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Preserving cultural heritage of Denpasar: local community perspectives

Tri Anggraini Prajnawrdhi^{a,*}, Sadasivam Karuppanan^a, Alpana Sivam^a^a*School of Natural and Built Environments, University of South Australia, GPO Box 2471, Adelaide, South Australia 5001, Australia*

Abstract

Bali is well known as the Island of Paradise on earth. Its unique landscape and cultural practices attract large number of tourists from all over the world. Bali's cultural heritage is the main attraction for tourists and tourism is the main source of the local economy. Population growth in Bali due to tourism and migration is undeniable and it has led to several new developments in Denpasar city to accommodate the growth. New developments have noticeably transformed the identity of Denpasar. Urban development strategies, in general, do not necessarily take into account urban character and identity. Urban character and identity is important because it adds to the strength of the city and differentiates it from others. This paper brings out the significance of cultural heritage as an important planning element to preserve the character and identity of Denpasar. The planning aspiration of Denpasar city "Denpasar is a Cultural City based on the harmony between God, Human and the Nature" which has come about in recent years after the population boom. Nevertheless, lack of guidelines about appropriate policies suggest that current policies are not effective in tackling the ongoing multi-layered threats of urban development on cultural heritage conservation. This paper seeks to identify suitable conservation strategies for Denpasar. This paper uses descriptive analysis to gain knowledge from place and its community. NVivo 10 software helps to capture views and perspectives about the importance of cultural heritage and evolve strategies to retain the cultural identity and heritage of Denpasar through the interview of various heads of local communities in Denpasar. It concludes with ways of conserving cultural heritage and how it could improve planning and development policies of Denpasar.

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* Corresponding author. Tel.: +61-8-8302 1778 ; fax: +61-8-8302 2252
E-mail address: praty002@mymail.unisa.edu.au.

1. Introduction

Heritage is one of the important elements which create character, identity and image of city. It is not the set of authentic buildings and landscapes; it is a mirror which reflects the social and intellectual circumstances of our time. Heritage concerns our past history, present and future¹. It could be seen as a diverse knowledge that has content and meaning which change through time and across space². Furthermore, heritage is also seen as a reflection of pattern and behavior of dominant local communities within the entire society³. Technology, demographic and economic changes have put pressures on the cultural heritage, therefore culture and heritage are not stable and they transform and change dynamically. Economic, technological and demographic changes transform behavior, way of life, landscape and natural sites in the developing countries. Modernization, nationalization and uniformity of different ethnic groups in the developing countries in order to cope with global modern world force the communities to consume the same products, media and new lifestyles³.

The significance of cultural heritage is often discussed in the perspectives of urban development strategies with strong emphasis on the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism. In general, it can be seen that both tangible heritage, such as natural and cultural, and intangible heritage compromise substantial opportunities for the tourism^{4,5,6,7,8}. Views about heritage as artefact seem more important than the views as knowledge. Furthermore, lack of adequate management of cultural heritage including building sites and landscapes can significantly impact on the capacity of heritage sites to attract visitors. This happened all over the world with changes in environment and society as a result of tourism. Thus, management of heritage sites needs to combine viable commercial strategies and specific conservation methods¹.

Technological, demographic and economic changes exert pressure on cultural heritage, therefore culture and heritage are not stable and they transform and change dynamically. The awareness about losing local culture in Asian countries has emerged due to the rapid urbanization and population growth and come in conflict with sustaining the place identity. Economic, technological and demographic changes transform behavior, way of life, landscape and natural sites in the developing countries. Furthermore, cultural dynamism and pluralism are an issue in the developing countries due to population growth. Change from singulars to plurals possibly will create cultural conflicts and dissonant^{3,9}. Thus, the need for conservation in developing countries is paramount.

Demographic and technological changes, economic growth and tourism impact on the conservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Denpasar. The influx of population through migration and tourism and the lack of guidelines on conservation in Denpasar have hampered the conservation process of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is the main attraction for tourism industry and it is the main source of local economy. Historically the local community called *Adat* has the major responsibility for the conservation process as most of the cultural heritage sites were temples, royal palaces and Balinese Hindu rituals of Balinese Hindu population. Thus, an appropriate strategy for the conservation process is urgent because the demographic changes pose significant challenge to the conservation process and tourism industry has exploited both tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

2. Significant of cultural heritage in Denpasar

Denpasar is the capital of Bali province in Indonesia. Bali is known as ‘the island of god’ and has become one of favorite tourist destinations in South East Asia. The population of Denpasar has grown from 532,440 in 2000 to 788,445 in 2010¹⁰. Tourism industry is the main driver of migration to Bali. According to Bali Statistical Bureau¹⁰ 30.6% of population in Denpasar migrated to Bali with the highest number migration from the island of Java. Denpasar is also the center of government, commerce, business, and education.

With the influx of population, Denpasar is undergoing a rapid transformation fueled by the demand for infrastructure and services. Population growth has affected the original character and identify of Denpasar which is built around the architectural traditions of Hindu city and the building code. The traditional architecture based on Hindu religion and its traditions are the main heritage of Denpasar that creates the character and identity of this city.

The concept of space, building and landscape, and urban design in Bali based on the harmonization between god, human and the natural environment is the main aspect of the Balinese concept. The psycho-cosmic concept of the Balinese culture found in the Balinese traditional landscapes is known as ‘*Sanga Mandala*’ (*Sanga* is nine and *Mandala* is area/site division) which is hard to implement in new developments due to the change of values and

meanings from the past¹¹. Denpasar has been built following the concept of hierarchical zones. The increase has made it difficult to maintain the hierarchical zones as rapid growth in population in recent years has started to invade other zones. Some zones within the city have been expanded to accommodate the growth in population and new developments have generally created imbalances with old developments.

Denpasar has been transformed and has begun to lose its identity. It is facing complex problems in sustaining its tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Furthermore, changes in lifestyle adversely impact the conservation processes. The degradation of value happened due to the demographic plurality and tourism in Bali especially Denpasar. Intervention of the state government of Indonesia has also played important roles in shaping complex problems in Denpasar and it has become increasingly complex and uncontrolled. A good strategy is urgently needed for the conservation of cultural heritage in Denpasar.

The relationship between urbanization, culture and tourism in Bali has been often emphasized in the literature. Graham² argues that the presentation and interpretation of heritage sites commonly lead to exploitation for tourism. The views of heritage as artefact seem more important than its value as a source of knowledge. Moreover, the sacred zones of the cultural heritage sites have been encroached by commercial and tourism business and it is threatening the heritage values of the sites. Research on cultural sustainability of Denpasar and other regions in Bali has been studied by scholars such as^{11,12,13,14,15,16,17}. However, they paid less attention to incorporate both tangible and intangible values of cultural heritage objects and sites within planning and development of Denpasar.

3. Methodology

Interview survey of 24 respondents is the main source of data for this research. The goal of interview in qualitative research is to see the research topic from the view of interviewee and to understand how and why they come to have the particular perspective¹⁸. The respondents are the head of local communities in Denpasar. These respondents were the head of '*Banjar Adat*' (community based on customary laws), head of '*Dusun*' (community) and head of '*Dinas*' (administrative village) and lastly head of '*Pekraman*' village (formerly called *Adat* village community). All respondents were the leading persons within each community in Denpasar and the representatives of the local community.

The survey questionnaire was approved by the Ethics Committee at the University of South Australia. Ethics approval was a compulsory requirement by the Indonesian Government. Participants were contacted in advance via telephone and they agreed to participate in the interview. Interviews were conducted in local language to make participants feel at home. The interview was conducted face to face and a list of questions was used to guide the semi-structured interview. The interview data was organized, coded and analyzed in QSR NUD*IST Vivo (NVivo 10) quantitative software. NVivo provides tools to organize refined data coding within research analyses and provide suitable way to achieve research goal. It provides easier ways of data organizing with different data types and source, far more efficient than manual process of Microsoft Word and Excel^{19,20}.

4. Local community perspectives on conservation of cultural heritage

The survey covers three aspects of cultural heritage namely, concept of cultural heritage, cultural heritage issues and problems, and cultural heritage strategy.

4.1 Main issues of cultural heritage conservation process

During the interview, issues of cultural heritage by local community were described based on the perspective about cultural heritage conservation. Frequencies of words used by the local community leaders during the interview were used as a tool to identify perceptions of relevant issues by local community. Word frequency is seen as a very important variable in cognitive processing and it is believed that high frequency words are perceived as more efficient than low frequency words and also high frequency words recognize more quickly than low frequency words^{21,22}. Thus, it is considered as data driven by the actual perspective from respondents.

The analysis of word frequency was based on the perspectives of respondents. Word frequency indicates the main key words found in the interview with respondents. Word frequency is used to identify top 100 words from each respondent. Then, the top twenty of the words indicate the main concept of all respondents about the issue.

Top twenty keywords used by the local community are shown in Table 1. The keywords include government (11%), Banjar (10%), community (10%), cultural (7%), temple (7%), migrant (6%), heritage (6%), activities (5%), regulation (4%), ritual (4%), ceremony (4%), development (4%), traditional (4%), beach (3%), building (3%), hotel (3%), population (3%), Dusun (3%), Pekraman (2%) and style (2%) respectively.

Local community perspectives on cultural heritage conservation are reflected in the top twenty keywords. Government has the high priority for the conservation process. Government participation and support for conservation is highly ranked by the local community as most of the conservation activities are carried out by the local community. Government rarely pays adequate attention to the conservation process. Government gives some support for the conservation process. However, it has never been sufficient to meet the expenses for conservation. For generations, two smallest community organizations in Denpasar namely Banjar and Dusun have played important roles in the conservation process.

Since most of the cultural heritage consists of Hindu temples and it includes tangible aspects as well as intangible aspects such as rituals and religious ceremonies. Expenses for the conservation process are mostly borne by the Banjar and Dusun members. However, the local communities find it increasingly difficult to mobilize adequate resources for conservation and they require support from other sources. Furthermore, Pekraman village (formerly known as *Adat*) has played important roles in conservation especially in the conservation of main temples namely Puseh temple, Dalem temple and Desa temple.

Cultural activities in Denpasar also have to deal with wider issues of lack of awareness of cultural activities on the part of young generations. Lifestyle changes have resulted in lack of time for people to take part in community activities such as joining cultural groups and taking part in traditional dance, music and drama. It has become more serious as younger generations lack information and guidance from parents and also due to the changing nature of education as two respondents stated:

“Well, the education curriculum has been changing where the children tend to be more busy and fully study at school and also many activities at school, so they spend their time mostly at school compared to the past time” and “I think despite the lack of written information....the young generations tend to be more individualist and don not want to try to get any information about the history and cultural heritage. Most of the oldest or older generations were more aware about this....and the young have less interest with culture and history...they are more interested in modern things and technology” (respondent #LC21, #LC9, 2012).

New developments to cater for the population growth especially from migration and tourism have impacted the conservation process. For example, the development of hotels in areas such as beachfront which is originally a part of cultural heritage landscape for ritual and cultural ceremony purposes is an issue as two respondents mentioned:

“There is a regulation about beachfront but there is no detail of its implementation. This happened because some individuals have power to break the regulation. So far... our community never support to this activity....we only have commitment with the commercials and hotels...we want them also to look after the site...that’s all” and “We in Kelurahan never give permit for hotels to use the beachfront area for commercial uses such as for restaurant...small shop, coffee shop or stall. Because we know that beach front is the area for public and not for individual purpose” (respondent #LC16, #LC14, 2012).

Furthermore, new developments especially developments related to tourism have violated the traditional architecture as one mentioned:

“However, the investor who came here and then did break the rules.....they are more profit oriented...they need to build as many rooms as they can for hotel...they ignored the style and also the material, building setback and the traditional concept of land plot” (respondent #LC1, 2012).

Population increase in Denpasar from migration and tourism poses big challenges for the environment and quality of infrastructure as one respondent mentioned:

“The physical things as an example...now the river is polluted...also the road...we used to fix the road for several years....now it is only 1-2 years than we have to fix the road. We have to spend more money now compared to the past for our physical maintenance in our area due to the population increase” (respondent #LC12, 2012).

Moreover, migrant population generally lacks awareness of the environment and responsibility to the conservation process even though they live in the community where each community has own cultural heritage objects and sites.

Table.1. Local community-word frequency.

LOCAL COMMUNITY- WORD FREQUENCY		
Keywords	Word count	Percentage
government	547	11%
Banjar	494	10%
community	485	10%
cultural	341	7%
temple	331	7%
migrant	301	6%
heritage	268	6%
activities	258	5%
regulation	204	4%
ritual	193	4%
ceremony	175	4%
development	167	4%
traditional	165	3%
beach	164	3%
building	153	3%
hotel	147	3%
population	138	3%
Dusun	131	3%
Pekraman	106	2%
style	93	2%
TOTAL	4861	100%

4.2 Concept of cultural heritage conservation process

The main concept of the cultural heritage conservation process described with keywords is relevant to the existing situation in Denpasar. The keywords on issues of the conservation process were captured through text search. The use of text search based on keywords system required the researcher to read all the documents and assign the keywords from a list of control vocabulary, rather than use free text search that allows the researcher to make a random word combination²³. It allows searching particular keywords in a specified project items. With keywords search, the database system will return all the matching records and fixed number of the record²⁴. Text search indicates keywords driven from relevant theories to be able to find the main concept of cultural heritage conservation and at the same time to solve the relevant issues of the conservation process.

Table 2 depicts twenty main keywords pointing to conservation issues namely, government (19%), cultural heritage (18%), community (17%), regulation (7%), development (6%), population (5%), activity (4%), public facility (3%), tourism (3%), open space (3%), conservation (2%), environment (2%), migration (2%), image (2%), traffic (2%), architecture (2%), planning (1%), zone (1%), social (0.5%), economy (0.5%).

Local community perspectives point to the need for support from state, provincial to local governments and good coordination between government departments so that a good synergy for the conservation process is integrated with urban development. It is proven from Table 2 that government has the highest percentage (19%) followed by cultural heritage (18%) and community (17%). Coordination between government and local community is required not only for the conservation process but also for planning and development. Seldom there has been meaningful coordination between the government and local communities in urban development. Consequently, the local community had little chance of participating in activities such as supervising developments within their neighborhood as mentioned:

“There is very limited coordination between government and Desa Adat and Banjar Adat before they change the land use and land ownerships...we know nothing about the process....then when the development started ...there is conflict...so we know there is a problem whenever there is a conflict. I keep criticizing this issue to the government....but still no reply. There were so many issues like this around Bali....there were so many local or Adat lands that have no access because the new development has blocking their access. Adat should be involved by the government and the agrarian before they approve the land use for new development or change the land ownerships...to avoid this type of problem getting worst in the future” (respondent #LC4, 2012).

Local government should take into account the influx of population and provide public facilities simultaneously to preserve the existing facilities for the benefit of the public. As tourism and commerce has rapidly increased in Denpasar in recent decade, regulations and guidelines of development need to incorporate conservation of heritage sites in each development zone. Indeed, each local *Adat* community will also be able to revise its *Adat* regulation called ‘*Awig-awig*’ if there is a guideline provided by the government. It can include more details of the development within respective local areas and consider of cultural heritage conservation processes.

Table.2. Local community-text search.

LOCAL COMMUNITY-TEXT SEARCH		
Key words	Words count	Percentage
government	538	19%
cultural heritage	501	18%
community	485	17%
regulation	204	7%
development	167	6%
population	138	5%
activity	122	4%
public facility	89	3%

tourism	88	3%
open space	76	3%
conservation	70	2%
environment	68	2%
migration	66	2%
image	64	2%
traffic	57	2%
architecture	49	2%
planning	14	1%
zone	10	1%
social	9	0.5%
economy	4	0.5%
TOTAL	2819	100%

The traditional architecture that creates the image of Denpasar has been poorly regulated within the planning regulation and, as a consequence, several new developments have come about violating planning norms and regulations. Lack of enforcement has rendered the regulations hard to implement. This has created chaotic and ad-hoc developments in Denpasar weakening the strong character and image of Denpasar. Local community believes that conserving the culture can help to protect the image of Denpasar from degradation by uncontrolled and uncertain developments. Image of Denpasar is strongly associated with the history of Denpasar as city of royal palace. The spirit of the past has disappeared as the sacred areas of the past especially temples have been surrounded by incompatible activities and buildings that are wrapped the temple facade as stated:

“These temples are more than hundred years. In the past...these temples were not surrounded by many different functions like now. The temple is so sacred and very quiet in the past. Based on Adat regulation, all of land ownership in the past should be recorded and registered in Desa Adat especially for land inheritance....but it is confusing that... then the land around these temples are claimed by the governmentnow it turns to housing and commercial areas” (respondent #LC18, 2012).

Integrated approach for development should also address social, economic and environmental issues. The negative impacts of development especially waste and flooding during rainy season on the environment have significantly affected the quality of life in Denpasar. These issues need to be addressed properly.

4.3 Cultural heritage conservation strategy

It is obvious that the local community has clearly identified the issues of cultural heritage conservation that could help to improve the conservation outcome in Denpasar. Figure 1 illustrates the pattern generated by word frequency and text search. Some words have similar strength as the main keywords for the conservation process. It shows that cultural heritage conservation is closely related to the government and the community. The emerging main conclusion is that government is the main actor who is responsible for the conservation process and should shoulder the main responsibility. Secondly, coordination between government departments and local communities is important and adequately detailed regulations identifying roles of various levels of government are urgently needed. Government should facilitate effective coordination between departments especially planning board, culture board, tourism board, academic board and environmental board. Information about the importance of cultural heritage conservation should be widely informed to the society regardless age, gender and education. Thus, it evokes the awareness of the conservation to everyone in the society. Third, it should clearly regulate the rights and responsibilities of all stakeholders in conservation. It will help the environment and at the same time reduce negative impacts of development and some social issues. It is found that many developmental issues were neglected by the government as one respondent put it:

“there were many development problems here and the government never helped us to find the solution...even the Urban Planning Division in the government....nothing...people just act first...with no control from the government and then the problem raised.... and no solution from the government....it is a shame” (respondent #LC14, 2012).

Thus, this type of urban development related problems could be minimised in the future. The need for support merely not only from government but also from migrants, tourism industry and commercial establishments is vital. Moreover, tourism relies on the strength of the cultural heritage that shapes the character of Bali in particular Denpasar. It is also the responsibility of the tourism sector to be part of the conservation process.

Moreover, lack of adequate regulations and guidelines for the conservation process within existing developments in Denpasar was one of the main obstacles for conservation. Conservation activities take place in the absence of guidelines and the local community has no guidance on conservation of tangible heritage sites as one respondent mentioned:

“Government should make a regulation about this issue; all physical conservations of the temple should be funded by the government and also every six month of temple’s ritual ceremony. Indeed, not only for temple....but also ritual ceremony of ‘Ngaben’ ...the government should also give the support for the local community for doing this ceremony....this ceremony is one of the main tourist attractions in Bali” (respondent #LC12, 2012).

Sites for cultural heritage and ritual activities should be protected by the government so that commercial and other activities could not distract the ritual processes. So far, the government has been mainly concerned with promoting economic activities and neglected the social and environmental aspects leading to imbalances in urban development. The government needs to employ more professional staff as it is vital to be able to supervise the development activities and revise the existing regulations as one respondent mentioned:

“I recommend the government to revise the regulation and provide detail guidelines...all officers within government body should have a good knowledge and conservation background....So all buildings in Bali no matter what type of building will have Balinese Traditional Architecture’s characteristic.....so at least they have to make Angkul-Angkul (traditional entrance style) at the entrance of the house....they can use the material based on their choice and budget...because Balinese character offers many different types of material” (respondent #LC16, 2012).

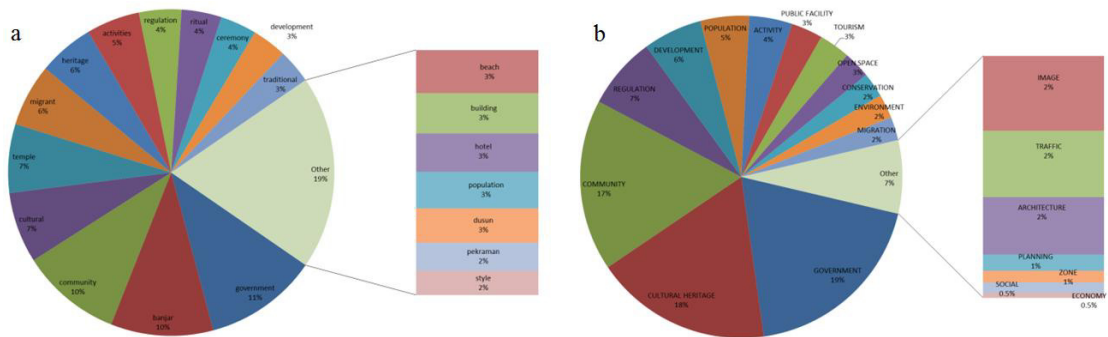


Fig. 1. (a) Word frequency; (b) Text search.

Transparency of the government with respect to development is important for the conservation process. Tax revenue collected by the government should be transparent so that local communities will understand tax revenue and where it is spent. The conservation processes for all cultural heritages both tangible and the intangible require government support. So far, local communities are the only one shouldering most of responsibilities of the conservation process and there are thousands of cultural heritage sites in and around Bali. Denpasar alone has hundreds of cultural heritage sites not to mention private temples. Age old rituals and practices should be conserved

for the benefit of present and future generations. Distribution of tax revenue to all aspects of developments both old and new should be clearly publicized as one respondent mentioned:

“We all pay tax to the government...so I hope the government can be wiser about this....some revenue from tax should be allocated for cultural heritage conservation. Government knows that the main revenue of tax is from culture....Bali is famous with physical and non-physical cultural heritage.... and then nourish the tourism industry..... the tax from tourism is the biggest in Bali” (respondent #LC12).

There were some keywords from both word frequency and text search (Fig. 1a, 1b) that have the least percentage than others. At first, the least three keywords from word frequency are Dusun (3%), Pekraman (2%) and style (2%). Pekraman and Dusun are part of community at a smaller scale. Less percentage of these two keywords is due to the scale of these two types of communities and their participation in the conservation process. However, their significant contribution to the cultural heritage conservation process has been included in community participation in general. Less percentage is style because it has been already captured in ‘building’ and ‘traditional’ keywords. Nonetheless, style related with building and traditional values is considered important. Secondly, three least keywords of text search include zone (1%), social (0.5%) and economy (0.5%). Social and economy have the least percentage with less than 1% with the number of word count 9 and 4 respectively. Within sustainability concept of conservation, it is shown that environmental problem is a significant barrier to the conservation process rather than economy and social. Meanwhile, zone has only 1% due to the fact that zone is as smaller part in development, and the significance of zone in general is described within development i.e. housing zone, commercial zone or green zone.

5. Conclusions

Conservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Denpasar is facing multiple challenges due to rapid population growth and tourism. The change from singularity to plurality of community in Denpasar and many new developments to accommodate population growth have become the major challenge for the conservation process. This challenge should be addressed to facilitate effective conservation.

Some strategies were applied for the conservation of cultural heritage both tangible and intangible ones and some actors participated in the process including *Pekraman* with *Adat* system, local community, government and migrants. The government has supported the conservation process with contributions towards maintenance of cultural heritage sites and ritual ceremonies. Moreover, the local government program for the main theme of cultural heritage conservation is a positive strategy for the conservation process. This program attracted participation of residents, local communities and commercial establishments.

Conservation process, however, is still not effective in most areas as there were no clear strategies and guidelines from the government and lack of details on the implementation. The implementation guidelines is a significant tool which could be broken down into specific guidelines for participation by ‘*Banjar*’, ‘*Dusun*’, ‘*Desa Dinas*’ and ‘*Desa Pekraman (Adat)*’ in the conservation process. Guidelines and details on new developments in Denpasar and the responsibility of each stakeholder in the community for the conservation should be identified. This should be regulated as the responsibility mostly falls on the Hindu *Adat* community. With the change in population size and increasing diversity, it is time for all communities including non-Hindu population, commerce and business establishments to participate in the conservation process. This needs to be addressed with suitable government regulations to facilitate community support and participation in the conservation process.

Conservation strategies should emerge from the actual needs of the conservation process from *Adat* rather than prevailing top-down approach which is less effective. Furthermore, *Adat* representative should be included as the main player in the formulation of policies for heritage and city planning. It will encourage them to supervise conservation and development. Planning and heritage conservation guidelines should be freely accessible to promote participation and social responsibility. It is concluded that local communities are the main actors who are aware of the problems and issues of preserving tangibles and intangible heritage and are concerned with the outcome of conservation. Their efforts should be supported by the government through effective planning regulations and

participation of different actors in the conservation process. This strategy has potential to address the problems of heritage conservation and planning in Denpasar.

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