Local government' perception of cultural heritage conservation in Denpasar, Bali

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Abstract

Developing countries are facing many challenges to cope with the influx of population migration to cities and the associated demand for urban fabric and public facilities. Urban development strategies mainly focus on infrastructure and economy and generally do not take into account character and identity of urban areas. This paper emphasizes the importance of cultural heritage as a critical factor to improve the character and identity of Denpasar, Bali-Indonesia. Denpasar's cultural heritage attracts increasing number of tourists and it is the main source of local economy. However, tourism has led to population influx to Denpasar leading to degradation of city character. Interviews with different stakeholders were used to capture their views about the importance of cultural heritage and evolve strategies to improve the cultural identity and heritage of Denpasar. It brings out ways of conserving cultural heritage and how it could be incorporated into planning and development policies of Denpasar.

***Key words*:** character and identity, cultural heritage, urban development, population

Introduction

The importance of cultural heritage has been discussed in the context of urban development with an overwhelming emphasis on the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism. Heritage includes tangible (i.e. building, objects and site) and intangible (i.e. tradition, ritual, practices, religion) are the magnet for tourism industry. Then, natural (landscape) and cultural heritage offer significant opportunities for the tourism industry (MacCannell 1976; Cohen 1988; Urry 1990; Watson and Kopachevsky 1994; Nuryanti 1996). The views of heritage as artefact seems more important that its views as knowledge. Therefore, a holistic approach (consideration of amenity, biodiversity, climate regulation and recreation) is vital for a conservation strategy. Indeed, the relationship between heritage and economic development is also related to tourism (Stubbs 2004).

Heritage is also seen as a reflection of the pattern and behaviour of dominant local communities within the entire society. Heritage faced many challenges include temporal; spatial and social within the preservation (Jones 2009). Culture and heritage are not stable; they transform and change due to changes in technology, demographic and economic changes in society. Further, rapid urbanization especially in the developing countries, accompanied with uncontrolled growth and expansion of informal sector (not taxed source of income) pose significant risk for 'irreplaceable' cultural and natural resources (Pearson and Sullivan 1995). Economic, technological and demographic changes transform the behaviour, way of life, landscape and natural sites in the developing countries. The influences of modernization, nationalization lead to different ethnics in developing countries to consume the same products and adopt new lifestyles. Further, cultural dynamism and pluralism is becoming an issue in the developing countries due to demographic changes. The change from homogeneity of ethnic and religion to heterogeneity possibly will create cultural conflicts and dissonant (Jones 2002; Hampton 2005).

The significant of cultural heritage in Denpasar Bali

Denpasar is the capital of Bali province in Indonesia. Bali is well known as one of favourite tourist destinations in South East Asia. Denpasar has grown from 532,440 people in 2000 to 788,445 in 2010 (Bali Statistic Bureau, 2010) and population density in Denpasar is 6,170 persons per square kilometre. The tourism industry is the main driver of urbanisation in Bali. According to Bali Statistic Bureau (2010) 30.6% of population of Denpasar came from outside Bali with the highest number from the island of Java. Denpasar hold 7% migration number of the total 10% migration in Bali in 2010 compare to other regions in Bali because Denpasar is the centre of business and commercials, education and government.

With growing population and influx of tourists culturally rich Denpasar city is undergoing a rapid transformation to cope with the demand for infrastructure and services. It is affecting the original character of Denpasar, which was built following the architectural traditions of the Hindu city and building code. The identity of Bali comes from its heritage of sculpture and the Balinese Hindu's tradition from the past. The meaning of space and place has been strongly related with the Hindu practices in Bali. Heritage is one important aspect of identity in a city which has been established in the past and brought a strong character to a city. Population growth in Bali especially in Denpasar has its impact on physical development of the city. It is observed that as urban populations rapidly expand the government priority is drawn towards provision of infrastructure and facilities rather than conservation of heritage (Savitri 2011).

The concept of space, building, landscape and urban design in Bali based on harmonization between god, human and the natural environment is the main elements of the Balinese concept (Denpasar Planning Board, 2011). The harmonious relationship with the environment described as "*manik ring cecupu*" (Samadhi 2004), is the psycho-cosmic concept of "*manik*" (baby represent the microcosm) and "*cecupu*" (mother's womb represent macrocosm). At the same time, the harmonization between the human (also called *Bhuwana Alit*) and the nature (also called *Bhuwana Agung*) should be maintained in order to achieve the final goal of Hinduism.

Balinese people are predominantly Hindu and they live within *adat* villages (*adat* means customary laws) with their extended family. Every village consists of one or more *adat* villages and *adat* village is one of the strong points of Balinese culture in which the *adat* community has a philosophical relationship with their territory and land as the community's ancestral legacy (Suartika 2007b). The land is not simply a place to live in, but is more about the *adat* members' relationship to their ancestors.

Bali is also well known for its famous community involvement known as *subak* (traditional Balinese Hindu system of irrigation). The irrigation system established in the past is based on the predominantly farming economy of Bali and considered as significant landscape heritage in Bali. This tradition had important value to the community and to nature. It is represents give and take between human and nature, and it is considered the responsibility of human beings to look after the nature. However, since the tourism boom in Bali, there has been a significant decrease in agriculture land. This land has been turn into housing and commercial development to support tourism in Denpasar and Badung regency. Certainly the *subak* organisation has been losing its members with the decrease in agricultural lands. Indeed, *subak* temple is also degrading in its value from the past.

Denpasar has transformed its space and but is starting to lose its identity. Furthermore changes in social life are also noticed within community which adversely impact conservation process. This awareness of cultural degradation in Bali has led to a spate of commentaries and publications. The term of *kebalian* (Balineseness), which focuses on the relationship between religion, culture and tourism, has risen since the concern of colonialisation of Bali has been studied. Based on this *Ajeg* Bali has emerged, which means to protect, defend, preserve and develop Balinese culture. It has come to define the Balinese identity within the context of a 'multidimensional crisis' (Connor and Vickers 2003).

Methodology

For this research we use semi-structured interviews for gathering data from only local government's authority as the respondents for this study. 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 this particular perspective (King and Horrocks 2010). The respondents are local government in Denpasar which involved within the development of

cultural heritage in Denpasar. They are include five different authorities namely, Planning Board, Department of Public Works, Culture Board, Tourism Board, Archaeological Department and also four divisions within these authorities (n=9).

Interviews were conducted in local language to make participants at home and extract information. The interview was conducted face to face to all groups of participant and the question lists were prepared to guide the interview process through semi-structured interview. Thematic content analysis was applied for the analysis. This analysis allows researcher to use many different types of data source but it is required to transform the data into written text before the analysis conducted (Mayring 2000). Further, this analysis viewed as a comprehensive approach to data analysis from interview transcript to gather information about people's perception and opinion, and it rules by logic process with methodology controlled (Kohlbacher 2006). The themes from interview data were organised, coded and analysed with quantitative software of QSR NUD*IST Vivo 10 (NVivo 10).

Local government's perspective

The perspectives of five types of local government authorities were captured for cultural heritage in Denpasar; including their perspective about types of cultural heritage and concepts; cultural heritage conservation issues and cultural heritage conservation strategy.

The important of cultural heritage conservation within planning practices in Denpasar was seen as significant aspect by all respondents based on the coding result [Figure 1 NVivo 10 Coding Result- Cultural Heritage Conservation]. Each of nine respondents was symbolized by code of "LG". The overall coverage of each respondent about the importance of cultural heritage conservation was: LG8 (71.66%), LG5 (67.19%), LG9 (64.08%), LG6 (62.88%), LG7 (61.91%), LG3 (58.76%), LG4 (16.76%), LLG1 (9.95%) and S2 (9.30%) respectively. The percentage showed the perception of each respondent about the importance of cultural heritage conservation in Denpasar. Respondent LG8 has showed the most concern of the issues and respondent LG2 has the least concern.
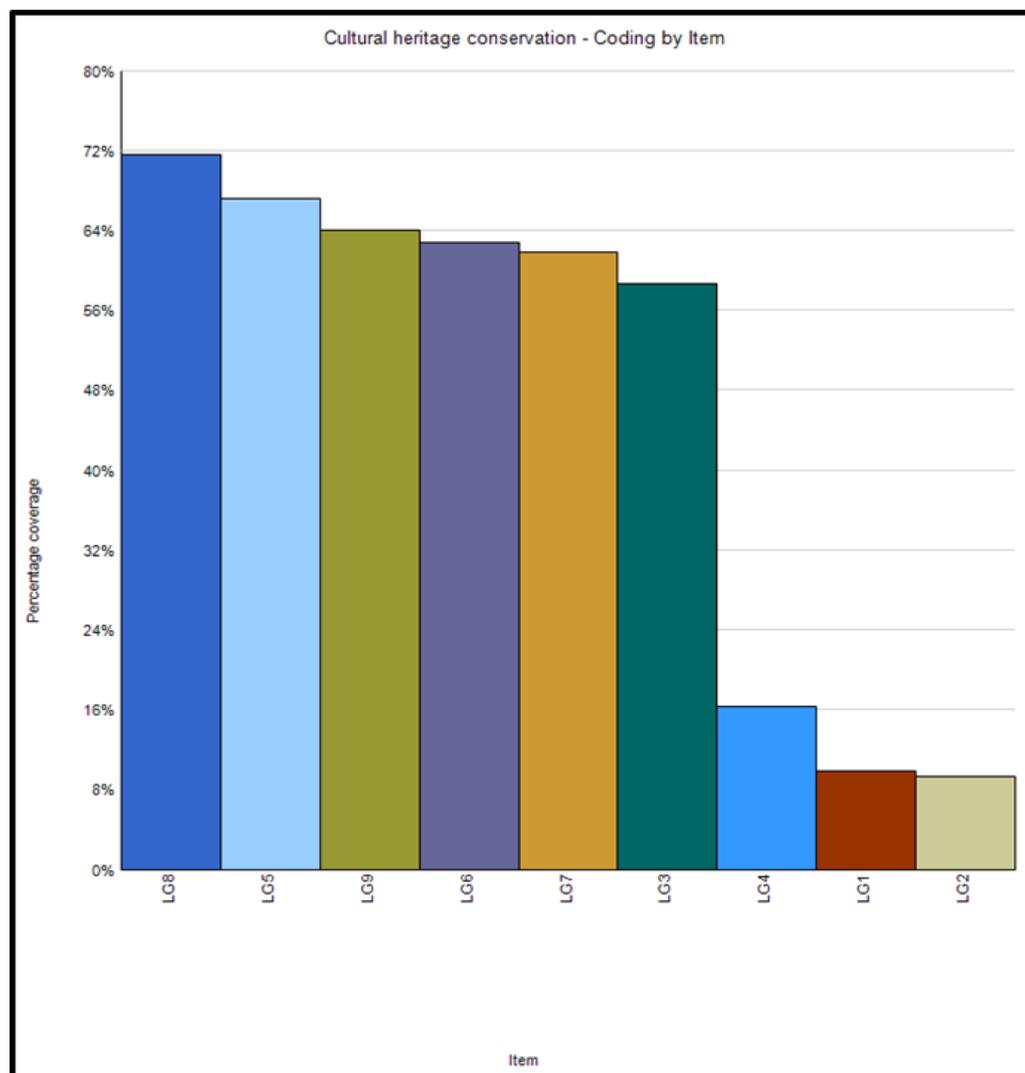

Figure 1 Coding Results - Cultural Heritage Conservation

There are three sub themes of Cultural Heritage Conservation include: Cultural Heritage Concept of Denpasar; Cultural Heritage Conservation Issues and Cultural Heritage Conservation Strategy [Figure 2 Main Themes and Sub-Themes]. These sub-themes are explained on the next section.
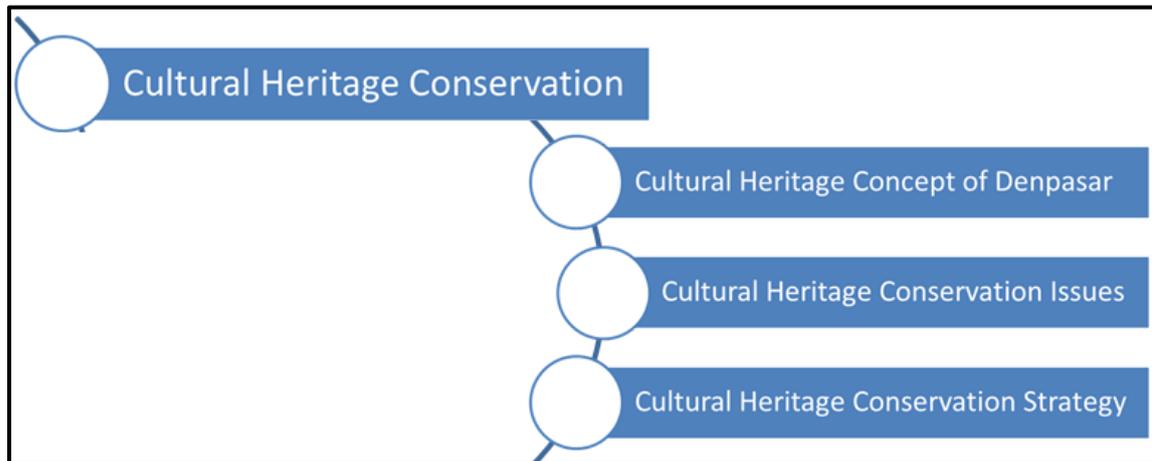

Figure 2 Main Themes and Sub-Themes

Cultural Heritage Concept of Denpasar

Based on the interview the cultural heritage sites and objects in Denpasar were described as both tangible and intangible. Four out of nine respondents put their emphasis differently [Table 1 Cultural Heritage Concept of Denpasar].

Table 1 Cultural Heritage Concept of Denpasar

No	Respondent	Reference	Percentage coverage
1	LG5	1	8.84%
2	LG7	8	13.28%
3	LG8	5	21.16%
4	LG9	1	10.68%

The differences in the description of cultural heritage by the Department of Archaeology and the Planning Board indicate different ways of valuing cultural heritage. Planning Board tend to place cultural heritage at macro scale as part of city landscape, whereas the Archaeological Department see as objects without connection with the landscape of the area. One respondent see as "*Object, site which have and archaeological relic or object and site which might contain archaeological relic, or cultural relic. New regulation of cultural heritage, it has a wider perception not only for archaeological object and site but also for cultural object and site*" (respondent #LG7). However, both of them feel that tangible heritage could not be separated from intangible ones as the practice and tradition in Denpasar and all around in Bali still exist and it is part of the daily life of the local community. For example one mentioned that "*Well, this regulation is mostly for the tangible heritage, but at the same time by conserving the tangible, we cannot leave the intangible sides of the cultural heritage…so there always meaning and value, activity and also ritual which cannot be separated with the cultural heritage object*" (respondent #LG7).

Denpasar known as the royal palace's city in the past has several important kingdoms that ruled Bali. Denpasar's heritage has the potency to build it strong city's identity and also promote tourism industry. The whole inner city is made up of several royal palaces and ancient temples with different amenities such as old shopping district, heritage hotel, schools, museums, houses and public halls. With these as strengths, Denpasar has become the city centre in the past and the magnet of Bali which attracted many people from outside and other countries. Thus local Balinese Hindu intellectual community and local government have played an important role to preserve the Balinese Hindu culture from the invasion of other culture as noted by: "*In 1958, Bali Province was established…and the capital city of Bali was moved from Singaraja to Denpasar. So then Denpasar become the centre of development and economic in Bali. Before 1958 Hindu religion was not officially part of Indonesian religion*

by the State Government in Jakarta. Then we tried to accommodate the Hindu migrant from other area in Bali in Denpasar. There were some influence from outsider to make Bali as Muslim province like other island in Indonesia…and also Christian missionaries that want to Christening Balinese community. Then our local Balinese intellectual thought that we have to build public temple in Denpasar so all the Balinese migrant have a place to pray" (respondent #LG8).

The ancient temple in Denpasar had special status because in the past Denpasar had many influences from other cultures such as Muslims, Chinese and also Christians which influenced style, relic and ornament of the temple and these temples had followers from several religions. This made the ancient temple as a unique cultural heritage site in Denpasar. Some churches and mosques in Denpasar adopted traditional Balinese architecture concepts.

Cultural heritage in Denpasar is an integration of tangible heritage objects which create its identity. Hindu temples, monuments and royal palaces mixed with influences from outside rest in harmony with traditional buildings.

Cultural Heritage Conservation Issues

The issues of cultural heritage conservation had become a big attention of all respondents during the interview. There were many issues during conservation process has noticed by the respondent as could be seen on the following table, which all respondents gave their opinion of the conservation process within planning practices in Denpasar [Table 2 Cultural Heritage Conservation Issues].

Table 2 Cultural Heritage Conservation Issues

No	Respondent	References	Percentage coverage
1	LG1	4	9.95%
2	LG2	3	9.30%
3	LG3	17	58.76%
4	LG4	1	16.32%
5	LG5	8	67.19%
6	LG6	7	62.88%
7	LG7	25	61.91%
8	LG8	24	71.66%
9	LG9	8	64.08%

There were many obstacles to conservation of cultural heritage. These obstacles are in turn related and need to be simultaneously addressed. Firstly, lack of the expert in cultural heritage conservation has stalled the conservation process. Also there is lack of support from commercials, business also migrant for conservation of cultural heritage. Further, funds from the government were never sufficient to support conservation in Denpasar as the city has numerous cultural heritage objects. These issues have become the major issues for the conservation process. Government has to regulate specific regulations and clearly describe the rights and responsibilities of all actors during the conservation process which include government, local communities, other stakeholders such as commerce and business, migrants and visitors.

Secondly, there were problems with the regulations of cultural heritage conservation both in government level and also in local *'adat'* community level. The regulations were too general

and could not be applied in a specific area. Regulations of cultural heritage were generally regulated by the national government which lack region specific characteristic of cultural heritage, then this leads to the misleading conservation process. Two respondents stated that: "*Well, we don't have about that type of specific regulation in that depth or detail. There was no breakdown of the Cultural Heritage Regulation specific for Bali and also for all regions in Bali including Denpasar*" and "*Gajah Mada heritage zone's conservation is misrepresentative. The conservation should keep this zone as it is, but then the planners and architects beautifying this zone and this is misleading from the conservation objectives*" (respondent #LG7, respondent #LG8).

The local '*adat*' regulation called '*awig-awig*' within each *adat* community lack of specific guidelines for all types of cultural heritage conservation. The local *awig-awig* managed the detail of the community life, the relationships between community with god and religion, with others and about the right and responsibility within the community. It is indirectly manage the intangible heritage such as the ritual and community activities of Hindu tradition. Nevertheless, there was no detail or guideline of the conservation process for tangible heritage related with intangible one, as mentioned "*Well, there should be a guideline not only for public temple but also for private temple that classified as cultural heritage which have a specific style of a certain period. I am just worry if this still happened, in the future there will be no cultural heritage in Bali. Cultural heritage is one important attraction and destination for tourism there will be less visitor….because everything is new...no more heritage. This is a critical condition and we need to act soon*" (respondent #LG7). The conservation of cultural heritage within the local community often misleading and local '*awig-awig*' did not have clear processes of conservation process. If it persists there will be no more cultural heritage within the community as one respondent mentioned: "*I think the community especially the local community very appreciative and respect about the conservation. However, sometimes*

they did too much, such as when they did the renovation or restoration of the building especially for temple and shrine...they change the old material into new and modern. This thing happened because they simply did not know about what is conservation....they did not have any information about it......they just want their best to look after and maintain the temple" (respondent #LG7).

Furthermore problems within government bodies were not merely related with the regulation and the main problem was lack of coordination between government bodies for conservation. Each government department functions independently without much coordination during the development process and things get worse. The need for coordination between each department was urgent to solve this problem as one respondent mentioned: "*Developers kept trying hard to get approval for new development whether the area is not allotted for new development. The change of land use is undeniable. Other problem is the farmer where their land allotted as green area; they have to pay high tax for their land while their crops was not enough to support their live and also paying tax. Government should subsidize the tax for the farmer in order to preserve the green area. So it would not change to other uses*" (respondent #LG9).

At last, the rapid growth of population led to developments in many parts of Denpasar especially in the western and southern areas. It led to conversion of vast tracts of rice field into blocks of concrete structures and has reduced green area. This process could not be easily stopped due to the growing needs for housing, commercial and other supporting facilities. Rapid growth has impacted on *subak* irrigation system in Denpasar as one respondent mentioned "*The change of subak in Denpasar is especially because of the influx of population due to urbanisation and migration. Government have opened new area for new development. This new development has changed green area into housing, commercial and many more. Subak is an irrigation system for rice field in Bali…due to new development, this*

irrigation system has blocked in many ways by buildings, roads and other facilities"
(respondent #LG6). Further, it seems these new developments especially for the commercials
and housing ignored the concept of traditional architecture. Within the Government of Bali
Regulation No. 5/2005 on Architecture and Buildings stated that all new developments
should adopt the concepts of Balinese Traditional Architecture (BTA). New developments
bear different concepts of site planning, form, style, colour and material as mentioned "*I
noticed that the new development now is misleading. I noticed that the building style and
character is totally different with the BTA concept. The planner and architect are failed in
transforming the BTA and Balinese settlement concept to their new design for building and
settlement. The new concept of building and settlement today are seems lost, not match with
the locus. One of the cultural heritages is the traditional building. Bali is famous because of
the heritage, and if we lost our traditional building then Bali will not be the same as before*"
(respondent #LG4). It can be seen that the new developments were misleading but there was
no such strict action during the process to control the development process and new
developments took place in many other areas. Furthermore, due to demographic changes
associated with influx of population, conservation will face serious hurdles since the cultural
heritage in Denpasar is a Balinese Hindu legacy. There should be a good strategy to face this
challenge as mentioned "*I think this demography will impact the cultural heritage in
Denpasar. Cultural heritage especially tangible is more practice based on Hindu religion. As
it is hard to control the migration and urbanisation in Denpasar, Desa Pekraman (formerly
called Desa Adat) is the main important body to control the urbanisation and migration to
Denpasar*" (respondent #LG9). This organisation has the main responsibility and strategy for
population inspection within society. The strategy should include all community and the
government could manage and control the implementation, so this challenge would be solved
for the future.

Cultural Heritage Conservation Strategy

Cultural heritage conservation strategy attracted significant attention of most respondents. Eight of the nine respondents gave their opinion about the conservation strategy. As seen in table 4, their opinions were varied one to another, but most of them view that the conservation strategy was really vital for Denpasar to maintain the character and identity of the city [Table 3 Cultural Heritage Conservation Strategy].

Table 3 Cultural Heritage Conservation Strategy

No	Respondent	References	Percentage coverage
1	LG1	1	3.42%
2	LG2	3	9.30%
3	LG3	11	40.89%
4	LG5	7	67.19%
5	LG6	3	22.31%
6	LG7	8	23.30%
7	LG8	5	14.11%
8	LG9	2	22.19%

Problems and issues of the cultural heritage need effective strategies. Important strategies that have been applied by the government during the conservation process include:

1. Creating some festivals in Denpasar such as Denpasar Festival, Sanur Festival, Serangan festival and other types of regular performances to encourage community participation and support for the culture and tradition. The focus of the program is not only on the conservation of the cultural heritage itself but also on efforts to make better relationships between heritage

objects and commercial and tourism facilities in a dynamic creative culture as one respondent mentioned: *"Yes, for sure by changing the mindset it will totally enhance this cultural heritage zone. This zone is in a perfect strategic location in the city centre. If this zone transformed into a new concept of commercials based on 'traditional concept', I believed it will bring back Denpasar's spirit and at the same time we conserve our tradition. With this festival, the business owner can take part and participate such as open some stall or kiosk nearby their shop or use their shop to sell some traditional product of their back ground or culture"* (respondent #LG2). This transformation will impact to the revival of historic streetscape in Denpasar especially in the old shopping precinct which will retain the memory of the past in a modern context.

2. There is a book under process of editing contained the cultural heritage in Denpasar both tangible and the intangible one as mentioned *"We are still developing a book about the history of Denpasar city, how are the history of city and government system transformation. This book is undergoing...this book is collaboration between Culture and Planning Board"* (respondent #LG3). With this book, it is believed that all information about the cultural heritage in Denpasar will be understood by all community who lived in Denpasar and also visitors to Denpasar, so they could be more aware and generate the sense of belonging and at the same time stimulate their willing to conserve the heritage.

3. The regulation of the Government of Denpasar for all staff in government offices, education, tourism and also some commercial to use the traditional costume during working hours when there is traditional ceremony of festival take place, has become one of the creative way of the conservation as mentioned *"Well, so far there are some actions have been done, and one example is all the staff within government office ; private companies especially in the area of tourism industry have to use traditional costume during working hours if there is any Balinese festival or ceremony...it is also applied for all public schools' students and*

teacher in Denpasar" (respondent #LG3). Traditional costume as part of cultural heritage is also important to be preserved during the modernisation era which modern costume or clothes was more popular within the society.

4. There is also '*subak*' competition each year in Bali and Denpasar level for all subak area and *subak* member as one of the implementation conservation as mentioned "*Yes, we have annual subak competition for subak system in Bali. This competition was includes the management system of subak and other related activity in subak such as 'lelakut' (traditional Balinese scarecrow) and also the irrigation system*" (respondent #LG6). This festival was one of the ways to conserve the *subak* system in Denpasar. *Subak* system in Denpasar still exist within the rapid new development which had change most of the rice field into concrete blocks. This event was also evoking the responsibility of the local *adat* community to protect the tradition before it will be too late.

5. UNESCO has nominated four cultural heritage sites in Bali as part of world cultural heritage site. This effort from the Government of Bali was a really good strategy, as there will be more cultural heritage site in Bali could be managed by the UNESCO and the conservation process and strategy will be more clear. This effort became one of the most important parts for the conservation as in the past the government failed to convince the community to propose the mother temple of Besakih in Bali to become one of cultural heritage site. Government believe that this action will change the mindset of the community of how importance the conservation is as mentioned "*There will be no such activities to harm these sites and there will definitely not to change of land use for different purpose because it will be protected not only by local law abut also international law. Well…it also as a strategy to protect the heritage sites as well as for tourism promotion. As these sites stated as world cultural heritage sites…so these sites will be famous around the world and at the same time it promoted our tradition concept of "Tri Hita Karana" (harmony relationship between God,*

Human and the Nature) to the world. This concept is some way has known as the unique concept of Bali" (respondent #LG5). The traditional concept of the harmonization between the human with the God and the environment has been emphasized within all traditional concepts of site planning, building, landscape in Bali and all traditional and ritual activity. Thus, with this action, this traditional concept will widely know as the original concept of the Balinese Hindu.

6. Denpasar has not included for the proposal for world heritage site because the cultural heritage object in Denpasar was not as good as other region in Bali such as Tabanan and Bangli regencies as mentioned "*Well, the strategy is only based on Desa Pekraman, it is the last barrier in Denpasar to protect the cultural heritage in Denpasar. We need to support Desa Pekraman so they will be more awareness from all communities to conserve the cultural heritage. Also, we need to revive all the traditional groups of dance, music and instrument, puppet, drama and many more, we provide workshop so many young people can learn about their tangible cultural heritage*" (respondent #LG5). Therefore*, Desa Pekraman* (former called *Desa Adat*) is the strength of Denpasar, because Denpasar has the most *Desa Pekraman* in Bali. *Desa Pekraman* has been stated as the fortress of all culture and tradition in Denpasar because most of the rituals and cultural activities in each local community and the maintenance of heritage were organized and carried out by this local community organisation. Thus *Desa Pekraman* is the main actor for cultural heritage conservation within their territory.

7. There were some cultural heritage restoration done in other regency in Bali namely the 'Taman Ujung Palace' in Karangasem regency, 'Penglipuran traditional village' in Bangli regency and 'Wantilan at Taman Ayun Temple' in Tabanan. These restorations have been done based on the archaeological standard and the Burra Charter standard. These projects were a partnership between the academics and the government which implemented the theory

of conservation on the real conservation project. With these projects, the academics wanted to give a good example to the government that how the correct conservation process should be done.

8. There was an example of one village in Bali which shown the harmony between different religion in Bali of how each religion should respect each other within the community as mentioned "*As an example of this is in Kintamani village east Bal, in this area there are three different religions of Muslim, Chinese and Hindu. They are always works together for all activities and also ritual activity. This is a really good example of how other religions in Bali should respect the local culture, and at the same time respects other culture. We can see that the migrant have the sense of belonging with the local culture and we should have this in each area in Bali*" (respondent #LG6).This type of relationship was easily to apply within the small village in rural Bali. However, this type of relationship in the big city of Denpasar will be questionable as it will have different geography and life style of the community. In the meantime, this type of relationship should be regulated and all community should be realize how important of it within the society. The regulation should manage the rights and responsibilities of all communities regardless their ethnicity and religion for cultural heritage conservation in Denpasar.

9. The funding for conservation has been arranged by the government for some of cultural activity event in each '*desa Adat*', there were some support from the government both from provincial level and regional level. The support from the government and the commercial will benefit the local community during the ritual ceremony process, even though not most of the expenses could covered by the support of government as mentioned "*Well, if there is a cultural ceremony for the temple….usually we have made the budget plan for each ceremony, then if the budget is not enough we will support from the local Adat community and from donation we can get, but if the budget really limited, we have to make proposal to the*

government and also to the business and commercial within our territory so the ritual ceremony could be take place" (respondent #LG8). The partnerships between the government and the commercial and business to fund some cultural events and festivals is vital. With this type of mutual relationships it is expected that all stakeholders will have the responsibility to preserve the culture where they lived in.

10. There were three main actor during conservation process include local *adat* community the government and the royal family. Both actors have slightly different responsibility. The government was more focus on the program and give some fund for the physical maintenance of the site such as restoration of the temple or the other part of heritage sites. While the most important actor for the conservation was the local *Adat* community itself as mentioned "*These funds are not enough for all this purpose, Desa Pekraman have to funds their selves for all activity and ceremony in their village, as government support will only be enough to cater few ritual ceremonies and few minor physical maintenance for temples*" and "*the Adat local community through Desa Pekraman has the main responsibility to manage and maintain the conservation since 1976 especially for all Kahyangan Tiga temples and any other specific temple and private temple within their territory*" (respondent #LG1; #LG8). There was coordination between government and the local *Adat* community during the conservation process. Most of the process has been done by the community and some help from the government based on annual budget. The local *Adat* community realised their responsibility in looking after the cultural heritage as the obligation from their ancestor. *Desa Pekraman* or *Desa Adat* Denpasar has their strategy to funds their ritual and traditional festivals for their temples as they have productive lands called '*pelaba pura*' (Adat's land includes rice fields, farm or vacant land for rental purpose). These lands gave the benefit to the *Adat* to support most of the expenses for the ritual ceremonies. Further, the royal family in Denpasar played significant part of the conservation process. They managed their own

royal palace as part of the cultural heritage and also managed the conservation of some big temples in Denpasar as mentioned "*Well, as I mentioned earlier that each Puri (royal palace) managed one Pura (temple). Puri Kesiman managed Sakenan temple, Uluwatu temple by Puri Jro Kuta, and each temple have their own 'pelaba' which is huge lands of rice fields and farms. So at the same time, the profits from these 'pelaba pura' are also for the conservation of the Puri itself*" (respondent #LG8). Thus, the strategy and synergy between royal member and *Desa Pekraman* brought significant impact to the current conservation process in Denpasar, which helps most of the heritage both tangible and intangible be able to survive during this modern era.

Conclusions

It is observed that both tangible and intangible cultural heritage was facing big challenges for the conservation process due to rapid development to accommodate population growth in Denpasar.

There were participations for the conservation process from government, local community with *Adat* community, and also royal family member. The government of Denpasar has tried their best in creating many program and activity which include cultural heritage conservation as the main theme. Indeed, the collaboration between government, local *Adat* community and commercials business was also one of the best strategies to give the support for cultural event.

However, there is still no strategy or regulation of the responsibility of the migrant who live and worked in Bali. How they required to give their contribution to the cultural heritage conservation process. As the migration and urbanisation process is uncontrolled, so the demographic change is undeniable. While most of the cultural heritage both tangible and intangible were based on the ancient Hindu tradition. This issue need to be addressed by the

government regulation immediately. With this regulation, then all aspect within the community could support the conservation process.

This paper concludes that local governments are aware of the problems and issues and they are keen in preserving tangibles and intangible heritage. However their concerns are development of appropriate conservation polices and experts in this field to work with various tier of public sector to implement the policies in umbrella of other policies responsible for urbanism.

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