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The Place-Identity of Denpasar in the 21st Century

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ABSTRACT

The issue of place-identity is growing importance in the age of globalization where the homogeneity of urban development and architecture threatens the local identity of many places in the world. In Bali, this issue has long been debated and responded by the government by issuing a set of regulation to sustain the sense of place of the built environment. However, the place-identity of a particular place is in a state of constant revision as the way it is built, used, and experienced have changed. This paper explores the dynamic of place-identity construction of a city in constant development. Denpasar, the capital of Bali, is selected as the case study to examine how local people develop their places of living, what drives that development, and what it means to the city's place-identity in a contemporary situation. A series of fieldworks is conducted to observe the physical development of the city to construct the map of the city. A historical analysis is done by conducting interviews in different localities in the city. An archival analysis is also carried out to understand the dynamic of government policy. The place-identity of the city is constructed from similar philosophies with different practices in dissimilar locations. As a result, the place-identity of the city has long been considered as a patchwork of different characteristics. Moreover, different parts of the city have been developed differently. Managing place-identities could be done by establishing a set of regulations, however, a place is always being constructed and re-constructed by the inhabitants. Therefore, room for innovation should be provided.

Keywords: place-identity, urban development

1. INTRODUCTION

Every city has specific characters that make it identifiable and could be differentiated from other cities. Place-identity is the term widely used to explain these phenomena [1][2][3][4]. However, these characteristics are not given because they are meanings people attach to a particular place both as individuals or as a member of a particular society. Georgina Butina-Watson and Ian Bentley define that:

(P)lace-identity is the set of meanings associated with any particular landscape, which a person or group of people may draw on, in the construction of their own personal or social identities. [5]

Physical component is important element constructing place identity, but it would not be meaningful without people's perception [6]. People create perception by experiencing, memorizing, and attaching particular meanings to a place. Place-identity of a city consists of both urban artefacts and the way these objects are perceived by humans. Perception is produced by human's association with particular place. Places in a city are used and shared by people of different backgrounds: age, gender, religious belief, etc.; as such, each person produces different associations with a place. As a result, different individuals or groups may explain the same place differently; the same person may express different feelings about the same place to different audiences; and

explanations of the same place by the same person may be different in different time frames as their experience grows [7]. Moreover, limited human capacity leads to a process of selection in the construction of the narrative of a place. This process includes which parts should be encompassed and not, which part describes the city best, and which part should be hidden. Tensions of representation may occur if those who think they should be represented are not included in the narrative of the place-identity [8].

Thus, place-identity of a city might be contested among different groups. Contestation makes places in a city a in a state of constant revision. Revision of the components of place occurs since the first time the city was constructed. Therefore, place-identity is not static.

Today, facilitated by political transformation, nonagricultural economic activities and technological advancement, the changes occur more rapidly and in global scale [9]. However, place has a distinct enduring existence that provides it with a sense of rootedness and a conscious sense of association [6]. This sense provides 'a secure point from which to look out on the world, a firm grasp of one's own position in the order of things, a significant spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular'. [1] The enduring quality of place identity is often linked with authenticity [1][5]. Generally, authenticity is understood as the value of a structure or cultural landscape developed by local building expert employing home-grown building traditions with local materials [3][5]. Therefore, authenticity is often associated with traditional settlements. Ali



Madanipour argues that a city that maintain its authenticity may attract foreign visitors craving for new experiences. [8] Cities in Asian and African countries were once colonized by European powers [10]. During the colonization era, new ideas of place-making were introduced to the landscape of the East. Dominant powers of the colonizer changed the characters of the traditional cities rested upon vernacular knowledge. The one-time inward-looking cities with place-based economic activities were opened up and exposed to the outside world. The locals were left powerless under the dominant power of the colonizers. The place-identity of many such cities was transforming in fortnight.

Political and economic circumstances after colonialsim were far from stabil. Between the 1940s and 1970s new countries were born through revolution or agreement. These countries were struggling to define their national characters. Looking back to the imagined-bright past, the pre-colonial era, were the norm. However, this method is also criticized. Sigmund Freud, for instance, argues that our memory of the childhood has been corrupted as time goes by. We tend to forget, or at least try to not remembering, unfavored memories [11]. Meanings constructed from this method may fulfil only certain groups of people who has great history.

Today the search for place-identity in the age of massive technological and economic progress were more important than ever. Obsession for economic wealth has pushed many cities to quantify their action based on prosperity creation. This has transformed our way of life, diverted our culture rooted in tradition, lessen the attractiveness of our built-environment.

Paul Oliver (2007) argued that without roots, our culture would be meaningless. He criticized modern development trends that disregard the presence of history. However, given the high speed and great scale of development, the search for place-identity might be seen as part of nostalgia and conservatism. But, the search for place-identity is not only a matter of conserving the past for nostalgic purposes, but should also be of contemporary relevance for the meanings and values it holds.

Moreover, the inclusive process of place-identity construction that incorporates different voices and perceptions may give adequate power to all members of society to participate in managing change. In order to sustain its place-identity in the contemporary context, a city rooted in tradition and is developing rapidly needs to maintain its traditional value without being fixated on the past.

This paper is intended to evaluate the place-identity of Denpasar in the 21st Century. Three questions are posed to be answered: 1). how is place-identity progressing in Denpasar? 2). why do place-identity in Denpasar keep changing? 3). what are the components of place-identity in the 21st century Denpasar?

2. METHODOLOGY

As a concept, place identity is dynamic but containing endurance qualities. To understand the value that maintain the continuity of the city's place-identity, a morphological analysis has been carried out. It is aimed at seeking the sense of continuity and change of urban physical and perceptual components that construct the urban characters. This will help us understand the dynamics of the place-identity of the City of Denpasar.

Studies by urban morphologists show cities can be understood not only from their physical elements, but also socio-cultural and economic dimensions (Conzen, 1960; Whitehand, 1990; Gauthiez, 2004; Kropf, 2009; Larkham and Conzen, 2014. [5]

To understand socio-cultural and economic transformation of the City of Denpasar, archival and historical analysis have been carried out. However, it is difficult to find the earliest building or settlement of the city. Therefore, the discussion of historical analysis is started by analysing the concept of traditional settlement of Bali. Archival data are collected from government sources. The result of analysis will be presented in narrative. Urban morphology study involved physical components examination. In order to do this study, maps from different time period were studied.

Data to carry out analysis were derived from different sources. Maps for examining the city's spatial and physical components were accessed through electronic sources from Leiden Digital Library. This library also provides numerous documents, including old photographs utilized to carry out morphological analysis. To complete urban morphology analysis, transect walk and observation were also carried out to obtain first hand data on the characteristics of the natural landscape, the spatial and physical components and observable human activities in the city.

Place-identity is a product of social construction as a result of different voices. Social construction is also not static because voices of the people might not always the same in different time frame and in dissimilar political and economic circumstances. To analyse these voices, interviews were carried out to different urban actors and the users of the city, the local inhabitant.

3. RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Before going to the 21st century, it is important to look back at the origin of the city of Denpasar since its establishment year. This will provide a solid basis to evaluate current situation. In order to do so, a morphological analysis have been carried out. The analysis starts with a hypothetical model of a traditional settlement.

3.1. The Concept of Traditional Settlement of Bali and its Place-identity

Traditional settlement in Bali is a demarcated area where a group of families reside and build dwelling units. Natural geographical features, such as the natural ridge of a hill or mountain, thick bushes, a river or the edge of a forest, were used as to curb one settlement with another.

Every settlement was almost independent in the sense that they managed local political circumstances, distribute human and natural resources equally to the community



members. The democratic decision-making process enables all members to have similar rights and voices in the village. The notion of a large scale settlement completed with multilevel socio-political organization, advanced infrastructure, spatial planning and economic system were not popular at least until 5th century in Southeast Asia (Wiryomartono, 1995). Pigaeud argued that supra-village organisation, the nagara, where a centre managed several independent villages was influenced by Indian system of governance (Pigeaud, 1960). Within a negara, in term of spatial planning, a centre could be reached from its supporting settlements wilthouth being interupted by large agricultural lands. The negara indicates that a more complex system of governance and multiculturalism were started to be adopted.

The Balinese state, the negara, was consisted of a center and several independent associated villages [12]. The centre was ruled by a king and his noble family members. A state may accrete several villages but not absorb them. This has been described as galactic polity model [13]. Wolters identified this form of governance as *mandala polity* which is 'unstable circle of kings in a territory without fixed borders' [14]. In this system, each traditional settlement remained a complete, potentially independent polity with its own center and court (Liefrinck in Nordholt, 2010: 92). [15]

Each village has its own governance body, set of temples to be worshipped by all village members, economic means and daily life governed by traditional customary law. The center of the galactic polity consisted of different structure. In the center, the followers of a noble family were organized in *banjars*. Members of a *banjar* may consist of several up to two hundred families. These *banjars members* were the supporters of the ruling family.

The role of the center in the galactic model was more of a symbolic rather than administrative nature [16]. However, the symbolic and political relationships between the state and the agricultural society of the village are complicated (Hauser-Schaublin, 2003). A village could move away from one state to seek protection from a neighboring master [12]. In this state of affairs, there is a high possibility that each village developed its own characteristics and place-identity. Bali was once ruled by a centralistic governance centred in Gelgel. Political conflict among the members of ruling families led to a rebellion that collapsed the kingdom. As a result, many new polities rised and claimed their territory as well as accreted numerous villages.

3.2. Socio-political and economic transformation and Place-identity of the City of Denpasar

The fertile area of what is today known as Denpasar is located in southern part of Bali. Several villages occupy the area while the centre was managed not by one but several noble families. Each family claimed their right as the leader of the area and each of them was linked with different associated villages in a complex web of political ties [12]. Three bigest families were Pemecutan, Satria and Kesiman. As a result, those families were in constant tensions to

represent themselves as the most powerful monarch of the centre. [17] The coming of Dutch Colonial Government in the beginning of 20th century changed the political lanscape of the area. New political system was introduced followed by new economic strategy of tourism. The transformation continued in the post-colonial era to date. This part aimed at sheding a light to socio-political and economic transformation of the City of Denpasar.

In 1779, a new and arguably the most powerful Palace was established in a location north of the market [18]. Its relative location marked its name as Puri Denpasar or the palace in the north of the market.

Similar with other leaders, the noble who claimed as the ruling figure developed a new negara by accreting villages as well as constructing the centre by incorporating peasant families, giving them space of living in the centre. This marked the establishment of a new galactic polity in the city centre already packed with similar pattern. Until the end of the 19th century, tensions among different galactic polities manifested the socio-political athmosphere of the city centre of Denpasar.

In the first decade of the 20th century, an important political event ended the *negara* model occurred. The state was defeated by Dutch military expedition in September1906 and the palace was leveled to the ground. A Dutch artist witnessing the combat and wandered around after war wrote:

'What a beautiful place this must have been, with the broad avenues of an international capital, countless large banyan and other gigantic trees in squares, beautifully decorated temples and palaces with jewel-like gates and wonderfully carved doors. In the very centre of the town stands the palace of the Radja, ringed by massive high walls that are more than a metre thick. Inside are spacious courtyards and numerous buildings (W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, as quoted by Carpenter, 1997) [19]

The loss of Badung Kingdom that is followed by the implementation of political system ended the era of galactic polity. The collapse of the galactic polity reshaped the political landscape of the city. A centralistic system, where a top city-level official managed the colony, was implemented in all Dutch East Indies shifted the traditional model (Passchier, in Nas, 2009:132). In line with this new administration, the area was managed as a lower level government, the Onder-afdeeling Badung, under the government of South Bali. The onder-afdeeling comprised five districts including Denpasar. The Denpasar district consisted of five perbekelan (sub-districts): Dangin Puri, Dauh Puri, Pemecutan, Padang Sambian and Kampung Jawa. Each was led by a punggawa. The traditional organisation, the banjars, was incorporated into the new system under the perbekelan [20]. The palace and the Royal Family lost their political power. On the other hand, the traditional villages sustained their own system and was fully supported by the colonial government particularly in maintaining traditional rituals. Therefore, dual governance system worked on the same area.



An informant said that losing symbolic and cultural meaning in the form of the palace and the king's leadership confused the people in the city center. The locals, who do not belong to any traditional village in the galactic polity model, consolidated their power and formed a traditional governance Customary Village of Denpasar. This body equals the independent traditional village.

Upon establishing a strong government and a simplified administrative model of the colony, the new government intended to improve their economic fortunes. Since the end of the 19th century, the Dutch colonial government opened the colony up to private enterprises (Passchier, in Nas, 2009). This policy had an enormous impact on the socio-spatial circumstances of many cities in the Dutch East Indies (Wils, 2000). The new economic strategy boosted the numbers of non-agricultural businesses in Denpasar, enlarged the job market which in turn led to increased migration. Three notable new groups of non-indigenous people filled the city of Denpasar: the European, Chinese and Arabs. In the colonial period, the demographic structure of the city was no longer dominated by the indigenous people, therefore it created a plural society. [21]

The Chinese and Arabs were settled around the new market in different locations, while the indigenous occupied other areas around these two enclaves. This created class division where the white presented themselves as the master over other ethnicities. The new settlement configuration expressed the practical function of city centre but diminished its traditional symbolic value. Tourism was introduced as a new means of economic strategy by the colonial government in the 1920s. [22]

The end of colonial period led to a new independence era. Bali becomes part of the Republic of Indonesia. The Republic of Indonesia implements three governance levels, namely: national, provincial and regional/ municipal. From the independence year until 2004, the central government took a central role in development. In 2004, local government in regional and municipal level were given more responsibility to manage their area. Under the new system, Denpasar plays two formal roles as the center of the provincial level of governance and as a semi-autonomous city-level government.

On the other hand, the customary village governance of the pre-colonial galactic polity model of Denpasar is carried forward by the traditional people. So that the dual-governance systems continue. However, the role of the traditional administration is not clearly visible in the formal development scheme. This signifies that the formal government dominates the process regardless of the persistence of the traditional administration and their tasks in managing the perceived world. Tension of representation may occur between these two models of governance.

The role of Denpasar as the center of provincial government as well as semi-autonomous municipality means that the city also becoming the center of economic activities supported by infrastructure developed since the colonial era. Consequently, the city attracts enormous number of new inhabitants. Most of them are Balinese from neighboring regions of Denpasar, Javanese, and people from other parts of Indonesia. In smaller number, some expatriates reside in tourist area. These migrants are not accustomed with the traditional administration system but in the formal government administration.

3.3. Urban Fabric and Infrastructure

The size of Denpasar, in spatial term, has been transforming since 1779. Figure 1 shows the territory of Denpasar in different era. Pre-colonial Denpasar was known as Badung Kingdom occupied the southernmost part of the Island of Bali. In the colonial period, the area was merged with the former neighboring state of Mengwi and managed under the Onder-afdeeling Badung. Denpasar was one of Badung's five districts. After joining the Republik of Indonesia, from 1950 to 1987, Denpasar was part of Badung Regency. It was granted a municipal status in 1987 which means that it could manage its own territory apart from Badung Regency.

The spatial development of the area is in line with the sociopolitical and economic transformation of the area.

When a powerful leader claimed the area in 1779, he built a centre by creating a sacred traditional cross road pattern. The crossroad was popular in Bali in the pre-colonial period and was a copy of similar pattern introduced by the Bali King when the island was managed from Gelgel.

To signify its power, the leader of this palace built the biggets palace in the area. However, other palaces and their followers persisted although in smaller sizes.

The palace, Puri Agung Den Pasar, was located to the northeastern part of the crossroad center. This position was believed as the most valuable location which represent the king as the supreme master of the area. Other state facilties were arrange accordingly. [17]

The size and scale of the palace signified the supremacy of the Denpasar King (Figure 2). The palace is about 200 m long and 175 m wide and surrounded by stone walls of 4 m height and 1½ m thickness [17]. It was occupied by the king, his family and several hundred servants. Other facilities were a three-roofed open pavilion, the *wantilan*; a market and its market temple; and several houses of the king's men, the *Jeros*.

Houses of the locals were arranged to surround this center in several *banjar* units. Different from the almost independent traditional village, the banjar in the city center is strongly connected with the palace. The overall arrangement was inward looking with the crossroad as its center (Figure 3).



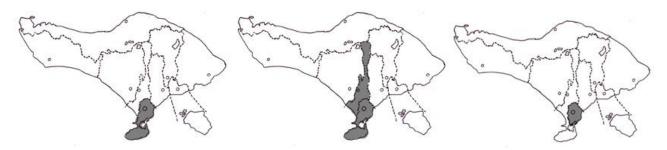


Figure 1 The territory of Denpasar/Badung Kingdom. From left to right: the pre-colonial, colonial and early independence era, the contemporary situation. Source: redrawn by the author after Bappeda, 2011 [20]

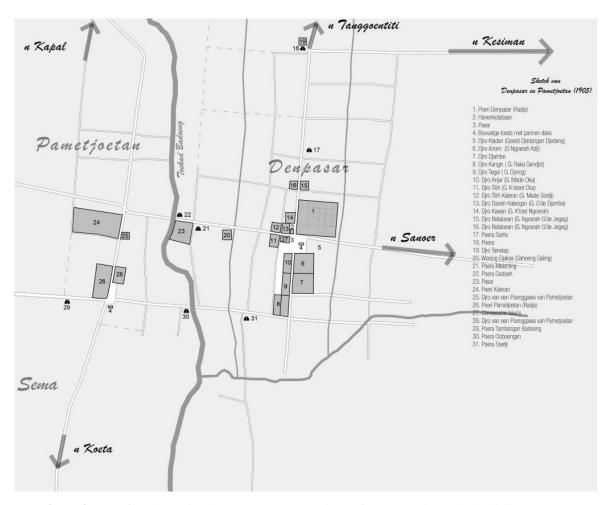


Figure 2 Map of Badung Kingdom center Source: redrawn from a map in Landsdrukkrij, 1906 [17]

Although other palaces existed, they were outshined by the grand size of Denpasar Palace, the Puri Agung Denpasar. The presentation of the Puri Agung Denpasar governed the spatial and physical characteristics of the pre-colonial Badung Kingdom center. The centrality of the Denpasar crossroad pattern was weakening when the power of the colonial government replaced the traditional supremacy of the king. New regime opened up the inward looking design.

In larger spatial arrangement, the new government linked the city center with international economic systems. Existing road networks were improved to reach the hinterlands that produced various agricultural goods. Roads and bridges were constructed to link the center with ports of Sanur to the east, and Benoa, Kuta, and Jimbaran all located to the south of the city center of Denpasar [18][23]. As a result, the pattern of the city transformed from the traditional concentric model to a more outward-looking.



This new spatial and physical forms of the city expressed the new socio-political and economic structure of colonial period. Infrastructure advancement facilitated new urban actors, trader and businesmen to come to the city centre. these new actors require the re-arrangement of the centre to be accommodated. Therefore, in smaller scale, the colonial government rearranged blocks and plots in the city center. A new city plan superimposed the cosmological based center. The palace and houses of the noble families were demolished. The main areas around the crossroad were allocated for government offices and dwellings for the European community. A new open space becomes the main orientation point for all new buildings in this block.

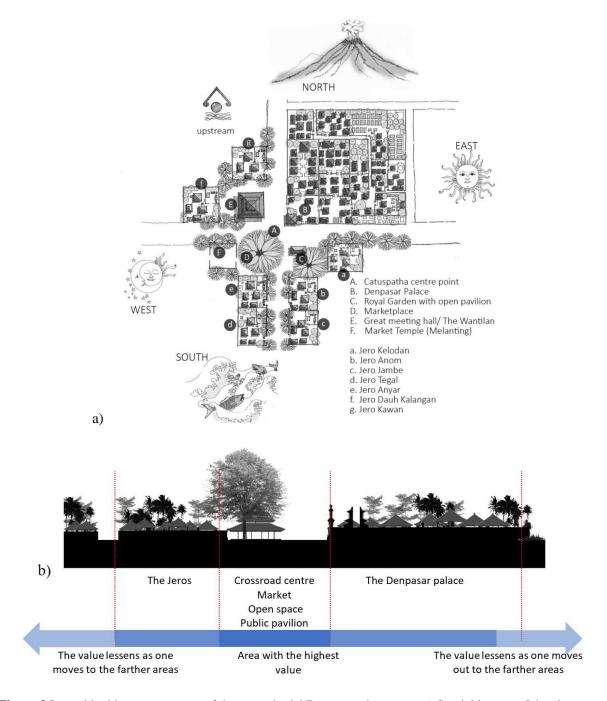


Figure 3 Inward looking arrangement of the pre-colonial Denpasar city centre; a) Spatial lay out of the city centre; b) the sectional lay out of the city centre. Source: reconstructed based on a drawing made by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp (Carpenter, 1997); map derived from Bappeda (2012); observation and transects walks in 2014.



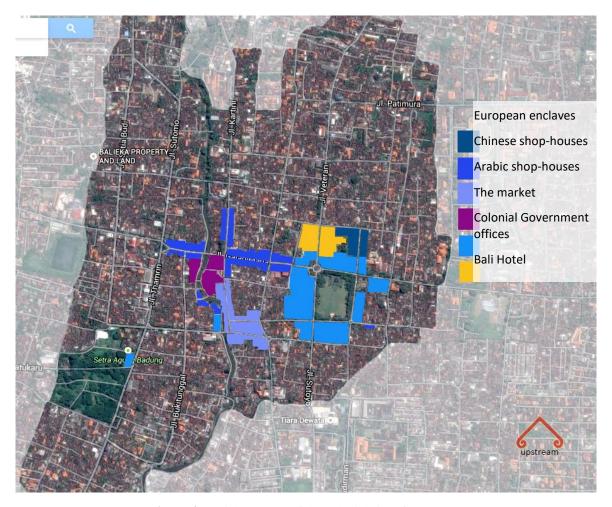


Figure 4 Spatial structure of the colonial city of Denpasar. Source: constructed by the author from observation data, and Google Earth image (2020).

Furthermore, all economic activities were removed from the centre to the west (now Jalan Gajah Mada). In this new location, a market where all society members of the city centre (the local, Chinese, Arabs and Europeans in smaller number) met.

Shophouses mushroomed the corridor that link the administrative centre and the market. This new typologi were constructed by the Chinese and Arab traders. It also represent the new era where buildings were arranged to face the road. This is different from the centralistic compound of the traditional house of the Balinese. Economic activities in the colonial period were not only about trading but also tourism. To serve visitors, the first luxury hotel was built in the city centre, the Bali Hotel, with modern architecture designed by AIA. The implementation of new building form, materials and construction methods stunned traditional audiences. The architectural style of this facility soon became popular and being copied elsewhere within the city center. Thus, apart from social diversity, buildings of different styles also filled the colonial city of Denpasar.

New and more modern building typologies with an outward-looking city plan, and the novel economic strategy

of tourism started overlaid the traditional characteristics of Denpasar.

The people of what is now known as Indonesia had long been stigmatized under the rule of Dust East India Colonial government. Upon gaining its independence, the first president of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno, wanted to capitalize on traditional culture as a means of introducing the newly born country to the world (Coast, 2004). Tradition was preserved and, in Bali, was capitalized as a new means of economic development.

Continuing similar strategy taken by the colonial government, the central government of Jakarta take tourism more seriously. In 1974 based on a study by French consultant, they published Bali Tourism Masterplan [24]. To support the plan, the central government in Jakarta invited investors to participate in this businesses [25]. Since then, development on tourism facilities soared on the island. Suharto, the second president, opened Ngurah Rai International Airport, named after independence freedom fighter. This new infrastructure completed, and later on replaced the dominat roles of, the sea ports developed by the colonial government.



Easy to reach via airplane, the island started to welcome gretaer number of tourists. Other facilities should be built and services should be provided.

In so doing, modern design, materials and also construction methods were used to serve new requirements. Tradition was preserved in order to build a stronger identity that attract visitors, but modern elements were also considered to provide facilities of the new economic activities.

Today, the roles of Denpasar is not just as the tourism centre but also capital of Bali province. Consequently, the city is filled with better facilities compared to other cities. These new conveniences not just provide better economic opportunities but also locate people closer to their needs. Therefore, urbanisation is hard to curb. New inhabitants with different backgrounds and intention come and filled the area which was once managed in galactic polity model. Landprice in areas where facilities were arranged are soaring. Different motifs and backgrounds of these new inhabitants resulted in different ways of seeing the place. The newcomers prefer areas in the periphery as their place of residence because the land price is more affordable. Traditional value that is governed by cosmological beliefs are little or no longer considered.

Denpasar has growing from a galactic model to become a large urban conurbation. Started from the city center, urbanization nowadays occurred in all part of the city, formed new socio-spatial configuration where the indigenous inhabit the centers of traditional villages and the newcomers occupy the peripheral areas. The increasing number of migrants has necessitated conversion of agricultural lands for housing and other urban facilities. As a result, the old galactic model could not be clearly defined in term of spatial configuration because all villages have merged. Land in the city are now contested by different groups of actors: migrants, farmers and other actors. The contestation may benefit land speculators.

Maps in Figure 5 shows the spatial development of the city since 1960s to 2010. In the early independence era, the spatial characteristics of the galactic polity model could still be observed from the distribution of the villages and the center as shown in the 1960 map, but similar characteristics could not be seen in the 2010 map. Nowadays the developments in the city center, and all villages including their peripheral areas have created an urban conurbation. All traditional places have merged into one metropolis. But if we look closely, the existence of customary villages structure has maintained the characteristics of the traditional villages: traditional rituals, vernacular architecture and, in traditional democratic processes of village-leader election.

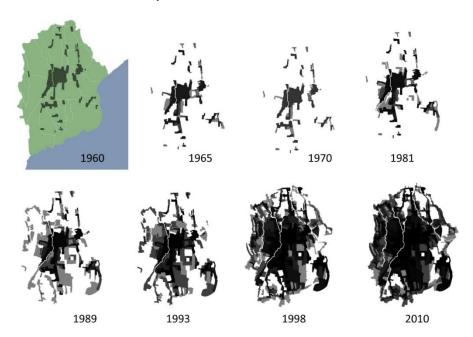


Figure 5 Morphological maps of Denpasar from the early independence era of the Republic of Indonesia to date. Source: redrawn based on observation data and base maps derived from Bappeda, 2011 [20]

Urbanization also affected architecture and building design. Since there are more people occupy the city, plot size is getting smaller. The small plots could be seen in the houses of the migrants. Meanwhile the indigenous family members are also growing. This increased the density in the traditional plots. Within the traditional and smaller plots of the migrants, new building typologies are constructed. Not

only within the housing plots, new building typologies are also growing along the main roads that link the city center with ports, airport and other regions on the island. The new typologies are dominated by shophouses. In the city, nowadays we can see all types of buildings from traditional house to modern shops houses; from *balai banjar* to sophisticated offices. Although the typologies are richly



developed, the provincial government since 1974 have controlled the height and the façade of the buildings. Therefore, building taller than 15 meters would not be found. Many have argued that this regulation increased land conversion because with similar population size, lower density requires wider area. However, given the fact that tourism necessitate authenticity, the government resist.

4. CONCLUSION

The analysis of Denpasar city shows that place-identity of a city is not static but in a state of constant revisions. It is clear that government and the political system they utilized are playing significant role in the construction of place-identity. However, place-identity is not just about the formal government role. Denpasar shows that the existence of traditional village structure nurtured from the galactic polity model have succeeded in conserving the traditional values. Manuel Castells argued that preserving and building based on traditional roots will provide a society with a firm foundation in a diluted world. [9]

Although visible in daily activities, contestation of representation in modern day Denpasar could be witnessed in spatial and building design. The maintenance of traditional street network go hand in hand with the development of new linkages. In some part, the new street networks weaken the traditional pattern as the case in the city centre. In smaller scale, the city is filled with various block and plot size as well as diverse building design. In a more expensive area, the plot sizes are smaller than in the

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pheripheral areas. Therefore, in term of spatial and physical components, the place-identity of the city is a patchwork of different forms. Economic value plays an important role. The majority of cities in Bali are nowadays occupied by people of different backgrounds who do not constructed single but a collaged place-identity. The indigenous maintains their rituals rooted in tradition. On the other hand, the newcomers bring with them their own identities. These identities are often linked with their places of origin and religious beliefs. Therefore, they also develop the city based on these identities. The traditional place-identity of the indigenous and the intended identities of the newcomers

Managing place identity could not be imposed from a centralistic system. Since the pre-colonial era, the people at grassroots level always find a way to develop their own characteristics. From a galactic model to the persisted traditional customary village administration in the modern era. People may obey the regulation set by the government but they also have the right to develop their own identity to place where they live in.

created a complex layers of place attachment.

Hague and Jenkins suggest involving all community members in developing a consensus of different voices in the construction of place-identity. This process may strengthen the sense of communal control over the place in question [26]. Place-identity could be utilized to strengthen the sense of community, toughen the attachment to a particular place and to call for social actions. It may increase self esteem as well as emotional and psychological wellbeing of the inhabitants of a city.

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