cultural identity and this layout also influences how local people and tourists interact with the space. Good infrastructure can increase tourist attraction and visitor comfort, but it can also change local social dynamics.

This then triggers cultural spatial practices through daily social activities such as social relations of residents that reflect distinctiveness and identity such as through attributes attached to the body, language of communication and others.This social interaction creates a lively spatial dynamic, where various interests and identities interact with each other. These social practices reflect how space is perceived and used by various actors who have cultural identities attached. In addition, these economic activities not only reflect the daily life of the community but are also a major attraction for tourists. The presence of markets and traditional shops contributes to the local economy and nurtures cultural practices. The context of cultural momentum places celebrations not only as a means of physically animating the space but also strengthening cultural identity and community solidarity. These festivals attract tourists and raise cultural awareness, while creating spaces for interaction between local communities and visitors.The government itself becomes an important actor in regulating spatial planning, business licensing, and the preservation of historic buildings. These policies influence how physical spaces are developed and used. Regulations that support cultural preservation can strengthen the identity of the area. However, such regulations must also be based on inherent sociocultural values and identities so as to legitimise the link between the rites of historic buildings and the spatial practices of residents.

As far as observations and analysis of interviews with the government are concerned, revitalisation has indeed been carried out, especially in 2016 at Joglo Cak Markeso. However, after that, the researcher did not find any affirmative policy that builds the culturisation of ludruk, for example at the Joglo Cak Markeso Cultural Hall, or builds a very specific cultural celebration momentum in Ketandan. While in conceived space or 'representations of space' as space planned and conceptualised by experts such as architects, urban planners, and government authorities, the SK Perwali policy on the establishment of Kampung Ketandan tourist destination needs to be supported by tourism development plans, rearrangement of historical buildings, and supporting infrastructure.

The narrative of tourism promotion that highlights ludruk culture, for example, can be the main attraction, as well as the vision of economic development based on cultural tourism in Ketandan.

This means that the government must be able to build a structure of culturalisation through the spatial practices of the residents in addition to not renovating the historic buildings. It should also build other facilities such as information centres, strengthen relations with other actors, especially the private sector, to attract more tourists and increase local economic income. The management of historic building rites is not only important for maintaining cultural heritage, but can also be used as an instrument to attract tourists. Constructing celebrations or ritualisation of historic buildings such as annual events that are only held in these spaces and buildings is a form of managing sociocultural relations both between local residents and visitors. This context becomes very relevant when the government and residents construct ludruk activities every month for example in the Joglo Cak Markeso or special recitations that are only held at Musolla An-Nur.

Another issue is that the personification of Cak Markeso as a legendary ludruk figure has received a critical response. The concept of ludruk Cak Markeso, which is a monologue and does not involve music and dance in its performances, is often termed ludruk garingan. Robert Bayonet (Cak Robert), an artist of Tobong ludruk The LUNTAS Indonesia (*ludrukan Nom-noman Tjap Arek Soeroboyo*) gave a view regarding Cak Markeso who is considered to perform ludruk personally, unlike the usual ludruk which is always collectively involving various elements of gamelan music and art. Cak Markeso's concept is similar to a 'stand-up comedy' who always performs alone without the collectivize of other elements. Even as an artist, Cak Robert does not recommend making the figure of Cak Markeso a legend because he is considered not representing ludruk.Then the representation of space analysis includes the plans, symbols, and ideologies that shape how physical space is designed and used. In the context of Kampung Ketandan, the conceived space reflects the vision of the government, developers, and local community on how the area should be developed as a cultural tourism destination. Understanding these dynamics is important for creating an inclusive and sustainable development strategy that respects local cultural heritage and involves all the actors involved.

Representational spaces are places where local identity and culture are expressed and celebrated. These subjective experiences are important for maintaining cultural authenticity and the well-being of local communities. It is a space where the meanings, symbols and values assigned by the people who inhabit it live and thrive. In this perspective, space is the arena where identity, culture, and collective memory are maintained and reproduced.

A lived space is full of symbols and meanings given by the people who inhabit it. A very fundamental context is the daily experience of residents in interacting with space. This interaction creates a dynamic social space, where cultural meanings and symbols are continuously produced and lived. This space becomes a place where personal and collective identities continue to be formed and strengthened.

The problem is that residents' responses and spatial practices towards historic building rites have the potential to be imposed by political space policies, whether by the government or the private sector. Residents show resistance to this if they do not have a strong sociocultural connection to these buildings. So what then emerges is cultural neglect or disorientation. At the same time, residents adapt and find ways to maintain meanings and symbols that they consider relevant in the context of social life.

This context reflects cultural disorientation where Ketandan residents actually live in sociocultural spaces where modernization offers values and principles as well as social relations that are different from sociocultural relations to historical building rites. So one indicator is the extent to which residents can then tell and represent the sociocultural space to outsiders and tourists.

In the context of the building of the grave of Mbah Buyut Tondo, for example, as far as the researcher's observation goes, there is no concept of mystification process when there is no personification that continues to be 'lived' in social spaces. Mystification refers to the process by which certain spaces, objects or practices are given sacred or cultist meanings by certain communities or groups. In the context of the political anthropology of space, this process is particularly important because it shows how power, identity and cultural meaning are constructed and maintained through physical and symbolic spaces. The process of sacred is often linked to cultural identity. Sacred spaces symbolize community identity and serve as cultural markers that distinguish them from other groups. The logical consequence, however, is that sacralised space often becomes

an instrument of power relations for indigenous communities to strengthen their authority over historical rites and the social practices of local residents.

The figure of Mbah Buyut Tondo himself is considered the first person to 'babat alas' in the Ketandan area, so his name became the name of Ketandan village. As far as the researcher has observed, there has not been a strong process of sacralisation through celebrations or involving certain cultural elements towards the personification of Mbah Buyut Tondo. This is to manage culturisation in social practice as well as to ignite the substance of Ketandan culture. The context is the commemoration of "Suro's night", as in other areas, which usually seeks the locus of tombs that are considered sacred. Therefore, the locus is not the specific personification but the status of culturisation that is still developing.

In the context of political anthropology of space, the three buildings, namely An-Nur Mosque, Mbah Buyut Tondo's grave, and Cak Markeso's Joglo, have not formed a network of interrelated spaces in the production of social space in Ketandan Village. In general, Geertz's reproduction relies more on cultural construction while Lefebvre refers to the reproduction of space can play an important role in conveying symbolic meaning, as well as being an object of production or consumption (Lefebvre, 1974). In this approach, space is continuously created, modified, and given meaning through social, economic, and cultural processes. In the context of the Balai Budaya Cak Markeso building, for example, it is important that relations between actors reinforce symbols of cultural identity that influence spatial practices and sociocultural reproduction.

CONCLUSION

The reality of Ketandan Village which has a socio-history as the oldest village in the middle of the city gave birth to a collaborative governance policy in an effort to develop Ketandan tourism. This is based on social complexity as a village in the midst of modernization and development challenges, so the involvement and relations between actors are important. Even so, there are several challenges, including the lack of values and beliefs in cultural construction in the discourse of Ketandan cultural tourism and the lack of optimal institutionalization of Pokdarwis both internally and externally. Internally, the challenge is to reconstruct the cultural discourse as an identity as well as a tourism trigger in Ketandan, and externally, it is about the capacity to strengthen coordination between other actors. The role of government actors rests on a technocratic

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development discourse so that tourism development is dominated by administrative-procedural, artificial-ceremonial matters. The role of the government is to make regulations and norms based on the authority of formal power enshrined in the tourism development regulatory documents. Ketandan tourism development efforts that have been imaged in the development discourse then gave birth to legitimacy transformation through the institutionalization of the Pokdarwis Joglo Cak Markeso community.

Meanwhile, the role of citizen actors as subjects and objects of tourism development is dominated by the 'cultural' discourse that has been constructed in advance through the design of government works and ceremonial revitalisation. On the other hand, the sociocultural of Ketandan residents is faced with the collision of the reality of urban modernisation and aspects of the cultural space of the historical heritage of Majsid An-Nur, Cak Markeso Cultural Hall and the Tomb of Mbah Buyut Tondo which have not fully internalised the sociocultural practices of residents in their daily lives. This condition has triggered disorientation in the pattern and substance of Pokdarwis' work internally and externally. Therefore, the conclusion is that collaborative governance works as the theoretical approach that has been presented in the discussion chapter, but it leaves substantial problems that can actually disrupt the sustainability of the collaboration mechanism and tourism development in Ketandan,

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